

# ASSESSING DYNAMICS OF DEMOCRATISATION

## Also by Olle Törnquist

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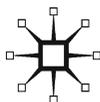
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ASSESSING DYNAMICS OF  
DEMOCRATISATION

TRANSFORMATIVE POLITICS,  
NEW INSTITUTIONS, AND  
THE CASE OF INDONESIA

*By Olle Törnquist*

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# ABBREVIATIONS

AKUT	Working Group for the Study of Development Strategies, University of Uppsala
Bappenas	Indonesian National Development Planning Board
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Citizen Participation
CSDS	Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DEMOS	Indonesian Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
EPW	Economic and Political Weekly, Mumbai
GAM	Free Aceh Movement
ICLD	Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, Sussex
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Imparsial	Indonesian Democracy Watch
International IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm
ISAI	Institute for the Free Flow of Information, Jakarta
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore
KITLV	Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies
Komnas-Ham	Indonesian National Commission for Human Rights
Kontras	Indonesian Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence
KSSP	Kerala People's Science Movement
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, United States
Musreimbang	Indonesian Institutions for Development Planning
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIAS	Nordic Institute for Asian Studies, Copenhagen
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
PA	Aceh Party
PAN	Indonesian National Mandate Party
PNA	Aceh National Party

PCD-Journal	Journal of Power, Conflict and Democracy in South and Southeast Asia
PDI-P	Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle
PKI	Indonesian Communist Party
PODSU	Politics of Development Group in the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University
PT	Workers Party, Brazil
PWD	Power Welfare and Democracy Project, UGM, Jogjakarta
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation in Developing Countries
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation
Tifa	The Indonesian Soros Foundation
UGM	University of Gadjah Mada, Jogjakarta
UiO	University of Oslo
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Development Planning
YLBHI	Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation

## PREFACE

It came as some surprise that liberal-oriented democratisation became a major trend in Latin America by the early 1980s and then later in other parts of the Global South too. Analysts had long since explained predominant authoritarianism with reference to weak national independence and modernisation in addition to inappropriate class structures and state institutions. However, the emerging democracies were not born out of improved conditions. The rise of democracy was related instead to disorder, economic and social crisis, pacts between powerful elites, scattered civil society activism and foreign intervention. During the 1980s, two major conclusions developed and were frequently cited. The first was that ‘the end of history’ was imminent in the form of globally triumphant liberalism, and that democratisation would be possible by persuading the elite to agree on the ‘right’ economic and political institutions. The second was that democracy could *not* be designed but would remain a dangerous formality unless preceded by socio-economic change (as the structuralists maintained) or solid political institutions and the rule of law (as both illiberal and conservative institutionalists then claimed).

This book has grown out of the attempts of scholars, students and pro-democracy actors to develop a third, less extreme position. In our view, the possibility that negotiated democratisation may be rooted in essential conflicts should not be excluded. Similarly, it should not be denied that contentious transformative politics might gradually produce more favourable structures and institutions within the framework of early dimensions of democracy. There is a need, therefore, to develop rigorous analytical tools to access relevant empirical sources to thus explore and explain whether and how such conflicts and processes have developed and progressed. Our empirical results are accounted for in separate articles and books, but there have been numerous requests for a brief summary of the analytical and methodological lessons learnt. This book has been written in response to those requests: It summarises the critique of the dominating analyses and assessments of democratisation; it suggests a comprehensive alternative framework and it shows how the alternative works in reality by way of case studies of the largest of the new democracies, Indonesia.

★ ★ ★

I have benefitted immensely from cooperation with a number of scholarly colleagues in the development of theoretical and comparative perspectives as well

as from joint work with researchers, journalists, activists and key informants in carrying out empirical studies and democracy assessments.

In the first case, my mentors and friends since the AKUT-research group in Uppsala in the mid-1970s,<sup>1</sup> Lars Rudebeck and Björn Beckman, both of whom are pioneering scholars of politics in the context of developing countries, have continued to criticise and support. In addition to a number of joint workshops and seminars over a period of two decades (on topics such as ‘the state in the third world’, ‘class and social movements’, ‘labour regimes and democracy’, ‘democracy, civil society’ and ‘popular organisations’), the anthology with Lars on ‘Democratisation in the Third World: Concrete Cases in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective’ (1996) preceded a series of similar collective studies that were edited in Oslo with Kristian Stokke and others. Moreover, former colleagues in Uppsala, Beckman’s colleagues in Stockholm and Inga Brandell’s thought-provoking perspectives from the French discourse and the Mediterranean dynamics have remained important. The same applies to Yusuf Bangura’s insights on the political economy of alternative development strategies, Jim Scott’s comments from his hidden world of resistance and mountain hideouts and Jan Hodann’s experiences of genuine democracy support, from southern Africa to Burma, the Philippines and Aceh. Most importantly, it would have been impossible to continue this collaboratively framed work after moving from Uppsala to Oslo University without the cooperation of political geographer, Kristian Stokke. Kristian made me understand something about space, scale, symbolic politics and Pierre Bourdieu; life became less lonely in the corridors of all too often provincial political science. We have benefitted vastly, in turn, from coordinating an international network that has sustained the combination of contextual *and* comparative studies in theoretical and historical perspective (Harriss et al. 2004, Törnquist et al. 2009, Stokke and Törnquist 2013).

This international cooperation has provided the main scholarly base for the theoretical and conceptual framework of the participatory case studies and qualitative democracy surveys that this book is based on. A major partner in this collective effort, John Harriss, has (just like Björn Beckman) gone out of his way to participate in project workshops and seminars during the practical work in Indonesia. The same applies to Gerry van Klinken, Henk Schulte Nordholt, John Sidel, Joel Rocamora and Michael Tharakan. Others involved in the collective work include, among others, Adrian G. Lavallo, Anders Sjögren, Benedicte Bull, Berit Aasen, David Jordhus-Lier, Einar Braathen, Elin Selboe, Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Gunilla Andræ, Jayadeva Uyangoda, Lars Rudebeck, Nathan Quimpo, Neera Chandhoke, Neil Webster, Nils Butenschøn, Patrick Heller, Sophie Oldfield and Thomas Carothers. In addition, a number of colleagues and experts on Scandinavian studies of power and democracy have provided methodological and comparative insights, especially Bernt Hagtvet, Björn Erik Rasch, Fredrik Engelstad, Hilde Sandvik, Jörgen Hermansson, Kalle Moene, Knut Kjeldstadli, Lars Trägårdh, Larry Rose, Olof Pettersson, Per Selle, Rania Maktabi, Sheri Berman and Øyvind Østerud. Last, but by no means least, the constructive comments by David Beetham, the main pioneer of democracy assessments, on our attempts to stand on his shoulders.

With regard to the empirical studies and democracy assessments, the initial perspectives on concerned contextual analyses were developed in the early 1990s with then dissident professor Arief Budiman at the Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana and his colleagues, including George J. Aditjondro and Ariel Heryanto, along with supportive partner Michael van Langenberg at the University of Sydney and several activist-oriented Indonesian students. As for myself, I was in Indonesia to collect information, in cooperation with Arief, on the new protests and dissident groups. I wanted to test the validity of the conclusions from my previous studies of radical movements in Indonesia, India and the Philippines, namely, that further demands for democracy would be expected (Törnquist 1984, 1984a, 1989, 1990, 1991). These demands for democracy would not just be framed in opposition to the dictatorship, but also to resist and offer an alternative to the coercive or primitive accumulation of capital.

In this work, Arief and I were sympathetic yet critical of the new strategy spearheaded by the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) under the leadership of charismatic lawyer Adnan Buyung Nasution, to foster democracy by developing civil society organisations. We argued that even a web of active citizen groups would remain fragmented and unfocused without organised actors. Buyung's response, and challenge to us, then, was to ask us to identify such actors and to study their politics. And so we did, primarily with support from the then dynamic Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation in Developing Countries (SAREC). However, just as we were getting started in 1994, Arief and his colleagues were expelled from their university for political reasons, leaving us without an academic base in Indonesia. We agreed instead to work with our critically reflective informants who were willing and able to take on the role of researchers. These included knowledgeable activists from, first, the YLBHI and then investigative journalists involved with the Institute for the Free Flow of Information (ISAI), established in the wake of the press crackdown in 1994. Parallel to this, I also continued my own research on the ideas and experiences of the democracy actors, with the assistance of alternative media activist, Bimo Wiratmo Probo. My Indonesian case study ran in parallel with the Philippine and Kerala case studies to which I will soon return, but was only partially concluded and published (Törnquist 1997) as it would have been premature to finalise a manuscript in 1996 that predicted drastic democratically oriented changes in Indonesia over the next few years. I am currently resuming the work, but for one of several intermediary reports, see Törnquist (2000) and for an early condensed summary report on the three case studies, Törnquist (2002).

In 1996, as the end of Suharto's dictatorship seemed increasingly likely, in spite of a rather elitist and quite scattered democracy movement, the collective Indonesia project was not given as much attention as had originally been planned. Practical politics and writing that would be of immediate relevance simply seemed more important. However, once the tide had turned, we returned to the studies, although the publication of the book was delayed (Budiman and Törnquist 2001). The most influential partners in the design, implementation and analysis of the research-based democracy promotion project include, in the first instance, Mulyana W. Kusumah and colleagues at the YLBHI, then A. E. Priyono, Andreas

Harsono, Benny Subianto, Bimo Nugroho, Edy Sudarjat, M. Qodari, Nong, D. Mahmada Prasetyohadi and Stanley Adi Prasetyo at ISAI and advisers Daniel Dhakidae, Goenawan Mohammad, Ignas Kleden, Johny Simanjuntak, the late Romo Mangunwijaya, Marsillam Simanjuntak and Vedi Hadiz. As Mulyana and the YLBHI became increasingly occupied with their judicial politics and organisational misfortunes, it was the ISAI team that, notwithstanding numerous distractions, was able to produce informed and exciting analysis.

Meanwhile, I was increasingly inspired by the ways in which concerned Philippine scholars and activists had established institutes such as the Third World Studies Centre (at the University of the Philippines), the Institute for Popular Democracy in Diliman and a number of radical research-oriented NGOs. These collectives played a vital role in analysing the problems and options of fostering democracy and popular oriented development. My research in the Philippines (especially Törnquist 1990, 1993, 1998, 2002) and its relevance to this essay would have come to very little without the support of and discussions with, initially, Francisco 'Dodong' and Ana Maria 'Princess' Nemenzo as well as Randy David, and then in particular with Bernabe 'Dante' Buscayno, Bong Malonzo, Carmel Abao, the late Fatima Penilla, Gerry Bulatao, Eduardo C. Tadem, Edicio de la Torre, Etta Rosales, Isagani R. Serrano, Joel Rocamora, Jurgette Honculada, Karina Constantino-David, Lisa Dacanay, Ronald Llamas, Soliman Santos, Teresa Encarnacion-Tadem, Daniel Edralin, and their partners and so many others in Manila, Tarlac, Cebu City and General Santos, including the late Gwen Ngo Laban and her fellow activists in and around Cebu City and in the fishing cooperatives on Pandanon island, and, more recently, Nathan Quimpo.

A similar and, to me, perhaps even more important source of knowledge and inspiration for the development and implementation of research-based democracy promotion was the popular education movement in the Indian state of Kerala. Through this movement, scholars, teachers and interested activists generated and propelled a number of campaigns on, primarily, literacy, resource mapping and democratic decentralisation. This was followed by a major conference towards drafting an agenda for alternative development, which in turn was crucial a few years later in the launching of the world-renowned people's planning campaign in cooperation with the then new left front government. It is impossible to mention all the scholars and activists in this context who have facilitated and contributed to my own analyses (especially Törnquist 1995, 1998, 2000a, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2009a) as well as my attempts to learn from their work and benefit from their advice and friendship. But in the forefront are leading historian, scholarly activist and later vice chancellor in Kannur P. K. Michael Tharakan (with Sophie) and T. M. Thomas Isaac, scholar, activist, pioneer, initiator of it all and later state minister of finance. Then there was the late E. M. S Namboodiripad, rethinking communist patriarch, as well as Binoy Viswan, C. G. Santhakumar, C. P. Narayanan, the late E. M. Sreedaran, Govinda Pillai, Gouri Dasan Nair, I. S. Gulati, John Kurien, K. K. George, K. P. Kannan, M. A. Oommen, Manhavan Kutty, M. P. Parameswaran, M. K. Prasad, Rajmohan, Subrata Sinah, R. Krishnakumar, Jos Chathukalm, N. Jagajeevan, Nalini Nayak, the late P. K. Vasudevan Nair,

Srikumar Chattopadhyay, T. Gangadharan, V. Bhargavan, V. V. Raghavan and M. P. Philip. There are so many others that I remember well but whose names I have lost; in the diaspora, Govindan Parayil and fellow students of Kerala in comparative perspective, Richard Franke and Patrick Heller.

The second phase of the collaborative project in Indonesia (also mainly supported by SAREC) aimed at mapping and analysing the democracy movement since the fall of Suharto. I must admit that by this stage I privately and almost secretly (because it was not seen as particularly realistic) envisioned that we would also be able to design the research and foster organisations, education and meetings in Indonesia along similar lines as the Philippines and even Kerala. Of course, the Indonesian activists' limited base in popular movements did not prove this possible, although we took a major step in the right direction. Under the guidance of senior academics, an impressive number of investigative journalists such as Ignatius Haryanto and Santoso, then young researchers such as Donni Edwin and Muhammad Qodari, and leading intellectual activists such as Dita Sari and Rahman Tolleng were mapping and analysing the experiences of the pro-democratic actors. These case studies were, in turn, supplemented by the general analysis of concerned academics. Yet again it is impossible to mention all those who contributed to the generation of the critical results and insights that have made their way into this essay. However, coordinators Stanley Adi Prasetyo and A. E. Priyono continued their involvement from phase one; a number of leading intellectuals such as Prof. J. Nasikun, the late Th. Sumartana, Vedi Hadiz, Gerry van Klinken and Mochtar Pabottingi advised and contributed their own analysis. In addition, Björn Beckman, Joel Rocamora and Kavi Chongkittavorn added African, Philippine and Thai experiences, respectively; senior journalists such as Maria Hartiningsih contributed important insights.

As I revisit the more than seven hundred pages of basic qualitative surveys, analytical papers and comprehensive case studies from all the critical sectors of pro-democracy work, (Prasetyo et al., 2003), it is hard to imagine that we (including English language editor Teresa Birks) succeeded in spite of all the challenges. The conference held in 2002 (with supplementary support from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was of course far removed from the Kerala experience. However, the discussions of the draft studies for the book and additional oral presentations, and the participation of a number of concerned scholars and leading activists from different groups, ended in broad agreement on the need for more comprehensive studies to be initiated through the establishment of a taskforce. Giving up was not an option.

This taskforce included, in addition to myself and Stanley Adi Prasetyo, three giants of the democracy movements, all of whom have sadly since passed away: Asmara Nababan (the then outgoing secretary general of the National Commission for Human Rights – Komnas HAM), Th. Sumartana (leader of Institute of Interfaith Dialogue and a chair of one of the major reformist parties, PAN) and Munir Said Thalib (the alternative Nobel prince laureate and then head of the Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence, Kontras, and the Indonesian Democracy Watch, Imparaisal, before he was assassinated with the support of the Indonesian intelligence services in September 2004).

The taskforce spearheaded the third and most extensive phase of the research-based democracy promotion project – the experiences of which constitute the main base for this book: the two rounds of qualitative countrywide and participatory democracy assessment surveys. These were coordinated by the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (DEMOS) in collaboration with me at the University of Oslo. Later, the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM) also joined us for the final analysis of the second round of qualitative assessment surveys (Priyono et al. 2003, Samadhi et al. 2010). The main donors in this instance were the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and the Ford Foundation.

The results and lessons learnt from the qualitative assessment surveys (and the efforts to follow them up) that are drawn upon in this book are based primarily on seven very intensive years of work with the team from DEMOS, including the late executive director, Asmara Nababan; then research coordinators A. E. Priyono, Willy P. Samadhi and Debbie Prabawati, in addition to Attia Nur, Anton Pradjasto, Donni Edwin, Nur Iman Subono, Otto Adi Yulianto, Rita Olivia Tambunan, Sofian M. Asgart, Syafa'atun Kariadi; senior administrators Ami Priwardhani, Christina Dwi Susanti, Ingrid Silitonga, Laksmi Pratiwi, Lalang Wardoyo, Melanie Tampubolon and Shirley Doornik as well as several of the members of the board, especially Elga Sarapung, the late Munir Said Thalib, Poengky Indarti and Stanley Adi Prasetyo. Moreover, even if in practice we were short of local academic co-supervisors, I have also benefitted from the contributions made by a number of eminent local scholars who helped us with the quality control of the final reports, including not only anthropologist and democracy promoter Hans Antlöv and sociologist Tamrin Amal Tamagola in particular, but also political scientist and later presidential advisor Daniel Sparringa, critical intellectuals Francis Wahono, Herry Priyono, Kamala Chandrakirana, Meuthia Ganie-Rochman, Mochtar Pabottingi, Parsudi Suparlan and Soetandyo Wignyosoebroto and most recently Luky Djani and Surya Tjandra. Even more importantly, the team at UGM including Aris A. Mundayat, Budi Irawanto, Cornelis Lay, Mohtar Mas'ood, J. Nasikun, Nicolas Warouw, the recently elected Rector of UGM Pratikno and later Eric Hiariej, Purwo Santoso, Amalinda Savirani, Hasrul Hanif and Nur Azizah. With the support of Pratikno, Purwo and Azizah, Nico, Eric, Linda, Willy, Debbie and Hanif are currently developing a new phase in the analysis and support for democracy in cooperation with the University of Oslo, by way of following up the qualitative surveys as well as thematic case studies within the framework of public universities, but in sustained cooperation with practitioners.

Equally important are the key informants in my own research. In some instances, I have had the pleasure and privilege of having continuous discussion on their experiences and analysis since the early 1980s, in exchange for comparative insights. Two leaders of Indonesia's peasants' and workers' movement with crystal clear political perspectives, Kuntjoro and Fauzi Abdullah, both of whom passed away much too early, were among the most important informants and commentators during my studies of the new democracy movement. And

for three decades, the late senior journalist and editor, Joesoef Isak, whose knowledge and experience spanned from the 1950s and 1960s, made me understand something about the hidden agendas in radical Indonesian politics. Others – in addition to several of those already mentioned such as Dita Sari, Goenawan Mohammad, Hemasari Dharmabumi, Johny Simanjuntak, Maria Hartiningsih, Poengky Indarti and Stanley Adi Prasetyo – include Abdon Nababan, Budiman Sudjatmiko, Coki Bonar Tigor Naipospos, Damairia Pakpahan, Erwin Schweishelm, Faisal Basri, George Corputty, Handoko Wibowo, Harsutejo (who did the herculean work of translating my book on the Indonesian Communist Party), Hendardi, Imam Yudotomo, Kwik Kian Gie, Linda Holle, Max Lane, M. Nur Djuli, Muspani, Norhalis Majid, Nyoman Sunarta, Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, Otto Syamsuddin, Pius Rengka, Priyono Parwito, Ridha Saleh, Sahat Lumbanraja, Sarah Lerry Mboeik, Shadia Marhaban, Syaiful Bahari, Teten Masduki, Usin Abdisyah, Willy Aditya, Wardah Hafidz, Wiladi, Wilson and their partners as well as Affan Ramli, Aguswandi, Arbani Nikahi, Arie Sujito, Aris Merdeka Sirait, Arianto Sangaji, A. Tigor Nainggolan, Bakhtiar Abdullah, Dara Meutia Uning, Dick Suhadi, Eliza Kisya, Erry Syahrian, Imam Yudotomo, Irwandi Yusuf, Iskandar Lamuka, Juanda Djamal, Lely Zailani, Mahfud Masuara, Merry Ngamelubun, Mian Manurung, Muchtar Pakpahan, Muhyidin, Munawar Liza, Murizal Hamzah, Nirwana ‘Nana’ Hidayati, Philipp Kauppert, Putu Wirata, Putut Gunawan, Saiful Haq, Saleh Abdullah, Sugi, Taufiq Abda, Todung Mulya Lubis, Wempy Anggal and yet others. And of course eminent assistant, advisor and friend Nusya Kuswantin, as well as Sigit Prasetyo. Most recently, moreover, the exciting new insights from Aceh Selatan in comparative perspective through Leena Avonius and Fadhli Ali, Saiful Mahdi, T Kemal Fasya, Zubaidah Djohar and their colleagues, supported by the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy through its then director of research Anki Dellnäs, her successor Lena Johansson de Château, and its advisory board.

I am also indebted to John Harriss, Lars Rudebeck and Teresa Birks for making the text readable and for making a final control of facts and consistency. In this case, Teresa’s input has been particularly pertinent as she was also an important partner in several of the sub-projects under review (from the post-Soeharto democracy volume, Prasetyo et al. 2003, via the first survey report, Priyono et al. 2007, to an anthology on the role of democracy for peace and reconstruction in Aceh, Törnquist et al. 2011).

Needless to say, many of my students have been crucial to the process, especially by asking critical questions and spotting unintelligible formulations. Similarly, a number of comments by additional scholars and practitioners at seminars in Norway, India, Indonesia, Kenya and Nigeria on previous versions and sections of the book have proven to be very useful.

Finally, the book has benefitted from supplementary financial support from Sida and the exceptional professional commitment and expertise of its then senior advisor Ms. Helena Bjuremalm, currently with International IDEA.

At this point, I can only say thank you all, and hope that you do not feel that your attempts to make me understand have been totally in vain. Some nights

ago, I had a dream that we were all together, sharing good food, drinks and analysis, but it must have been in a Gramscian heaven.

★ ★ ★

An early evaluation of the qualitative Indonesian assessment surveys and an article (in the *PCD Journal*) that summarises and expands on it are available at [www.pcd.ugm.ac.id](http://www.pcd.ugm.ac.id). This little book, however, is quite different. It is meant as a general guide to an alternative theoretical and methodological framework, based on both the longer period of comparative studies mentioned above and the specific democracy assessments in Indonesia. Hopefully the book may be helpful not only for scholars, democracy promoters and practitioners, but also for students who may wish to use it as a supplement to more substantive studies of democratisation.

The core of the book is composed of the generally applicable analytical and operational recommendations that are found in the first part of chapters 1–6 and in the final chapter 7. These may be read and used separately as a handbook. The remainders of chapters 1–6 are composed of empirical exploration and substantiation of the general arguments based on the results from the Indonesian pilot studies, and the empirical foundation of the concluding chapter (in the form of more practical experiences) is in the first appendix.