

# RISA J. TOHA

Assistant Professor of Political Science  
Yale-NUS College  
Office: Saga RC1-01-03I  
Tel: +65 6601 5291  
Website: [sites.google.com/site/risatoha](http://sites.google.com/site/risatoha)  
Email: [risa.toha@yale-nus.edu.sg](mailto:risa.toha@yale-nus.edu.sg)  
ORCID: 0000-0002-1921-7889

## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

---

- 2015 - **Yale-NUS College, Singapore**  
Assistant Professor of Political Science
- 2018- **National University of Singapore**  
Department of Political Science  
(by courtesy)
- 2014 – 2015 **Wheaton College**  
Visiting Assistant Professor of Politics and International Relations
- 2014 **Stanford University**  
Visiting Scholar at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center  
(*Summer 2014*)
- 2012 – 2014 **Harvard Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University**  
Post-doctoral Indonesia Fellow at the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation

## EDUCATION

---

- 2012 **University of California Los Angeles, CA**  
Ph.D. in Political Science  
Committee members: Michael Ross (chair), Barbara Geddes, Daniel Posner, Daniel Treisman, Andreas Wimmer
- 2003 **Princeton University, Princeton, NJ**  
A.B. in Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

## RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

---

Political violence, ethnic politics, elections in new democracies, political economy of development, distributive politics, comparative politics, gender, Southeast Asia, Indonesia

## FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AWARDS

---

- 2021 NUS Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty Research Fellowship. Paid semester with no teaching.
- Yale-NUS Dean of Faculty Research Fund. S\$1,500
- Yale-NUS Special Pocket Research Grant. S\$1,500
- APSA Asia Workshop Collaborative Grant. *Women in South East Asia Social Sciences*. USD\$6,000. Co-Investigator, along with Diana Kim, Amy Liu, Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Meredith Weiss, and Tricia Yeoh. PI: Sarah Shair-Rosenfield.
- 2020-2022 Humanities and Social Sciences Seed Fund. *Minority Groups in Southeast Asia*. S\$20,000. Principal Investigator
- Chinese Research Council Special Pocket Grant. *Ethnic Minorities and Their Politics*. S\$1,500. Principal Investigator.
- 2019-2020 Chinese Research Council. *Ethnic Minorities in Indonesia*. S\$20,000. Principal Investigator.
- 2020 Yale-NUS book manuscript grant. S\$12,000.
- 2018-2020 Ministry of Education Tier 1 Grant & Yale-NUS Large Internal Grant. *Can a Shared National Identity Trump Ethnic Identity? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Singapore*. S\$115,200 (Co-Investigator. PI: Guillem Rimbau (Yale-NUS)). Grant#: IG17-LR004 & IG17-LR007
- 2019 SEAREG Travel Grant. US\$500.
- 2018-2019 Yale-NUS Conference Workshop Grant, *Southeast Asia Research Group-East*, S\$17,000 (Principal Investigator; co-investigators: Steven Oliver (Yale-NUS) and Guillem Rimbau (Yale-NUS)). Grant #: IG17-CW103
- 2017-2020 Singapore Social Science Research Grant, *Making Identity Count*. S\$19,300 of a total budget S\$856,916 (Collaborator; PI: Ted Hopf (NUS))
- 2015-2017 Yale-NUS Faculty Startup Grant, *Ethnic Politics and Its Ramifications*. S\$30,000. Principal Investigator
- 2015 SEAREG Junior Fellow
- 2009 Pacific Rim Research Grant, Pacific Rim Research Program. US\$5,231

- ISR Faculty and Graduate Student Summer Fellowship, UCLA Institute for Social Research. US\$2,460
- Lemelson Fellowship, UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies. US\$4,000
- 2008 Pacific Rim Research Mini Grant, Pacific Rim Research Program. US\$3,000  
Visiting Fellowship, Center for Strategic & International Studies, Indonesia
- 2007 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA. US\$4,500
- 2005 – 2008 Harvey Fellowship, Mustard Seed Foundation. US\$15,000 per year
- 2005 – 2007 Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) in Tagalog. US\$14,500 per year
- 2005 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA. US\$4,500
- 2002 Undergraduate Senior Thesis Research Grant, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. US\$2,000

## **BOOKS**

---

- 2021 “Rioting for Representation: Local Ethnic Mobilization in Democratizing Countries” *Cambridge University Press (Problems in International Politics series)* forthcoming November 2021

## **PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES**

---

- 2021 “The Normalization of Intolerance: The Case of the 2019 Presidential Election in Indonesia” (with Dimitar Gueorguiev and Aim Sinpeng) *Electoral Studies*. Accepted
- 2019 “A New Typology of Electoral Violence: Insights from Indonesia” (with S.P. Harish) *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31(4): 687-711.
- 2017 “Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson from Indonesia” *British Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 631-651.

## **BOOK CHAPTERS**

---

- 2022 “The National Identification of the Bataks in North Sumatra” in *Regional Identities, Subnational Movements, and Political Demands: Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Amy H. Liu and Joel Sawat Selway. University of Michigan Press. *Under contract*

- 2020 “Electoral Violence in Indonesia 20 years after Reformasi” (with S.P. Harish) in *Democracy in Indonesia: From Stagnation to Regression*, edited by Thomas Power and Eve Warburton. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, pp. 346-370.
- 2018 “The Muslim Democrat: National Identity in Indonesia in 2010 and 2015” (with Cheryl Cosslett) in *Making Identity Count in Asia*, edited by Ted Hopf and Ja Ian Chong. *submitted* \*\*

\*\* *Co-authored with undergraduate students*

## **WORKING PAPERS**

---

“Campaign Intimidation: Legacies of Violence in Post-Conflict Settings”<sup>1</sup> (with S.P. Harish)  
*Under review*

## **WORKS IN PROGRESS (SELECTED)**

---

“Othering Rhetoric in Election Campaigns: Insights from Indonesia” (with Cheryl Cosslett)  
\*\*

“Winning Elections and Raising Up Others? Female Incumbents and Gender Quota in Indonesia” (with Anjali Hazra) \*\*

“Fiscal Transfers in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Appeasement of Separatist Groups?”

“Gender-Based Violence in Indonesia” (with Margaret Triyana)

\*\* *Papers co-authored with undergraduate students*

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

---

- 2019 “Review of *Power Broking in the Shade: Party Finances and Money Politics in Southeast Asia*. By Wolfgang Sachsenröder. Singapore: World Scientific, 2018.” *Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia* 41(2): 320-322.

---

<sup>1</sup> Previously titled “Why Target Candidates, Not Voters: Pre-Election Violence in Indonesia”

**OP-EDS**

---

- 2014 “Reducing Decentralization’s Dysfunction” *The Jakarta Post* 12 May 2014, p. 7 (with Malcolm McPherson).

**INVITED TALKS, SEMINARS, ROUNDTABLES, WORKSHOPS**

---

*\* talks with all expenses paid*

- 2021 Workshop on Democratic Backsliding in Southeast Asia. Scheduled for November 2021. Kyoto, Japan.
- AIFIS/Indonesia and Timor Leste Studies Council co-sponsored roundtable. “Becoming Experts: New Trends, Opportunities, and Challenges in Indonesian Politics Research.” June 24, 2021. *Virtual roundtable due to COVID-19*
- 2020 Female Scholars of Southeast Asia Roundtable. August 10, 2020. *Virtual roundtable due to COVID-19*
- University of Sydney. Politics in Action Conference. May 7-9, 2020. *Shifted online due to COVID-19 \**
- 2019 Yale-NUS College. HSS Collaborative Workshop. September 24, 2019. Talk Titled: “The Politicization of Identity in Southeast Asia.”
- Australian National University. Indonesia Update Conference. September 7, 2019. Talk titled: “Electoral violence in Indonesia 20 years after *Reformasi*.” \*
- 2017 National University of Singapore, Department of Political Science. January 12, 2017. Talk titled: “Why Target Candidates, Not Voters: Pre-Election Violence in Indonesia”
- 2015 Southeast Asia Research Group III, University of Chicago, Chicago IL, April 2015. Talk titled: “Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in New Democracies: A Lesson from Indonesia”
- Yale-NUS College, January 2015. Talk titled: “Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson from Indonesia.” \*
- 2014 University of California, San Diego International Relations and Pacific Studies (now UCSD School of Global Policy and Strategy), November 4, 2014. Talk titled: “Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson from Indonesia.” \*

Wheaton College. Politics & International Relations Department May 2014. Talk titled: “Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson from Indonesia.” \*

Singapore Management University, February 12, 2014. Talk titled: “Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson from Indonesia.” \*

2012 Harvard Kennedy School, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, HKSIP Indonesia brownbag lunch. December 4, 2012. Talk titled: “Ethnic Riots in Indonesia’s Democratic Transition”

Northern Illinois University Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, November 2, 2012. Talk titled: “Understanding Violent Conflicts in Indonesia” \*

Northern Illinois University, Political Violence undergraduate seminar, November 1, 2012. Talk titled: “Cases of Ethnic Riots in Indonesia: Field Experience in Central Sulawesi and Maluku” \*

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (SELECTED)**

---

2021 (with Dimitar Gueorguiev and Aim Sinpeng) “The Normalization of Intolerance: The Case of the 2019 Presidential Election in Indonesia.” To be presented at APSA in September, in Seattle.

2020 (with Dimitar Gueorguiev and Aim Sinpeng) “Piety and Protest”. To be presented at AASA in July, in Melbourne, Australia – *cancelled due to COVID-19*

“The National Identification of Minority Groups in Indonesia.” To be presented at APSA in September, in San Francisco – *cancelled due to COVID-19*

2019 “The National Identification of the Bataks in North Sumatra”. Presented at APSA in Washington, D.C.

(with Cheryl Cosslett) “The Muslim Democrat: National Identity in Indonesia in 2010 and 2015”  
Paper presented at the Making Identity Count in Asia Conference in Singapore

(with Cheryl Cosslett) “Othering Rhetoric in Election Campaigns: Insights from Indonesia”

Paper presented at WPSA in San Diego, CA

Paper presented at AAS-in-Asia in Bangkok, Thailand

- 2018 (with S.P. Harish) “Why Target Candidates, Not Voters: Pre-Election Violence in Indonesia”  
Paper presented at APSA in Boston, MA.
- 2017 (with S.P. Harish) “Why Target Candidates, Not Voters: Pre-Election Violence in Indonesia”  
Poster presented at SEAREG in Austin, TX.  
Paper presented at ISA in Baltimore, MD  
Paper presented at AAS in Toronto, Canada \*\*
- 2016 (with S.P. Harish) “Elections-Related Violence” Accepted at MPSA, Chicago, IL (*declined due to scheduling conflict*).  
  
(with Margaret Triyana) “Violence against Women and Female Political Representation” Presented at Development Working Papers Series at Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame \*\*
- 2014 “Political Inclusion in Decentralized Indonesia” Presented at AAS meeting in Philadelphia, PA, and at MPSA in Chicago, IL.
- 2012 “Towards Greater Political Representation? A Closer Look at Post-Soeharto Indonesia.”  
Presented at the Indonesian Studies Meeting at UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.
- 2010 “The Role of Administrative Boundary Change in Indonesia: Why Violence Stopped”  
Presented at MPSA in Chicago, IL.  
  
“Public Goods Transfers and National Unity: Evidence from Post-Suharto Indonesia.”  
Presented at MPSA, Chicago, IL
- 2009 “Why Violence Stopped: Administrative Boundary Revisions in Indonesia”  
Presented at APSA in Toronto, Canada.  
  
“Public Goods Transfers and National Unity: Evidence from Post-Suharto Indonesia.”  
Presented at APSA in Toronto, Canada  
  
“Politicization of Ethnic Identity: Lessons from Post-Soeharto North Maluku and Central Sulawesi”  
Presented at UCLA Indonesian Studies Graduate Student Conference in Los Angeles, CA.
- 2008 “Provision of Public Goods in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Appeasement of Separatist Groups?”

Presented at UCB-UCLA Joint Conference on Indonesian Studies in Berkeley, CA.

\*\* *non-presenting co-author*

## TEACHING

---

### At Yale-NUS: undergraduate seminars

Politics of Southeast Asia (Fall 2015, Spring 2020) ^  
International Political Economy (Spring 2016) ^  
Politics of Identity in Developing Countries (Spring 2016, Fall 2019) ^  
International Development (Fall 2017, Spring 2020, Spring 2021) ^  
Senior capstone seminar (Fall 2018, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)  
Comparative Social Inquiry (Fall 2017, Fall 2018) *a team-taught common curriculum module for first-year students*

### At Wheaton College: undergraduate seminars

2014            East Asian Politics ^  
                  International Political Economy  
2015            Third World Politics  
                  Introduction to Comparative Politics

^ *new classes developed from scratch*

Undergraduate senior capstone advising:

2020            Manto Joseff Malagapo, Betina Kapunan Choa, Inez Lim (Global Affairs)  
2019            Do Youn Lee, Alyssa Park, and Julia Chin (Global Affairs)  
2017            Anjali Hazra (Global Affairs), “Female Political Representation in Indonesia: Incumbency and Electoral Success” Poster presented at MPSA 2018. Winner of the *2018 Saga Fellows Book Prize*. Winner of the *2018 Outstanding Capstone in Global Affairs Prize*  
  
                  Cheryl Nazik Cosslett (PPE), “Ethnic Othering Rhetoric in Election Campaigns: Insights from Indonesia” Poster presented at MPSA 2018. Winner of the *2018 Outstanding Capstone in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics Prize*  
  
                  Harini V. (Global Affairs), “Determinants of Racial Hate Crime: Evidence from the UK”

PhD dissertation supervision:

2018-present Jung Hoon Park (NUS Political Science, external committee member)

### **SERVICE FOR THE COLLEGE**

---

2021 Head of Studies (interim), Global Affairs major

2019-2021 Faculty Coordinator, Yale-NUS Combined Degree Program with the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

Global Affairs/PPE Faculty Search Committee

2017-18 Social Sciences Faculty Brownbag convenor

2015 Social Sciences Research and Ethics ad-hoc committee

### **SERVICE FOR THE DISCIPLINE**

---

*Conference organizer:* SEAREG-in-Asia 2018 (with Steven Oliver and Guillem Riambau)

*Committees:* SEAREG Conference Committee (2019-present)

*Conference panel chair:* MPSA (2014), APSA (2017), SEAREG-in-Asia (2017, 2018), WPSA (2019), SEAREG (2019)

*Conference panel discussant:* APSA (2014, 2017)

*Book workshop discussant:* SEAREG-in-Asia 2018, Yale-NUS 2019

*Peer reviewer for journal article submissions:* American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, British Journal of Political Science, Ethnic and Racial Studies, International Area Studies Review, Social Science Quarterly, Middle East Development Journal, Asian Journal of Comparative Politics, International Review of Asia Pacific Studies, Politics, Groups and Identities, Terrorism and Political Violence, Asian Politics and Policy, Oxford Development Studies, Publius, Economics & Politics

### **MEDIA AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT**

---

Experience Yale-NUS Weekend. Virtual Coffee Chat on Global Affairs at Yale-NUS, 7 April 2021

[RICE media interview](#) on the 2019 presidential election in Indonesia, April 2019

Moderator. Daniel Ziblatt's Yale-NUS Global Affairs Annual Lecture "How Democracies Die", 9 October 2019.

The Jakarta Post review of new scholarship on Indonesia, 25 September 2019

INSIGHT interview on 2017 Jakarta Pilkada race, *Channel News Asia*, 19 May 2017

[FOCUS interview](#) on 2017 Jakarta Pilkada race, *Channel 8*, November 2016

[FOCUS interview](#) on 2017 Jakarta Pilkada race, *Channel 8*, December 2016

## **CONSULTING AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL WORK**

---

2003-2004      Consultant, *World Bank Office, Social Development Unit*, Jakarta, Indonesia  
2000            Assistant Producer, *Jakarta Bureau of CNN*, Indonesia

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

---

SEAREG Advisory Board member  
American Political Science Association  
Asia Research Institute – Associate (Identity Cluster)

## **SKILLS**

---

*Languages:* Bahasa Indonesia (native fluency), Tagalog (beginner), Spanish (beginner)

*Software:* STATA, R, *Datadesk*, *Python*, *Amelia*, ArcGIS, LATEX

## **ADDITIONAL TRAINING**

---

2016            Discourse analysis workshop (NUS, Political Science)  
2013            Harvard Center for Geographic Analysis GIS Institute  
2014            Data Mining, University of Chicago Booth School of Business

*Last updated: 8 September 2021*