

February 1, 2024

## VITA

### **R. William Liddle**

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Date of Birth: January 18, 1938

### **Education**

Yale University, 1959-67. Ph.D., 1967. M.A., 1961.

University of Chicago, 1964-65. Carnegie Fellow at the Committee for the Comparative Study of New States.

Yale University, 1955-59. BA, magna cum laude, 1959.

### **Teaching**

Ohio State University: Professor Emeritus, 2011-present; Professor, 1978-2011; Associate Professor, 1970-78; Assistant Professor, 1966-70; Instructor, 1965-66.

Mershon Center, Ohio State University, Research Associate, 1999-present.

Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial (Social Science Research Training Center), Aceh, Indonesia, 1985-87. Fulbright Lecturer in graduate-level social science research training program.

Indonesian Studies Summer Institute, Athens, Ohio, Summer 1983. Lecturer on Indonesian Politics.

Ohio University, Visiting Professor, Fall 1980, Winter 1978, Winter and Spring 1976.

University of Singapore, 1968-69. Fulbright-Hays Lecturer.

Courses taught: introduction to political science, introduction to comparative politics, government and politics of the developing world, traditional political systems and political development, community politics in the developing world, Southeast Asian politics, Indonesian politics, comparing India and Indonesia, theories of political development and change, national integration, alternatives to modernization, theories and methods of comparative politics, research seminar on developing world politics, research seminar in comparative politics, the political economy of Albert

Hirschman, introduction to development studies, leadership and agency, politics in Muslim-majority countries, honors seminar in comparative politics.

Innovations: development of the basic comparative politics course as a theoretical and methodological introduction to the field for undergraduate majors; introduction and development of courses in developing world politics and political development theory for undergraduates and graduate students; creation of an introductory course in development studies for the Undergraduate International Studies Program; introduction and development of an honors seminar in comparative politics, introduction and development of a graduate seminar and undergraduate course in political leadership and agency; introduction of a Study Abroad course in Indonesian development studies, in association with Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Honors seminar in comparative politics selected by the OSU Honors Program for a 2004-2006 course development award.

## **Research**

Language skills: fluency in Indonesian, reading knowledge of Dutch, French.

Major grants: Mershon Center, Ohio State University, research award 2017-2018 (with Paul Beck, Richard Gunther), 2009-2010; Smith Richardson Foundation (with Thomas Pepinsky and Saiful Mujani) research award, 2007-2008; Korea Research Foundation (with Yong Cheol Kim and Salim Said) research award, 2003-2004; National Science Foundation research award, 1999-2000; Ford Foundation (Jakarta) conference grant, 1998; Asia Foundation conference grant, 1990; Social Science Research Council conference grant, 1985; Visiting Research Fellowship, Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University, 1980; Fulbright award for research at the Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, Singapore, 1976-77; Ford Foundation Southeast Asia Fellowship, 1971; Foreign Area Training Fellowship, 1962-64.

## **Recent Awards and Honors**

Achmad Bakrie Award, Achmad Bakrie Foundation and Freedom Institute, Jakarta, Indonesia, August 2022, for outstanding service to Indonesian society, the first Bakrie Award given to a foreigner.

Anugerah Kebudayaan (Culture Award) from the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia, for a lifetime of outstanding scholarship and mentorship of benefit to the Indonesian people, 2018.

Outstanding Undergraduate Teacher, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, 2010.

Recipient of Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award for best paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, September 2009 (with Thomas Pepinsky and Saiful Mujani).

Nominated for Outstanding Teaching Award, Arts and Sciences Colleges Student Council, Ohio State University, 2009.

A book of essays, *Dari Columbus Untuk Indonesia: 70 Tahun Prof Bill Liddle Dari Murid dan Sahabat* [From Columbus for Indonesia: 70 Years of Prof Bill Liddle from Students and Friends], Jakarta: Gramedia, Freedom Institute and Nalar Publishers, 2008.

Outstanding International Faculty Member, Ohio State University Office of Academic Affairs, 1996.

Distinguished Visiting Lecturer, Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State, 1995.

## **Academic Publications**

### **Books and Monographs:**

*Dua Negeri, Empat Pemimpin* [Two Countries, Four Leaders], Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2021. Fifty op-ed essays originally published between 2010 and 2020 in the Jakarta daily Kompas.

*Voting Behavior in Indonesia since Democratization: Critical Democrats*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (with Saiful Mujani and Kuskridho Ambardi), 2018 (Indonesian edition 2019). Cited by 53.

*Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Islam and Political Behavior*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (with Thomas Pepinsky and Saiful Mujani), 2018 (Indonesian edition 2019). Cited by 51.

*Memperbaiki Mutu Demokrasi di Indonesia: Sebuah Perdebatan* [Improving the Quality of Democracy in Indonesia: a Debate], Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 2012, pp. i-ix, 1-171 (Contains an original essay plus critical comments and a response by the author).

*Kuasa Rakyat* [People Power], Jakarta: Mizan, 2012, pp. i-xvi, 1-555 (with Saiful Mujani and Kuskridho Ambardi) (The first individual-level study of Indonesian voting behavior based on surveys conducted from 1999 to the present).

*Political Entrepreneurs and Development Strategies: Southeast Asian Cases and Comparisons*, Adelaide: Centre of Asian Studies, Flinders University, 1991, pp. 37 (22nd Annual Asian Studies Lecture).

*Politics and Culture in Indonesia*, Ann Arbor: Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1988, pp. 55. An article length revised version has been published as "The National Political Culture and the New Order," *Prisma* 46 (1989), pp. 4-20.

*Cultural and Class Politics in New Order Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1977, pp. 21.

*Ethnicity, Party, and National Integration: An Indonesian Case Study*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970, pp. xv, 238.

### **Edited Books:**

*Revolusi dari Luar: Demokratisasi di Indonesia* [Revolution from Outside: Democratization in Indonesia], Jakarta: Nalar and Freedom Institute, 2005, pp. xxii, 258. A collection of newspaper columns and magazine articles originally written in Indonesian, plus translations of two scholarly articles on contemporary Indonesian politics. Introduction by Hamid Basyaib.

*Crafting Indonesian Democracy*, Jakarta: Mizan, 2001, pp ix, 304. Edited papers from a 1998 Ford Foundation conference on Structural Reform in Indonesian Democratization. "Introduction: Crafting Indonesian Democracy," pp. 1-9 by the editor. Also published by Mizan in Indonesian as *Menjauhi Demokrasi Kaum Penjahat* [Avoiding Bad Guy Democracy].

*Islam, Politik, dan Modernisasi* [Islam, Politics, and Modernization], Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1997, pp. xix, 308. (In Indonesian.) Translations of three scholarly articles on Indonesian Islam, plus a collection of newspaper columns and magazine articles originally written in Indonesian. Contains a new preface by the editor and an introduction by Taufik Abdullah.

*Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, in association with the Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1996, pp. v, 314. A collection of articles, most originally published between 1985 and 1993, with a new introduction by the editor.

*Pemilu-Pemilu Orde Baru: Pasang Surut Kekuasaan Politik* [New Order Elections: The Rise and Fall of Political Authority], Jakarta: LP3ES, 1992, pp. viii, 158. (In Indonesian.) A collection of articles on Indonesian elections and democracy, most of which were previously published in English.

*Partisipasi dan Partai Politik: Indonesia Pada Awal Orde Baru* [Participation and the Political Parties: Indonesia at the Beginning of the New Order], Jakarta: PT Grafiti, 1992, pp. viii, 220. (In Indonesian.) A collection of articles previously published in English, with a new introduction, "Kata Pengantar: Menuju Demokrasi di Indonesia" [Introduction: Toward Democracy in Indonesia].

*Political Participation in Modern Indonesia*, New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1973. Chapters authored: "Introduction," pp. 1-11, and "Modernizing Indonesian Politics," pp. 177-206.

### **Articles/book chapters:**

"B. J. Habibie and the Transformation of Indonesian Politics," *Indonesia* 112 (October 2021), pp. 31-76.

"Indonesia: Jokowi Sidelines Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 32:4 (October 2021), pp. 72-86 (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 3.

"Explaining Democratic Deconsolidation: Evidence from Asian Democracies," *Journal of Global*

*Strategic Studies* 1:1 (June 2021), pp. 16-36 (with Saiful Mujani).

“Introduction: a Neo-Modernist for our Time,” in Bahtiar Effendy, *Insight: Essays on Islam and Public Affairs*, Jakarta, Penjuru Ilmu Sejati, 2017, pp. xv-xx.

“Parties, Elections, Voters, and Democracy,” in Richard Gunther, Paul Beck, Alejandro Moreno, and Pedro Magalhaes, eds. *Voting in New and Old Democracies*, Routledge, 2015 (by Robert Mattes, with Saiful Mujani, R. William Liddle, Tianjian Shi, and Yun-Han Chu).

“Indonesia’s Democratic Performance: A Popular Assessment,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 16:2 (June 2015), pp. 210-226 (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 8.

“Political Science Scholarship on Indonesia: Revived but Constrained,” in Eric Tagliacozzo, ed. *Producing Indonesia: The State of the Field of Indonesian Studies*, Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2014, pp 253-266. Cited by 3.

“Improving the Quality of Democracy in Indonesia: Toward a Theory of Action,” *Indonesia* 96, October 2013, pp. 59-80. Also published as a book chapter, Thomas Pepinsky and Michele Ford, eds, *Beyond Oligarchy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2014, pp. 57-77. Cited by 40.

“Generational Change, Political Institutions, and Regime Support in East Asia,” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 9:1 (July 2013), pp. 173-196 (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 7.

“Indonesian Democracy: From Transition to Consolidation,” in Alfred Stepan and Mirjam Kunkler, eds., *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013, pp. 24-50 (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 48.

“Testing Islam’s Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 56:3 (July 2012) (with Thomas Pepinsky and Saiful Mujani), pp. 584-600. Cited by 142.

“Indonesia: Personalities, Parties, and Voters,” *Journal of Democracy*, 21:2 (April 2010) (with Saiful Mujani), pp. 35-49. A longer version with complete tables has been published as “Voters and the New Indonesian Democracy,” in Edward Aspinall and Marcus Mietzner, eds., *Problems of Indonesian Democracy: Elections, Institutions, and Society*, 2010, pp. 75-99. Singapore: ISEAS Publishers (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 132.

“Muslim Indonesia’s Secular Democracy,” *Asian Survey*, 49:4 (July/August 2009) (with Saiful Mujani), pp. 575-590. Cited by 152.

“Indonesia: A Muslim-Majority Democracy,” in W. Phillips Shively, *Comparative Governance*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, New York: McGraw-Hill Primis, 2007 (first edition 1996). 69 printed pages.

“Leadership, Party and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in Indonesia,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 40:7 (July 2007) (with Saiful Mujani), pp. 832-857. Cited by 245.

“Islamic Liberalism: Cause or Consequence of the Conservative Turn?” *Inside Indonesia* 89 (January-March 2007), p. 37.

“Political Leadership and Civilian Supremacy in Third Wave Democracies: Comparing South Korea and Indonesia,” *Pacific Affairs* 79:2 (Summer 2006) (with Yong-Cheol Kim and Salim Said), pp. 247-268. Also published as “Kepemimpinan Politik dan Supremasi Sipil: Membandingkan Reformasi Militer Korea Selatan dan Indonesia,” in Salim Said, *Ini Bukan Kudeta: Reformasi Militer Indonesia, Mesir, Thailand, dan Korea Selatan*, Bandung: Mizan, 2018, pp 49-90. Cited by 49.

“Indonesia in 2005: A New Multiparty Presidential Democracy,” *Asian Survey* 46:1 (January/February 2006), pp. 132-139 (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 49.

“Year One of the Yudhoyono-Kalla Duumvirate,” *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 41:3 (December 2005), pp. 323-338. Cited by 27.

“Indonesia in 2004: The Rise of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono,” *Asian Survey* 45:1 (January/February 2005), pp. 119-126 (with Saiful Mujani). Not found.

“Indonesia’s Approaching Elections: Politics, Islam, and Public Opinion,” *Journal of Democracy* 15:1 (January 2004), pp. 109-123 (with Saiful Mujani). Cited by 148.

“Syafii Maarif dan Indonesia” [Syafii Maarif and Indonesia], introduction to Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Mencari Autentisitas Dalam Kekalauan: Refleksi Ahmad Syafii Maarif* [Seeking Authenticity in Confusion: Reflections of Ahmad Syafii Maarif], Jakarta, Pusat Studi Agama dan Peradaban Muhammadiyah, 2004, pp. xv-xx (In Indonesian).

“New Patterns of Islamic Politics in Democratic Indonesia,” in *Piety and Pragmatism: Trends in Indonesian Islamic Politics*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center, Asia Special Report No. 10, 2003, pp. 4-13. Cited by 50.

“Indonesia’s Democratic Transition: Playing by the Rules,” Chapter 13 in Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 373-399. Cited by 38.

“Pengantar” [Introduction], in Salim Said, *Militer Indonesia dan Politik: Dulu, Kini, dan Kelak* [The Indonesian Military and Politics: Past, Present, and Future], Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 2001, v-xv. (In Indonesian.)

“Indonesia in 2000: A Shaky Start for Democracy,” *Asian Survey*, XLI,1 (January/February 2001), pp. 208-220. Cited by 49.

“Islam, Kultur Politik dan Demokratisasi” [Islam, Political Culture, and Democratization], *Jurnal Demokrasi dan HAM* [Journal of Democracy and Human Rights], I,1, May-August 2000, pp. 132-166. (with Saiful Mujani.) (In Indonesian.)

"Indonesia in 1999: Democracy Restored," *Asian Survey*, XL,1 (January/February 2000), pp. 32-42. Cited by 84.

"Kata Pengantar" [Introduction], in Eep Saefulloh Fatah, *Zaman Kesempatan: Agenda-Agenda Besar Demokratisasi Pasca-Orde Baru* [A Time of Opportunity: Great Agendas of Democratization After the New Order], Bandung: Mizan, 2000, ix-xvi. (In Indonesian.)

"Regime: The New Order," Chapter 2 in Donald K. Emmerson, ed., *Indonesia Beyond Suharto: Polity, Economy, Society, Transition*, Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1999, pp. 39-70. Citations not found.

"Indonesia's Democratic Opening," *Government and Opposition*, 34, 1 (January 1999), pp. 94-116. Citations not found.

"Indonesia's Unexpected Failure of Leadership," in Adam Schwarz and Jonathan Paris, eds., *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999, pp. 16-39. Cited by 81.

"Coercion, Cooptation, and the Management of Ethnic Relations in Indonesia," in Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997, pp. 273-320. Cited by 36.

"The 1997 Indonesian Elections: Personal Power and Regime Legitimacy," *Muslim Politics Report*, 14 (July/August 1997), pp. 1-6.

"Indonesia in 1996: Pressures from Above and Below," *Asian Survey* XXXVII, 2 (February 1997), pp. 167-174. (with Rizal Mallarangeng). Cited by 31.

"Improvising Political Cultural Change: Three Indonesian Cases," in Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller, eds., *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture*, Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1997, pp. 1-54. Cited by 31.

"Media Dakwah Scripturalism: One Form of Islamic Political Thought and Action in New Order Indonesia," in Mark Woodward, ed., *Toward A New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*, Tempe: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1996, pp. 323-357. Also published as "Skripturalisme Media Dakwah: Satu Bentuk Pemikiran dan Aksi Politik Islam Masa Orde Baru," *Ulumul Qur'an*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1993, pp. 53-66. (In Indonesian). Cited by 104.

"Indonesia: Soeharto's Tightening Grip," *Journal of Democracy* 7, 4 (October 1996), pp. 58-72. Citations not found.

"The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, 3 (August 1996), pp. 613-634. Cited by 349.

"Indonesia in 1995: The Struggle Over Politics and Policy," *Asian Survey* XXXVI, 2 (February 1996), pp. 109-116 (with Rizal Mallarangeng). Cited by 14.

"A Useful Fiction: Democratic Legitimation in New Order Indonesia," in Robert Taylor, ed., *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 34-60. Cited by 42.

"Can All Good Things Go Together? Democracy, Growth, and Unity in Post-Soeharto Indonesia," in David Bouchier and John Legge, eds., *Democracy in Indonesia: 1950s and 1990s*, Clayton: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1994, pp. 286-301. Cited by 11.

"Politics 1992-1993: Sixth-Term Adjustments in the Ruling Formula," in Chris Manning and Joan Hardjono, eds., *Indonesia Assessment 1993*, Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1993, pp. 26-42. Cited by 7.

"Indonesia's Threefold Crisis," *Journal of Democracy*, 3, 4 (1992), pp. 60-74. Not found.

"Indonesia's Democratic Past and Future," *Comparative Politics*, 24, 4 (July 1992), pp. 443-462. Reprinted in John Ravenhill, ed., *The Political Economy of East Asia*, London: Edward Elgar, 1995. Cited by 90.

"The Politics of Development Policy," *World Development*, 20, 6 (June 1992), pp. 793-807. Cited by 51.

"The Relative Autonomy of the Third World Politician: Soeharto and Indonesian Economic Development in Comparative Perspective," *International Studies Quarterly*, 35, 4 (December 1991), pp. 403-427. Reprinted in John Ravenhill, ed., *The Political Economy of East Asia*, London: Edward Elgar, 1995. Cited by 139.

"Rumah Seorang Penulis" [The Address of a Writer], Introduction to Goenawan Mohamad, *Catatan Pinggir* [Marginal Notes], Vol. 3, Jakarta: Grafiti, 1991, pp. 1-13. (In Indonesian.)

"The Middle Class and New Order Legitimacy: A Response to Dan Lev," "Indonesia is Indonesia," and "East Asian Political Development," Chapters 5, 6, and 7 in Kenneth Young and Richard Tanter, eds., *The Politics of Middle Class Indonesia*, Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989, pp. 49-62.

"Indonesia in 1987: The New Order at the Height of its Power," *Asian Survey*, XXVIII, 2 (February 1988), pp. 180-191. Cited by 40.

"Introduction: Section A," *Cultures and Societies of North Sumatra*, ed. by Rainer Carle in cooperation with C. E. Cunningham, M. Kartomi, R. W. Liddle, B. Nothofer and H. Uhlig, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1987, pp. 21-24.

"Indonesia in 1986: Contending with Scarcity," *Asian Survey*, XXVII, 2 (February 1987), pp. 206-



218. Cited by 14.

"The Politics of Shared Growth: Some Indonesian Cases," *Comparative Politics*, 19,2 (January 1987), pp. 127-146. Cited by 52.

"Soeharto's Indonesia: Personal Rule and Political Institutions," *Pacific Affairs*, 58, 1 (Spring, 1985), pp. 68-90. Cited by 203.

"Indonesia's Leadership: Sukarno and Soeharto," *Focus on Asian Studies*, IV, 2 (Winter 1985), pp. 18-21. Not found.

"Economy and Polity in Suharto's Indonesia," *Crossroads*, 1,3 (October 1983), pp. 35-45. Not found.

"The Republic of Indonesia," in George E. Delury, ed., *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties*, Vol. I, Facts on File Publications, 1983, pp. 460-471.

"The Politics of Ekonomi Pancasila," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* XVIII, 1 (March 1982), pp. 96-101. Not found.

"Indonesia 1977: The New Order's Second General Election," *Asian Survey*, XVIII, 2 (February 1978), pp. 175-185. Not found.

"The 1977 Indonesian Election and New Order Legitimacy," *Southeast Asian Affairs 1978*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978, pp. 122-138. Cited by 34.

"Participation and the Political Parties," in Karl Jackson and Lucian Pye, eds., *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977, pp. 171-195. Cited by 110.

"Indonesia 1976: Challenges to Suharto's Authority," *Asian Survey* XVII, 2 (February 1977), pp. 95-106. Cited by 17.

"Closing Remarks," Conference on Indonesian Agriculture, *Proceedings*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974, pp. 124-125.

"Rural Development and the Local Political Process," in Seminar on Agricultural and Rural Development in Indonesia, *Proceedings*, East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1974, pp. 19-22.

"Evolution from Above: National Leadership and Local Development in Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXII, No. 2 (February 1973), pp. 287-309. Also published as "Evolusi dari Atas: Pemimpin Nasional dan Pembangunan Daerah di Indonesia," in Sartono Kartodirdjo, Ed., *Kepemimpinan dalam Dimensi Sosial* [The Social Dimensions of Leadership], Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984, pp. 126-63. English version cited by 35.

"The 1971 Indonesian Elections: A View from the Village," *Asia* No. 27 (Autumn 1972), pp. 4-18. (Harry J. Benda Memorial Lecture at the Asia Society.) Not found.

"Ethnicity and Political Organization: Three East Sumatran Cases," in Claire Holt, Benedict Anderson, and James Siegel, eds. *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972 (2007 paperback edition published by Equinox), pp. 126-178. Cited by 16.

"The Role of Government in Modernizing Asian Societies," *Thai Journal of Development Administration*, April 1969. Also published in *Solidarity* (Manila), October, 1969, pp. 36-42.

"Suku Simalungun: An Ethnic Group in Search of Representation," *Indonesia* III, April 1967, pp. 1-28. Cited by 6.

### **Book Reviews:**

Thomas Power and Eve Warburton, (eds), *Democracy in Indonesia: from Stagnation to Regression?* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2020. *Asian Pacific Economic Literature* 2021: 1 (March).

Arianto A. Patunru, Mari Pangestu, and M. Chatib Basri (eds), *Indonesia in the New World: Globalisation, Nationalism and Sovereignty*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2018. *Asian Pacific Economic Literature* 2018: 2 (November).

Edward Aspinall, Marcus Mietzner, and Dirk Tomsa (eds), *The Yudhoyono Presidency: Indonesia's Decade of Stability and Stagnation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015. *Asian Pacific Economic Literature* 2016: 2 (November).

Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (eds), *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009. *Pacific Affairs*, 83:3 (October 2010), pp. 641-643.

Ross H. McLeod and Andrew MacIntyre (eds), *Indonesia: Democracy and the Promise of Good Governance*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 44:1 (April 2008), pp. 167-169.

Edward Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005. *Indonesia* 83 (April 2007), pp. 155-159.

Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy, eds., *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralization and Democratization*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 40:1 (April 2004), pp 126-127.

Andrew MacIntyre, *The Power of Institutions: Political Architecture and Governance*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2:1 (March 2004), pp. 180-182.

Ian Chalmers and Vedi Hadiz, eds., *The Politics of Economic Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 58:3 (August 1999), pp. 888-890.

Geoff Forrester, ed., *Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Renewal or Chaos?* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 35:2 (August 1999), pp. 159-162.

Anders Uhlin, *Indonesia and the Third Wave of Democratization: The Indonesian Pro-Democracy Movement in a Changing World*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. *Crossroads*, 12:1 (1999), pp. 208-211.

Goenawan Mohamad, *Sidelines: Writings from Tempo*. South Melbourne: Hyland House in association with Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1994. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57:2 (May 1998), pp. 613-615.

"The Left Adrift: Review of John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996," *Mershon International Studies Review*, 1998.

George J. Aditjondro, *In the Shadow of Mount Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor*, Leiden, Netherlands: Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre, 1994; Amnesty International, *Power and Impunity: Human Rights Under the New Order*, London: Amnesty International, 1994; Human Rights Watch/Asia, *The Limits of Openness: Human Rights in Indonesia and East Timor*, New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994. *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995), pp. 101-106.

Anne Booth, ed., *The Oil Boom and After: Indonesian Economic Policy and Performance in the Soeharto Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. *Pacific Affairs*, 67:2 (Summer 1994), pp. 319-20.

Harold Crouch and Hal Hill, eds., *Indonesia Assessment 1992: Political Perspectives on the 1990s*. Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Pacific Studies, 1992. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 53:1 (February 1994), pp. 281-282.

Ruth McVey, ed., *Southeast Asian Capitalists*. Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1992. *Journal of Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 6:2 (November 1992), pp. 109-111.

Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings: Studies from Java and Bali*. Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 51:2 (May 1992), pp. 451-452.

Andrew MacIntyre, *Business and Politics in Indonesia*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 28:1 (April 1992), pp. 117-119.

Ann Swift, *The Road to Madiun: The Indonesian Communist Uprising of 1948*. Ithaca, New York:

Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1989. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 49:3 (August 1990), pp. 714-716.

Syahrir, *Ekonomi Politik Kebutuhan Pokok: Sebuah Tinjauan Prospektif* [The Political Economy of Basic Needs: A Prospective View]. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986. *Tempo*, 15 November, 1986, pp. 94-95. (In Indonesian.)

Ann Laura Stoler, *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870-1979*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985. *Indonesia* 42 (October 1986), pp. 121-124.

David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals. Indonesian Military Politics, 1975-1983*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1984. *Pacific Affairs* 59:1 (Spring 1986), pp. 161-163.

David Bourchier, *Dynamics of Dissent in Indonesia: Sawito and the Phantom Coup*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1984. *Journal of Asian Studies* 45:2 (February 1986), pp. 441-442.

Audrey Kahin, Ed., *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution: Unity from Diversity*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. *Tempo*, February 1986. (In Indonesian.) Also published in *Indonesia Magazine* (Jakarta), 1986.

Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin, Eds., *Interpreting Indonesian Politics*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1982. *Tempo*, 20 August, 1983, pp. 60-61. (In Indonesian.)

Anthony Reid, *The Blood of the People*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979. *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review*, July 1981.

Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*. Sydney: Fontana, 1980. *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review*, April 1981.

Jill Jolliffe, *East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1978. *Indonesia* 28 (October 1979), pp. 139-41.

Eliseo Rocamora, *Nationalism in Search of Ideology: The Indonesian Nationalist Party, 1946-1965*. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines, 1975. *Journal of Asian Studies* 38:3 (May 1979), pp. 635-637.

Ken Ward, *The 1971 Election in Indonesia: An East Java Case Study*. Clayton, Vic.: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 2, Monash University Center of Southeast Asian Studies, 1974. *Journal of Asian Studies* 35:3 (May 1976), pp. 538-539.

Bruce Grant, *Indonesia*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967. *American Political Science Review* 62:2 (June 1968), p. 670.

Tarzie Vittachi, *The Fall of Sukarno*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967. *American Political*

*Science Review* 62:2 (June 1968), p. 670.

Robert Stauffer, *The Development of an Interest Group: The Philippine Medical Association*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966. *American Political Science Review* 61:4 (December 1967), pp. 1157-1158.

### **Other Publications:**

“Jangan Merusak Demokrasi” [Don’t Destroy Democracy], *Kompas*, 26 January 2024.

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### **Recent Academic Presentations and Papers**

"Democratic Deconsolidation: Indonesia and Some Asian Democracies," presented at annual CNEP conference, Nusa Dua, Bali, Indonesia, August 9, 2019 (with Saiful Mujani).

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Presentation, "What Difference Do Presidents Make, and Why?" Understanding Indonesia Conference, Harvard Kennedy School, November 21, 2015.

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Keynote Address, "The Rise of Critical Democrats: Reflections on Fifteen Years of Indonesian Democracy," Indonesia Focus 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, ASIRPA (Asian Society for International Relations and Public Affairs) and Department of Teaching and Learning, College of Education and Human Ecology, Ohio State University, November 2014. Also presented at Yale Indonesia Forum Spring Dialogue, April 2014.

Presentation, "Explaining Indonesia's 2014 Presidential Election," USINDO and International Republican Institute, Washington DC, July 2014 (with Saiful Mujani).

Keynote Address, "Alternative Modernities," 2<sup>nd</sup> annual Southeast Asia Research Group conference, Cornell University, May 2014.

Presentation, "Political Parties and Presidential Candidate Prospects in Indonesia 2014," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, April 2014 (with Saiful Mujani).

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Paper, "Marx or Machiavelli? Improving the Quality of Democracy in Indonesia and America," presented at a conference on *Beyond Oligarchy*, University of Sydney, December 2012.



Paper, "The Impact of China's Rise: A Popular Assessment," presented at an Asianbarometer conference, Taipei, Taiwan, October 2012. With Saiful Mujani.

Paper, "Democratic Support Among Youth in Some East Asian Countries," presented at a conference in Taipei, Taiwan, September 2012. With Saiful Mujani.

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Paper, "Voters and the New Indonesian Democracy," presented at 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Indonesia Update, Australian National University, Canberra, October 2009. Also presented at the Lowy Institute, Sydney, Australia, October, 2009, and at the University of Michigan, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, November 2009. 47 m pages. With Saiful Mujani.

Paper, "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia," presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, September 2009. With Thomas Pepinsky and Saiful Mujani. Listed in October 2009 on Social Science Research Network's Top Ten download list. An earlier version presented at Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 2009.

Paper, "Voters, Parties, Elections and Democracy," Comparative National Elections Project Conference in Ipanema, Brazil, July 2009, 20 ms pages. With Robert Mattes, Saiful Mujani and others.

Presentation, "Swing Voters and the 2009 Indonesian Elections," Comparative Politics Research Workshop, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, May 2009. Earlier version presented at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, January 2009. With Saiful Mujani.

Paper, "Indonesia's Democracy: From Transition to Consolidation," for a conference on Indonesian Islam and Democracy, chaired by Alfred Stepan and Mirjam Kunkler, Columbia University, April 2009, 31 ms pages. With Saiful Mujani.

Paper, "Evaluating Soeharto's New Order: 1966-1998," International Seminar on 100 Years of National Awakening, 80 Years of National Youth Pledge and 10 Years of Indonesian Reform; A

Retrospection and Projection, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and Charles University in Prague, June 2008.

### **Current Research and Writing**

Democratic Presidential Leadership in Indonesia, book project.

Comparative National Elections Project, joint electoral research in international project with Saiful Mujani and others, under the leadership of Richard Gunther and Paul Beck, Mershon Center, Ohio State University.

### **Departmental and University Service**

University service on the Committee on Curriculum and Instruction (CCI), Colleges of Arts and Sciences; Study Abroad Committee, Colleges of Arts and Sciences; Curriculum Committee, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences; Professional Leave Committee, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences; Fulbright Review Committee, Center for International Studies; Presidential Fellowship Selection Committee, Graduate School; and Arts and Sciences Honors Committee. Chair, Arts and Sciences Honors Committee, 2007-2008. Member, Provost's Committee to Evaluate the Associate Provost for International Affairs, 2005-2006. Member, Council on Academic Affairs, 1997-1999. Elected Member, University Senate, 1996-1999. Member, Legislative Affairs Committee, University Senate, 1996-1999. Member, Advisory Committee to University Center for International Studies, 1992. Member, Provost's committees to evaluate area studies programs and to create an undergraduate honors program in public affairs, 1988-1989. Adviser to Permias, association of Indonesian students at Ohio State, 1970-2014.

Departmental service on the Colloquium, Fellowship and Admissions, Student Awards, Undergraduate Studies, Minority Affairs, Graduate Studies, Comparative Politics and Political Theory Search Committees. Associate Chair for Teaching, 2007-2011. Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2005-. Comparative Politics Field Coordinator, 1994-99. Ph.D. Coordinator and First Year Student Advisor, 1992-94, 1983-85, 1970-76.

### **Professional Activities**

#### **Organizations**

Member, American Political Science Association, 1962-present.

Association for Asian Studies, 1965- present.

Member, Harry J. Benda Prize Selection Committee, Association for Asian Studies, 1983-85. Chairman, 1983.

Assistant Editor for Southeast Asia, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1981-83.

Member, Nominating Committee, Association for Asian Studies, 1981.

Elected member and chairman, Southeast Asia Council, Association for Asian Studies, 1978-1981.

Member, Committee to Establish a Harry J. Benda Prize in Southeast Asia Studies, Association for Asian Studies, 1974-76.

Indonesia Studies Committee, Association for Asian Studies, organizer and acting chairman, 1973-74; elected chairman, 1974-76.

Elected member, Committee on Research Materials on Southeast Asia (CORMOSEA), Association for Asian Studies, 1972-74.

### **Conference/Meeting Participation**

Professional papers presented at annual meetings of the Association for Asian Studies 2008, 2005, 2004, 2000, 1997, 1996, 1992, 1983, 1979, 1975, 1974, 1972, 1970. Panel organizer and chair, 2009, 2004, 1996, 1992, 1990, 1988, 1983, 1971. Panel organizer, 1989. Discussant, 2011, 1998, 1989, 1980, 1978. Roundtable participant, 2007, 1996, 1991. Panel chair and discussant, 2014, 1999. Panel chair, 2012.

Professional papers presented at annual meetings of the American Political Science Association 2009, 2000, 1991, 1990, 1989, 1979, 1978, 1962. Panel chair, 1991. Panel organizer, 2000.

Professional papers presented at annual meetings of the International Political Science Association 2000, 1997.

Professional papers presented at annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association 2009. Discussant 1998.

Organizer, Conference on Consolidating Indonesian Democracy, Mershon Center, Ohio State, May 2001.

Organizer, Conference on Structural Reform and Indonesian Democratization, Jakarta, August 1998. Sponsored by LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and the Ford Foundation.

Paper presented at Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Bordeaux, France, March 1995.

Discussant, Workshops on Political Authority and Legitimacy in Southeast Asia, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, August 1992, and Chiangmai, Thailand, February 1993.

Organizer and Co-chair, Conference on the Politics of Economic Development in Indonesia, Bali, Indonesia, 1990. Sponsored by the Asia Foundation.

Co-chair, Conference on the National Political Economy of Rural Development in Southeast Asia, Chiang Mai, Thailand, 1985. Sponsored by the Social Science Research Council.

Chair, panel on Current Research on Indonesian Society. Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs, St. Louis, 1984.

Paper presented at annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1984.

Papers presented at annual Indonesia Studies Conferences 1983, 1982, 1981, 1979. Conference co-organizer and co-chairman (Indonesian Political Economy) 1979. Panel organizer and chairman, 1982, 1981.

Chair, Panel on Politics and Economics, Symposium on North Sumatra, University of Hamburg, Germany, 1981.

Papers presented at annual meetings of the Canadian Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, 1978, 1979.

Chairman, National Organizing Committee, first annual Conference on Indonesian Studies, Madison, Wisconsin, July 1973.

### **Other**

Country Expert on Indonesia, Varieties of Democracy Institute, 2015-2019.

Member, Panel of Experts, Indonesia-U.S. Council on Religion and Pluralism, 2016-

Member, SEAREG (Southeast Asia Research Group) Advisory Board, 2016-

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, TRaNS: Trans-Regional and –National Studies of Southeast Asia, 2011-.

Member, Board of Directors, Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesia Survey Institute), 2004-.

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Asian Survey*, 1998-2015.

Member, Research Council, International Forum for Democratic Studies, 1994-.

Adjunct Professor, Southeast Asian Studies Program, Ohio University, 1978-.

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Asian Ethnicity*, 1997-2009.

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 1993-6.

Manuscript reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Party Politics*, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Security*, *Journal of Asia-Pacific Economic Literature*, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, *Crossroads*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Journal of International Political Economy*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore), Cambridge University Press, Columbia University Press, Cornell University Press, Oxford University Press, Ohio University Press, Routledge Publishers, Stanford University Press, Westview Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, University of Hawaii/East West Center Press.

Proposal reviewer for National Science Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, United States Information Agency, Luce Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Woodrow Wilson Center, National Democratic Institute, United States Institute of Peace.

Promotion and tenure reviewer: University of Chicago, University of Michigan, Johns Hopkins University, University of California-Los Angeles, Stanford University, Northwestern University, University of Wisconsin, Northern Illinois University, University of Toronto, Australian National University, Flinders University, Cornell University, University of Florida, McGill University.

Ph.D. committee member/external examiner: University of North Carolina, George Washington University, University of Wisconsin, Princeton University, Australian National University, Flinders University, Melbourne University, Charles Darwin University, Sydney University, Deakin University, Jyväskylä University.

Reviewer for Fulbright doctoral and post-doctoral Southeast Asia research grant programs, U.S. Department of Education, 1981-present.

External Examiner in Political Science, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia, 1975-78.

Panelist, International Program for Population Analysis, Interdisciplinary Communications Program of the Smithsonian Institution, 1973-77.

### **Recent Consulting and Non-Academic Presentations**

Lecturer, Southeast Asia Area Studies basic and advanced courses, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, 1978-present. Named Distinguished Visiting Lecturer of the Foreign Service Institute, 1995.

Presentation, "The First Two Years of the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla Administration: a National Public

Evaluation,” Executive Analytic Exchange on the Republic of Indonesia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U. S. Department of State, Washington, DC, November 2016 (with Saiful Mujani).

Member, Council, GLG, 2016-.

Assessment of USAID’s Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance programming in Indonesia, for TetraTech ARD, October 2012.

Presentation, “Indonesia: Political and Economic Prospects,” Western Michigan University; Grand Rapids, Michigan, World Affairs Council; Great Decisions Study Group, Friendship Village of Columbus, March 2012; University of Louisville, October 2012.

Presentation, “Successes and Challenges of Indonesian Reform,” World Bank, Washington, DC, February 2011.

Evaluation of USAID’s assistance to Indonesian political parties for the University of Pittsburgh, 2010.

“Indonesia’s Forthcoming Presidential Election,” United States-Indonesia Society, May 2009.

Presentation, “Muslim Indonesia’s Secular Democracy,” Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, October 2008.

Presentation, “Islamic Politics in Indonesia,” Islamic Realities Course, Centra Technology Inc, Washington DC, April 2008 and April 2007.

Assessment of USAID’s Democracy and Governance program in Indonesia for Democracy International, Indonesia and Washington DC. April 2008.

Presentation, “Indonesia,” National Intelligence Council, Study Group on Asia, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, February 2008.