

Rioting for Representation

Ethnic riots are a costly and common occurrence during political transitions in multi-ethnic settings. Why do ethnic riots occur in certain parts of a country and not others? How does violence eventually decline? Drawing on rich case studies and subnational analysis from Indonesia between 1990 and 2012, this book argues that patterns of ethnic rioting are not inevitably driven by intergroup animosity, weakness of state capacity, or local demographic composition. Rather, local ethnic elites strategically use violence to leverage their demands for political inclusion during political transition and that violence eventually declines as these demands are accommodated. Toha breaks new ground in showing that particular political reforms—increased political competition, direct local elections, and local administrative units partitioning—in ethnically diverse contexts can ameliorate political exclusion and reduce overall levels of violence between groups.

RISA J. TOHA is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Yale-NUS College in Singapore. Her work has focused on questions related to political violence, identity, and political economy, appearing in journals such as the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*.

Problems of International Politics

Series Editors

Keith Darden, *American University*

Ian Shapiro, *Yale University*

The series seeks manuscripts central to the understanding of international politics that will be empirically rich and conceptually innovative. It is interested in works that illuminate the evolving character of nation-states within the international system. It sets out three broad areas for investigation: (1) identity, security, and conflict; (2) democracy; and (3) justice and distribution.

Titles in the Series

ADAM BACZKO, GILLES DORRONSORO AND ARTHUR QUESNAY,
Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders

MATTHEW LONGO, *The Politics of Borders: Sovereignty, Security, and the Citizen after 9/11*

JOSHUA SIMON, *The Ideology of Creole Revolution: Imperialism and Independence in American and Latin American Political Thought*

REYKO HUANG, *The Wartime Origins of Democratization: Civil War, Rebel Governance, and Political Regimes*

H. ZEYNEP BULUTGIL, *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*

HYERAN JO, *Compliant Rebels: Rebel Groups and International Law in World Politics*

HENRY E. HALE, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*

LISA BALDEZ, *Defying Convention: US Resistance to the UN Treaty on Women's Rights*

SÉVERINE AUTESSERRE, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*

TAREK MASOUD, *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*

SHAUL MISHAL AND ORI GOLDBERG, *Understanding Shiite Leadership: The Art of the Middle Ground in Iran and Lebanon*

ADRIA K. LAWRENCE, *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*

DONALD L. HOROWITZ, *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*

HARRIS MYLONAS, *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*

ŞENER AKTÜRK, *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*

STEVEN LEVITSKY AND LUCAN A. WAY, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*

Rioting for Representation

*Local Ethnic Mobilization in Democratizing
Countries*

Risa J. Toha

Yale-NUS



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-00195-3 — Rioting for Representation
Risa J. Toha
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009001953
DOI: 10.1017/9781009004190

© Risa J. Toha 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022
First paperback edition 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-316-51897-7 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-009-00195-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For David

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1 Introduction	1
2 Exclusion and Violence during Democratic Transitions	12
3 The Emergence of Identity-Based Cleavages in Indonesia	43
4 Ethnic Politics in Soeharto's New Order Regime	69
5 Golkar's Dominance and Ethnic Riots	119
6 Micro Dynamics of Exclusion and Riots	142
7 How Riots Dissipated	199
8 Conclusion	230
<i>Appendices</i>	
<i>Appendix A Data Collection Protocol</i>	251
<i>Appendix B Additional Tables and Figures</i>	256
<i>Glossary</i>	270
<i>References</i>	272
<i>Index</i>	305

Figures

2.1	Diagram of the argument	<i>page</i> 34
5.1	An example of an article published in <i>Kompas</i> , February 19, 1999	124
5.2	Ethnic riots per province, 1990–2005	125
5.3	Ethnic riots per year, 1990–2005	126
6.1	Map of Central Sulawesi	155
6.2	Map of Maluku	180
7.1	Declining violence in high-conflict provinces	201
7.2	Number of districts and municipalities, 1997–2012	210
7.3	Number of districts and municipalities on Indonesia’s major Islands, 1997–2012	211
B.1	Global distribution of communal conflicts	256

Tables

2.1	Expectations of the argument	<i>page</i> 35
4.1	Golkar vote shares and seats in DPR elections in Indonesia	81
4.2	Secessionist mobilizations in post-independence Indonesia	102
4.3	Political parties in legislative elections in Indonesia	112
4.4	Direct presidential elections in Indonesia	114
5.1	Electoral competition and ethnic riots	132
5.2	Party vote shares and rioting	134
5.3	Robustness: alternative dependent variables	137
5.4	Robustness: alternative ethnic diversity measures	138
5.5	Robustness: only UNSFIR-based data	140
6.1	Poso and Banggai in numbers	145
6.2	Soeharto-era party vote shares for local council (DPRD II) elections in Poso, Central Sulawesi (1971–1997)	157
6.3	Chairs of regional councils (DPRD) in Poso, Central Sulawesi (1961–1999)	158
6.4	Soeharto-era district chiefs in Poso, Central Sulawesi (1967–1998)	159
6.5	Soeharto-era district chiefs in Banggai, Central Sulawesi (1967–1998)	171
6.6	Soeharto-era governors in Maluku (1965–1998)	177
6.7	Ambon and Maluku Tenggara in numbers	179
6.8	Soeharto-era local council (DPRD) chairs and vice chairs in Ambon (1982–1998)	182
6.9	Mayors and secretaries of Ambon (1966–1998)	182
7.1	Turnover and change in the levels of violence in conflict districts	217
7.2	Determinants of district splits	220
7.3	Proportions of non-Muslims in 1997 and 2010 in Central Sulawesi, Maluku, and North Maluku provinces	223
7.4	Districts with co-ethnic executives in provinces with Christian–Muslim riots	225

x	List of Tables	
7.5	Child districts with co-ethnic executives in provinces with Christian–Muslim riots	226
B.1	Summary statistics of variables in Chapter 5	257
B.2	Summary statistics of variables in Chapter 7	258
B.3	Incidence rate ratios of electoral competitiveness	259
B.4	Robustness: alternative modeling choices	260
B.5	Prior to 1999 observations	261
B.6	Incidence rate ratios of party vote shares	261
B.7	Robustness: main results using NVMS data	262
B.8	Robustness: party vote share with National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS) data	263
B.9	Robustness: alternative modeling choices with NVMS	264
B.10	Robustness: alternative Golkar dominance and fractionalization measures (full sample)	265
B.11	Robustness: alternative Golkar dominance and fractionalization measures (1999–2005 sample)	266
B.12	Robustness: alternative Golkar dominance and fractionalization measures (post-2005 sample)	267
B.13	Turnover and change in levels of violence	268
B.14	Turnover and count of ethnic riots	269

Acknowledgments

Growing up as a woman with a mixed ethnic heritage in the 1980s–1990s in Jakarta, Indonesia, I knew firsthand the generosity, warmth, and openness that many Indonesians regularly bestow on people outside their community. Thus, the waves of violence against churches and against ethnic Chinese minorities in the late 1990s came as a deep shock. I wanted to understand why and how people from different communities, who had previously lived a seemingly harmoniously, could so suddenly commit such horrific violence against each other. It took me many years to formulate my answer this question, and even then, only partially. I never would have gotten to this point without the long list of friends, allies, and mentors who have helped me along the way. My thanks in the following pages pale in comparison to the gift of time, insights, resources, and encouragement many people have shared with me.

My PhD dissertation committee members at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) – Michael Ross, Barbara Geddes, Daniel Posner, Daniel Treisman, and Andreas Wimmer – were the best advisers a student could have. They believed in me and my project from the very start, and each of them prodded me to think more carefully about a particular dimension of the bigger question that I was grappling with and made the dissertation much better. I also benefited from conversations with Art Stein, Kathy Bawn, and Miriam Golden earlier in the dissertation process. My friends at UCLA saw the beginnings of this book and celebrated every victory. I thank in particular Devorah Manekin, Natasha Behl, Anoop Sarbahi, Jae-Hyeok Shin, Brian Min, Jessica Preece, Julia Kim, and Linda Hasunuma for their conversations and encouragement.

During my graduate training, I received financial support from various organizations that enabled me to conduct field research, present at conferences, and acquire a new language (Tagalog) for future comparative work. I thank the Pacific Rim Research Program, UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA Institute for Social

xii Acknowledgments

Research, the Lemelson Fellowship, the Harvey Fellowship from the Mustard Seed Foundation, and the Foreign Language for Area Studies fellowship for funding my graduate research. I am grateful to Barbara Gaerlan, Michael Ross, Geoffrey Robinson, and Robert Lemelson and the UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies for their commitment to supporting young scholars studying Southeast Asia and creating a home for us at UCLA.

My very first fieldwork experience was during my work as a consultant at the World Bank office in Jakarta's Social Development Unit. I am grateful to Scott Guggenheim and Sri Kuntari for recruiting me to join their team, and to my colleagues Sandra Usmany and Mbak Atis for patiently showing me the ropes on how to "do" fieldwork in post-conflict areas. I am also grateful for the institutional home I found at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta during later rounds of field research.

As an Indonesia Postdoctoral Fellow at the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation at the Kennedy School, I benefited from research support and conversations with Jay Rosengard, Malcolm McPherson, and David Dapice. Elizabeth Osborn and Trisiawati Bantacut deftly ensured that we didn't lack anything. My co-fellows in the Indonesia program – Maggie Triyana, Djayadi Hanan, Nelden Djakababa, Agung Pambudhi, Nugroho Hanan, and Pak Muhadjir – understood very well the joys and challenges of researching Indonesia as Indonesians. I count this solidarity in the journey a big blessing.

At Wheaton College, I thank my colleagues Leah Seppanen Anderson, Larycia Hawkins, Michael McKoy, Amy Black, Bryan McGraw, Tess Duncan, Amy Reynolds, Christine Folch, and Winnie Fung, who shared their wealth of experience on how to be an effective scholar and a good human being at the same time.

At Stanford University's Shorenstein APARC, I am grateful to Don Emmerson and Lisa Blaydes for their time and feedback on the manuscript. APARC gave me ample space and support to develop a significant portion of this manuscript in 2014.

Finally, Yale-NUS, my home for the last six years, has nurtured me as a scholar. As an assistant professor at this new college, I found camaraderie and friendship in Anju Paul, Claudine Ang, Shaoling Ma, Rochisha Narayan, Julien Labonne, Guillem Riambau, Steven Oliver, Xing Xia, Chin-Hao Huang, Rohan Mukherjee, and Parashar Kulkarni. This good group of scholars have encouraged my musings and inspired me with their good humor, commitment, and creative endeavors.

Advice and mentoring conversations from my senior colleagues at the college – Terry Nardin, Joanne Roberts, Jane Jacobs, and Jeanette Ickovics – have also been very important in helping me navigate the book’s publication process and tenure-track journey.

Parts of the book were presented at various seminars and conferences over many years. I thank panel/seminar/workshop participants at APSA, MPSA, AAS, Wheaton College, University of California San Diego IRPS, Harvard Kennedy School of Government, Singapore Management University, Northern Illinois University Center of Southeast Asian Studies series, and Southeast Asia Research Group (SEAREG). Steven Wilkinson, Tom Pepinsky, Yuhki Tajima, Daniel Slater, and Alex Debs read earlier versions of the manuscript and were incredibly generous with their time and insights. I also thank Eddy Malesky, Allen Hicken, Donald Horowitz, Meredith Weiss, Amy Liu, Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Kai Ostwald, Sana Jaffrey, S. P. Harish, Nico Ravanilla, Jamie Davidson, Terence Lee, Ted Hopf, Soo Yeon Kim, Eve Warburton, Colm Fox, Thomas Power, Ed Aspinall, Marcus Mietzner, Michele Ford, Walid Jumblatt Abdullah, Sana Jaffrey, Jake Ricks, Eunsok Jung, Johana Birnir, Ed Aspinall, Daniel Ziblatt, Frances Rosenbluth, and Kikue Hamayotsu for their feedback on this project, and on my more recent works on election violence that have emerged out of this book.

I am indebted to the people I met in Jakarta, Poso, Palu, Ambon, Ternate, Banggai, and Kei, who welcomed me and shared their stories with me. I hope I have captured their stories well enough that they will recognize themselves in the book.

Anjali Hazra, Rachel Quek, Sintus Runesi, Merry Alianti, Carissa Lim, Natasha Kristina, Wissha Jamal, Anmei Zeng, and Kenisha Alicia have provided research assistance throughout the years.

Thanks to two anonymous reviewers for their excellent comments that have strengthened this book, and to John Haslam at Cambridge University Press for signing this book and Ian Shapiro for including this book in the Problems of International Politics series. My sincere thanks also to Tobias Ginsberg, Roisin Munelly, Aparna Nair, and Franklin Mathews Jebaraj for seeing this book through the production process.

At Princeton, I found many lifelong friends: Jen Kwong, Jamie Chan, Jeff Lee, Jung Ju, Sally Kim, Diana Lee, David Kim, Jane Kim, Danielle Shin, Sonia Lee, Juewon Khwarg, and Gregory Lee. Sonia Lee did not get to see this book, but I hope she knows how her insights about writing many years ago have kept me going amid frustrating moments. Gregory Lee and Jeanette Park Lee are such dear friends; I cherish the time our two families were a 15-minute drive away.

xiv Acknowledgments

My parents, Frans Toha and Riris K. Toha-Sarumpaet, modeled for me what co-parenting, mutual respect, and a strong work ethic look like. My sisters, Astrid and Thalia Toha, were my first friends in life and I am grateful for their friendship.

Finally, my husband, David Fernandez, and our three children, Ezra, Naomi, and Judah. Ezra sat through a number of classes and presentations quietly with a book in his hands. Naomi regularly wrote many stories next to me, and presented me with handmade cards celebrating every milestone of the book. Judah has no concept of what this book is about, or what I do for a living, but he cannot love me any more, or less, even if he had had that piece of information. David has not read a single word of this manuscript, but his stubborn faith in my abilities and steadfast commitment and sacrifices for our family made this book possible. This book is dedicated to him.