

Thomas B. Pepinsky

Department of Government
Cornell University

February 4, 2025

Education

Ph.D., Yale University, 2007 (Political Science)
A.B., Brown University, 2001 (Linguistics, International Relations)

Academic Employment

Cornell University

2021-	Walter F. LaFeber Professor of Government and Public Policy
2020-	Tisch University Professor
2019-20	Professor of Government
2013-18	Associate Professor of Government
2008-13	Assistant Professor of Government

University of Colorado-Boulder

2007-08	Assistant Professor of Political Science
---------	--

Other Affiliations

August 2023-	Senior Fellow, Populi Center
September 2018-	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Visiting and Short-Term Positions

July 2018	Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
July 2017	Hertie School of Governance
July 2016	Griffith University
July 2016	Australian National University
June 2013	University of Freiburg
July 2011	Australian National University
May 2010	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore)
Spring 2009	Lembaga Survei Indonesia

Winter 2008	Lembaga Survei Indonesia
Summer 2008	Lembaga Survei Indonesia
Summer 2006	Institute for Strategic and International Studies-Malaysia
Feb. - Aug. 2005	Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
Sep. 2004 - Feb. 2005	Freedom Institute (Jakarta)

Fellowships, Awards, and Other Honors

2023	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> Best Books of 2023 (for <i>Pandemic Politics</i> , with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman)
2015-20	Faculty Fellow, Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future
2016-19	Einaudi Center International Faculty Fellowship
2015	Best Reviewer Award, <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>
2012	Fellow, Institute for Social Studies, Cornell University
2013	Honorable Mention for David A. Lake Best Paper Award, International Political Economy Society (for “Colonial Migration and the Origins of Governance: Theory and Evidence from Java”)
2013	Robert and Helen Appel Fellowship for Humanists and Social Scientists, Cornell University
2013	John A. Lent Prize by the Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei Studies Group for Best Paper at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (for “New Media and Malaysian Politics in Historical Perspective”)
2012	Faculty Fellow, Institute for Social Sciences, Cornell University
2010-12	Research Fellow, National Bureau for Asian Research
2010	Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award for Best Paper at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (for “Testing Islam’s Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia,” with R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani)
2001	William Gaston Premium Scholarship, Brown University
2000	ΦBK
2000	Royce Fellowship, Brown University
1999	Undergraduate Teaching and Research Assistantship, Brown University

Grants

2025-2029	Department of Defense, MINERVA Program, China’s Rise and Social Cohesion in the Indo-Pacific: Concepts, Measures, Implications (with Allen Hicken, Anil Ramachandran Menon, and Dan Slater), \$3,132,621 (budgeted).
2022-2026	Department of Education, Foreign Language and Area Studies Program, \$1,133,072 (budgeted)
2020	Russell Sage Foundation, <i>Partisanship, Outgroup Prejudice, and Public Health during the COVID-19 Pandemic</i> (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman), \$35,000.

2020	National Science Foundation, <i>RAPID: Impact of Coronavirus Understanding, Trust, and Other Public Beliefs and Attitudes on Behavioral Responses</i> (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman), \$53,040.
2019-22	Henry Luce Foundation, <i>The Southeast Asia Research Group</i> (with Cesi Cruz, Allen Hicken, Amy Liu, Edmund Malesky, and Meredith Weiss), \$300,000 (budgeted)
2018-21	Henry Luce Foundation, <i>The American Institute for Indonesian Studies</i> (with Siddhartha Chandra, Kikue Hamayotsu, Martin F. Hatch and James Hoesterey), \$345,000 (budgeted)
2017-20	Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future, <i>Assessing Mercury Use in Indonesian Gold Mining: Socio-Political Interventions and Impacts on Ecosystem and Human Health</i> (with Jenny Goldstein and Matthew Reid), \$127,000 (budgeted)
2017-21	Department of Education, <i>The American Institute for Indonesian Studies</i> (with Siddhartha Chandra, Kikue Hamayotsu, Martin F. Hatch and James Hoesterey), \$260,000 (budgeted)
2015-18	Henry Luce Foundation, <i>The Southeast Asia Research Group</i> (with Allen Hicken, Edmund Malesky, and Dan Slater), \$300,000
2017	Engaged Opportunity Grant, Cornell University, \$5,000
2013-17	Department of Education, <i>The American Institute for Indonesian Studies</i> (with Martin F. Hatch, Audrey Kahin, and Eric Tagliacozzo), \$270,087 (budgeted)
2014-15	Henry Luce Foundation, <i>The Southeast Asia Research Group</i> (with Allen Hicken, Edmund Malesky, and Dan Slater), \$26,000
2012-15	Henry R. Luce Foundation, <i>The American Institute for Indonesian Studies</i> (with Martin F. Hatch, Audrey Kahin, and Eric Tagliacozzo), \$240,000
2012-15	Department of State/Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, <i>The American Institute for Indonesian Studies</i> (with Martin F. Hatch, Audrey Kahin, and Eric Tagliacozzo), \$250,000
2013	Australian Agency for International Development, <i>Indonesia's Transition in Print</i> (with Patrick Barron, Samuel Clark, and Art Rhyno), AUD100,000 (budgeted)
2011-12	International Program Development Fund, <i>Accountability and Representation in Contemporary Indonesia</i> (with Michele Ford and Kuskridho Ambardi), University of Sydney, \$36,000
2011	Henry Luce Foundation, <i>The American Institute for Indonesian Studies</i> (with Martin F. Hatch and Eric Tagliacozzo), \$60,000
2011	Einaudi Center Seed Grant, <i>Data Dissemination Collaboration between Cornell University and Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS), Republic of Indonesia</i> (with Garrick Blalock, Eric Tagliacozzo, and Pamela Baxter), Cornell University
2007-11	Smith Richardson Foundation, <i>Islamic Radicalism: A Threat to Indonesian Democracy?</i> (with R. William Liddle), \$160,242
2009	Institute for Social Science Small Grant, <i>Workshop on the Global Impact of the Financial Crisis</i> , Cornell University
2004-05	Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, \$23,000
2007	Center for Asian Studies, Course Development Grant for "Islam and Development in the Comparative Perspective," University of Colorado-Boulder
2006	Georg Walter Leitner Program in International and Comparative Political Economy Research Grant, Yale University

- 2004 Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, Department of Education
and the Southeast Asian Summer Studies Institute
- 2004 Council on Southeast Asian Studies Summer Research Grant, Yale University

Books

Pandemic Politics: The Deadly Toll of Partisanship in the Age of COVID (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022.

Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Indonesian Islam (with R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani). New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Indonesian translation published as *Kesalehan dan Pilihan Politik: Memahami Kebangkitan Islam-Politik dari Perspektif Indonesia*. Jakarta: Prenada, 2018.

Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Edited Book

Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics (with Michele Ford). Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Publications, 2014.

Edited Journal Issues

2022. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 699 (January), special issue on Democratic Vulnerabilities (with Suzanne Mettler and Robert C. Lieberman).

2020. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 7 (June), special debate section on Understanding Contemporary Challenges to the Global Order (with Stefanie Walter).

2016. *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 13 (November), special issue on Research Transparency in the Social Sciences (with Michael Findley, Nathan Jensen, and Edmund Malesky).

2013. *Indonesia* 96 (October), special issue on Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesia Politics (with Michele Ford).

Articles

Accepted. "Voting in Authoritarian Elections" (with Turkuler Isiksel). *American Political Science Review*.

2024. “The Ukrainian Refugee Crisis and the Politics of Public Opinion: Evidence from Hungary” (with Ádám Reiff and Krisztina Szabó). *Perspectives on Politics* 22, no. 4 (December), 989–1014.
2024. “Urbanization, Ethnic Diversity, and Language Shift in Indonesia” (with Maya Ravindranath Abtahian and Abigail C. Cohn). *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 45, no. 7 (August), 2503–2521.
2024. “The Politics of the Gender Gap in COVID-19: Partisanship, Health Behavior, and Policy Preferences in the U.S.” (with Colleen Dougherty Burton, Shana Kushner Gadarian, and Sara Wallace Goodman). *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 49, no. 3 (June), 429–449.
2024. “Trump Support Explains COVID-19 Health Behaviors in the United States.” (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman). *Public Opinion Quarterly* 88, no. 1 (April), 161–174.
2024. “Modeling Spatial Heterogeneity and Historical Persistence: Nazi Concentration Camps and Contemporary Intolerance” (with Sara Wallace Goodman and Conrad Ziller). *American Political Science Review* 118, no. 1 (January), 519–528.
2024. “Demographic Structure and Voting Behaviour during Democratization: Evidence from Malaysia’s 2022 Election” (with Sebastian Dettman). *Democratization* 31, no. 1 (January), 1–22.
2024. “Racial Resentment and Support for COVID-19 Travel Bans in the United States” (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman). *Political Science Research and Methods* 12, no. 1 (January), 166–175.
2022. “Morbid Polarization: Exposure to COVID-19 and Partisan Disagreement about Pandemic Response” (with Cristian G. Rodriguez, Shana Kushner Gadarian, and Sara Wallace Goodman). *Political Psychology* 43, no. 6 (December), 1169–1189.
2022. “Historical Persistence” (with Alexandra Cirone). *Annual Review of Political Science* 25, 241–259.
2022. “Information from Same-Race/Ethnicity Experts Online Does Not Increase Vaccine Interest or Intention to Vaccinate” (with Shana Kushner Gadarian, Sara Wallace Goodman, Jamila Michener, and Brendan Nyhan). *The Milbank Quarterly* 100, no. 2 (June), 492–503.
2022. “On Whorfian Socioeconomics.” *Language* 98, no. 1 (March), e44–e79.
2021. “Encouraging Indonesians to Pray from Home During the COVID-19 Pandemic” (with Nicholas Kuipers and Saiful Mujani). *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 8, no. 3 (Winter), 211–222.
2021. “Partisan Endorsement Experiments Do Not Affect Mass Opinion on COVID-19” (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman). *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 31, no. 1 (Supplement), 122–131.

2021. “The Exclusionary Foundations of Embedded Liberalism” (with Sara Wallace Goodman). *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (Spring), 411–439.
2021. “Learning from Biased Research Designs” (with Andrew T. Little). *Journal of Politics* 83, no. 2 (April), 602–616.
2021. “Partisanship, Health Behavior, and Policy Attitudes in the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic” (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman). *PLoS ONE* (April), doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0249596.
2020. “Migrants, Minorities, and Populism in Southeast Asia.” *Pacific Affairs* 93, no. 3 (September), 593–610.
2020. “Authoritarian Innovations: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Implications.” *Democratization* 27, no. 6 (August), 1092–1101.
2020. “Decompensating Domestically: The Political Economy of Anti-Globalism” (with James Bisbee, Layna Mosley, and B. Peter Rosendorff). *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 7 (June), 1090–1102.
2019. “Gender Representation and Strategies for Panel Diversity: Lessons from the APSA Annual Conference” (with Sara Wallace Goodman). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 52, no. 4 (October), 669–676.
2019. “The Return of the Single-Country Study.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 22, 187–203.
2019. “The Trump Presidency and American Democracy: A Historical and Comparative Analysis” (with Robert Lieberman, Suzanne Mettler, Kenneth Roberts, and Richard Valelly). *Perspectives on Politics* 17, no. 2 (June), 470–479.
2019. “Elections as Causes of Democratization: Evidence from Southeast Asia” (with Lee Morgenbesser). *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 1 (January), 3–35.
2018. “A Note on Listwise Deletion versus Multiple Imputation.” *Political Analysis* 26, no. 4 (October), 480–488.
2018. “Everyday Political Engagement in Comparative Politics.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51, no. 3 (July), 566–570.
2018. “Visual Heuristics for Marginal Effects Plots.” *Research & Politics* (January-March), 1–9.
2017. “Regions of Exception.” *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 4 (December), 1034–1051.
2017. “Incumbency Advantage and Candidate Characteristics in Open-List Proportional Representation Systems: Evidence from Indonesia” (with Sebastian Dettman and Jan Pierskalla). *Electoral Studies* 48 (August), 111–120.

2017. "Lagged Explanatory Variables and the Estimation of Causal Effects" (with Marc F. Bellemare and Takaaki Masaki). *Journal of Politics* 79, no. 3 (July), 949–963.
2017. "Voting against Disorder." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 2 (April), 120–131.
2017. "Bureaucracy and Service Delivery" (with Jan Pierskalla and Audrey Sacks). *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, 249–268.
2016. "Can Results-Free Review Reduce Publication Bias? The Results and Implications of a Pilot Study" (with Michael Findley, Nathan Jensen, and Edmund Malesky). *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 13 (November), 1667–1703.
2016. "Modeling Social Factors in Language Shift" (with Maya Ravindranath Abtahian and Abigail C. Cohn). *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 242 (November), 139–170.
2016. "Simple and Formal Theories in Comparative Politics" (with Andrew T. Little). *Chinese Political Science Review* 1, no. 3 (August), 425–447.
2016. "Colonial Migration and the Origins of Governance: Theory and Evidence from Java." *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 9 (July), 1201–1237.
2016. "Authoritarian Legacies in Post-New Order Indonesia: Evidence from a New Dataset" (with Sharon Poczter). *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 51, no. 1 (April), 77–100.
2016. "Methods for Modeling Social Factors in Language Shift." (with Maya Ravindranath Abtahian and Abigail C. Cohn). University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics 22, no. 2, Selected Papers from *New Ways of Analyzing Variation* (NWAV 44).
2015. "Trade Competition and American Decolonization." *World Politics* 67, no. 3 (July), 387–411.
2015. "Interpreting Ethnicity and Urbanization in Malaysia's 2013 General Election." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, no. 2 (May-August), 199–226.
2015. "Disciplining Southeast Asian Studies." *Sojourn* 30, no. 1 (March), 215–226.
2014. "The Politics of Capital Flight in the Global Economic Crisis." *Economics and Politics* 26, no. 3 (November), 431–456.
2014. "Context and Method in Southeast Asian Politics." *Pacific Affairs* 87, no. 3 (September), 441–461.
2014. "The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism." *British Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 3 (July), 631–653.
2014. "Political Islam and the Limits of the Indonesian Model." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 1 (June), 105–121.

2014. "Surveys, Experiments, and the Landscape of International Political Economy." *International Interactions* 40, no. 3 (June), 431–442.
2013. "Pluralism and Political Conflict in Indonesia." *Indonesia* 96 (October), 79–98.
 Indonesian translation reprinted as "Pluralisme dan Perseteruan Politik di Indonesia." *Prisma* 33, no. 1 (2014), 57–76.
 reprinted in *Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics*, edited by Michele Ford and Thomas B. Pepinsky. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Publications, 79–98.
2013. "The Domestic Politics of Financial Internationalization in the Developing World." *Review of International Political Economy* 20, no. 4 (September), 848–880.
2013. "New Media and Malaysian Politics in Historical Perspective." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 35, no. 1 (April), 83–103.
2013. "Development, Social Change, and Islamic Finance in Contemporary Indonesia." *World Development* 41, no. 1 (January), 157–167.
2012. "Do Currency Crises Cause Capital Account Liberalization?" *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (September), 544–559.
2012. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia" (with R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani). *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 3 (July), 584–600.
2012. "The Global Economic Crisis and the Politics of Non-Transitions." *Government and Opposition* 47, no. 2 (April), 135–161.
2011. "Decentralization and Economic Performance in Indonesia" (with Maria M. Wihardja). *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11, no. 3 (September), 337–372.
2011. "Piety and Redistributive Preferences in the Muslim World" (with Bozena C. Welborne). *Political Research Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (September), 491–505.
2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War" (with Matthew Adam Kocher and Stathis N. Kalyvas). *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (March), 201–218.
2009. "The 2008 Malaysian Elections: An End to Ethnic Politics?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 9, no. 1 (January), 87–120.
2008. "Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics: Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Adjustment in Southeast Asia." *World Politics* 60, no. 2 (April), 438–474.
2007. "Autocracy, Elections, and Fiscal Policy in Malaysia." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 42, no. 1-2 (June), 136–163.
2007. "Malaysia: Turnover Without Change." *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 1 (March), 113–127.

2005. "From Agents to Outcomes: Simulation in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 3 (September), 367–394.

Book Chapters

2023. "Knowledge Cumulation and Survey Experiments." In *The Oxford Handbook of Methodological Pluralism in Political Science*, edited by Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Dino P. Christenson, and Valeria Sinclair-Chapman. New York: Oxford Academic.

2020. "Ideologies, Brands, and Demographics in Muslim Southeast Asia: 'Voting for Islam'." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.

2020. "Crises, Coalitions, and Change in Indonesia and Malaysia." In *Economic Shocks and Authoritarian Stability: Duration, Financial Control, and Institutions*, edited by Victor C. Shih. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 119–144.

2019. "Adab and the Culture of Political Culture." in *Piety, Politics and Ethics in Southeast Asian Islam: Beautiful Behavior*, edited by Robert Rozehnal. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 59–75.

2015. "Political Business and External Vulnerability in Island Southeast Asia." in *Two Crises, Different Outcomes: East Asia and Global Finance*, edited by T.J. Pempel and Keiichi Tsunekawa. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 137–162.

2015. "The Global Context of Regime Change." in *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, edited by William Case. New York: Routledge, 68–81.

2014. "Financial Crises and the Politics of Adjustment and Reform." in *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Monetary Relations*, edited by Thomas Oatley and W. Kindred Winecoff. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 265–284.

2014. "An Introduction to the State of Indonesian Political Studies." in *Producing Indonesia: The State of the Field of Indonesian Studies*, edited by Eric Tagliacozzo. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Publications, 233–236.

2012. "The Political Economy of Financial Development in Southeast Asia." in *East Asian Capitalism: Diversity, Continuity and Change*, edited by Andrew Walter and Xiaoke Zhang. New York: Oxford University Press, 179–200.

2011. "Research Frontiers in the Demand for Islamic Finance" (with Nadira R. Purdayinta). in *Finance islamique: Regard(s) sur une finance alternative*. Algiers: Mazars Hadj Ali.

2009. "Islamic Finance in Multicultural Indonesia." in *Towards an Inclusive Democratic Indonesian Society*, edited by Frank Dhont, Kevin W. Fogg, and Mason C. Hoadley. Yogyakarta: Atma Jaya University Press, 55–82.

2008. "Institutions, Economic Recovery, and Macroeconomic Vulnerability in Indonesia and Malaysia." in *Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy*, edited by Andrew MacIntyre, T.J. Pempel, and John Ravenhill. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 231–250.

Conference Proceedings

2001. "The Linguistic Status of Filler Syllables in Children's Early Speech" (with Katherine Demuth and Brian Roark). in *Proceedings from the 25th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. Boston, MA: Cascadilla Press, 575–586.

Short Articles and Commentary

Forthcoming. "Southeast Asia and *World Politics*." *World Politics*.

2024. "Two Cheers for the 'New' Area Studies" (with Jordan Gans-Morse and Daniel Gingerich). *APSA Comparative Politics Newsletter* 35, no. 1 (Spring-Summer), 4–11.

2024. "Why Indonesia's democracy is in danger." *Journal of Democracy* (February 15).

2024. "Indonesia's election reveals its democratic challenges." *Brookings Institution* (January 12).

2023. "The return of US isolationism." *East Asia Forum* (24 December).

2022. "Democratic vulnerabilities and pathways for reform" (with Suzanne Mettler, Robert C. Lieberman, Jamila Michener, and Kenneth M. Roberts." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 699 (January), 1–20.

2022. "A Ukrainian insurgency will be long and bloody." *Modern War Institute* (March 3).

2022. "Russia is about to plunge into financial crisis. How will citizens react?" *The Monkey Cage* (February 27).

2021. "The real threat to American democracy is at home: Stoking fear of China will only make things worse" (with Jessica Chen Weiss). *Foreign Affairs* (June 11).

2021. "COVID-19 and democracy in Indonesia: Short-term stability and long-term threats." *Council on Foreign Relations*, Think Global Health (January 20).

2021. "What state-party relations mean for COVID-19 management in Southeast Asia." *The Brookings Institution*, Southeast Asia Insights (January 7).

2020. "Decoupling governance and democracy: The challenge of authoritarian development in Southeast Asia." *The Brookings Institution*, Southeast Asia Insights (July).

2020. "Introduction to the Debate Section: Understanding contemporary challenges to the global order" (with Stefanie Walter). *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 7 (June), 1074–1076.

2020. "Political economy and democratic capacity to respond to pandemics." *SSRC Items* (May 20).
2020. "What's the 'area' in Comparative Area Studies?" *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research* 17-18, no. 1 (Spring), 22-26.
2020. "We need the GOP to flatten the curve" (with Shana Kushner Gadarian and Sara Wallace Goodman). *The Hill* (April 7).
2019. "Why the impeachment fight is even worse than you think." *Politico* (October 31).
2019. "Islam and Indonesia's 2019 presidential election." *Asia Policy* 14, no. 4 (October), 54–62.
2019. "Measuring the 'NU effect' in Indonesia's election" (with Naila Shofia). *New Mandala* (July 2).
2019. "Religion, ethnicity, and Indonesia's 2019 presidential election." *New Mandala* (May 28).
-- Indonesian version reprinted as "Pembelahan agama dan etnis dalam Pilpres 2019." *Tirto.id* (June 13).
2019. "Indonesia's upcoming elections, explained." *The Brookings Institution*, Southeast Asia Insights (March 20).
2019. "Big impacts of small-scale gold mining in Indonesia" (with Jenny Goldstein). Southeast Asia Program Bulletin, Cornell University (Spring), 26–28.
2018. "Did an election just cause Malaysian democratisation?" *Lowy Interpreter* (May 11).
2018. "Can Mahathir Mohamad be Malaysia's first democratically elected prime minister?" *Council on Foreign Relations*, Asia Unbound (May 10).
2017. *Fulbright in Indonesia: The Value of Area Studies in an Uncertain World*. Jakarta: The American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF).
2017. "Democracy isn't receding in Southeast Asia, authoritarianism is enduring." *East Asia Forum* (November 4).
2017. "Jakarta's new governor doubles down on identity." *New Mandala* (October 17).
2017. "Indonesian politics has been rocked by two big developments. Now what's next?" *The Monkey Cage* (June 1).
2017. "The federal budget's threat to foreign policy." *The Chronicle for Higher Education* (April 21).
2017. "The long arm of Western crises." *APSA International History and Politics Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (Winter), 5-7.

2017. "Is Trump an authoritarian at heart? It matters less than you think." *The Monkey Cage* (February 10).
2017. "Why President Trump's strongman shenanigans may betray weak and incompetent leadership." *The Week* (January 31).
2017. "Life in authoritarian states is mostly boring and tolerable." *Vox.com* (January 9).
 -- Russian version reprinted as "Банальность авторитаризма," *Ведомости* (January 12).
 -- reprinted as "Will US Citizens Tolerate Authoritarian Rule?" *TeleSUR* (January 17).
2016. "For Trump, politics, family, and business merge. We know from Indonesia how that may end up." *The Monkey Cage* (November 30).
2016. "President Trump and Southeast Asia." *New Mandala* (November 10).
2016. "Elections without democracy in Southeast Asia" (with Lee Morgenbesser). *New Mandala* (August 5).
2016. "How did Southeast Asia become a social fact?" *New Mandala* (February 15).
2015. "What is peer review for? Why referees are not the disciplinary police." *The Political Methodologist* 23, no. 1 (Fall), 16-18.
2015. "Malaysia's long history of financial scandals." *New Mandala* (August 6).
2015. "The US-Cuban thaw: Lessons from Southeast Asia." *Strategic Review* 5, no. 3 (July/September), 90-97.
2015. "Why can't we just make up instrumental variables?" *The Political Methodologist* (July 13).
2015. "Malaysia's opposition coalition is dead." *New Mandala* (June 18).
2015. "How to make area studies relevant again." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, The Conversation (February 13).
2014. "Social services and political Islam in Southeast Asia: Two failures." In *POMEPS Studies 9: Islamist Social Services*, 28-31. Program on Middle East Political Science. (October 14).
2014. "Can greater transparency lead to better social science?" (with Michael Findley, Nathan Jensen, and Edmund Malesky). *The Monkey Cage* (September 24).
2014. "Will Indonesia's presidential election be stolen?" *The Monkey Cage* (July 18).
2014. "Authoritarianism: Institutions and logics." *APSA Comparative Politics Newsletter* 24, no. 1 (Spring), 1-4.
2014. "The simple statistics of Indonesian election polling." *New Mandala* (April 16).

2014. “The key to understanding Indonesia’s upcoming elections? The Jokowi effect.” *The Monkey Cage* (March 17).
2014. “Boycotting Thailand’s elections: The good, the bad, and the ugly.” *Nottingham China Policy Institute* (February 10).
 -- Chinese translation reprinted as 賽固遍擊的 “糧庫政治” *China Newsweek* (February 24).
2013. “Beyond Oligarchy? Critical Exchanges on Political Power and Material Inequality in Indonesia” (with Michele Ford). *Indonesia* 96 (October), 1–10.
2013. “Malaysian elections post-election report.” *The Monkey Cage* (May 8-9).
2013. “Ethnic politics and the challenge of PKR.” *Nottingham China Policy Institute* (April 29).
2013. “There is no Indonesia model for the Arab Spring.” *Foreign Policy* (February 27).
2012. “What do legislatures in authoritarian regimes do?” (with nine coauthors). *The Monkey Cage* (December 14).
2012. “PAS and Islam after regime change.” *New Mandala* (March).
2011. “The demand for Islamic finance in Indonesia.” *APEC Economies Newsletter* 15, no. 5 (June).
2010. “Politics, Public Opinion, and the U.S.-Indonesian Comprehensive Partnership.” National Bureau of Asian Research, NBR Special Report #25 (November).
2010. “Theory, region, and qualitative analysis.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (May), 171–178.
2009. “The United States-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership and the new Yudhoyono administration.” *Asia Pacific Bulletin* 42 (August).
2009. “Dominant but weak.” *Inside Indonesia* 97 (July).
2007. “Trends in multi-method research: Sailing ahead, reckoning with old risks and new” (with twelve coauthors). *Qualitative Methods* 5, no. 1 (Winter), 24–28.

Book Reviews

2025. *Asia-Pacific Small States: Political Economies of Resilience*, edited by Stephen Noakes and Alexander C. Tan. *Journal of Asian Studies* 84, no. 1 (January), 316–318.
2022. *A Region of Regimes: Prosperity and Plunder in the Asia-Pacific*, by T.J. Pempel. *Asia Policy* 17, no. 1 (January), 181–185.

2021. *Distributive Politics in Malaysia: Maintaining Authoritarian Party Dominance*, by Hidekuni Washida. *The Developing Economies* 59, no. 1 (January), 105–108.
2020. *Man of Contradictions: Joko Widodo and the Struggle to Remake Indonesia*, by Ben Bland. Council on Foreign Relations, *Asia Unbound* (September 9).
2019. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*, by Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. *Perspectives on Politics* 17, no. 2 (June), 594–595.
2019. *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66*, by Geoffrey Robinson. *Pacific Affairs* 92, no 1 (March), 176–177.
2018. *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism*, by Jeremy Menchik. *Journal of Politics* 80, no. 1 (January), e17–e18.
2017. *Muddy Boots & Smart Suits: Researching Asia-Pacific Affairs*, edited by Nicholas Farrelly, Amy King, Michael Wesley, and Hugh White. *New Mandala*, June 14.
2016. *Coalitions of the Well-Being: How Electoral Rules and Ethnic Politics Shape Health Policy in Developing Countries*, by Joel Sawat Selway. *Journal of Politics* 78, no 3 (July), e11–e12.
2016. *Financial Crises and the Politics of Macroeconomic Adjustments*, by Stefanie Walter. *Swiss Political Science Review* 22, no. 2 (June), 313–315.
2015. *The Making of Middle Indonesia: Middle Classes in Kupang Town, 1930s-1980*, by Gerry van Klinken. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 171, no. 1 (Spring), 100–102.
2014. *External Intervention and the Politics of State Formation: China, Indonesia, and Thailand, 1893-1952*, by Ja Ian Chong. *H-Diplo: H-Net network on Diplomatic History and International Affairs*.
2014. *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*, by Donald L. Horowitz, and *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*, edited by Dirk Tomsa and Andreas Ufen. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 50, no. 1 (March), 135–138.
2014. *Coping with Crisis: Government Reactions to the Great Recession*, edited by Nancy Bermeo and Jonas Pontusson. *Political Science Quarterly* 128, no. 4 (Winter), 753–754.
2013. *Paths to Development in Asia: South Korea, Vietnam, China, and Indonesia*, by Tuong Vu. *South East Asia Research* 21, no. 2 (June), 355–359.
2012. *The Political Economy of Capital Market Reforms in Southeast Asia*, by Xiaoke Zhang. *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 26, no. 2 (November), 174–175.
2012. *The Institutional Imperative: The Politics of Equitable Development in Southeast Asia*, by Erik Kuhonta. *Political Science Quarterly* 127, no. 4 (Winter), 728–730.

2011. *Managing Economic Crisis in Southeast Asia*, edited by Saw Swee-Hock. *Asian Studies Review* 35, no. 4 (December), 566–567.

2011. *Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions and Society*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Marcus Mietzner. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 47, no. 1 (April), 136–138.

2010. *Contemporary Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: Structures, Institutions and Agency*, edited by William Case. *South East Asia Research* 18, no. 4 (December), 810–813.

2010. *Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the Post-Subarto Era*, by Dirk Tomsa. *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 3 (September), 976–978.

2009. *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*, edited by Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu. *Pacific Affairs* 82, no. 2 (Summer), 351–353.

Working Papers (most available at <http://tompepinsky.com/papers>)

“Biased Learning in Elections” (with Andrew Little and Andrew Mack)

“The Political Construction of Indigeneity: Theory and Evidence from Indonesia” (with Risa J. Toha). Prepared for the 2022 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington, DC)

Invited Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops (2021-now)

Bocconi	scheduled, June 2025
Harvard	scheduled, March 2025
Florida State	scheduled, January 2025
Johns Hopkins	November 2024
University of Toronto	October 2024
UIII (Depok, Indonesia)	June 2024
LSE	February 2024
Cambridge	February 2024
USC	September 2023
FLASCO, Sede México (virtual)	April 2023
Columbia	April 2023
Yale	March 2023
Central European University	January 2023
Yale	October 2022
NYU	October 2022
German Institute of Global and Area Studies	April 2022
Princeton	February 2022
University of Konstanz (virtual)	December 2021
Cornell Southeast Asia Program	September 2021
German Institute of Global and Area Studies (virtual)	May 2021
Boston University (virtual)	March 2021

UC Berkeley (virtual)	February 2021
Stanford (virtual)	February 2021
McGill (virtual)	February 2021
LSE (virtual)	February 2021
@america (Jakarta, Indonesia, virtual)	January 2021

Invited Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops (previous)

Aarhus University, American Center of Oriental Research (Amman), AusAID (Jakarta), Australian National University, Bard College, BAPPENAS (National Development Planning Board, Jakarta), Berkeley, Binghamton University, Bocconi University, BPS (Central Statistics Agency, Jakarta), Buffalo State University, Cambridge, Center for Southeast Asian Studies-Indonesia (Jakarta), Columbia University, Cornell University, Council on Foreign Relations, Dartmouth, Facebook, Freedom Institute (Jakarta), Forum Kajian Pembangunan (Jakarta), Freie Universität Berlin, Georgetown University, George Washington University, Griffith University, Harvard University, Harvard Business School, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore), Hobart and William Smith College, IBEI (Barcelona), Japan International Cooperation Agency (Tokyo), JHU-SAIS, KITLV (Leiden), Lehigh University, Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Jakarta), Lowy Institute for International Policy, London School of Economics, MIT, Murdoch University, Nanyang Technological University (Singapore), National Bureau of Asian Research, National Chengchi University (Taipei), National University of Singapore, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, Northwestern University, NYU-Abu Dhabi, the Ohio State University, Oxford University, Penn State, Princeton University, Stanford University, Syracuse University, Temple University, Texas A&M, Tsinghua University, UC Berkeley, UC Irvine, UCLA, UCSD, UNC, United States Indonesia Society (Washington, DC), United States National Intelligence Council, United States State Department, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada, University of Amsterdam, University of British Columbia, University of Chicago, University of Denver, University of Florida, University of Freiburg, University of Indonesia, University of Louisville, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, University of Oregon, University of Pittsburgh, University of Pennsylvania, University of Sydney, University of Texas-Austin, University of Toronto, University of Virginia, University of Washington, University of Wisconsin, University of Zürich, College of William and Mary, World Bank (Jakarta), Yale, Yale-NUS College

Lectures and Addresses

“Theories, Methods, and Politics in Comparative Authoritarianism,” Keynote lecture, Authoritarian Political Systems Group, Tulane University, May 2024

“Disciplining Southeast Asian Studies,” Keynote lecture, Cornell Southeast Asia Graduate Student Conference, February 2014

“Indonesian Studies in the United States,” United States Indonesia Society (Jakarta), May 2013

Conference Participation

American Political Science Association, 2004, 2006-2011, 2013-2024
Association for Asian Studies, 2008-2024
International Political Economy Society, 2009-2014, 2016, 2019, 2023
Malaysia and Singapore Studies Society of Australia, 2023
Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2016
Midwest Political Science Association, 2004, 2006-2010, 2012
New England Political Science Association, 2003
Society for the Anthropology of Religion, 2003
The Child Phonology Conference, Massachusetts General Hospital, 2001
25th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development, 2000

Disciplinary Service

Referee (Journals):

American Ethnologist, American Journal of Agricultural Economics, American Journal of Political Science, American Journal of Public Health, American Political Science Review, Asia Policy, Asian Journal of Political Science, Australian Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Sociology, Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Comparative Sociology, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Critical Asian Studies, Democratization, East Asia Forum, Economics and Politics, Electoral Studies, European Journal of Development Research, European Journal of Political Economy, European Political Science Review, Explorations in Economic History, Foreign Policy Analysis, Geoforum, Government and Opposition, Heidelberg Ethnology, Health Security, Indonesia, International Affairs, International Interactions, International Journal of Public Opinion Research, International Organization, International Political Science Review, International Quarterly for Asian Studies, International Studies Quarterly, International Studies Review, Japanese Journal of Political Science, Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Journal of Comparative Economics, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Contemporary Asia, Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, Journal of Development Economics, Journal of Development Studies, Journal of East Asian Studies, Journal of Experimental Political Science, Journal of Health Policy, Politics, and Law, Journal of Institutional Economics, Journal of International Relations and Development, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Jurnal Politik, Law and Society Review, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Modern Asian Studies, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Oxford Development Studies, Pacific Affairs, Pacific Review, Party Politics, Perspectives on Politics, PLoS ONE, Political Analysis, Political Behavior, Politics and Gender, Politics and Religion, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Political Research Quarterly, Political Science Research and Methods, Political Science Quarterly, Political Studies, Polity, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, PS: Political Science and Politics, Public Choice, Public Opinion Quarterly, Regulation and Governance, Religions, Research and Politics, Review of International Political Economy, Review of Middle East Economics and Finance, Sage Open, Security Studies, Sojourn, South East Asia Research, Studies in Comparative International Development, Taiwan Journal of Democracy, Third World Quarterly, Trans-National and -Regional Studies, Urban Affairs Review, World Development, World Politics

Referee (Presses):

Cambridge University Press, Cornell University Press, Cornell Southeast Asia Publications, Kyoto University Press, NIAS Press, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, Routledge, Springer, Westview Press

Referee (Foundations):

Australian Research Council, Czech Science Foundation, Human Development and Capability Association, Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, MacArthur Foundation, U.S. Department of Defense, National Research Foundation/Economic and Social Research Council, National Science Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, World Bank (PNPM Support Facility)

Editorial Responsibilities:

Editor, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 2022-now
Faculty committee, Cornell University Press, 2024-now
Editorial Boards:

Asia Policy, 2021-now
World Politics, 2019-now
Comparative Political Studies, 2013-now
Jurnal Politik, 2017-now
Sojourn, 2013-now

Professional Leadership (current):

Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, executive committee, 2022-now
International Political Economy Society, steering committee, 2020-
Southeast Asia Research Group (<http://seareg.org>), executive board, 2013-now
Association for Analytic Learning about Islam and Muslim Societies
(<http://www.aalims.org>), steering committee, 2013-now, Executive Vice President, 2022-now

Professional Leadership (past):

American Institute for Indonesian Studies (<http://aifis.org>), president 2011-2016, past president 2016-2022
Treasurer, American Political Science Association, 2017-2020
Southeast Asia Council, Association for Asian Studies, member, 2016-2019
Biannual International Conference on Indonesian Politics and Government, University of Indonesia, steering committee, 2015, 2017
Indonesia and East Timor Studies Group, Association for Asian Studies, executive committee member, 2010-2014
Joint U.S.-Indonesia Council on Higher Education Partnership, Joint Research focus group 2011-12

Conferences and Workshops Organized:

The State of Indonesian Democracy, Cornell University, August 2024
Social Categories and the Politics of Status (with Pavitra Suryanarayan, London School of Economics)
Understanding Challenges to the Contemporary Global Order III, Salem, MA, November 2023 (with Stefanie Walter, University of Zurich)

Understanding Challenges to the Contemporary Global Order II, Vitznau, Switzerland, October 2018
(with Stefanie Walter, University of Zurich)

Understanding Challenges to the Contemporary Global Order, Filzbach, Switzerland, October 2017
(with Stefanie Walter, University of Zurich)

Program Co-Chair, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2016

Southeast Asia Research Group, Cornell University, May 2014

Program Chair, Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, 2013

Beyond Oligarchy, University of Sydney, December 2012 (co-organizer)

Indonesian Studies in the United States: Problems and Prospects, American Institute for Indonesian Studies-Jakarta, January 2012 (co-organizer)

Global Implications of the Financial Crisis, Cornell University, October 31, 2009

Islam, Regionalism, and New Institutions in Indonesia, Yale University, March 3, 2007 (co-organizer)

Islam, Democracy, and Freedom in Contemporary Indonesia, Yale University, April 8, 2006 (co-organizer)

Prize Committees:

Gregory Luebbert Book Award, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, finalist committee member, 2025

Theda Skocpol Emerging Scholar Award, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, committee member, 2023

Best Book Award, Democracy & Autocracy Section, American Political Science Association, committee member, 2020

Pattana Kitiarsa Prize, Southeast Asia Council, Association for Asian Studies, committee chair, 2016, 2017

Gregory Luebbert Book Award, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, committee member, 2014

John Lent Prize, Malaysia-Singapore-Brunei Studies Group, Association for Asian Studies, committee member 2013

Juan J. Linz Prize, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, committee member, 2012

Graduate Student Paper Award, Indonesia and East Timor Studies Group, Association for Asian Studies, committee member, 2011

Other:

External Reviewer, Sydney Southeast Asia Centre, 2023

External Ph.D. thesis examiner

Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 2023

Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2023

Nuffield College, University of Oxford, 2020

Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, 2019

Department of Political and Social Change, the Australian National University, 2018

Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Sydney, 2010

University Service

University Senate, Academic Programs and Policies Committee (CAPP), 2020-now

Policy School Committee, co-chair (with Maria Fitzpatrick), 2020-2022

Social Sciences Implementation Committee, 2019-2020

Presidential Postdoctoral Fellowship selection committee, 2019

Institute for Social Sciences
Advisory Board, 2015-2018

Einaudi Center
Digital Platform Working Group, 2015-2018

College of Arts and Sciences
Curriculum Committee, member 2016, chair, 2017-2018
Academic Integrity Committee, 2009-2016

Member of the graduate fields of Government and Asian Studies

Presentations and guest lectures for INDO 1100 Elements of Indonesian Language and Culture (5 times), ASIAN 2208 Introduction to Southeast Asia (10 times), GOVT 2293 Politics and Music (2 times), Issues Behind the News (2 times), ASIAN 2247 Islam in Asia (November 2016), Einaudi Center Research Webinar (May 2020), Democratic Challenges in the Time of COVID-19 (May 2020), International Language Education Workshop (May 2016), Cornell International Affairs Society (3 times), Cornell Business Asia Journal (April 2014), Flora Rose House (November 2013), Einaudi Center (March 2012), Cornell Global Development Dinner Discussion (February 2012), Global China Connection (April 2011), European Studies (March 2011), Cornell Model United Nations Conference (2 times), Alice Cook House (September 2010), Reunion Weekend Current Events Roundtable (June 2009), Cornell-Yale Conference on Indonesia (November 2008), Freshman Orientation Debate (August 2008)

Faculty adviser
Cornell International Affairs Society, 2011-now
Cornell Fitness Club, 2012-2020
Cornell Business Asia Journal, 2015-2018

Department Service

Brooks School of Public Policy

Global Policy Task Force, co-chair (with Rachel Riedl), 2023-now
Undergraduate Committee, 2021-now
Data Science and Public Policy Search Committee, chair, 2022
Race and Public Policy Search Committee, 2022

Government

Political Methodology Search Committee, 2024 (chair)
International Relations Search Committee, 2020
Comparative Politics “Q Exam” Committee, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016-2019
Undergraduate Committee, 2019
Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2013-14, 2015-2017
Comparative Politics Search Committee, 2010, 2014, 2015 (chair), 2017 (chair)
American Politics Search Committee, 2013
Graduate Committee, 2010-11, 2012-13
Director, International Political Economy Program, 2009-12
Mellon Humanities Fellowship Committee, 2009

Southeast Asia Program

Director, 2022-2024
Interim Director, Spring 2020
Associate Director, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 2009-now
Sharp Prize Committee, 2010, 2011
FLAS Committee, 2008

Teaching

Undergraduate

Asian Political Economy
Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics
Islam and Development in the Comparative Perspective
Politics and Markets
Southeast Asian Politics

Graduate

Field Seminar in Comparative Politics
Comparative Methods and the Study of Politics
International Political Economy
Introduction to Probability and Statistics
Political Economy of Development
Southeast Asian Politics
Topics in Political Economy