

Rioting for Representation

Local Ethnic Mobilization in Democratizing Countries

Risa J. Toha

Yale-NUS



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS



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.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> 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