

Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo

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APPOINTMENTS

National University of Singapore, Singapore.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, December 2021 - Present

University of Konstanz, Baden-Württemberg, Germany.

Postdoctoral Research Fellow. The Politics of Inequality Project, June 2020 – June 2021.

University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA.

Postdoctoral Research Fellow. Center for the Study of Religion and Society, August 2018 – July 2020.

FELLOWSHIPS WITH FINANCIAL SUPPORT

May – August 2024. Visiting Fellowship. University of Konstanz, Germany.

September 2023. COMPOSE Writing Fellowship. Indonesia International Islamic University.

June - July 2019. The Indonesia Project Fellowship. The Australian National University (ANU).

EDUCATION

University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA.

Ph.D., Political Science, 2013-2018.

M.S., Applied and Computational Mathematics and Statistics, 2013-2016.

M.A., Political Science, 2013-2015.

Loyola University Chicago, Illinois, USA.

M.A., Applied Social Psychology, 2011-2013 (Fulbright scholarship).

Bina Nusantara University, Jakarta, Indonesia.

S.Kom (B.S. in Computer Science), 2004-2009.

S.Si (B.S. in Applied Statistics), 2004-2009.

**PEER REVIEWED
ARTICLES**

* Lead author ** Equal contributions

- 2024
Kuipers, Nicholas, Risa Toha, and Nathanael Sumaktoyo. 2024. "Third Time's The Charm: The Youth Vote and Prabowo's Victory in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election". *Pacific Affairs* 97(3), 563-585. ([Link](#)).
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.5
- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G*. and M. Tahir Kilavuz. 2024. "Education and Voter Response to Principled Trade-Offs in Muslim Democracies." *Political Studies* 72(4), 1491-1511. ([Link](#)).
5-Year Impact Factor: 3.2
- 2023
Klocek, Jason, Hyun Jeong Ha, and Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo**. 2023. "Regime Change and Religious Discrimination after the Arab Uprisings." *Journal of Peace Research* 60(3), 489-503. ([Link](#)).
5-Year Impact Factor: 4.5
➤ Winner of the Nils Petter Gleditsch Article of the Year 2023
- 2022
Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G.* and Burhanuddin Muhtadi. 2022. "China's Foreign Policies and Attitudes toward Chinese Diaspora: A Direct Link?" *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 34(4). ([Link](#)).
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.8
- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G.*, Christian Breunig, and Wolfgang Gaissmaier. 2022. "Social Sampling Shapes Preferences for Redistribution: Evidence from a National Survey Experiment." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 101. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 4.1
- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G.* and Burhanuddin Muhtadi. 2022. "Can Religion Save Corrupt Politicians? Evidence from Indonesia". *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 34(1). ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.8
- 2021
Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G. 2021. "Faith and Friendship: Religious Bonding and Interfaith Relations in Muslim Countries." *Politics and Religion* 14(4): 634-662. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.5
- Layman, Geoffrey, David E. Campbell, John C. Green, and Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo. 2021. "Secularism and American Political Behavior." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 85(1): 79-100. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 4.5

- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G. 2021. "Religious and Ethnic Sentiments in Indonesian Politics: The Case of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 21(1): 141-164. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.5
- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G. 2021. "Friends from Across the Aisle: The Effects of Partisan Bonding, Partisan Bridging, and Network Disagreement on Outparty Attitudes and Political Engagement." *Political Behavior* 43: 223-245. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 4.4
- 2020 Kilavuz, M. Tahir and Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo. 2020. "Hopes and Disappointments: Regime Change and Support for Democracy after the Arab Uprisings." *Democratization* 27(5): 854-873. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 4.2
- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G. 2020. "A Price for Democracy? Religious Legislation and Religious Discrimination in Post-Soeharto Indonesia." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 56(1): 23-42. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 3.8
- 2018 Campbell, David E., Geoffrey Layman, John C. Green, and Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo. 2018. "Putting Politics First: The Impact of Politics on American Religious and Secular Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(3): 551-565. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 7.1
- 2016 Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G.*, David Nickerson, and Michael J. Keane. 2016. "Discussion Group Composition and Deliberation Experience." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 3: 164-173. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: N/A
- Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G.*, Victor Ottati, and Vinaya Untoro. 2016. "The Paradoxical Religiosity Effect: Religion and Politics in Indonesia and the United States." *Politics and Religion* 9(3): 481-507. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.5
- 2015 Ottati, Victor, Erika Price, Chase Wilson, and Nathanael Sumaktoyo. 2015. "When Self-Perceptions of Expertise Increase Close-Minded Cognition: The Earned Dogmatism Effect." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 61: 131-138. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 4.1
- 2013 Muluk, Hamdi, Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo*, and Dyah M. Ruth. 2013. "Jihad as Justification: National-survey Evidence of Belief in Violent

Jihad as a Mediating Factor for Sacred Violence among Muslims in Indonesia." *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 16:101-111. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 2.1

2010
Muluk, Hamdi, and Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo*. 2010. "Intratextual Fundamentalism and the Desire for Simple Cognitive Structure: The Moderating Effect of the Ability to Achieve Cognitive Structure." *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 32:217-238. ([Link](#))
5-Year Impact Factor: 1.4

BOOK
Ali-Fauzi, Ihsan, Samsu Rizal Panggabean, Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo, Anick Tohari, Husni Mubarak, Testriono, and Siti Nurhayati. 2012. *Kontroversi Gereja di Jakarta*. Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, Universitas Gadjah Mada. (English version: *Disputed Churches in Jakarta*, published by University of Melbourne's Asian Law Center) ([Link](#))

BOOK CHAPTERS
Ottati, Victor, Chase Wilson, Erika Price, and Nathanael Sumaktoyo. 2018. "Political Expertise and Open-Minded Cognition." In *The Feeling, Thinking Citizen: Essays in Honor of Milton Lodge*, eds. Howard Lavine and Charles S. Taber. New York: Routledge, 81-97. ([Link](#))

Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G. 2017. "Penelitian Empiris Mengenai Toleransi di Indonesia: Menuju Praktik Terbaik (Empirical Research on Tolerance in Indonesia: Toward Best Practices)." In *Kebebasan, Toleransi, dan Terorisme: Riset dan Kebijakan Agama di Indonesia (Freedom, Tolerance, and Terrorism: Research and Policies on Religion in Indonesia)*, eds. Ihsan Ali Fauzi, Zainal Abidin Bagir, and Irsyad Rafsadi. Jakarta: Center for the Study of Religion and Democracy, Paramadina Foundation, 159-192. ([Link](#))

Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G. 2015. "Pertemanan dan Keterbukaan Beragama: Pengalaman Amerika Serikat (Friendship and Religious Openness: The United States' Experience)." In *Agama, Keterbukaan, dan Demokrasi: Harapan dan Tantangan (Religion, Openness, and Democracy: Hopes and Challenges)*, eds. Ayu Melissa and Husni Mubarak. Jakarta: Center for the Study of Religion and Democracy, Paramadina University, 21-32. ([Link](#))

Sumaktoyo, Nathanael G.*, and Yuyun Rindiastuti. 2011. "Religious Fundamentalisms and Student Life: A View from Indonesia." In *Key Learnings from Feminists on the Frontline*, eds. S. Gokal, R. Barbero,

and C. Balchin. Toronto: Association of Women's Rights in Development, 79-81. ([Link](#))

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW

Book Manuscript

“Faith and Friendship: How Homogeneous Friendships Shape Exclusionary Religious Attitudes in the Muslim World and What We Can Do about It.” (Invited to Revise and Resubmit, Cambridge University Press’s Studies in Social Theory, Religion and Politics)

The manuscript tackles a puzzle documented in various studies on why Muslim countries often feature higher exclusionary religious attitudes than non-Muslim countries. It argues, through an extensive analysis of country- and individual-level data, that these exclusionary attitudes are driven by social networks in Muslim societies that are more religiously homogeneous than social networks in non-Muslim societies

Articles

- (1) “The Broader Political Significance of Houses of Worship: Theory and Evidence from Indonesia”.
 - Winner of the 2023 Best Paper Prize in Open Category by the American Political Science Association’s Southeast Asian Politics Related Group.
- (2) When Are Identity-Based Groups Harmful to Democracy? Victimized Majority Narratives and Muslim Groups in Indonesia (with Jessica Soedirgo).

MANUSCRIPTS IN PREPARATION

“Who Blames Democracy for a Bad Economy?” (with Puspa Delima Amri and Burhanuddin Muhtadi). Draft available.

“Politicians' Perceptions of Income Distribution and Their Effects on Redistributive Preferences” (with Christian Breunig and Wolfgang Gaissmaier). Draft available.

“Casual or Thoughtful Support? Measuring Citizens’ Ability to Elaborate on Various Discourses about Democracy” (with Michael Hoffman and M. Tahir Kilavuz). Draft available.

AWARDS AND GRANTS

External Awards

September 2023. Tier 2 Grant. Singapore’s Ministry of Education, SGD 658,437. (with Nicholas Kuipers).

December 2022. Small Research Grants on Studying Hidden

Populations. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, EUR 2,500

October 2020. Small Research Grants. The Religion and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, USD 2,600.

October 2020. Survey Research Grant. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, SGD 50,000.

June 2020. Research Grant. USAID Indonesia, IDR 500,000,000 (with team from PUSAD Paramadina).

February 2018. SMRC Fellow. Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting, Jakarta, IDR 90,000,000.

August 2017. Pre-Conference Grant. The Political Psychology Section of the American Political Science Association, USD 200.

May 2017. PhD Scholarship. The Institute for Humane Studies, USD 1,500.

May 2016. Dissertation Research Fellowship. The Religious Freedom Project, Georgetown University, USD 5,000.

January 2015. Prestage-Cook Travel Award. Southern Political Science Association, USD 300 (offer declined).

May 2014. Warren E. Miller Fellowship. Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), USD 5,000.

May 2014. Political Networks Fellowship. The Political Networks Section of the American Political Science Association, USD 1,100.

August 2011 – May 2013. Fulbright Master's Degree Scholarship. The U.S. Department of State, USD 30,500 per annum.

Internal Awards or Fellowships

March 2023. Faculty Start-up Fund. National University of Singapore, SGD 40,000.

August 2022. Humanities and Social Sciences Seed Funding. National University of Singapore. SGD 60,000. (with Nicholas Kuipers and Evan Laksmana).

January 2021. Young Scholars Research Fund. Universität Konstanz, EUR 3,600.

June 2020. Faculty Research Grant. Kellogg Institute for International Studies. University of Notre Dame, USD 9,700. (with Michael Hoffman and M. Tahir Kilavuz).

January 2018. Excellence in Teaching Award. Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame, USD 200.

May 2017. Summer Research Grants. University of Notre Dame, USD 750.

May 2017. American Dream Summer Grants. Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts (ISLA). University of Notre Dame, USD 4,000.

May 2016. Graduate Research Grant. Kellogg Institute for International Studies. University of Notre Dame, USD 7,000.

January 2016. Notebaert Professional Development Award. University of Notre Dame, USD 1,700.

October 2015. Graduate Student Research Award. Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts (ISLA). University of Notre Dame, USD 3,000.

August 2013 – May 2018. Notebaert Premier Fellowship. University of Notre Dame, USD 30,000 annual stipend.

August 2013 – May 2018. Andrew E. Mellon Fellowship in Religion. University of Notre Dame.

October 2012. Graduate Student Research Scholarship. Department of Psychology, Loyola University Chicago, USD 500.

**INVITED TALKS
AND
WORKSHOPS**

* Expenses covered
and/or honorarium
provided

August 2024. "The State of Indonesian Democracy." Cornell University.*

June 2024. "The Broader Political Significance of Houses of Worship: Theory and Evidence from Indonesia." University of Amsterdam.*

April 2024. "The Broader Political Significance of Houses of Worship:

Theory and Evidence from Indonesia.” Association for the Analytical Learning of Islam and Muslim Societies (AALIMS), Harvard University.*

March 2024. “Political Sermons and Attitudes toward Religious Authority: Evidence from High-Frequency Surveys in Indonesia.” Singapore Management University.*

December 2023. “The Broader Political Significance of Houses of Worship: Theory and Evidence from Indonesia.” Australian National University.*

July 2023. “Publishing Workshop for Southeast Asian Politics Research”. American Political Science Association – Singapore Management University.*

March 2022. “Understanding Members of Radical Muslim Groups: Evidence from Indonesia.” Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.

October 2019. “Double Minority Candidates and Muslim Voting Behavior: Evidence from Indonesia.” Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University.*

February 2019. “Minority Candidate and Muslim Voting Behavior: Evidence from Indonesia.” Center for Southeast Asian Studies, the University of Wisconsin-Madison.*

April 2018. “Faith and Friendship: Religious Bonding and Religious Tolerance in the Muslim World.” Association for the Analytical Learning of Islam and Muslim Societies (AALIMS), Princeton University.*

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Graduate-Level

- (2) Religion and Politics in the United States and around the World
 - University of Notre Dame
- (1) Introduction to Quantitative Methods
 - National University of Singapore

Undergraduate-Level

- (5) Identity Politics
 - National University of Singapore
- (4) Comparative Political Behavior
 - National University of Singapore

- State Islamic University of Jakarta
- (3) Introduction to Causal Inference
 - University of Notre Dame
- (2) Data and Politics
 - University of Notre Dame
- (1) Introduction to Quantitative Methods
 - State Islamic University of Jakarta

**CONFERENCE
PRESENTATIONS**

American Political Science Association (APSA): 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2023.
Asian Association of Social Psychology (AASP): 2009, 2011.
EuroSEAS: 2019, 2022.
International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP): 2012.
Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA): 2014, 2015, 2016
Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR): 2012.
Southeast Asia Research Group (SEAREG): 2019, 2020, 2023
Southern Political Science Association (SPSA): 2016.

**PROFESSIONAL
SERVICE**

Reviewer (alphabetical)

American Political Science Review; American Politics Research; Asian Journal of Comparative Politics; British Journal of Political Science; Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies; Contemporary Southeast Asia; Democratization; Government and Opposition; Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion; Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs; Journal of East Asian Studies; Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties; Journal of North African Studies; Journal of Politics; Party Politics; Political Behavior (editorial board); Political Psychology; Political Science Research and Methods; Political Studies; Politics and Religion; Politics, Groups, and Identities; Social Forces; Social Science Research; Southeast Asian Studies.

INTEREST

Research Interest

Substantive: political psychology; religion and politics; voting behavior; political campaign; Islam and democracy; social and political tolerance; social networks; social capital.
Methodology: causal inference; computational statistics.

Teaching Interest

Substantive: comparative political behavior; political psychology; religion and politics; Islam and democracy; campaign and election; democratic consolidation and erosion; Southeast Asian

politics.

Methodology: linear models; experiments and causal inference;
survey methods; computational statistics.

**OTHER
EXPERIENCE**

Work and Consultancy

Barack Obama's 2012 Presidential Campaign Headquarters; Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency (FITRA); PUSAD Paramadina; Remotivi; The Asia Foundation; USAID — FHI360.

Media Contribution

Good Authority, Hidup, Kompas Daily, The Jakarta Post, The Jakarta Globe, Satu Harapan, Tirto, Mojok, New Mandala, The Conversation Indonesia.