

# TOMOKO TAKAHASHI

September 28, 2025

## Affiliation Address

Center for Southeast Asian Studies,  
Kyoto University  
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## Contact Information

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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

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| <b>2023</b> (October-) Current   | <b>Kyoto University</b>   | <b>Kyoto, JAPAN</b>       |
|  | <a href="#">Assistant Professor</a> , Center for Southeast Asian Studies                          |                           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <b>2025</b> (April-May)                       | Jakarta Office, Kyoto University  | <b>Jakarta, INDONESIA</b> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <b>2025</b> September - <b>2027</b> September | <b>Harvard University</b>   | <b>MA, UNITED STATES</b>  |
|  | <a href="#">Visiting Scholar</a> , Weatherhead Program on US-Japan Relations                      |                           |
|  | Global Young Scholars into the Future ( <a href="#">GYSE</a> ) Program, Kyoto University          |                           |
|  | <a href="#">Overseas Research Fellow</a> , Japan Society for the Promotion of Science             |                           |
| <b>2023</b> (September-October)  | <b>WZB Berlin Social Science Center</b>   | <b>Berlin, GERMANY</b>    |
|  | <a href="#">Guest Researcher</a> , Global Governance Unit   |                           |
| <b>2023</b> (April-September)  | <b>Kyoto University</b>   | <b>Kyoto, JAPAN</b>       |
|  | Research Associate (Equivalent to a Postdoctoral Position),<br>Center for Southeast Asian Studies |                           |

## EDUCATION

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- Ph.D., Advanced Social and International Studies,  
**University of Tokyo**, JAPAN, June 2023  
Dissertation: "Power Gap-Driven Draft Resolutions: Sponsorship Behavior of  
China as a Major Power in the United Nations General  
Assembly" [in English]
- M.A. (with Honors Distinction), International Relations,  
**University of Chicago**, IL, UNITED STATES, June 2020  
Thesis: "Inconspicuousness in International Institutions: Analyses of the

United Nations General Assembly Roll Call Votes” [in English]  
M.A., Advanced Social and International Studies,  
**University of Tokyo**, JAPAN, March 2018  
Thesis: “China and the Multilateral Environmental Regime: Reflections on  
Theories of International Organizations and Regimes” [in English]  
LL.B., Public Law Course,  
**University of Tokyo**, JAPAN, March 2016  
Other:  
Visiting Student,  
**Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies**,  
SWITZERLAND, February-June 2017

## **PUBLICATIONS**

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- Takahashi, Tomoko, Sanae Suzuki and Taku Yukawa. 2025. “Institutionalized Authority and Personal Traits of Executive Heads in International Organizations: A New Database”, *International Interactions*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2025.2527826> (Data released in [Harvard Dataverse](#)).
- Takahashi, Tomoko. January 2025. “Two Questions of Sovereignty: China and the Third World Countries in the United Nations General Assembly (1971–1990)”, *Global Studies Quarterly* 5(1), ksaf024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksaf024> (Data released in [Harvard Dataverse](#)).
- Takahashi, Tomoko. June 2024. “[International Relations Research and Borderland as Inhabited Space](#)”. *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, Special Issue 38 (Health, Border and Marginality: Toward Transdisciplinarity) [in English/ sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko, Taku Yukawa, and Sanae Suzuki. 2023. “Analysis of International Organizations with a Personal Biography Approach: Dataset Creation on Individual Attributes of the Executive Heads”. *Advanced Social and International Studies* 72: 47-63 [in Japanese (refereed, co-authored)].
- Maha Ali, Yusra Abdullahi, Poorvi Bellur, Alessandro Iandolo, Ria Kapoor, Emma Kluge, Ismay Milford, Brooks Marmon, Alanna O'Malley, Raphaël Orange-Leroy, Tomoko Takahashi, Pasuth Thothaveesansuk and Muhammad Suhail Mohamed Yazid. “Making and Breaking Global Order across the Twentieth Century” (Conference at Leiden University in October 2022). *H-Diplo Forum 2023-1*, Posted on July 6, 2023 at: <https://hdiplo.org/to/Forum-2023-1>.
- Takahashi, Tomoko, Sanae Suzuki, and Taku Yukawa. 2022. “[Measuring the Influence of Executive Heads in International Organizations —Illustrative Analysis on the Effects of Democratic Density—](#)”. *IDE Discussion Paper* No. 850, Institute of Developing Economies (IDE), JETRO: 1-39 [in English, co-authored].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2019. “[China’s Interest Seen at the Crossroad of International Institutions -Case Studies on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea-](#)”. *International Relations* 197, Japan Association for International Relations: 120-135 [in Japanese (refereed, first-tier journal in Japan/ sole author)].

## **THESES/ DISSERTATION**

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- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2023. *Power Gap-Driven Draft Resolutions: Sponsorship Behavior of China as a Major Power in the United Nations General Assembly* [Doctoral Dissertation]. University of Tokyo [in English].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2020. *Inconspicuousness in International Institutions: Analyses of the United Nations General Assembly Roll Call Votes* [Master's Thesis with Honors]. University of Chicago [in English].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2018. *China and the Multilateral Environmental Regime: Reflections on Theories of International Organizations and Regimes* [Master's Thesis]. University of Tokyo [in English].

## RELEASED DATASETS

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- Takahashi, Tomoko, 2025, "Two Questions of Sovereignty: China and the Third World Countries in the United Nations General Assembly (1971-1990)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/KPI6YG>, Harvard Dataverse, V1 ([Access](#))
- Takahashi, Tomoko; Sanae Suzuki; Taku Yukawa, 2024, "Institutionalized Authority and Personal Traits of Executive Heads in International Organizations: A New Database", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/UEOIX4>, Harvard Dataverse, V1 ([Access](#))

## BOOK REVIEWS/ MISCELLANEOUS

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- Takahashi, Tomoko. July 2025. [“China's ‘Influence’ in the United Nations”](#). *East Asia (Toa)*, Foundation Kazankai, No. 697: 18-28 [in Japanese].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. May 22, 2025. “Encyclopedia to Discover Your Interests with Questions, No.19 How Are International Rules Created under Power Relations?”(Interview), “Study Supplement for SCHOOL (high school students)” by the Japanese Company RECRUIT[in Japanese].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2025. [“China’s Strategic Choice: Beijing’s Foreign Policy through BRICS Expansion”](#). Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO), IDE Square May 2025 [in Japanese].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2024. [“When International Relations Talks About the Global South”](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Newsletter No. 82. (Japanese version: 高橋知子「国際関係論がグローバル・サウスについて語るとき」京都大学東南アジア地域研究研究所ニュースレターNo.82。)
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2023. [“Smitten with the Theories on International Institutions: From Dialogues with Scholars from around the Globe \(Interview with Tomoko Takahashi\)”](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Interview Article. (Japanese version: 高橋知子「国際制度論に魅せられて:世界の研究者との対話から(高橋知子さんインタビュー)」京都大学東南アジア地域研究研究所インタビュー記事。)
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2023. [“\(Book Introduction Essay\) When the World Designs Antarctica”](#). *Newsletter*. Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (October 2023, Letter from the Kamogawa River), 81(6). (Released on October 11, 2023).
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2023. [“\(Book Review\) Cooperating for the Climate: Learning from International Partnerships in China’s Clean Energy Sector \(Joanna I. Lewis, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2023, \\$45.00, 358 pp. ISBN: 978-0-26-254482-5\)”](#). International Relations of the Asia-Pacific Icad008. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcad008> [in English].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2022. [“\(Book Review\) Niu, Jun. Translated by Masui, Yasuki. A](#)

- [Study of the Decision Making of China's Foreign Policy. Chikura Shobo, July 2021.](#)”  
*Monthly Journal of Chinese Affairs* 76(10)(No.896, October 2022), Institute for Chinese Affairs: 42-46 [in Japanese].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. 2019. “[\(Book Review\) Cheng, Fangting. The Formation of Complementary Relationships among Overlapping Regimes: Negotiations on Climate Change, U.S.-China Relations, and the Paris Agreement.](#)”. *Asian Studies* 65(2), Japan Association for Asian Studies: 40-44 [in Japanese].

## **BOOK MANUSCRIPT**

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- Takahashi, Tomoko. *Crafting the Blueprint: China's Pursuit of Power at the United Nations General Assembly* [in English, sole author].

## **WORKING PAPERS [FULL PAPER COMPLETED]**

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- Takahashi, Tomoko. "Reminiscing Exclusion: Asian-African Conference as the Harbinger for a New Model of International Institutions" [in English, sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Anchoring the Major Powers: Bilateral Trade Effects in the World Trade Organization” [in English, sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. Forthcoming. “Both Directions Matter: Impact of World Trade Organization Disputes on Chinese Trade and China's Proactive Litigation Strategies” [in English, sole author]. Haba, Kumiko eds. *Global Role of Asia Pacific, Regional Collaboration and Security, War and Peace. (Under review with Springer.)*
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Arms Regulation in the Terra Nova: China's Power Calculations on the ‘Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space’” [in English, sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Taking Off for Economic Liberalization: China's Initiatives on Economic Resolutions” [in English, sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Reticence over Universal Norms: Japanese Engagement with the UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction” [in English, sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Too Complicated to Negotiate from Scratch: How China Leverages Extra-Institutional Information Shortcuts for Cooperation in the United Nations General Assembly” [in English, sole author].
- Hosoi, Tomohiro and Tomoko Takahashi. “Summit Diplomacy with Africa: Reorganizing the Experiences from Japan and China” [in Japanese, co-authored]. Jxiv Preprint: <https://doi.org/10.51094/jxiv.987> . (細井 友裕・高橋知子「アフリカのサミット外交—日本と中国の経験を整理する」).
- Vizitiu, Patrick and Tomoko Takahashi. “State-Rebuilding through International Norms: Germany and Japan's Quest for Sovereignty and Consequences for the Participation in Multilateral Conflict Resolution” [in English, co-authored].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Whose Agent? UN Bureaucrats and Their Domestic Network”.
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Shifting Gears: Rising China's Conception of State Autonomy in the United Nations (March 15, 2022)”. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4071563> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4071563> [in English, sole author].
- Takahashi, Tomoko. “Rising and Leading: China with the G77 at the United Nations General

Assembly (October 1, 2021)". Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3944408> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3944408> [in English, sole author].

Takahashi, Tomoko. "Harnessing the Power Gap: Sponsorship Behavior of the Rising BRICS in the United Nations General Assembly (July 27, 2021)". Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4037770> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4037770> [in English, sole author].

## AWARDS, HONORS AND GRANTS

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|-----------|---|
| 2025-2029 | <a href="#">Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research: Early-Career Scientists</a> , <b>Principal (Individual) Investigator</b> of the Project: "Alternatives to International Institutions: Explorations by China and the East Asian/ Southeast Asian Regions", 370,000 JPY   |
| 2025-2028 | <a href="#">Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research: B</a> , Co-investigator of the Project: "Hollow Multilateralism: How Autocracies Contest Norms and Procedures of International Organizations", with Daniëlle Flonk, 6% of 14 million JPY (840,000 JPY)  |
| 2025-2027 | Program for the Development of Next-generation Leading Scientists with Global Insight ( <a href="#">L-INSIGHT</a> ), <a href="#">Cohort 5 Participant (2025-2027)</a> , Kyoto University, Sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), Japan. <b>Principal (Individual) Investigator</b> , 3,150,000 JPY.<br><input type="checkbox"/> March 18, 2025, Kick-off Event, Kyoto University, JAPAN.   |
| 2025-2027 | <a href="#">Japan Society for the Promotion of Science: Overseas Research Fellow</a> , Roundtrip international airfare/ Maintenance allowance JPY 7,519,000 [ about USD 50,300] per year.   |
| 2025-2026 | Designated as a Principal Candidate for a 2025 9-month <a href="#">Fulbright Research Grant</a> (Withdrew due to acceptance of the 2-year JSPS Fellowship)  |
| 2025-2026 | <a href="#">Heisei Commemorative Grant, the Japan Prize Foundation</a> , <b>Principal Investigator</b> of the Project: "China and India in the Changing Global Order: Competition for Leadership in the 'Global South'", 5,140,000 JPY. With Raphaëlle Khan, Yuan Zhou, and Juan Acevedo-Ossa.  |
| 2024-2026 | <a href="#">U.S.-Japan Network for the Future, Cohort 7 Participant (2024-2026)</a> , the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation/ Japan Foundation.<br><input type="checkbox"/> June 2-6, 2024, Cohort Launch Meeting, Washington D.C., USA (In person).<br><input type="checkbox"/> October 3-8, 2024, Retreat, Montana, USA (In person).<br><input type="checkbox"/> January 26-February 2, 2025, Washington D.C., USA (In person).<br><input type="checkbox"/> June 8-June 15, 2025, Tokyo/ Kumamoto/ Fukuoka, JAPAN (In person). |
| 2024      | Funding for <a href="#">2024 JPSA-APSA Working Group on "Civically Engaged Research for Critical Issues in Society"</a> , accommodation and flight fees (to present at their workshop in Philadelphia, USA).  |
| 2024      | <a href="#">Funding for Overseas Academic Conference Delegates</a> for the 2024 Fiscal Year, the Union of National Economic Associations in Japan (via the Japan Association for Asian Studies), 250,000 JPY (to present at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting and Exhibition 2024). Report  |

	can be found <a href="#">here</a> .
2024	<a href="#">Funding for Overseas Political Science Conference Delegates</a> for the 2024 Fiscal Year, Japanese Political Science Association, 100,000 JPY (to present at the International Studies Association 2024 Annual Convention).
2023	<a href="#">Global Collaborative Research (GCR) Fund</a> (Pilot Study Section), <b>Principal (Individual) Investigator</b> of the Project: “Glocal Functionalism: Narratives from the Great East Japan Earthquake”. Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 400,000 JPY
2023	<a href="#">Global Collaborative Research (GCR) Fund</a> (Member of the Project: “Methodological Case Studies on Foreign Policies of Developing and Emerging Powers: Exploring an Efficient and Substantial Combination with Regional Studies”), Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 600,000 JPY Related internal workshops: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Takahashi, Tomoko. "The Engagement of Civilians in Multilateral Diplomacy: A Case from the UN Human Resources Development System at the 'United Nations Association of China'", August 24, 2023.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Takahashi, Tomoko. "The Operation of Civilians in Multilateral Diplomacy: A Case from the UN Human Resources Development System at the 'United Nations Association of China'", August 24, 2023.</li> </ul>
2021-2023	<a href="#">Research Fellowship for Young Scientists (DC2)</a> , Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 4800,000 JPY
2022-2023	<a href="#">Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research</a> : “International Institutions and the Diplomacy of Authoritarian Regimes”, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 400,000 JPY
2021-2022	<a href="#">Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research</a> : “International Institutions and the Diplomacy of Authoritarian Regimes”, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 100,000 JPY
2022	The Invisible History of the United Nations and the Global South, October 2022: Fees for Conference Participants, Project Funded by the <a href="#">European Research Council (ID: 852176)</a> via Leiden University, Accommodation and Travel Fees (800EUR)
2020	<a href="#">Honors Distinction for the Master of Arts Degree</a> , Committee on International Relations, University of Chicago
2019-2020	<a href="#">Master of Arts Specialization Program Awardee at the Committee on International Relations with University Scholarship, University of Chicago</a> 60,300 USD for full tuition
2018-2019	Social Sciences Scholarship, University of Chicago Approximately 28,998 USD for half tuition
2018-2019	<a href="#">Ito Foundation U.S.A.-FUTI Scholarship</a> 27,000 USD for my studies at the University of Chicago
2017	WISE Program budget awardee, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan via University of Tokyo, approx. 90,000 JPY for my visiting research/ internship at Geneva



**CONFERENCE/ INVITED TALKS/ WORKSHOPS**  
**[PRESENTING MY OWN WORK]**

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- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko. "United Nations General Assembly and Unrecognized Relationships", [121st American Political Science Association \(APSA\) Annual Meeting & Exhibition](#), Vancouver, Canada, September 12, 2025. (Initiator of Panel.)
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko. "Taking Off for Marketization: China's Initiatives on Economic Resolutions", [International Conference "From Research to Publication: Remapping Conversations on Doing Political Science and IR from/on East Asia and Beyond"](#), the Kangwon Institute for Unification Studies (KIUS) at Kangwon National University, Chuncheon, Republic of Korea, July 17, 2025.
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko. ["Reminiscing Exclusion: Asian-African Conference as the Harbinger for a New Model of International Institutions"](#), 28th World Congress of Political Science, International Political Science Association (IPSA), Seoul, Republic of Korea, July 14, 2025.
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko. ["Anchoring the Major Powers: Bilateral Trade Effects in the World Trade Organization"](#), the seventh Pacific International Politics Conference (PIPC), Tokyo, Japan, July 4, 2025.
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko. ["Multilateralism in China-Southeast Asia Relations"](#), Department of History, the Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia ([link](#)), May 7, 2025, Depok, Indonesia [in English].
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko (Among the two relevant papers, one paper is solo-authored, one paper is co-written with Patrick Vizitui) "Politics of Sovereignty at the United Nations: Empirical Analyses of China and the Third World/ Japan and Germany", The 60th United Nations History Colloquium, March 22, 2025, Meiji Gakuin University (Shirokane Campus), Tokyo, Japan [in Japanese].
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko (with Juan Acevedo, Raphaëlle Khan and Yuan Zhou.) "China and India in a Changing Global Order: Competition for Status in the 'Global South'", [International Studies Association \(ISA\) 2025](#), Panel on "SB06: The Global South's Role in a Changing International Landscape", March 2, 2025 (Chicago USA/ In person).
- 2025 Takahashi, Tomoko "Multilateralism and Southeast Asia" [in English, solo-authored], [Joint workshop with the Konstanz University of Applied Sciences \(HTWG Konstanz\)](#), February 5, 2025 (Kyoto University, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko (with Jaehwan Lim.) "China's 'Performative International Order': How its Rhetorical World of Imagination Differs from Bilateral Diplomacy" [in Japanese, co-authored, presented by Tomoko Takahashi], [Multi-lingual Text Analysis Research Group](#), November 17, 2024 (Hokkaido University, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko (with Tomohiro Hosoi.) "Africa's Summit Diplomacy: Reflection on the Japanese and Chinese Experiences"[in Japanese, co-authored, presented by Tomohiro Hosoi], [2024 Annual](#)

- [Convention of the Japan Association of International Relations \(JAIR\)](#), November 16, 2024 (Sapporo, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko (with Patrick Vizitui.) “State-Rebuilding through International Norms: Germany and Japan’s Quest for Sovereignty and Consequences for the Participation in Multilateral Conflict Resolution” [in English, co-authored, presented by Tomoko Takahashi], [17<sup>th</sup> Conference of the German-Japanese Society for Social Sciences \(GJSSS\)](#), October 23, 2024 (German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ), Tokyo, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Taking Off for Marketization: China’s Initiatives on Economic Resolutions” [in English], [2024 American Political Science Association \(APSA\) Annual Meeting & Exhibition](#). Panel on “Reshaping the Liberal Order: Strategies of Contestation and Change”, September 8, 2024 (Philadelphia, USA/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Reticence over Universal Norms: Japanese Engagement with the UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction” [in English], [2024 JPSA-APSA Working Group on “Civically Engaged Research for Critical Issues in Society”](#), September 5, 2024 (Philadelphia, USA/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Both Directions Matter: Impact of World Trade Organization Disputes on Chinese Trade and China’s Proactive Litigation Strategies” [in English]. Presentation at Prof. Fumiharu Mieno's Seminar, July 10, 2024 (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. [“Too Complicated to Negotiate from Scratch: How China Leverages Extra-Institutional Information Shortcuts for Cooperation in the United Nations General Assembly”](#) [in English]. The Japanese Society for Quantitative Political Science (JSQPS), July 7, 2024 (Kochi University of Technology, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Both Directions Matter: Impact of World Trade Organization Disputes on Chinese Trade and China’s Proactive Litigation Strategies” [in English]. Presentation at Prof. Ditmir Ialnazov's Seminar, June 26, 2024 (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko with Yuan Zhou, Raphaëlle Khan and Juan Acevedo/ Discussion by O’Malley, Alanna. [“China and India’s Perspectives on the Global South in a Changing Global Order”](#) [in English], Presenter and Organizer of the International Workshop. June 19, 2024 (Kyoto University, JAPAN/ In person (and hybrid for the audience)).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Covert Rise at the United Nations General Assembly: Coalition Politics of China and the G77” [paper in English, presentation in Japanese], [The 83<sup>rd</sup> Komaba International Politics Workshop](#), May 31, 2024 (University of Tokyo, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Unraveling the Modernity of International Institutions: Citizenry Viewpoints from the Great East Japan Earthquake” [in English], [International Studies Association \(ISA\) 2024](#), Panel on “SA52: International Cooperation: Information, Public Support and Domestic Politics”, April 6, 2024 (San Francisco USA/ In person).



- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Politics through Environmental Protection: A Case Study on the ‘Marine Biodiversity of Areas beyond National Jurisdiction (BBNJ)’” [paper and presentation in English, sole author]. [Conference on “Next-Generation Human Resource Development for Harnessing the Forces of Culture and Nature for Peace and Sustainability”](#), Kyoto University AIDA program and Pale Bleu Dot Foundation, March 19, 2024. (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2024 Takahashi, Tomoko. [“Glocal Functionalism: Narratives from the Great East Japan Earthquake”](#) [paper in English, sole author, presentation in Japanese]. Kyoto University (Center for Southeast Asian Studies), Global Collaborative Research 2023 Annual Research Results Presentation Conference, February 16, 2024. (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Power-Gap Driven Draft Resolutions: China’s Sponsorship Behavior on Economic Deregulation at the United Nations General Assembly” [paper in English, sole author, presentation in Japanese]. [Kobe Political Science Workshop Winter Series](#) (December 2023–January 2024)/ Q-MIS Workshop, Kobe University, December 22, 2023. (Hyogo, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “The United Nations and Protracted Armed Conflicts” [paper and presentation in English, sole author]. [The 47th Southeast Asia Seminar \(Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University\)](#). December 9, 2023. (Mae Ramat, THAILAND/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Departing from the Majority: Case Study of China and the Global South in the United Nations” [paper in English, sole author/ presentation in Japanese]. [The 2023 Annual Convention of the Japanese Association of International Relations \(JAIR\)](#). Fukuoka International Congress Center, November 10, 2023 (Fukuoka, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Power-Gap Driven Draft Resolutions: China’s Sponsorship Behavior on Economic Deregulation at the United Nations General Assembly.” Regime Competition Research Group, [Peace Research Institute Frankfurt \(PRIF\)](#), October 18, 2023 (Frankfurt, GERMANY/ Virtual).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Power-Gap Driven Draft Resolutions: China’s Sponsorship Behavior on Economic Deregulation at the United Nations General Assembly.” Global Governance Unit Colloquium, WZB Berlin Social Science Center, October 5, 2023 (Berlin, GERMANY/ In Person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Whose Agent? UN Bureaucrats and Their Domestic Network”. [The European Consortium for Political Research \(ECPR\) General Conference 2023](#). Charles University, September 6, 2023 (Prague, CZECH REPUBLIC/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Embracing the Washington Consensus: Beijing’s ‘Seamless’ Developmental Strategy” [in English, sole author, iPoster

- Session]. [2023 American Political Science Association \(APSA\) Annual Meeting & Exhibition](#). Los Angeles Convention Center, August 31, 2023 (Los Angeles, USA/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Embracing the Washington Consensus: Beijing’s Seamless Developmental Strategy from its Domestic Politics to UN Diplomacy” [in English, sole author]. [ISA Asia-Pacific Region Conference 2023, Tokyo](#). Waseda University, August 10, 2023 (Tokyo, JAPAN/ Virtual).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Reciprocity versus Unconditionality: The Coalition of China and the Global South at the United Nations General Assembly” [in English, sole author]. [Pacific International Politics Conference 2023](#). National University of Singapore, Singapore, July 7, 2023 (SINGAPORE/ In Person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Power Gap-Driven Draft Resolutions: Sponsorship Behavior of China as a Major Power in the United Nations General Assembly” [in English, sole author]. Presentation at Prof. Fumiharu Mieno’s Seminar, June 7, 2023 (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2023 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Cooperating under Tension: The ASEAN-China Coalition in the UN General Assembly” [in English, sole author]. [CSEAS-KASEAS Joint Conference 2023: Engaging Southeast Asian Studies in an Age of Uncertainties](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, May 26, 2023 (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person).
- 2022 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Two Questions of Sovereignty: China and the Global South in the United Nations General Assembly (1971-1990)” [in English, sole author]. [Making and Breaking Global Order in the Twentieth Century \(INVISIHIST Conference\)](#). Leiden University, October 15, 2022 (Leiden, NETHERLANDS/ In person).
- 2022 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Harnessing Economic Relative Power: China at the United Nations” [in English, sole author]. [The Inaugural Joint International Political Economy Conference of the Austrian, German and Swiss Political Science Associations](#). June 21, 2022. (Raitenhaslach GERMANY/ Virtual Presentation).
- 2022 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Inconspicuousness in International Institutions: Analyses of Sponsorship Behavior at the United Nations General Assembly” [in Japanese, sole author]. Invited by the Project “The Structure and Mechanisms of Order Transformation: An Empirical Analysis from Network Scientific Approach”, [Aoyama Gakuin University](#). June 29, 2022 (Tokyo JAPAN/ Virtual Presentation).
- 2022 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Pursuing Power and Trust: Cases from China Sponsoring United Nations Resolutions on Security” [in English/ presentation in Japanese, sole author]. [Japan Association for Asian Studies \(JAAS\) 2022 Spring Convention](#). June 11, 2022 (Kyoto JAPAN/ Virtual presentation).
- 2022 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Shifting Gears: Rising China’s Conception of State Autonomy in the United Nations” [in English, sole author]. [International Studies Association \(ISA\) 2022](#). Junior Scholar Symposia, March 28,

- 2022 (Nashville USA/ Virtual Presentation).
- 2022 Takahashi, Tomoko, Sanae Suzuki, Taku Yukawa. “Measuring the Influence of Executive Heads in International Organizations -Illustrative Analysis on the Effects of Democratic Density-” [in English/ presentation in Japanese, co-authored]. IDE Discussion Papers Review Session, [Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization \(IDE-JETRO\)](#), March 9, 2022 (Tokyo JAPAN/ Virtual Presentation).
- 2021 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Rising and Leading: China with the G77 at the United Nations General Assembly” [in English, sole author]. [American Political Science Association \(APSA\) 2021](#), Panel, October 1, 2021 (Seattle USA/ Virtual presentation).
- 2021 Takahashi, Tomoko. “State Autonomy of Rising Powers in International Institutions: China in the United Nations General Assembly” [in English, sole author]. [European Consortium for Political Research \(ECPR\) General Conference 2021](#), Panel, September 1, 2021 (London UK/ Virtual presentation).
- 2021 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Power and Influential Gap in International Institutions: Evidence from the United Nations General Assembly” [in English, sole author]. [Midwest Political Science Conference \(MPSA\) 2021](#), Panel, April 14, 2021 (Chicago USA/ Virtual presentation).
- 2021 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Inconspicuousness in International Institutions” [in English, sole author]. [Workshop on International Politics \(WIP\), University of Chicago](#), July 30, 2021 (Chicago USA/ Virtual presentation).
- 2020 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Inconspicuousness in International Institutions: Analyses of the United Nations General Assembly Roll Call Votes” [in English, sole author]. [Midwest Political Science Conference \(MPSA\) 2020](#), Junior Scholar Symposium, April 19, 2020 (Chicago USA/ Virtual presentation).
- 2019 Takahashi, Tomoko. “Reputation in International Norm Agreements -Case Study from China-” [in Japanese, sole author]. [Japan Association of International Relations \(JAIR\) Annual Convention 2019](#), Panel, October 19, 2019 (Niigata JAPAN/ In person).
- 2019 Takahashi, Tomoko. “China and an International Institution Goes Hand in Hand: A Case Study from the Norms on Green Finance” [in English, sole author]. [International Studies Association \(ISA\) 2019](#), Panel, March 30, 2019 (Toronto CANADA/ In person).
- 2018 Takahashi, Tomoko. “China and the Multilateral Environmental Regime – Cases from the UN Conference on the Human Environment and the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants-” [in Japanese, sole author]. [Japan Association for Asian Studies \(JAAS\) 2018 Spring Convention](#), Panel, June 9, 2018 (Tokyo JAPAN/ In person).
- 2018 Takahashi, Tomoko. “(Master’s Thesis) China and the Multilateral Environmental Regime: Reflections on Theories of International Organizations and Regimes” [in English/ presentation in Japanese, sole author]. [Japan Association for Modern China Studies, Convention for Master’s Thesis Presentations 2018](#) (Tokyo JAPAN/ In person).

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

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### **Kyoto University**

#### **Guest Lecturer**

2025	Human Security Development Class/ One class on Research Structure regarding Southeast Asian Refugees in an Era of Conflict and Climate Change (English)
2024	Human Security Development Class/ Taught one class on Research Structure regarding Southeast Asian Refugees in an Era of Conflict and Climate Change (English)
2023	East Asian Economies Workshop for Second-Fourth Year Students/ Taught one class on Research Structure regarding China's Commitment to the World Trade Organization (English)

### **Kobe University**

#### **Part-Time Lecturer**

2024-2025	International Politics/ Introduction to International Relations Teaching a huge lecture-style class of undergraduate students (mostly freshmen) for a full quarter (Japanese) (November 2024-February 2025)
2023-2024	Teaching a huge lecture-style class of undergraduate students (mostly freshmen) for a full quarter (Japanese) (November 2023-February 2024)

### **University of Tokyo**

#### **Teaching Assistant**

2022	Seminar for First-Year Students 2022 (International Relations History with an emphasis on Japan and the League of Nations) / Co-graded the class (Japanese)
2021	Seminar for First-Year Students 2022 (Topic: Issues of Historical Perception in East Asia)/ Co-taught and co-graded the class (Japanese)
2021	International Relations History in East Asia (Japanese)
2020	International Politics / Solo-taught a seminar for junior students (Japanese)

#### **Guest Lecturer at External Universities**

##### **Aoyama Gakuin University, JAPAN**

2023	Chinese Diplomacy Class/ Taught two classes on "China and International Organizations" (Japanese) for undergraduate and graduate students
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##### **Kansai University, JAPAN**

2024	Chinese Diplomacy in International Institutions (One class for undergraduate students in a seminar on International Political Economy, Japanese)
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##### **National Chengchi University, TAIWAN**

2024	China and Southeast Asia (One class for graduate students, English)
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#### **Tutorship for Language and Research**

2022	Tutor for a foreign student from China in the master's program
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2021	Tutor for two foreign students from China and Myanmar in the master's program/ visiting program
2017-2018	Tutor for three foreign students from China, Taiwan, and Vietnam in the mater's program/ visiting program

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE (FOR MY GRANTS, PLEASE SEE THE OTHER SECTION)

<b>Member 2025-</b>	European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) <a href="#">Research Network "Autocracy and Global Governance"</a> .
<b>Co-Authorship with Grants to Other Researchers</b>	
2021-Ongoing	Project with Sanae Suzuki and Taku Yukawa: <a href="#">“Research on the Aid Mechanism for Regional Organizations in Developing Countries by External Actors”</a> (Led by Dr. Suzuki, Sanae, and founded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research), University of Tokyo (JAPAN), June 2021-Ongoing.
<b>Research Assistance</b>	
2021-2022	Atsushi Ishida's Project: <a href="#">“Interdisciplinary Research on the Scope of Protection and Prohibition in the International Society”</a> (Led by Atsushi Ishida, and founded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research), University of Tokyo (JAPAN), November 2021-March 2022.
2020	Chicago Center on Democracy: <a href="#">“Developing a Global Early-Warning System for Democratic Erosion”</a> , University of Chicago with the United Nations Democracy Fund (USA), February-June 2020.
<b>Others</b>	
2025	Interview Research on United Nations, New York, UNITED STATES, September 15-21, 2025. (With Yuan Zhou, Raphaëlle Khan, and Juan Acevedo-Ossa, <a href="#">Heisei Commemorative Grant</a> )
2024, 2025	Archival Research at the Library of Congress, UNITED STATES, June 2024, January 2025.
2024	Archival Research at Academia Historica, TAIWAN, December 2024.
2019	Associate Fellow, <a href="#">Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) -Yusof Ishak Institute</a> (SINGAPORE), July 2019.
2017	Participant, Chinese History Seminar at Stanford University/ Archive Research at the Hoover Institution Archives (USA), July-August 2017.
2017	Archival Research at the United Nations Library in Geneva (SWITZERLAND), February-June, September 2017.
2016	Research Trip for Graduate Students focusing on East Asian Studies, Hosted by Ministry of Education, Taiwan/Presentation on my research plan at National Taiwan University (English), December 2016 (TAIWAN).

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE, CHAIR/DISCUSSANT ROLES

**\*FOR THE PRESENTATION OF MY OWN WORK, PLEASE SEE THE EARLIER SECTION**

2025	Organizer (and presenter) of the panel, <a href="#">“United Nations General Assembly Research in International Relations,”</a> 121st American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting & Exhibition, 12 September 2025, Vancouver, Canada.
2025	Takahashi, Tomoko, Yuan Zhou, Raphaëlle Khan, and Juan Acevedo-Ossa. “How to ‘Analyze’ International Politics: Dialogue among Researchers from Japan and Abroad”, Japan Prize Foundation (Citizen’s Workshop as a Recipient Team of the Heisei Commemorative Grant) <a href="#">Kyoritsu Girl’s Junior High and High School</a> , Tokyo, Japan, July 19, 2025.
2025	Takahashi, Tomoko (co-chair and discussant). <a href="#">“(Panel) Science Diplomacy of China”</a> , International Political Science Association (IPSA), Seoul, Republic of Korea, July 16, 2025.
2025	Organizer/ Moderator/ Discussant, <a href="#">“International Seminar: Japan and ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific: Knowledge Flows From the 1980s to the Present”</a> , German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ) and the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University, JAPAN, March 13, 2025.
2025	Moderator, <a href="#">“China, SEA, and Border: From Methodological Engagement to Kaleidoscopic Lifeworlds?”</a> Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), March 11, 2025.
2025	Discussant, <a href="#">International Studies Association (ISA) 2025</a> , Panel on “WA02: Author Meets Critics: Patrick Quinton-Brown’s ‘Intervention before Interventionism: A global Genealogy’”, March 5, 2025 (Chicago USA/ In person).
2025	Chair and Discussant, <a href="#">International Studies Association (ISA) 2025</a> , Panel on “MB39: Technology and Global Security Governance in a Changing World: The Evolution of Norms and Laws Regulating the Use of AI in the Weapons System and Cybersecurity”, March 3, 2025 (Chicago USA/ In person).
2024	<a href="#">Courtesy Call Visit to the Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA) member institutions in Taiwan</a> (Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation (TAEF), National Chengchi University and the Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies (CAPAS), Academia Sinica), Funding from SEASIA and Global Collaborative Research (GCR) schemes via Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, December 22-26, 2024 (Taipei, TAIWAN).
2024	Chair and Discussant, <a href="#">Reimagining Neutrality and its Research, 2024 International Academic Conference (Kyoto University)</a> , Panel 8 on “Neutrality in Humanitarianism”, October 25, 2024 (Kyoto, JAPAN/ In person/ In English).
2024	Organization of the Symposium: <a href="#">“Commerce and Borders: the Plurality of Security”</a> , Council for Research Institutes and Centers of Japanese National Universities (Section 3: Humanities and Social Sciences), Center



- for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), October 18, 2024.
- 2024 Organization and Discussant of the Seminar by Oriana Skylar Mastro: [“Japan’s Approach to Deterrence: Implications for Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait”](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), July 2, 2024.
- 2024 Organization and Discussant of the Book Talk by Joseph Torigian: [“Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles in the Soviet Union and China after Stalin and Mao”](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), July 2, 2024.
- 2024 Organization of the [Seminar by Norman Joshua: “Military Overlooked: Rethinking the Origins of Indonesia’s New Order, 1950–1965”](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), June 28, 2024.
- 2024 Organization and Discussant of the [Seminar by Alanna O’Malley: “Undetermined Self-Determination: The Afterlives of Global South Anti-colonial Solidarity at the United Nations”](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), June 19, 2024/ In person (and hybrid for the audience).
- 2024 Organization of the [International Workshop on China and India’s Perspectives on the Global South in a Changing Global Order](#). Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN), June 19, 2024.
- 2024 Discussant, [International Studies Association \(ISA\) 2024](#), Panel on “TB13: Understanding Contemporary Trends in Global Governance and World Politics”, April 4, 2024 (San Francisco USA/ In person).
- 2023 Workshop Organization Team Member of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University (JAPAN) with the Shoklo Malaria Research Unit (SMRU), [The 47th Southeast Asia Seminar](#), Mae Ramat, Tak, THAILAND, December 2023.
- 2023 [2023 Japan Association for Asian Studies \(JAAS\) Autumn Convention](#) Organization Team Member, Kyoto University (JAPAN), November 2023.
- 2022 Workshop Coordinator (Member), [Komaba Workshop on International Politics](#), University of Tokyo (JAPAN), April 2022-March 2023.
- 2021 Workshop Coordinator (Chair), [Komaba Workshop on International Politics](#), University of Tokyo (JAPAN), April 2021-March 2022.
- 2018 Workshop Coordinator, [KSS Workshop for Graduate Students](#), University of Tokyo (JAPAN), April-July 2018.
- 2018 Organizer, Kashiya Seminar, Japan Association for Asian Studies (JAAS) Spring Convention (JAPAN), June 2018.

## SKILLS AND LANGUAGES

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### Skills

R programming (data visualization, statistical analysis)  
 Social network analysis (introductory)  
 United Nations Archival Research

Legal Training: National Civil Servant Exam, Successful Examinee (July 2015, JAPAN)

## Languages

Japanese (native): Mother tongue

Classical Japanese (kobun/ kanbun):

- ☐ Education in junior-high/high school, 2006-2011

English (native):

- ☐ Master's Degree with Honors at the University of Chicago, 2020
- ☐ TOEFL iBT 117 (July 2019)
- ☐ Education in Junior-high/high schools- undergraduate (University of Tokyo)
- ☐ Education in international schools (Vietnam 1998-2001/ China 2001-2002)

Chinese (intermediate)

- ☐ Graduate school training, University of Tokyo, 2016-2023
- ☐ Chinese Proficiency Test Grade 5: 215 points (CEFR C1, March 2014)
- ☐ Training at Nanjing University, [University of Tokyo Liberal Arts Program, 2013](#)
- ☐ Education in undergraduate classes, University of Tokyo, 2012-2014

Classical Chinese (Written Vernacular Chinese, baihua):

- ☐ Three years of training, University of Tokyo, classes during 2016, 2020-2023

French (intermediate)

- ☐ Education at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, 2017
- ☐ Diplome d'Aptitude Pratique au Francais Niveau 2 (CEFR B1, February 2014)
- ☐ Education in undergraduate classes, University of Tokyo, 2012-2014

German (beginner): self-learning

## NONACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCE/ SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION

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2024	Career Course Lecture at Kyoritsu Women's Junior High and High School (alma mater), November 19, 2024, JAPAN
2024	Panelist for the RISE (Raising International Skills and Experience) Roundtable [in English], Ocean Network Express, August 27, 2024 (Tokyo, JAPAN/ In person).
2017	Internship, Japanese delegation to the 36 <sup>th</sup> Human Rights Council, Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations in Geneva, September 2017, SWITZERLAND
2017	Internship, Asia Pacific Team, United Nations Environment Programme Finance Initiative (UNEP FI), April-September 2017, SWITZERLAND/JAPAN
2017	Internship, Yuji Iwasawa's Assistant, United Nations Human Rights Committee (ICCPR), March 2017, SWITZERLAND
2016-2017	Internship, Communications Team, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Tokyo Office , October 2016-January 2017, JAPAN
2015-2016	Internship (Research Intern), Human Rights Now (NGO), October 2015-March 2016, JAPAN

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

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Academic Council on the United Nations System  
American Political Science Association

International Studies Association  
Japan Political Science Association  
Japan Association of Global Governance  
Japan Association for Asian Studies  
Japan Association for Modern China Studies  
Japan Association of International Relations

## **REFERENCES**

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**Available upon request.**