Southeast Asia Program Bulletin

This publication has been made possible by the generosity of Robert and Ruth Polson.
Front cover: Vietnamese wooden winged fairy, eighteenth century.
IN MEMORIAM

ROBERT A. POLSON

July 6, 1905–July 4, 1997

Robert A. Polson, emeritus professor of rural sociology and Asian studies, died on July 24, 1997. He joined Cornell in 1931 and was an active member of the Southeast Asia Program faculty since the mid-1950s. From 1950 to 1957 he served as the head of Cornell's Department of Rural Sociology, providing a vital link between SEAP's activities in the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences. His regional interests focused on the Philippines, where he held a Fulbright Professorship at Silliman University and served as a training consultant at the Philippine Community Development Program. He also consulted for the U.S. International Cooperation Administration in North Africa and Asia. Professor Polson and his wife Ruth have remained loyal friends to the Southeast Asia Program. Since his retirement in 1971, they have continued to make generous annual contributions to the program, which have been used in part to support the production of the Southeast Asia Program Bulletin.
Dear Friends,

These are heady times for Southeast Asian studies at Cornell, and I can send you a letter infused with a spirit of enthusiasm and excitement about our near future. Interest in Southeast Asia is increasing noticeably here on campus and on the wider national scene, to judge by media attention. Much of this is no doubt fueled by the burgeoning economies of the greater part of the region, but a role is also being played by the large number of students of ethnic descent from countries of the region who are now coming to Cornell. There are members of the Cornell faculty who are not in the Southeast Asia Program (SEAP) but who have developed a strong Southeast Asia component to their research and teaching. One of them, Lindy Williams, associate professor of rural sociology, has been invited to become a member of SEAP, and there is high probability that the coming year or two will see the addition of other new members of the program from faculty already at Cornell. Enrollments in our courses also reflect this interest. They are up dramatically in courses on Vietnam or its language and increasing steadily in other courses relating to the region. We are by no means satisfied, however, and one of the challenges that faces us in the coming years is how to make innovations—reorient the curriculum, develop seminars, or initiate other kinds of activities—that could raise enrollments and activities to a level commensurate with the magnificent intellectual resources inherent in faculty, staff, and the library facilities that have been built up here at Cornell.

Cornell retains its international preeminence in Southeast Asian studies, and this has been recognized by the U.S. Department of Education in our redesignation as a National Resource Center, which earned SEAP a grant worth approximately a million dollars over three years. Thanks to a supportive leadership of Cornell University, we have two new tenure-track faculty members joining the Cornell faculty in the fall, who will be members of the Southeast Asia Program: Kaja McGowan, assistant professor of the history of art, and Paul Gellert, assistant professor of rural sociology and international development. They are intellectually exciting and charismatic young people who can make us confident that the Cornell Southeast Asia Program will continue to be a center for Southeast Asian studies into a new century.

Support from Cornell’s leadership makes it likely that as individual Southeast Asia faculty members retire or leave Cornell, there will be immediate replacement by promising specialists in Southeast Asian studies, even in times of downsizing and financial stringency.

We are experiencing steady growth in outreach services to primary and secondary schools and teachers. Southeast Asia Program Publications has come to occupy a position of ever-increasing importance as an outlet for the publication of language learning materials and specialized monographs and studies relating to Southeast Asia. The Echols Collection is devoting ever-greater resources for acquisition and processing of books and other materials, is involved in maintenance and cooperative projects, and continues to serve as the premier collection of Southeast Asian materials in this country and, for certain types of books, in the world. The pay scale for language teachers has been raised by a significant percentage, and I am happy to report that our teachers of Southeast Asian languages are now language teaching professionals across the board. Finally, and not least, we continue to produce excellent scholars. Last year we had five absolutely extraordinary Ph.D. theses presented in the social sciences and humanities.

In short, we move into the next year strongly supported by excellent academic resources, with a good record of service in outreach to the schools and in publications, and with a challenge to develop the curriculum and faculty and to provide intellectual leadership for Southeast Asian Studies.

John U. Wolff
Director, Southeast Asia Program
When the Indian poet and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited Indonesia he observed that he saw India everywhere but did not recognize it. In fact, if he had been an Indonesian visiting India, he would probably have made the same observation. Tagore visited Indonesia many years ago, but his words ring as true today as they did then. In 1994 and again in 1996, when I had the opportunity to visit Indonesia, I began to discover what he really meant.

My discovery began when the Social Science Research Council called me in the spring of 1994 to inform me that I was the recipient of an International Predissertation Fellowship, which would enable me to travel to Indonesia to learn about the culture and language of the country. As a student of economics at Cornell University, I was surprised to the point of disbelief. In many “respectable” economics departments today, the concept of international travel for the purpose of predotal or doctoral research is viewed with scorn. Good economics should, this point of view implies, apply equally to any economy. The context of economic problems is unimportant to the point of being irrelevant. So I was pleasantly surprised that the SSRC took so seriously the idea of training economists about the context of their studies. Here was an organization that treated economics as a social science. And, as I was to learn, the process of economic development depends very heavily on the institutional context in which it is occurring.

In May 1994, I attended SEASSI at the University of Wisconsin. Language training forms a required part of the IPFP, and a central goal of SEASSI is to impart intensive language training to students of Southeast Asian languages. Because I had so little knowledge about Indonesia before I went to Wisconsin, I was pleasantly surprised to discover that as a native speaker of Hindi, with its Sanskrit and Arabic roots, I was in possession of a vocabulary and pronunciation that provided a strong foundation for studying Bahasa Indonesia. In class, it was often safe to guess that a word meant the same thing in Bahasa Indonesia as it did in Hindi. Of course, there was the occasional mix up. Susu, for example, means “milk” in Bahasa Indonesia and something rather less drinkable in Hindi. After two very instructive months in Madison, it was time for me to visit Indonesia to learn if the similarities between my native culture and Indonesian culture extend beyond language. Again, I made some interesting discoveries—while there are numerous cultural, social, and economic similarities, Indonesia has followed an economic path that is dramatically different from India’s path since the mid-1940s, when both countries gained independence from their colonial rulers.

Perhaps one of the more intriguing differences between Indonesia and India from the point of view of an economist is the relative performance of the two economies since independence. The Indonesian economy has surged past the Indian economy by most economic and social measures. I couldn’t help but wonder whether this had anything to do with such glaringly different political systems. Indonesia has been under the rule of President Suharto for over thirty years now. The government is not accountable to the Indonesian people in the manner that Indian governments have been over this period. In understanding why Indonesia and India are in such different economic situations today, there are perhaps four key factors to recognize. They are oil, relations with the United States, the existence of independent institutions that serve as checks and balances against one another, and the nature of
economic policy making in the two countries. It is the role of checks and balances in the system that particularly fascinated me.

In Indonesia, power is highly centralized. The press, the bureaucracy, the political system, the judicial system, the police, and the armed forces are tightly controlled by the center. In India, they are independent, and each institution is constantly acting to prevent the others from becoming all-powerful. The benefit from the economic perspective of the Indonesian system is that an authority with vision has tremendous power to do good. For example, the government had the vision to employ trained economists to bail the economy out of a crisis in the early 1980s, when oil prices crashed. To the extent that these economists had the ear of the president, they were more than just bureaucrats—their word could, if necessary, have been translated directly into law, by presidential decree or through a legislature that acted according to the will of the president. In many ways, the economic policies designed by Suharto's technical advisors in the early 1980s were nothing short of visionary. They held off the negative effects of fluctuating oil prices that have crippled so many other oil-exporting economies. The government has also had the vision to develop its transportation infrastructure—exemplified by the trans-Sumatra highway and the beginnings of a high-speed highway system in West Java. In short, good ideas are implemented with ease in Indonesia, provided the center supports them. There are risks associated with having such a system in place, however. There is the possibility of having an authority with tremendous power to do damage to the economy, as has happened in the majority of developing countries with monolithic institutional structures. There is also a social cost to having such a system. On my way to Jakarta every day, I used to pass through Pasar Minggu, a southern suburb of Jakarta. A cluster of temporary fruit and vegetable stalls had been erected at a major intersection in Pasar Minggu. One day, the police burned these stalls down, leaving the owners with losses from the burning of their stalls and possessions, and the insecurity of having to find a new place in which to sell their produce with no guarantee that the events of Pasar Minggu would not revisit them at their new location. If the police had committed such an act in a city like Delhi, the press, the politicians, the judicial system, and just about every institution apart from the police would have been up in arms against the offenders.

The same checks and balances that provide some stability to the political system and a modicum of justice for the people in India have also contributed to her lackluster economic performance. They have hindered the progress of economic reform in the country as different institutions have maneuvered to prevent others from encroaching on their powers at the cost of cohesiveness. For example, it would be impossible for a daughter of the prime minister to play a major role in the construction of major highways around the capital or any other large city without intense scrutiny from counterbalancing institutions. Perhaps this is why Jakarta has such an impressive highway system compared to any large Indian city—president Suharto's daughter has played a central role in its construction. This is also why it is possible to get huge projects with huge economic benefits approved overnight in Indonesia—so long as one of the president's relatives is involved in the deal—while the same process could take years in India. Trained economists in India have never had the power enjoyed by the economists in Indonesia in the mid-1980s. Perhaps this is why the Indian economy only began to grow steadily at an annual rate of over five percent per year after Manmohan Singh, an economist, became finance minister in the early 1990s. From a development perspective, Indonesia and India make a fascinating contrast. Both countries have something that would make the other country a better place to live. And both countries have paid the price for it.
Parents' Attitudes TOWARD THEIR Children's Education IN RURAL THAILAND

Lindy Williams
Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology and Development

Recently, I was asked to write something for this issue of the Bulletin to introduce myself to the Southeast Asia Program, and I’ve considered a number of ways to approach the assignment. In the end, I’ve chosen a rather conventional approach, that is, to describe some of my most recent work in the region. Several years ago I was asked to join a research project in which a good friend from graduate school, Napaporn Havanon, was involved. Now at Srinakharinwirot University, she and Kritaya Archavanitkul at Mahidol University were working on a study of secondary-school enrollments in rural communities in the central and northeast regions of Thailand.

The topic was considered very important locally for a number of reasons. Adverse market consequences of low enrollments include lower overall productivity, lower income levels, and lower quality of life in general; noneconomic consequences include those having to do with poor nutrition and diminished health and educational prospects for the generation to follow. Also highly pertinent to some in Thailand is the desire to provide, through increased schooling, viable alternatives to work in the commercial sex trade. While the percentage of all children enrolled beyond secondary school is comparatively high in Thailand, national enrollments in secondary school are lower than in a number of other countries in the region (including, for example, the Philippines and Malaysia). Since the majority of Thai children still terminate their schooling after completing primary education, continuation from primary to secondary school is considered the most important transition point in the educational system at the present time.

A mixed-method approach was chosen for the study, a survey to get a sense of how widespread certain school-choice patterns were, and a series of in-depth group interviews to help us understand in detail parents’ reasons for their decisions about children’s schooling. Here I’ll focus mostly on the latter. For the study, nine group interviews were held in the central region and eight in the northeast. Discussion centered around the determinants and consequences of continuing schooling past the primary level. The discussions provide general perceptions and attitudes related to education reflecting not only the participants’ own experience, but also their observations of the experiences of others in the community.

Much of what we found in the survey and group interviews coincided. In both cases, we found that a family’s socioeconomic situation was critically important. All too often parents reported that given their financial circumstances, a choice had to be made within the family, as not all children could be sent to secondary school. In fact, the issue of rural poverty, as it constrains options for children’s education, was raised in nearly every group discussion. While the benefits of education were clearly recognized, so were both direct costs and opportunity costs. This is the case even in families with children who were highly motivated to continue. The following abridged examples are illustrative.

CENTRAL REGION, GROUP 2:
S: As farmers, we can’t support our kids to have a very high education. We lack the means.

[Later in the discussion]
Moderator: Does it cost much to send your kids to secondary school?
Y: Yes, it costs a lot in a year: bus fare, tuition fee, textbooks, two uniforms, toys, shirts.

CENTRAL REGION, GROUP 9:
Moderator: And what do you think?
B: Well, mother doesn’t have that kind of money to send her daughter. If she had, then her little one would be doing the same thing. I always think about this, about my girl wanting to learn more, but what can I do when there’s no money? The transportation fares alone; the year before last when she was at M.1, were already 800 baht. Last year it was 900 baht because the petroleum price went up and this year it is 1,000.

In the Northeast region, where secondary school enrollments are lower, the same types of stories emerged.

NORTHEAST REGION, GROUP 3:
Moderator: Mrs. T, do you know if a lot of people in this area send their children to school?
B & T: No, because even if they want to, they don’t have the means to.
B: Because of poverty.
T: They want to but we don’t have the money; the farmers really don’t.
K: To tell you the truth we don’t really want them to be farmers like us. Maybe the children will be better than us.

[Later in the discussion]
P: For some people it’s the problem of money. Every day they go to school, they need money. Sometimes there’s no money even to buy fish sauce, and how can they get the children to go to school? So it’s enough for them just to be able to read and write at P.6.

While parents’ financial circumstances are clearly critical in determining whether some or all children are able to attend secondary school, both data sources indicate that the sex of the child is also a factor in such decisions. According to the survey data, gender issues are relevant among families at all points of the socioeconomic scale; lower percentages of girls than boys are sent on to secondary school by parents at nearly every socioeconomic level.

When the moderators of the focus groups asked specifically whether parents had sent or planned to send their boys or their girls (or both) to secondary school, lively discussions occurred in some groups, while in others there was little disagreement. Very often parents felt that boys and girls were equally talented and should have equal opportunities to attend secondary school, or that any decision should be made on the basis of the sex of the individual child’s potential to learn when a choice must be made. When there was a stated preference for sending children of one gender or the other, parents occasionally favored sending girls. In such instances, they usually did so because they thought girls were more reliable.

NORTHEAST REGION, GROUP 4:
Moderator: Between sons and daughters who would you prefer to send to school?
S2: Daughters.
Moderator: Why is that?
S2: They are more responsible. They think more about family and parents. The girls won’t drink and won’t sniff glue.
B: They don’t go out except sometimes when the boys ask them and then it’s only some people not everyone. They know the limits.
N: The girls, even though they only finished P.6 will send money to us when they work. The boys don’t have any time.

In most cases in which a preference was expressed, however, parents favored sending boys. Many reasons were offered for this choice: because boys were thought to be more capable or more likely to gain from higher education, because their future roles were more likely to be tied to jobs that required more schooling (while their sisters were expected to attend to domestic concerns), or because it was much less risky for boys to make the journey to schools located at a distance from home. Girls’ safety was a very real concern, one that came up repeatedly in a number of the groups. Among parents who ideally would have chosen to educate both boys and girls, safety was often the deciding factor that resulted in sending boys only.

CENTRAL REGION, GROUP 7:
N1: The boys are tougher than the girls.
N2: The girls stay at home; they don’t have to go anywhere.
N2: The guys have to go and get a job so they can take care of the family.

CENTRAL REGION, GROUP 2:
Y: If I had both daughter and son, I’d support them to study. But for a daughter, she shouldn’t study very high. She’d better take care of domestic chores and her parents. As for a son, if I have enough money, I will support him as long as he wants to study.

Moderator: But why do you fully support the boy, while the girl is required to look after household chores?
Y: Unlike girls, you don’t have to worry much about boys.

NORTHEAST REGION, GROUP 3:
B1: Now the boys and the girls get the same schooling and that’s good. But for sure I would prefer the boys to learn more.

Moderator: Why do you prefer the boys to learn more?
T: The boys can’t get pregnant.
K: The girls, when they go out, the parents think and worry, but with the boys—they can take care of themselves.

U: But still I want them to learn equally if they can. But if we have to choose in the family then it would have to be the boys.

[Later in the discussion]
Moderator: And on the whole how do people in the village think about sending boys and girls to school?
K: More boys are sent and not many girls. Look at the kids riding their bikes here. Most of them are boys.
Everyone: More boys.

Moderator: So don’t girls want to come or is it the parents who don’t let them?
T: It’s the parents who worry about them.

NORTHEAST REGION, GROUP 6:
P: I want my sons to get higher education.

Moderator: What is your reason?
P: Boys who do farm work will have a hard time when they have their own families. If they are educated, it won’t be so hard for their wives and kids. For instance, my husband doesn’t have any education, so I and our kids don’t have an easy life. Therefore, I want my son to be educated so that the daughter-in-law will be happy.

Moderator: And how about your daughters?
P: If they get good husbands with knowledge and position, they’ll be happy.

Moderator: Between sons and daughters, who should get higher education, Auntie B?
B1: Should get equal education. I don’t have bias.
M: Equal.
P: Not bias, but worry about.

Some schooling decisions are thus clearly made on the basis of the sex of the child. While boys continue to go to secondary school in greater numbers than their female counterparts, the reasons for this are complex and may or may not involve issues having to do with the child’s real or perceived ability or long-term potential as a scholar or provider of resources. As several of the focus group excerpts indicated, choices are made all too frequently on the basis of the child’s safety, and in such cases boys are strongly favored over girls.
S
ince coming to Cornell University in August 1995 as a lecturer in Vietnamese, I have been responsible for teaching, developing materials, and shaping the overall outlook of the language program. During this time, I have seen a tremendous growth in program enrollment and changes in student representation. As I continue to adapt to these changes and shape the program's future, I realize that in the process, I, too, have been learning and growing greatly. So it is difficult for me to talk about the program without being personal. And there is nothing more personal about a class than the people in it. It seems natural, then, to start by answering the most frequently asked questions about the program, “Who are the students?” and “Why study Vietnamese?”

Graduate students from various disciplines focusing on Vietnam comprise a large part of my student body. Many of them are from the United States, but many are from other countries such as Korea, Thailand, Japan, and France. Next year, there will be students from Eastern Europe as well! The undergraduates, by contrast, are usually students of Vietnamese descent. Many of these heritage students were born in the United States or came here at an early age so they have had no formal education in or exposure to the language. Their reasons for taking Vietnamese are quite different and more personal than the graduates’. These two groups comprise about 80 percent of the program, about thirteen students in each category. In the fall of ‘96 an explosion in Vietnamese occurred, with enrollment reaching an all-time high of thirty-two students, a 40 percent increase from the previous year, and a 140 percent increase from the year before that. This has made Vietnamese one of the largest and fastest growing of the less commonly taught languages at Cornell. With this increase, one group that does not follow the traditional student pattern (where graduates are non-heritage students and undergraduates are typically heritage students) has emerged: the undergraduate non-heritage students.

I knew the program was heading in a very different direction when I entered the beginning class on the first day this past year. I normally conduct individual interviews a few days early, so that I can place students at appropriate levels. Vietnamese American students usually come to see me at my office, and graduate students have ways of searching me out at places like Kroch Library or the Kahin Center. However, for this group, a Willard Straight lunch-hour type, I had to rephrase my interview survey. Since I was quite sure that their prior Vietnamese acquisition was close to nil, I asked my favorite two-word question: “Why Vietnamese?” The responses that I got were quite interesting. Except for one student who said that his girlfriend was Vietnamese, no one else gave me a reason that was remotely personal or committed! I got reasons like: “I wanted to take Chinese or some other language but they didn’t fit into my schedule,” from someone graduating from the Ag School in June, planning to go to England to study fisheries. Another student said, “It’s either this or astronomy. I am still deciding on which course is easier and more interesting.” I liked his sense of curiosity. But when I told him that more important than the grade was that he liked the course, he said: “Oh, God!” The next person was a junior majoring in English. This person summed it up in two words: “Why not?” That, I liked.
Speaking
Since the program is quite large and the background of the students is very diverse, it is essential that materials and activities are appropriately chosen and class is structured to accommodate and meet the needs of all the students. The curriculum has been the biggest challenge for me, because the levels of students' language acquisition are much more complex than the three levels that we currently offer. That means at each level the teaching approach has to be specialized so that students can gain learning experiences suitable for them as individuals. However, since there is a dearth of Vietnamese texts, finding materials appropriate for the students has not been an easy task. I have been supplementing the texts in the beginning and intermediate classes and developing materials more suited for the advanced students. Generally, in a language program, speaking should be the primary goal at the beginning and intermediate levels, while reading and writing components are the backbone for the advanced group.

I have always believed that the important aspect of language learning is speaking. My early teaching days in Taiwan and Japan gave me a sense that above all else, people love to talk. However, a dialogue is meaningless if there is no one to talk to, and, worse yet, frustrating if one doesn’t know how to respond. The day-to-day lesson plans are structured so that students are constantly engaging in some kind of communicative activity: pair work, interviews, role playing, etc. One of the most effective and interactive activities is the oral presentation. Students pair up to present and act out five- to ten-minute dialogues that they have written and memorized. Not only does this activity have a social function, but it is also practical, useful, and fun, since students get to know each other through another language. I never realized how many aspiring “actors” are out there! All students seem to be very enthusiastic about doing the skits as well as watching them. On the skit days they often come to class early and set things up, with their props and all. Many of the scripts that I have seen and read in the past two years have been quite good, and some display true comic flair. And I have become quite good at spotting potential “hits.” Since the students turn in scripts two days before the “production,” I always look over their work beforehand. At first, I was only making comments on sentence structures, correcting grammatical errors, suggesting word choices more fitting for the situations. But gradually, I have begun to make more comments on the content, the cultural elements, and the performance potentials of the dialogues. Not only is it essential that the story line and the dialogues sound “Vietnamese,” but the delivery of the dialogues is an important aspect of making the play more lively and entertaining. Sometimes I argue with them and sound more like a talent agent than a teacher.

Reading
Students have a big influence on my choice of reading materials. While keeping in mind that the texts must be relevant to their reading abilities and interests, I am free to experiment with a wide range of readings. In the process, as I have selected reading materials, I have been rethinking the way I read. I find it immensely pleasurable and rewarding when I read to share. Over the last two years, we have shared a lot, from folklore and ancient stories to moral tales, from fiction to nonfiction, both in literary and journalistic genres. While I choose materials pertinent to the social, cultural, and historical aspects of Vietnam, I constantly ask myself—and the students—“Why do we read what we read?” At the intermediate level, when reading is introduced, the purpose is more or less to open windows on customs and culture.

At the advanced level, reading plays a much greater pedagogical role. The text is the focal point of class discussion, homework assignments, and commentary papers. The more exposure to different kinds of writings the students have, the better sense they will have for the language. In turn, they will write better when they see different ways of formulating words and language. However, perhaps the strongest reason for selecting materials is a very personal one, beyond the question of whether or not the materials are teachable. The vitality of the text is what most interests me. It is important that I am able to bring life to a text, to make the language visually stimulating. I don’t think it would be possible for me to teach reading without bringing that aspect into the classroom. I credit students in the advanced class for pushing me to constantly
search and reach out for new perspectives. The atmosphere that is generated in class is extremely stimulating. It takes so much energy to move a class into the stream of thinking and line of emotion of a story that, once the story has been read and discussed, sometimes I am so exhausted by it that I no longer want to re-introduce the same story to another class—even from one year to the next. I believe that the dynamic of each and every class is unique. This is the foundation on which I choose reading materials.

Writing
Writing something worth reading is a daunting task. The beginning is arduous, but when good writing is finally achieved after constant practice and repeated rewrites, the hard work has been well worth the effort. Seeing students actually begin to express themselves articulately on paper is an invigorating experience, as if the words magically jump out at me. Even the first-year students are asked to keep a weekly journal starting at the beginning of class. For the first few weeks, entries are expected to start out with simple dialogues modeled after the ones in the text and the supplementary material. After sufficient vocabulary has been acquired, students are encouraged to write more creatively on a variety of topics of interest. Sometimes I hear myself saying, “I do not teach words. I teach you what you do with them. Can you give me a sentence? Can you give me a better sentence?” Eventually, I ask for a paragraph, and a week later, a page, and by the end of semester, entries of two to three pages. This is no surprise to them, although it always seems to surprise me, because writing and reading are secondary at this level.

As first-year students are encouraged to learn how to work with what they know, independent of a dictionary, and gradually to build up their language knowledge, intermediate and advanced students are challenged by themes and styles. I move these classes out of the “journal genre” and introduce a “free writing” series, going beyond the “routine” topics dealing with a typical day at Cornell. As the students move on to topics more related to class readings, they get to play more with their creativity. Student work has ranged from serial detective stories, to medieval Vietnamese folklore and famous legends, to contemporary soap operas, as well as dialogues derived from stories read in class. In addition to “free writing,” advanced students are also required to write summaries and commentary papers based on the readings. As students learn how to express their opinions, to make arguments, or to support statements, I have learned how to listen. Even though we often have writing workshops where students read each other’s papers and make comments on them, I read everyone’s papers. This offers me insights into the complexity of my students’ thinking and a broader outlook about them as individuals. Contrary to any stereotype of a particular group of students—graduate or undergraduate, heritage or non-heritage, Asian or European or American—the responses to the readings and to my questions have been profoundly individual. This has been the greatest lesson for me.

The Last Word
I have had long chats with all the students throughout the year. Let me give an update on some of them. The fisheries student was accepted into Cambridge, although he has chosen to do his graduate work in Dublin; he has said he will try to continue studying Vietnamese, which makes me very pleased. However, I am not sure whether I would like to be named after a fish. In his weekly journal entries and conversational dialogues, I have already played more roles than I can imagine: a waitress, a student, a cashier, a beach girl, a hotel owner, etc. The young man who I was quite sure would drop my class decided instead to do without astronomy. Eight months later, this time it was his turn to convince me why he likes Vietnamese and would like to continue through to the advanced level. The “Why not?” student will continue Vietnamese in his senior year; this time, I think I hear him saying “Why not!” The romantic soul with the Vietnamese girlfriend is going to teach her how to read and write Vietnamese. He once corrected my pronunciation of her name (I had pronounced it in a Northern way, and she is a Southerner).

As for future participants of the program, I am interested in seeing more of the “Why not?” students who, by pure chance, stumble across Vietnamese for the first time at Cornell. I promise them I won’t take it personally if they choose to move on to different fields, for I, myself, have tried quite a few languages, among other things. It has been great fun introducing something to a group of people who are intrigued by the new and the different. That is not to say that I do not appreciate my core groups of students—the graduate constituents and the heritage students. The former group has been the main outlet for my inspiration. I share their views, their frustrations, their fears and tears, their struggles to do better. The heritage students have touched me in more ways than they will ever know.

Throughout the year, my students often used their writing as a way to talk about themselves or about each other. The most fun I have ever had in a class was when I literally had to fight to make my voice louder than the students’, because they were so lively. I appreciated their enthusiasm toward their work, knowing that this would inspire them to achieve more. Even in some of the evaluations, the students continued the conversations with me. They wrote in Vietnamese! By writing in Vietnamese, it was clear that the students did not do what they were supposed to do, that is, to evaluate the course for others to read. To them, this was no different than just another writing exercise. This article is a response to that five-minute exercise, with a fond word of gratitude.

This dialogue is for you all.

Cảm ơn.
A Place in the Middle
A VIEW OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
AT CORNELL

Jennifer Krier
Assistant Professor of Anthropology

In one way, leaving the hubbub and activity of Boston, Massachusetts, for my position in Ithaca, New York, as assistant professor of anthropology has been like moving to the center of the universe, a universe that places Southeast Asia in its middle. In some ways I feel closer to New York, as assistant professor of Minangkabau village in West Sumatra, Indonesia. In my two years here, I have attended fabulous cultural performances, eaten delicious regional cuisine, and met prominent Southeast Asian politicians and scholars as well as numerous students. It’s much easier for me to get my hand on Indonesian newspapers and magazines at Kroch Library than it was for me in the field. But most of all, I have been introduced to a vibrant intellectual community where learning, thinking, and talking about Southeast Asia is part of daily life.

My interest in Southeast Asia developed during my first year of graduate school in the department of anthropology at Harvard. I had come to graduate school interested in anthropology, art, and ritual, in the way cultural objects and performances are used to communicate social ideas about belonging, organization, and power. The books that most impressed me on this topic were written by Southeast Asianists, people like Clifford Geertz, Stanley Tambiah, Stephen Lansing, and Jane Belo. Although Southeast Asia specialists were few at Harvard, training in most Southeast Asian languages was unavailable, and library resources were limited, I decided to pursue my fascination with Southeast Asian culture and devoted my studies to Indonesia. We students interested in the region pursued various strategies to make up for the resources Harvard lacked; we went to SEASSI in the summer, we organized a Southeast Asia Association and brown-bag series. We did our fieldwork, and some of us migrated to Cornell for a semester or two.

While a number of my colleagues and friends hailed from Cornell’s Southeast Asia Program, I myself did not have the opportunity to visit the university until I was invited here to give my job talk in the spring of 1995. While by that time I had benefitted from the teachings of a group of Southeast Asianist scholars (Mary Steedly, Ken George, and Tam Thai) all hired by Harvard while I was in the field, I still considered myself primarily an anthropologist rather than a regionalist. Therefore I felt nervous about presenting my work for the first time to luminaries such as Oliver Wolters, George Kahin, David Wyatt, Tom Kirsch, Ben Anderson, Stan O’Connor, and Keith Taylor. But my talk, which analyzed the political dynamics of a Minangkabau property dispute and included an extended description of a woman exposing herself to senior males, seemed to capture people’s attention.

Six months later I was back, at the center of the universe. After two years of teaching here, I now see my non-Cornellian training in Southeast Asia as a strength. My work on gender, ritual, law, and kinship in Sumatra complements the program’s strengths in politics, language, history, Java, and Thailand. I have learned much from the brilliant colleagues and students around me. The program’s emphasis on an interdisciplinary approach to studying the history, society, and culture of the region has enhanced the way I think about teaching anthropology, and has encouraged me to see literature, historical accounts, films, and popular media as rich sources of ethnographic information.

In my years to come at Cornell, I look forward to further developing my teaching, research, and writing in this rich and stimulating atmosphere. My current work explores the ways gender and kinship inform identity politics in Indonesia; specifically, why it is that Minangkabau claims to cultural identity and belonging—at both local and national levels—are made via statements about kinship and lineage rather than, for example, race, ethnicity, or class. I have sought to bring these topics alive in the introductory undergraduate courses I teach as well. In this context, I discuss Indonesian racial categories or Minangkabau conceptions of what constitutes a “family” to alert students to the constructedness of their own conceptions of race and kinship. Southeast Asia is not a site of exotic otherness, but a modern nation-state where conceptions of identity are constructed differently than in our own society, because of the region’s distinct historical, sociocultural, and political-economic dynamics.
The accumulation of departments, programs, and graduate fields that comprise the institutional scheme of Asian studies at Cornell have not resulted from, nor have they assumed the guise of, a coherent or rational exercise of thought having conceptual value for another place. I do not assume that coherency is desirable or that rationalizing efforts are necessary, but I am interested in how to negotiate changing conditions for Asian studies at Cornell in the most interesting and productive way.

All of us who associate ourselves with Asian studies are appointed in departments that are defined, in most cases, by disciplines. The two areas where disciplinarity commonly finds its greatest institutional expression, faculty hiring and training graduate students, are also where there is probably the greatest need to activate a context beyond disciplinarity. Of course, at Cornell, many of us are already multidisciplinarians or interdisciplinarians, and the graduate committee system does enable students to be trained in more than one discipline; these are assets. But it may be that we could, with benefit, think about new ways of conceptualizing and practicing contacts among disciplines for Asian studies. This turns our attention to the area programs, which for many years have provided supradisciplinary units by dividing Asia into three parts: East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia.

The area-studies programs arose and thrived during the Cold War as recipients of government funding and grants from private foundations allied with government priorities. This circumstance and the question of how area-studies programs are adapting to the post–Cold War situation deserve careful thought. For example, how would area-studies programs change without government funding?

Area-studies programs embody two achievements worthy of being retained and expanded: inter/multidisciplinarity and an orientation toward contemporary issues. Area-studies programs have been strongest when they have been most collegially inclusive and most connected to events taking place in the area being studied. This probably means that thinking about Asian studies cannot avoid being informed by ideas about contemporaneity that go beyond disciplinarity.

The terms interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity are different in emphasis. Interdisciplinarity suggests a place between disciplines, overlapping more than one discipline, that may not strictly identify with any discipline. Multidisciplinarity suggests an accumulation of disciplinary theories and methods without a loss or dilution or mediation of disciplinarity. Both of these emphases assume the identity of disciplines, either as fixed points of reference for charting a place of interdisciplinarity or as an accumulation of epistemological strategies for multidisciplinary practice. But, of course, disciplinary theories and practices are not fixed patterns but are rather visions of coherence undergoing change.

All disciplines in some degree experience constant change; in recent years, many disciplines have been experiencing significant and rapid change. Departments, where disciplinary thought assumes institutional practice, respond differently to change, some welcoming it, some endeavoring to deny it. Most often departments simply negotiate to minimize the effects of change on a prevailing sense of institutional identity. Sometimes departments nostalgically endeavor to strike what is
imagined to be a more “basic” disciplinary pose. I believe that Asian studies can thrive to the extent that departments are open to changes occurring in the larger disciplinary context of the academy. If departments resist change or endeavor to enforce an exclusive disciplinary bias, the intellectual energy necessary for Asian studies will be diminished.

This is also true for the area programs as they are presently constituted, only here the issue is not disciplinarity but particular visions of time and place. Area programs suffer to the degree that they continue to address what is no longer contemporary, or fail to acknowledge the contemporaneity of whatever it is that they do, regardless of how arcane it may appear. They also suffer to the extent that the areas to which they correspond may no longer operate in the contemporary world as an “area.” Area programs that established their reputations in a time when decolonization, nationalism, and Cold War alignments dominated academic thought must move on to a new set of issues. And area programs may find that their places of reference need to be redrawn on the world map. Asian studies will benefit to the degree that area programs are open to change.

The changes that are affecting both departmental manifestations of disciplinarity and programmatic definitions of area are emerging in an expanding overlap between the humanities and the social sciences, the effect of which is to ground the study of culture in both particular social contexts and a global context. Asian studies can be rethought across disciplines and areas. One way to do this is to apply strategies that cannot be identified with any discipline as presently constituted to the topics of race, gender, ethnicity, spatiality, remembrance, and visibility. A second way to do this is to explore points of contact between Asian studies and Asian American studies. A third way is through the study of Asian languages and how translation affects Asian studies; language is often regarded as simply a research tool rather than the site of ongoing cultural experimentation that it is.

I can see three general possibilities for Asian studies. One is to try to re-invent a sense of discipline or area, in the context of a department or a program, that worked in the past; this will not work now. Another is to acquire an institutionalized habit of trying to keep up with trends without fully accepting their implications, of ad hoc measures to shore up consensus and to avoid any significant intellectual change. The third and, to my mind, most promising possibility would be to assemble a critical mass of students, teachers, and scholars interested in not only participating in change but also contributing to it. This would create the intellectual energy and excitement that we normally only dream of experiencing in the university, which brings us back to faculty hiring and to graduate programs. The future of Asian studies is in the hands of younger faculty members and graduate students. Delay in acknowledging this will limit the immediate possibilities for an Asian studies that is part of the expanding edge of intellectual change in the academy.

Rather than interdisciplinarity or multidisciplinarity, I am thinking of something that might be called paradisciplinarity, which I would like to imagine as the possibility of thinking beyond existing constellations of disciplines and areas to enable hitherto unacknowledged sets of methodological strategies to gain momentum as places of scholarly practice. For example, my work on early Vietnamese texts has led me from historiography to literary criticism to phonology and philology, and has also challenged the formulations of area that have organized our academic knowledge of Asia.

In the early 1990s, I spent two years living in Hanoi, where, among other things, I studied with senior linguists and philologists. At the same time as I was trying to master aspects of the phonological and orthographic history of the Vietnamese language, I was surrounded by the sounds and symbols of a densely populated city undergoing great and rapid change. As I endeavoured to think my way into the textual debris of other times, I was literally living amidst the clamor, the dust, and the debris of a contemporary construction site. As I sat with my books in my study, with windows and air vents open on all sides, I learned to work while swimming in the shouts and screams, talking and singing, hammering and roaring that came from every direction. I intuitively felt that the discipline of reading an old text and the discipline of hearing a contemporary society were mutually enabling; each requires the skill of living with both pattern and randomness while not committing to either, and each requires the skill of living with interruption. It was in Hanoi that the writings of John Cage about sound and chance operations took on concrete significance in the “real-life drama” of my daily life and work. The more joy I took from the old texts, the more at ease I was with the distracting uproar in which I lived. And, the longer I lived in Hanoi, the less confident I was that, if pressed to assign to it an area identity, it was Southeast Asian more than East Asian.

It has now been three years since I returned to Cornell, and it has taken me most of that time to digest the implications of my experience in Hanoi. I am convinced more than ever that the study of Asia, regardless of how esoteric or quantified it may be, must rest upon experience of Asia as it exists today, which raises a fundamental problem for Asian studies at a place like Cornell, where pride in library collections and past achievements, which can be catalogued and engraved, is a tempting substitute for the disorienting experience of a contemporary Asia that is undergoing rapid and dramatic change. Asian studies cannot remain aloof from what is happening in Asia today. Neither can it remain aloof from theoretical and methodological change occurring in other parts of the academy. This makes Asian studies at Cornell especially challenging, and we must be willing to think beyond the existing institutional scheme in our efforts to apply the changing epistemologies of our disciplines with greater theoretical rigor to a part of the globe that increasingly eludes the logic of our areal divisions.
Technology IN THE LIBRARY

Allen Riedy
Curator, Echols Collection on Southeast Asia, Kroch Library

If someone who had not visited a library for the past twenty years strolled into a library in 1997, the place would still be recognizable, but our visitor would notice vast changes also. Books and journals continue to be prominent, occupying most of the space. Gone for the most part are the cabinets filled with catalog cards and the periodic slamming of their wooden drawers. In their place are banks of computers, the click of fingers against keyboards, and the whirring buzz of printers. While the familiar Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature and other indexes to periodicals remain, the traffic around the tables where they sit is not nearly as heavy as in the past. Increasingly, these paper indexes are being superseded by electronic databases accessible from computer workstations.

Ten years or so ago, futurists (or some of the more rash among their number) were predicting the end of the book as we know it. In the not-too-distant future we would curl up in bed with a computer in our lap reading our favorite novel. A new vision has replaced this unreal view of the future. More and more, librarians and even the computer-driven information industry see a future where these two formats—electronic and paper—complement one another. In the library we do see replacement of paper by electronic data, but primarily among printed bibliographies and indexes, where the ability to manipulate data is a powerful incentive to change the format.

Most of us are probably familiar, if ever so slightly, with the Web and its communications backbone, the Internet. The Web is a mine of amusements, diversions, and information—good and bad, reliable and unreliable. The chaotic, unregulated nature of the Web is the key to its vibrant and alluring character. Surprises abound which make “surfing” such an obsessive pastime for some. On the other hand, its unregulated nature, the fact that anyone can put anything on it irrespective of its veracity, should make the surfer wary.

There is another side of the Web, one that gets considerably less media attention: it is becoming the preferred vehicle for disseminating serious scholarship in the form of electronic journals, reference information, and bibliographic resources. Through the Internet and the Web a virtual library is being created worldwide, a library without walls, one where physical possession of a tome is not necessarily a prerequisite to accessing the information in that volume.

The virtual library comprises a couple of aspects corresponding to the traditional library. First, of course, is the identification or verification of the existence of an item. We might compare this to searching a catalog, bibliography, or index to find the location of the item in a source and the location of the library that has the source. Where before we searched our own library catalog, large printed volumes of other libraries’ catalogs (for example, the 753-volume National Union Catalog), and bibliographies and indexes, via the Internet we can now search online library catalogs worldwide to verify the existence of an item and who might hold it. We have had this ability for several years, and it has become commonplace for us to dial into the catalogs of libraries with major Southeast Asia collections in the United States, Southeast Asia, Europe, and Australia. We use these catalogs to help patrons find specific items, but also to identify publications which we may want to add to the Echols Collection. Access to these catalogs is usually without charge.

The other aspect of the virtual library is the digital library, the provision online of the full text of publications. This is a more recent development, coinciding with the emergence of reliable scanning technology. Cornell University Library, for instance, subscribes to several collections of electronic journals that are available through the Web—but only to subscribers. These collections are available to members of the Cornell community, but not to outside users. The full texts of several dozen journals are now available. Most users will not find it particularly comfortable reading a lengthy article on a computer screen (the articles can be printed out), but consider the incredible accessibility online access provides. From their dorm rooms at 2:00 a.m., students can read articles or journals and get key bibliographic information needed for footnotes for the term paper due the next morning. A faculty member needing to keep abreast of the latest research on a particular topic can simultaneously search the contents of a number of journals and download or print the relevant articles from his or her office or home.
The availability of more and more library tools online, along with the scanning revolution that makes possible the display of large bodies of text and graphic images online, is initiating a radical change in the structure of libraries' online catalogs. Libraries made a revolutionary leap when they abandoned the card catalog in favor of online catalogs with their powerful searching capabilities—not to mention elimination of the tedium of moving from drawer to drawer in the card catalog, the agony of stooping to look at the cards in the bottom drawer (why are all my citations always in the bottom drawers?), and the guesswork involved in determining the correct Library of Congress subject heading for my topic. The new generation of library catalogs will constitute a revolution of similar magnitude.

Searching capabilities will be even more powerful—and importantly, more intuitive and simpler. Features will include easier searching by language and date of publication as well as ranking records retrieved by relevancy assumed. The new catalogs will allow library patrons to search multiple databases simultaneously. Links within bibliographic records to the full text of relevant materials and to images on the Web will allow the library patron to view full-text sources with a click of the mouse. Say, for instance, you are looking in the Cornell University Library catalog for information on King Chulalongkorn of Thailand (r. 1868–1910). In the future, embedded in the catalog record will be the addresses of Web sites with information on the King, including images. (Take a look at www.netserv.chula.ac.thigeninfo/rama5.html. Notice also that this site, maintained at Chulalongkorn University, has the king’s dates incorrectly as 1868–1919. He died in 1910.) Clicking on the address in the catalog record will take you automatically to the Web site with his picture. Currently, patrons of the Cornell library can recall and renew books via the library’s Web page, thus saving an unnecessary trip to the library.

Just as it was hard to imagine twenty years ago what the library of today would look like, so it is just as difficult to imagine the library twenty years into the future. We can say with near certainty there will still be stacks stuffed with books and that new books will continue to be published. The book is not about to disappear. What is less certain are the accouterments that will accompany the books and magazines. Certainly a large portion of our present paper collection will be digitized and available for use through computer networks. There will also be vast amounts of information that will never appear in print form. The Web will likely be viewed as the ancient, beloved ancestor of an incredibly powerful information network bringing to home and library vast amounts of information at the click of a button—or perhaps through a spoken request. The chaotic nature of the current Web will likely be transformed into something more structured and predictable. (I make no value judgment whether that would be an improvement or desirable.) What is important to remember in the sometimes giddy world of computers and telecommunications networks is that the technology is a tool that some will use well and others less well. For libraries and librarians the technology will affect our practices. However, our mission remains unchanged: to match students, scholars, researchers, and the general public with the information each needs for work or pleasure.
STUDIES ON SOUTHEAST ASIA SERIES
Young Heroes: The Indonesian Family in Politics
Saya S. Shiraishi
An exploration of the family as a cultural, historical, and political construction in New Order Indonesia. The author analyzes how children’s everyday lives and schools are fundamentally shaped by national politics.

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CORNELL MODERN INDONESIA PROJECT
Mythology and the Tolerance of the Javanese
Benedict R. O’G. Anderson
This classic title, in print for over thirty years, analyzes a brilliant range of wayang myths and characters and studies the enduring role of this pre-Western artistic tradition in Indonesian society. This edition has been completely reformatted and the quality of the rich artwork has been enhanced.

INDONESIA
Indonesia 62, October 1996
List of articles:
“Scholarship on Indonesia and Raison d’Etat: Personal Experience,” Benedict R. O’G. Anderson
“Of Cracks and Crackdowns: Five Translations of Recent Internet Postings,” Jesse Randall
“Woman as Nation in Mangunwijaya’s Durga Umayi,” Michael H. Bodden
“Selected Poems,” Afrizal Malna; trans. Sarah Maxim and Linda Owens
“The Salt Farm and Fishing Industry of Bagan Si Api Api,” John G. Butcher

Indonesia 63, April 1997
List of articles:
“Policing the Phantom Underground,” Takashi Shiraishi
“Wiring the Warung to Global Gateways: The Internet in Indonesia,” David T. Hill and Krishna Sen
“The Indonesian Military in the Mid-1990s: Political Maneuvering or Structural Change?” The Editors
“Marriageable Age: Political Debates on Early Marriage in Twentieth-Century Indonesia,” Susan Blackburn and Sharon Bessell
“Indonesia’s 1989 Religious Judicature Act: Islamization of Indonesia or Indonesianization of Islam?” Mark Cammack

CATALOG
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To order over the Internet, contact www.einaudi.cornell.edu/SoutheastAsia/SEAPubs.html.
Paul Gellert has joined the Southeast Asia Program and assumed the position of assistant professor of rural sociology. His specific areas of interest are political economy, political sociology, and environmental sociology. His dissertation, tentatively titled “Political Economy and Ecology of the Indonesian Timber Industry,” is based on eighteen months of multilevel research in the region. It addresses the relationship between natural resources and development in general, and timber firms and the state in particular. He received his M.S. degree from the University of Wisconsin, where he expects to complete his Ph.D. during the summer of 1997.

This fall he will teach the course “Theories and Society,” a 3-credit course that introduces “classical” sociological theorists to juniors, seniors, and beginning graduate students. In the spring 1998, he will offer a new course related to his interests in natural resources, development, and Southeast Asia.

Kaja McGowan has joined the Southeast Asia Program and assumed the position of assistant professor of Southeast Asian art beginning this year. Her research acknowledges and studies the reciprocal relationships between neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, examining the flow of ideas, artistic traditions, and artifacts—architecture, bronzes, textiles, and performance traditions—that link these related cultures. She arrived at her current research interests through a study of classical Balinese dance and has come to focus on gender issues as they are revealed in the complex visual symbologies that evolve between the landscape and the human body. Both her dissertation, entitled “Jewels in a Cup: The Role of Containers in Balinese Landscape and Art” (being revised for publication), and her article, “Balancing on Bamboo: Women in Balinese Art,” in Asian Art and Culture (Oxford University Press, 1995), explore these issues.

Prof. McGowan was awarded her Ph.D. degree from Cornell’s history of art department in 1996. During the 1997–98 academic year, she will teach “Introduction to Art History: Asian Art” and “Problems in Asian Art” (in the fall) and the freshman writing seminar “Storytelling in Art: Writing about Southeast Asian Art” and “House and the World: Architecture of Asia” (in the spring).

Lindy Williams, assistant professor of rural sociology, joined the Southeast Asia Program in spring 1997. Her major research interests are in population and development, women’s issues in demography and development, and fertility in the United States and developing countries. Some of Prof. Williams’s recent publications include: “Determinants of Couple Agreement in U.S. Fertility Decisions,” in Family Planning Perspectives (1994); “The Social Status of Elderly Women and Men within the Household of the Philippines” (with Lita Domingo), in Journal of Marriage and the Family (1993); “Religious Affiliation and Fertility in the United States: New Patterns” (with William D. Mosher and David P. Johnson), in Demography (1992); and Development, Demography, and Family Decision-making: the Status of Women in Rural Java (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1990). She received her Ph.D. degree from Brown in 1987 and has been member of the Department of Rural Sociology’s faculty since 1993.

This fall she will teach “Social Indicators, Data Management, and Analysis,” a 3-credit 200-level undergraduate course that surveys definitions and general principles of social indicators illustrated from data on both developed and less-developed countries. In addition she will instruct a graduate-level course, “Field Research Methods and Strategies.” In the spring of 1998 she will teach “Population Dynamics,” an undergraduate course that focuses on the relationships between demographic processes (fertility, mortality, and migration), and social and economic issues.
SEAP
Faculty

Benedict R. Anderson, Aaron L. Binendkarb Professor of International Studies and director of the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project

Warren B. Bailey, associate professor of finance

Randolph Barker, professor emeritus of agricultural economics and Asian studies

Thak Chaloemtiarana, associate dean, director of admissions, College of Arts and Sciences, associate professor of Asian studies, and associate director of the Southeast Asia Program

Abigail C. Cohn, associate professor of linguistics

Paul Gellert, assistant professor of rural sociology

Martin F. Hatch, associate professor of music and Asian studies

Robert B. Jones, professor emeritus of languages and linguistics

George McT. Kahin, Aaron L. Binendkarb Professor Emeritus of International Studies

A. Thomas Kirsch, professor of anthropology and Asian studies

Jennifer M. Krier, assistant professor of anthropology

Stanley J. O’Connor, professor emeritus, history of art and Asian studies

Allen Riedy, curator, John M. Echols Collection on Southeast Asia, and adjunct assistant professor of Southeast Asia bibliography

Takashi Shiraiishi, associate professor of history and Asian studies

James T. Siegel, professor of anthropology and Asian studies

Keith W. Taylor, associate professor of Vietnamese cultural studies and chair, Department of Asian Studies

Erik Thorbecke, II. Edward Babcock Professor of Economics and Food Economics

Lindy Williams, assistant professor of rural sociology

John U. Wolff, professor of linguistics and Asian studies and director of the Southeast Asia Program

Oliver W. Wolters, Goldwin Smith Professor Emeritus of Southeast Asian History

David K. Wyatt, John Stambaugh Professor of Southeast Asian History

LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Elizabeth Chandra, teaching associate of Indonesian

Ngampit Jagacinski, senior lecturer of Thai

Sopheak Son, teaching assistant of Khmer

Thuy Tranviet, lecturer of Vietnamese

San San Hnin Tun, senior lecturer of Burmese

Anrih Widodo, teaching associate of Indonesian
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Smita Lahiri (anthropology). Special; no thesis required (January 1997).


Sopheak Son (food science and technology). “Preformed N-nitroso Compounds in Traditional Cambodian Foods through Narratives” (January 1997).

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