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Photo of elderly couple taken in Gasa, Bhutan, 2009. Source: Sakamoto Ryota
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In 2015, ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) integration will come into effect creating a single market leading to greater economic development and deepen integration into the global economy. Conditions are ripe for the construction of new networks that can engage with the exciting yet complex research agendas that will arise in the region.

Over the past couple of years, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) has been active in strengthening linkages with leading institutions within Southeast Asia and other regions. In line with the aim of fostering and building collaborative exchanges and communication between scholars, academics, researchers and institutions, CSEAS has been engaged in constructing networks attuned the needs of the region. These networks have culminated in the establishment of a consortium in Southeast Asia with some of the leading institutions in the region committed to Southeast Asian Studies.

As Southeast Asia comes of age as a diverse geopolitical entity, economic integration within East Asia will see a marked shift to how the region is studied and ultimately represents itself. This will inevitably lead to new and dynamic institutional frameworks to foster academic interest in Southeast Asia. We hope that this consortium will stimulate discussion; train new scholars; produce new paradigms for research; and promote the sharing of resources and commitment to networking.

In this issue we present a series of articles by professors Matsubayashi Kozo and Sakamoto Ryota, trained field medical doctors. Both have been involved in a series of projects involving care for the elderly which are currently being implemented in Bhutan. Matsubayashi discusses the development of field medicine and how its research approaches can help in unifying medicine as opposed to compartmentalizing it. Sakamoto discusses a pilot health checkup system that is being run with approval of the Royal Government of Bhutan with the long-term hope of expanding care for the elderly across the country.

Nathan Badenoch presents a stimulating discussion with a former fellow, Gérard Diffloth, and elaborates on the linguistic history of the region through a discussion on a group of small and endangered languages spoken in northern Laos.

Kobayashi Satoru discusses the limits of interdisciplinary study through fieldwork and makes a strong case for the role of Area Informatics (AI), a new methodology for processing fieldwork data that can contribute to furthering and enriching the production of knowledge in Southeast Asia. Based on cutting edge research done in collaboration with information scientists, Kobayashi shows how a quantatative mapping of Buddhists monasteries and monks can shed light on their mobility and network formation in Cambodian society.

Finally, Piyada Chonlaworn presents an overview of the historical context for present day conflicts in the four southernmost regions of Thailand which have been mired in violence and political struggles.

The Editors
Over the past few decades, in tandem with ever-deepening economic integration, increasing cross-border flows and movements of people, goods, ideas, and technologies, a number of leading organizations, communities, and individuals in East Asia (Northeast and Southeast Asia) have been initiating, cementing, and institutionalizing both regional and global linkages and collaborations at the governmental and non-governmental levels, particularly in business, academia, and the arts.

It goes without saying that network-style academic cooperation has become de rigueur among area specialists as well. But over the years, academic cooperation in the East Asia region has mainly taken the form of bundles of bilateral (or at most trilateral) exchanges and collaboration, involving great expenditure of time, energy, and funds. There are many overlaps in the thematic focus of conferences, symposia and workshops sponsored individually or jointly by area studies institutions. Some of the unintended consequences of this “noodle-bowl” phenomenon include intellectual fragmentation and segmentation even within one particular topic of “area studies” as can be experienced at some of the larger academic meetings that are frequently held. This fragmentation and segmentation can potentially impede the development of synergistic, inter- and multi-disciplinary research and ultimately hinder comparative approaches to area studies -goals and endeavors that are held and pursued in common by all of us scholars who are keen to promote area studies.

Since the Lehman shock economic crisis of 2008, the ongoing cuts to education budgets, especially in the humanities and social sciences in both Europe and the U.S., have made it difficult for those traditional institutions that have represented and fostered Southeast Asian Studies outside of the region to continue the same level of research that has sustained scholarship. As such, in light of ongoing funding uncertainties in an era of biting budget cuts, it makes more sense for area studies institutions to pool researchers, networks and funds, and collaborate together.

ASEAN and Networking within Southeast Asia

The study of Southeast Asia has been an integral part of Asian studies, and is represented in various international academic meetings such as the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS), and European Association for South East Asian Studies (EuroSEAS). In parallel to these meetings which have until very recently been held outside of the region, there have also existed region-based institutions that have provided excellent platforms for promot-
The creation and rise of East Asian and Southeast Asian Studies departments and research institutes within the region and in its vicinity is testimony to this. As ASEAN comes of age through the creation of a regional community in 2015, there is now a more compelling need to establish a region-based consortium of Southeast Asian Studies institutions, one that can complement deepening economic, social and cultural integration and foster both regional and global efforts to network. A consortium would enable scholars who live and research within or close to the region to come together without the added expense of traveling outside of it.

Such a consortium, forged out of the networks already in place within the region, can ultimately promote collaboration and exchange among Southeast Asia and other East Asia-based institutes, organizations and scholars. More importantly, it can endeavor to connect institutions that specialize in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, which are ready to engage in the task of multi-disciplinary analyses of issues that affect societies within the region. It can bring together specialists in earthquake science and disaster management, medical research, urban studies, ecology, energy, resource management, epidemiology and pandemics, economic and creative industries. In effect, it can foster communication between scholars who have an interest in, and who work on or in Southeast Asia, but who do not necessarily consider themselves area studies specialists.

Whereas in other places, Southeast Asian studies constitutes only one sub-regional branch of “area studies” among many other areas, and is subject to the vicissitudes of funding and institutional imperatives specific to the countries in which they are based, for scholars working on Southeast Asia who are based in East/Southeast Asia, this “area” matters in geopolitical, economic, intellectual, institutional, social, cultural, and affective terms. The study of Southeast Asia is not peripheral and external to what scholars, public intellectuals, policy-makers, and activists are doing in the region.

Building on the imperative to promote region-based Southeast Asian studies, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) at Kyoto University, in partnership with nine leading Asian and Southeast Asian Studies institutions in the region, established a Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA) on 11 October 2013, to put in place a network that can realize the above aims.
The following institutions are the founding members of this consortium.

• Academia Sinica; the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University
• The Indonesian Institute of Sciences
• The Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies
• The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University
• The Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
• The School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University
• The Taiwan Association of Southeast Asian Studies
• The Institute of Asian Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam
• The Asian Center, University of the Philippines.

Professor Sunait Chutintaranond of Chulalongkorn University is Chairperson of the Governing Board and the Governing Board has the following members:

• Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (Indonesian Institute of Sciences)
• Eduardo Tadem (University of the Philippines)
• Michael Feener (National University of Singapore)
• Liu Hong (Nanyang Technological University)
• Tong Chee Kiong (Universiti Brunei Darussalam)
• Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao (Academia Sinica)
• Park Jang Sik (Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies)

The Secretariat is based in the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University.

• Shimizu Hiromu (Kyoto University) Secretary

SEASIA will promote Southeast Asian studies by linking the leading area studies institutions in the region in a cooperative venture to provide a multilateral forum for organizing academic meetings, seminars, workshops, and symposia. The main activity will be to organize a biennial conference, the first of which is expected to take place in Kyoto in 2015.

SEASIA will also promote research collaboration and networking, operate as a system for sharing information and offer opportunities for education and training of young and up-and-coming scholars. It will deepen connections between institutions specializing in the natural sciences, social sciences and humanities whose scholars have an interest in, and who work on or in Southeast Asia, but do not necessarily consider themselves area studies specialists. Although its focus is on promoting Southeast Asian studies, it actively welcomes and seeks to promote comparative, trans-disciplinary, global, and historical approaches that consider Southeast Asia in relation to other regions and to the world. The Consortium will also provide a platform not only for collaboration and exchange, but for information and resource-sharing, joint publications and the education and training of young researchers.

Although in the initial stages, this consortium within the region will ultimately be open to all those institutions outside of it which been committed to, and fostered study within the region over the years. We hope that by encouraging scholars from different regions of the world to participate in this endeavor, we can encourage a more comparative, holistic and collaborative approach to enriching our knowledge of Southeast Asia and promote it both from within and outside.

Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA)
http://seasia-consortium.org/
Revolution in Life Expectancy and “Optimal Ageing”

The Japanese word *Koki* (古稀 old and rare), celebrating 70 years of age, derives from a poem by the Chinese poet Du Fu (杜甫) who wrote the following: “A life of 70 years, rare since old times.” In 8th century China, at the peak of the Tang Dynasty when Du Fu was alive, it was rare that a person lived to this age. Similarly, in the Japanese collection of ancient poetry *Kokinwakashu* (古今和歌集), there is a phrase that translates as “read a poem to celebrate the 40th birthday.” This hints that during the Heian period of Japan (794–1185 AD), living to the age of 40 was considered to be an important milestone.

Going back 100 years, even in the 1910s, when geriatric medicine first began as a discipline, average life expectancy in Japan was just over 40 years. However, since 1947, when life expectancy passed the threshold of 50, it has increased rapidly and now stands at 79.9 years for men and 86.4 years for women.

By the mid-20th century, modern medicine had conquered a high infant mortality rate and infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and until the 1970s, medicine single-handedly pursued the goal of extending the human lifespan. Of course there have always been elderly persons who were bedridden or had dementia. But in general, few questioned the benefits of extending life, perhaps because there were fewer elderly people to remind them that old age is often accompanied by infirmity. It has only been during the last half century when aging came to be thought of as a societal issue rather than simply a personal one, and a challenge to be tackled by science and medicine.

In Japan, the segment of the population known as the fourth age (i.e., 75 years or older) will double between 2005 to 2025, increasing by 10 million. This group of people will then outnumber those in the third age, 65 to 74 years of age. The rapid ageing of the population, especially in population aged 75 years and older has highlighted the quality rather than the quantity of human longevity. Accordingly, the primary focus of geriatric medicine has begun to shift from prolonging life at all costs to reducing disabilities associated with old age and increasing the quality of life (QOL).

Today, many people live to the age of 80 in Japan. However, even with the best quality medical care, the number of people who live to 100 years is still less than 1% of those who live to 80 years. Even with dramatic advances in medical technology, at least in my own opinion as a geriatrician, it is supposed to be almost impossible to survive beyond 130 years. As such due to a limit to life expectancy in human-beings, there is a strong need to consider “optimal aging.”

The Post-Sphinx Era

“Which creature is that which in the morning goes on four feet, at noon on two, and in the evening upon three?” This is the riddle of the Sphinx, which appears in Greek mythology. Oedipus solved the riddle by answering “Man, who in childhood crawls on hands and knees, in manhood walks erect, and in old age with the aid of a cane. Therefore the correct answer to this riddle is a man.”

Without needing to return to Greek mythology, until a half century ago, people in the world as a whole, did not seriously consider the issue of aging. Before the 19th century, human life expectancy was lower than 40 years in civilizations all over the world. People assumed that most people would die by the time they reached 50 or 60 years old. Furthermore, it was accepted that we would become progressively weaker, eventually require a cane, and ultimately die like a candlelight flickering out. Accordingly, societies were structured on the premise that the population of elderly persons older than age 60 would remain fairly small. For example, in Japan, the mandatory retirement are around these ages of 55 or 60, falling on the celebration of *Kanreki* (還暦 60th birthday). Japanese employee pension systems, and other aspects of society are premised on an expected lifespan of approximately 60 years.

However, with a current expected lifespan of 80 to 90 years, life does not end in the “evening of old age” as described in the riddle of the Sphinx. After the evening comes night, which is often characterized by infirmity, disability, and dementia. Seeking ways to respond to the needs of elderly persons requiring nursing care, preventing infirmity and need for care, and answering the question “what is optimal aging?”—these are the challenges and the most important agenda in geriatric medicine. The increase in the elderly population, a group that is not productive but is to be respected, will undoubtedly force us to change our sense of values in a young society; one that has been fundamentally materialistic, regards hard work as a virtue, and places the highest priority on production and efficiency. Further, there is a sense that young adults have had to hand over their roles as central characters in the narrative of life, to elderly people.

Ecological Viewpoints in Medical Research

As the name “clinical” implies (臨床 rinsha or bedside in Japanese), the original mission of clinical medicine was to diagnose illness and treat the patient at his or her bedside. However, as modern medicine developed, diseases were compartmentalized according to organs and organ systems. Medical disciplines have become specialized not only according to organs, but also extending down to the level of cells and genes, which
has been accompanied by dramatic medical advances. This advanced medical care has revolutionized the treatment of acute diseases and vastly increased our survival. As the result, average life expectancy in Japan has increased at a rate never seen before in human history, and now has the longest lifespan in the world. However, the resultant super-graying of society has produced a population of frail elderly people who require nursing care. Geriatric medicine is charged with finding ways to assist elderly persons who have chronic diseases affecting multiple organs and are still living within their communities. The need to provide comprehensive and holistic medical care has been called for; however, it is not easy to provide integrated health care within a hospital system that has been compartmentalized into specialties. Doctors working in hospitals tend to think in terms of diseases and conditions in his/her specialty and have little latitude to consider other issues. How is the patient spending his/her time? What kind of social interaction and support does the patient have from friends and family? What does the patient eat? What are the important issues this patient faces in daily life? What is their prajna (wisdom) regarding their purpose of life? These are not questions asked by medical staff in hospitals. In field medicine, in which clinicians with health care workers leave hospitals for the communities where their patients live, the fundamental approach is an attempt to unify medicine as opposed to compartmentalizing it.

"Field Medicine” Trials in Kahoku and Tosa, Kochi Prefecture

We were the first in Japan to incorporate the Comprehensive Geriatric Assessment in preventive intervention and evaluation of the medical problems of elderly people in field settings that could not be completely resolved in the hospital. We initiated field medical research in 1990 in Kahoku town, Kochi prefecture, called the “Kahoku Longitudinal Ageing Study (KLAS).” At that time, Kahoku town had a population of about 6000, of which 29% were 65 years or older, which was much higher than the national average (12%) or the average of Kochi prefecture (16%). In 1990, this town was thought to represent the population composition of Japan in year 2025. The second community-based geriatric study in Kochi prefecture was introduced in Tosa town in 2004 (“Tosa Longitudinal Ageing Study (TLAS).” In 2010, Tosa town had a population of about 4500, of which 40% and 25% were 65 years and 75 years or older, respectively. In 2010, Tosa town was thought to represent the population of Japan in year 2050, and is representative of towns where depopulation and aging societies are rapidly progressing. Through an objective evaluation of mental and physical aspects of health and social functioning and annual follow-ups, the projects in both these towns aimed to identify the key factors affecting the comprehensive health of elderly persons to prevent a decrease in functions that accompanies aging. This level of extensive community research in geriatric medicine and was the first such attempt both domestically and internationally. This project required the participation and cooperation of geriatric researchers, local government, and residents of the towns.

Our main findings in Kahoku (KLAS) are placed as achievements before the introduction of the Long-term Care Insurance system (LTCI) in 2000, and those in Tosa (TLAS) are placed as achievements after LTCI. Field medicine in Kahoku (KLAS) continued for 17 years until the town ended the project because of a municipal merger, while the project in Tosa (TLAS) still continues. Some Field Medicine achievements in Kochi were listed in Table 1.

International Development of “Field Medicine” and Mutual Feedback with Japan

From these two long-term studies, we obtained important information about ageing through contacts with elderly persons in Kochi prefecture. However, the generalizability of the findings obtained in Kochi remained unclear. Therefore, we chose to continue further evaluation beyond elderly persons living in areas of Japan other than Kochi prefecture, and traveled to overseas-communities whose natural, cultural, and societal environments were very different from those in Japan. This led us to conduct studies using the CGA in the seven Asian communities in Singapore, South Korea, Vietnam, Laos (Photo 1), Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand, Himalayan highlands, and Bhutan, and allowed us to compare these findings to those obtained in Japan. Through these field medicine-based
Table 1. Major Findings in “Field Medicine” in Kochi during 20 years from 1990 to 2010

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Findings</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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<tr>
<td>Effects of exercise on neurobehavioral functions in the elderly aged 75 and older</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 1996, 44: 569-572</td>
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<td>J-curve relation between blood pressure and decline in cognitive function</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 1997, 45: 1032-1033</td>
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<td>Lower serum cholesterol levels and decline of cognitive functions in the elderly</td>
<td>Wada, T. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 1997, 45: 1411-1412</td>
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<td>Timed Up &amp; Go test predicts falling of the elderly</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 1998, 46: 928-929</td>
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<td>Timed Up &amp; Go test and manual dexterity predict ADL dependency</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 1999, 47: 497-498</td>
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<td>U-curve association between systolic blood pressure and mortality</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 1999, 47: 1415-1421</td>
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<td>Depression and ADL in the elderly</td>
<td>Ishine, M. et al.</td>
<td>GGI 2003, 3: 262-264</td>
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<td>Depression is associated with ADL and QOL in the elderly</td>
<td>Wada, T. et al.</td>
<td>GGI 2003, 39: 13-23</td>
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<td>Usefulness of cognitive rehabilitation for elderly with MCI</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>GGI 2005, 5: 267-775</td>
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<td>Older adult’s view of “successful ageing”</td>
<td>Matsubayashi, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2006, 54: 184-186</td>
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<td>Lifestyle change improves glucose intolerance in community-dwelling elderly</td>
<td>Okumiya, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2008, 56: 767-769</td>
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<tr>
<td>Falling in the elderly and age, ADL, depression in the community</td>
<td>Wada, T. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2008, 56: 1570-1571</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chewing difficulty and ADL, QOL and depression</td>
<td>Kimura, Y. et al.</td>
<td>GGI 2009, 9: 102-104</td>
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<td>Difference between participants and non-participants in geriatric examination</td>
<td>Ishimoto, Y. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2009, 57: 360-362</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food diversity and ADL, QOL and depression in the community-dwelling elderly</td>
<td>Kimura, Y. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2009, 57: 922-924</td>
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<td>Age and sex significantly influence fall risk in community-dwelling elderly</td>
<td>Ishimoto, Y. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2009, 57: 930-932</td>
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<td>Effect of glucose tolerance on central and brachial pressure in the elderly</td>
<td>Yamamoto, N. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2009, 57: 1120-1122</td>
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<td>Hobbies and health in the community-dwelling elderly</td>
<td>Hirosaki, M. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2009, 57: 1132-1133</td>
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<tr>
<td>21-item Fall Risk Index predicts falls in community-dwelling Japanese elderly</td>
<td>Wada, T. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2009, 57: 2369-2371</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-rated health and comprehensive geriatric functions in the community elderly</td>
<td>Hirosaki, M. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2010, 58: 207-209</td>
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<tr>
<td>Insomnia increases insulin resistance and insulin secretion in the elderly</td>
<td>Yamamoto, N. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2010, 58: 791-793</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community-based CGA and Long-Term Care Insurance in Japan</td>
<td>Matsubayashi, K. et al.</td>
<td>JAGS 2010, 58: 791-793</td>
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JAGS: Journal of the American Geriatrics Society
GGI: Geriatrics and Gerontology International
AGG: Archives of Gerontology and Geriatrics
Medical care for the elderly has aspects qualitatively different from medical care in general. While general medical care is standard and universal in nature, medical care for the elderly is personal and richly diverse. Whereas general medical care treats life as the supreme end, medical care for the elderly values Activities of Daily Living (ADL) and Quality of Life (QOL) as well as life. While general medical care requires a high degree of specialization, medical care for the elderly demands interdisciplinary teamwork. Whereas the main site of general medical care is the hospital, important sites for medical care for the elderly are the home and community. In that sense, general medicine is clinical, while in nursing care one might say that the aspect of fieldwork must be emphasized. Our impression from conducting not only longitudinal research in Japan, but also investigations of the conditions of elderly people in various Asian countries, was that it is not simply the qualitative level of modern medical care, but also the natural environment and cultural background that influences Activities of Daily Living (ADL) and Quality of Life (QOL) of community-dwelling elderly. We feel that it will be possible to enjoy a broad vision of the 21st century’s global elderly society once we fully comprehend the elderly in terms of both the universality and diversity apparent in the phenomenon of human aging.

The factors that define optimal ageing include good health and economic and societal participation. Self-awareness and a spiritual life are also likely to be important. From the practice of field medicine in various Asian communities, we have learned much about how important it is for the elderly to be aware of the meaning of life and to have a purpose in their later years. Elderly persons living a satisfying, purposeful life followed by a peaceful death—this is the ideal. However, it poses a challenge as to whether we are able to create a society in which this can be achieved.

Acknowledgements

I cordially thank all the elderly people for the participation in our community-based geriatric examinations in Japan and Asian communities. These field medical works and findings were partly supported by various JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research between 1991 to 2013.

References

A ccording to United Nations, at a global level, 5 per cent of the population was at least 65 years of age in 1950 (UN, 2009). By 2009, this proportion had increased to just under 8% (UN ibid). Yet, by 2050, 16% of the world population is projected to be 65 years or over (UN ibid). At present, caring for burgeoning elderly populations is one of the biggest issues being addressed by the international community. According to the Royal Government of Bhutan (RoGB), the number of the aged 65 years or over was 29,745 in 2005 and the number will double by 2030.1 Many adults who survive into late life suffer from high rates of chronic illness and it has been reported that 80% have at least one and 50% have at least two chronic conditions.2 Given the high prevalence and impact of chronic health problems among the elderly, effective and efficient care to address these problems is becoming increasingly important so as to maximize both the quantity and quality of life for the elderly.

Concerned by this situation that affects all of the world’s populations, in May 2009, we started to discuss about ways to care for the elderly in Bhutan with the Ministry of Health (MoH), RoGB, and introduce a health checkup system in the country through a pilot project named “Community Based Medical Care for The Elderly” approved by the Royal Government of Bhutan.3 In October 2010, this resulted in the introduction of a health checkup for the elderly in Khaling, Trashigang Dzongkhag offering us an important opportunity to grasp those problems that the elderly in Bhutan face, and help us consider how to prevent future diseases, disabilities, and avoidable deaths.

The model we employed was Choju Kenshin (長寿健診 Health Checkup for The Elderly) which was first started and employed in Kochi prefecture by Toshio Ozawa, Kozo Matsubayashi and Kiyohito Okumiya. In 1990, they initiated a project entitled Kahoku Longitudinal Aging Study (KLAS) in Kahoku town, Kochi prefecture. Community intervention using their field medical approach contributed not only to improving ADL independence but also suppression of increasing medical care expenses (Matsubayashi et al. 2012). In 1968, James Maxwell Glover Wilson and Gunnar Jungner elaborated the 10 principles of screening for diseases (Table 1) Wilson and Junger 1968).

What these conceived principles show is that the items in health checkups must depend and relate to the specific situations of respective communities. In this sense, we have to follow both global evidence and local needs. In Bhutan, through discussion with local people we came to focus on mainly 13 items which we call “5 Ds, I HAVE FUN” for short (See Table 2).

To integrate any project that relates to primary health care, medical staff and villagers understanding is necessary. The Chief Program Officer, Trashigang District Health Officer, and I introduced this project to medical staff in Basic Health Units (BHUs), hospitals, then to village heads, village health workers, and principals in schools. While carrying out this project, we have explained the program to villagers and at the same time, asked them for their opinions. BHU staff asked village leaders to arrange volunteers who would help the checkups. While volunteers were arranged, we would explain about the project and conducted a 2 day training program for them. Afterwards,

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**Table 1. Principles of Early Disease Detection, elaborated by Wilson JMG and Jungner G in 1968**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The condition sought should be an important health problem.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>There should be an accepted treatment for patients with recognized diseases.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Facilities for diagnosis and treatment should be available.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>There should be a recognizable latent or early symptomatic stage.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>There should be a suitable test or examination.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>The test should be acceptable to the population.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>The natural history of the condition, including development from latent to declared disease, should be adequately understood.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>There should be an agreed policy on whom to treat as patients.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>The cost of case-finding (including diagnosis and treatment of patients diagnosed) should be economically balanced in relation to possible expenditure on medical care as a whole.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Case-finding should be a continuing process and not a ‘once and for all’ project.</td>
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**Table 2. Focused Items in Community Based Medical Care for the Elderly in Bhutan (5Ds, I HAVE FUN)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Disability</td>
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this facilitated volunteers in carrying out health checkups for the elderly with the support of BHU staff. These checkups were conducted in the houses of elderly who had difficulties in coming to BHU or Outreach Clinics (ORCs).

In total we checked 192 people aged 65 years or over including home visits for 34 people. This meant that we covered almost all the elderly people living in Khaling Gewog covered by Khaling BHU. The mean age for the elderly was 73.8 years among females and 73.0 years among males with the oldest person a lady aged 96 years. Age was determined by a self-enumeration verified with the animal symbols of his/ her birth year. The prevalence of hypertension, obesity, and diabetes were over 71.9%, 6.3%, and 5.7% respectively and what was clear in our field was that impairments to basic activities for daily living increased with aging especially for those over the age of 80 years. Among 30 people who had difficulties in basic activities for daily living, 3 people were suspected to have the after effects of a stroke. 12% of participants had severe hypertension and their systolic blood pressure and diastolic blood pressure were significantly related to their body mass index. The prevalence of diabetes mellitus was 10.8% among the people who were overweight, and 16.7% among those who had obesity. We also visited the homes of the elderly people who had not come to the medical camps and conducted medical checkups. Among those who had not come to the medical camp, 41.2% had difficulties in basic activities for daily living. Quality of Life (QOL) is assessed by using a 100 mm visual analogue scale (lowest QOL on the left end and highest at the right) showed 47.5 for health, 92.0 for family relationships, 83.0 for friendships, 70.0 for economic status and 74.5 for subjective happiness (Sakamoto et al. 2011).

Our main goal is “better health for all” which is the ultimate goal of primary health care. To fulfill this, we include not only people who come to BHUs or ORCs, but also those who do not come to medical facilities. This is because some elderly people cannot come to BHUs or ORCs, even if they want to. For these people, there is a possibility that they may have severe diseases which require care with special attention. Although there are issues of manpower, medical staff should visit the houses of the elderly if and when needed. While in Bhutan, we did not just wait for patients in the hospital, but actively went to villages where we measured weight and blood pressure. While
doing so, we explained the importance of weight and blood pressure for protection from stroke and heart attack for as the old adage says, “prevention is better than cure.”

The World Health Organization announced that the leading global risks for mortality in the world are high blood pressure (responsible for 13% of deaths globally), tobacco use (9%), high blood glucose (6%), physical inactivity (6%), and overweight and obesity (5%). These risks are responsible for raising the chance of chronic diseases such as heart disease, diabetes, and various cancers and they affect countries across all income groups: high, middle and low. Eight risk factors (alcohol use, tobacco use, high blood pressure, high body mass index, high cholesterol, high blood glucose, low fruit and vegetable intake, and physical inactivity) account for 61% of cardiovascular deaths. Reducing exposure to these eight risk factors would increase global life expectancy by almost 5 years (WHO 2009).

As such, identifying geriatric conditions by performing health checkups can help clinicians manage these conditions and prevent or delay their complications. On the basis of these health checkups, we have tried to promote health of the elderly through comprehensive activities. They should be cared for in collaboration with family, neighbors, village heads, BHUs, hospitals, schools, and so on. While there, we gave a lecture about obesity, hypertension, and diabetes for students of a lower secondary school in cooperation with school teachers.

Between November 7–9, 2011, the first Biennial Health Conference was held in Mongar, Bhutan. MoH, RoGB and adopted a series of recommendations. These acknowledged the impact of pilot project on elderly care which was instituted at Khaling BHU, and recommended to explore the possibility of gradually rolling over the project in the country. It was also recommended to integrate elderly care into the primary health care system during the 11th Five Year Plan. In cooperation with MoH, we are now trying to expand the areas from Khaling to the whole country. Our next aim is to accumulate evidence to support communities through action. We ultimately hope that this elderly program will trigger and help to maintain the bonds and harmony within communities.

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Notes


3 Project no. GNHC/PMCD-MoH/GEN/ 2010-11/2732
Language and History in Southeast Asia: An Interview with Gérard Diffloth

Professor Gérard Diffloth is a leading figure in Southeast Asian linguistics, specializing in the languages of the Austroasiatic family that includes Khmer, Vietnamese and many other languages spoken not only in the countries of Southeast Asia, but also northeast India, Southern China and the Nicobar Islands. His main work has been concerned with elaborating the linguistic history of the region. He and Nathan Badenoch are working on a group of small and endangered languages spoken in northern Laos. This interview arises out of an exchange on this project and other work related to it during Prof Diffloth’s recent stay as a Visiting Scholar at CSEAS.
Badenoch: First, I know that you have been here at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) once before. When was that and what were you doing then?

Diffloth: I was at CSEAS in 1976–1977. The Center was much, much smaller then, yet it was already a very important place for Southeast Asian studies. At that time I was working with Yasuyuki Mitani (三谷恭之), who was finishing his dissertation on the Lawa language of Northern Thailand, so we were able to discuss common interests. Professor Ishii Yoneo (石井米雄 1929–2010) was also here at the time and he was the first person to teach me Thai.

Badenoch: You were already well into your career as a linguist by then, but you had initially studied mathematics and journalism. How did you end up as a specialist of Southeast Asian linguistics?

Diffloth: That is a very long story. But I should say that it was really by chance, or actually luck, that I moved on to Southeast Asian, and especially Austroasiatic linguistics. Along the way there was mathematics at the University of Paris and journalism at the Higher School of Journalism of Lille, also in France. At that school, I started studying Russian, and this was an eye-opener. The Russian language in itself is very interesting, and the textbooks used for teaching Russian were quite sophisticated in linguistic terms. That is when I understood that there was such a thing as the scientific study of language, and my background in mathematics became useful then.

Badenoch: I recall in his book The Road will Open (Michi wa Hirokeru) how Professor Ishii described making several attempts at learning Russian. He did not make anything of it because he did not find inspiration in that language. Clearly you had a different experience. Nonetheless, you moved from Russian to languages further east. How did that happen?

Diffloth: Gradually, via Persian and then Tamil — I wrote my dissertation on a variety of Tamil called Irula — and from Tamil to the mountains of Malaysia. And from there to the rest of the Austroasiatic family across the whole of Mainland Southeast Asia. But in a more personal way, by interacting with speakers of languages such as Khasi, Semai, Mon, Kuay, Khmer and others, I found that the Austroasiatic family was unique in many ways, and historically very rich.

Badenoch: Of course linguistics is a very broad field, but I feel that there are many misconceptions or misunderstandings about what linguists do. There are two misconceptions. Firstly, that linguists are general polyglots; and secondly, that linguistics is impenetrably technical, inaccessible to non-specialists, and unfortunately, not relevant for other fields of research.

Diffloth: You are right in saying that linguistics is often misunderstood. It’s a great pity, because when you think about it, and this is something I first learned in journalism school, language is with us everywhere all the time, from the moment we wake up until when we fall asleep, and often in our dreams as well. The language we speak is like the air we breathe, obvious and yet invisible. And Linguistics has developed scientific concepts and tools that are powerful and specifically designed for this very human activity, language.

Badenoch: As you made the transition into linguistics, what people were influential on your thinking?

Diffloth: It really goes back to early years, even to pre-school times. Thinking about it, I find that some teachers, even in those early days, had a great influence. Primary school teachers have a very important job to do. Young children have a brain, of course, just like adults. An inspiring teacher, a casual remark, a convincing example, can create a spark that may keep on shining for many years.

Badenoch: Children’s attitudes towards language are set at a very young age. Unfortunately this is often in a negative way, as we can see in the way English and other languages are taught around the world. Were you surrounded by people speaking other languages when you were young?

Diffloth: Not that much; but at the age of four, in the countryside during the war, I very well remember being astonished at hearing some old farming ladies speaking, not my standard French, but a variety of Berrichon. Later on in school, Latin was vigorously taught early on, and then Greek. English was taught as a secondary language. My father also loved to travel and we often visited countries where everybody spoke German. So there was a mixture of the classics and the spoken languages of Europe.

Badenoch: One of the things that has underpinned your linguistic career has been fieldwork. What do you think the experience of doing intensive fieldwork can teach us about language?

Diffloth: Very quickly you realize that language is not an object, but an activity. Unfortunately, in societies where literacy is well implanted, most people think, — because they are taught this in school —, that language is basically writing, the sort of black stuff you can see on paper as text. But written text is not language, and we have been made to forget that this writing is actually derived from language, not the other way around. One of the first things you witness in doing fieldwork is that language is something people do, not something people make. There are still societies today where the idea of putting down language on paper appears quite senseless, even objectionable.

Badenoch: When doing fieldwork have you felt any tension between Western academic science, which is strongly based in written culture, and the language that people are speaking?

Diffloth: Yes, but when you do fieldwork for a long time, you begin to see things the way they do. To give an example, at
some point in studying the Mon-Khmer languages of Malaysia, I was going through a certain type of words — Expressives, somewhat similar to the Gisego (擬声語) found in Japanese — with a native speaker of Semai. At some point he said to me: "Actually, these words which you call Expressives, they are not really words at all. Up until now, we have been discussing nouns, verbs, and so on, and that is all very fine, but these things are different; we do not speak them, we actually shoot them." I struggled to understand what he could possibly mean by that; and it has taken me some years to draw the linguistic conclusions from his strange remark.

Badenoch: A German linguist named Rudi Keller has described language as being an agreement between speakers. This agreement is what determines meaning, changes in sound and word use over time (Keller 1994). Perhaps there is a certain type of 'agreement' that we work towards with the people whose language we are studying in the field?

Diffloth: Absolutely. When we are notating the languages we hear, using whatever notation system, these notations are not language. They are simply the permanent record of an agreement between you, the linguist, and the speaker: we have come to an agreement, viva voce, that this is the way it sounds, and then the linguist makes a note of that agreement. This notion has direct consequences when it comes to recording dying languages, a major concern in linguistics today. Actually, the term "recording" is ambiguous. In its superficial sense, it implies that we take along some high-tech equipment, make hundreds of hours of excellent 'recordings' and then go home to study them, or store them for the future. But unless you have been constantly interacting, on a word-by-word basis, with the very person who spoke, who told the stories, who sang the songs, such recordings are practically worthless. Recordings, in the deeper sense of the term, are witnesses of detailed and elaborate agreements.

Badenoch: Speaking of language loss, Southeast Asia is known as an area of great linguistic diversity, but the rate at which languages are disappearing is very high. Of course this reflects a global trend, but in Southeast Asia why are languages disappearing so quickly?

Diffloth: The figures are staggering — in 50 years, half of the languages spoken in the world today may well have disappeared forever. If you compare that situation with the current threat of extinction of plant and animal species worldwide, the ongoing rate of language elimination is much more dramatic; and yet, it is not making many headlines. In 1988, the United Nations celebrated a "year of the languages"; Kofi Anan's recommendation was to 'protect and promote' endangered languages. Since then, there have been a few projects aimed at promotion; but when it comes to protection, I don't see that much has been done, at least in Mainland Southeast Asia. The main reasons appear quite simple: having many languages and dialects makes the work of administrators difficult and costly; also, a certain model of the nation — the monolingual nation — seems dominant, forming a considerable obstacle. Following that model, the national languages are being well protected and forcefully promoted.

Badenoch: You mentioned the double-pronged approach of promoting and protecting. Protection implies that there is a threat, but I don't believe that people have yet recognized that the threats have been identified.

Diffloth: I agree. Even the words we use in discussing the problem: this language is 'dying' or 'moribund,' or 'comatose,' all of these medical metaphors, imply that like living organisms, languages must have a birth and a death. These metaphors are totally misleading and confuse the debate. The fundamental dynamics of language, of any language, consists in projecting itself indefinitely into the future, linking one generation to the next. In that context, the elimination of a language is always the result of multiple conscious decisions taken at many levels. The reasons why people decide to speak one language or another, either in public, or to their friends, or in their own house, and most importantly to their own children, are publicly complex, and mostly intimate.

Badenoch: We are constantly faced with the enormous question, what is lost when a language disappears?

Diffloth: I recently gave a talk at CSEAS where I said that the loss of a language is like the sinking of a cathedral. The idea was that languages transport very complex and not always obvious ideas, and ways of perceiving practically every aspect
of life. In addition to what people openly say — the narratives of culture, traditions and ways of life — the languages themselves contain rich information that is not overtly stated but only implied and yet well understood by all. This is the result of hundreds, thousands of years of experience and observations, of success and tragedy.

Badenoch: The experience of humanity?

Diffloth: Yes, this is History with a capital H, and different languages are the result of different histories. In this sense, when a language disappears, it is as if a cathedral collapsed or a library was burnt to the ground.

Badenoch: You have often said that language is history. Can you elaborate a little more on what insights can be obtained from this language perspective on history?

Diffloth: When we get involved in historical linguistics, the results very often end up being rather different from the histories produced from the analysis of concrete historical documents. For one thing, traditional history usually has to do with power structures, governance, armies and battles, things of that kind; historical linguistics can do this as well, but also gets into the minutiae of life: the history of dress, of hunting, of family arrangements. Another difference is that in historical linguistics we are compelled to look at minority languages because they are useful, and historically every bit as legitimate as the major, the usually written national languages. Quite often, the histories of people without writing are simply absent from the more traditional narratives. Sometimes, what we find with the use of historical linguistics squarely contradicts what is said in the history books.

Badenoch: Oral history has become more and more a part of social science, but you are talking about a different kind of orality. Not only the stories, but the languages themselves.

Diffloth: Exactly. Oral history and village history, based on living peoples’ memories, are without any doubt interesting and important. But the history that we can produce by using historical linguistic methods is of a different kind. Very often we can reach very much further back in time, often discovering events that have left no conscious traces in living memories, or may even have been carefully and completely erased. The reason is that people are not aware of linguistic change. With historical linguistics we are exploring a kind of pre-conscious domain of history.

Badenoch: One type of finding we often talk about falls into the category of food history. The vocabulary of hunting, gathering, and processing different foods is incredibly rich in the Austroasiatic languages.

Diffloth: Every word, each with its own meanings, has a history that we can explore; for example the history of food collection and preparation, the history of culinary tastes. This is something we can often do quite well, given sufficient data. It will soon be possible, for example, to trace the history of when and how rice became a staple food, and what the position and uses of rice may have been before that. This subject has now become a major topic in archeological research.

Badenoch: And I would say this is a prime example of the heritage that is lost when a language ceases to be spoken. The situation is quite bleak, but what do you think should be done?

Diffloth: The question should be “What can we do in the time available to us?” It is urgent. I have seen projects aiming at language re-vitalization, and I wish them the best of luck. But in many places, there is no time left for this type of work. So we are faced with the necessity of doing salvage linguistics. The boat is sinking and we need to save whatever we can. For some of us, this means recording vocabulary. For others it means recording syntax, stories, songs; everything is valuable.

Badenoch: In my research I study how language use changes in situations where many different ethnic groups are living together in rapidly growing villages in rural Laos. I see the negative influence that education policy has on minority languages. Do you think that education is an area that can help improve the situation?

Diffloth: The main problem is that a great number of the languages that will disappear are not, and have never been written. This means that an enlightened education system that would allow the use of different languages in the development and delivery of the official curriculum is simply outside the scope of the problem at hand. If a language is no longer spoken, that means it has already disappeared, it is essentially too late.

“... When a language disappears, it is as if a cathedral collapsed or a library was burnt to the ground.”
Badenoch: Hence the need for salvage linguistics right? In the countries of Southeast Asia, linguistics is a relatively new field of study. Since much of our work at the Center is done in collaborative arrangements with local institutions, I wonder what you think of the prospects for raising the profile of linguistics in local academic research.

Diffloth: Linguists is indeed a new field, although an interest in language is quite old. Until very recently it was mostly expressed in the framework of philology, the study of texts and inscriptions, in Cambodia for example. But linguistics is a very different enterprise. And you are right in saying that linguistics remains a minor subject of study in Southeast Asia, with meager financing and hardly any job prospects. It will take time.

Badenoch: And this difficulty is certainly not limited to Cambodia.

Diffloth: No, in fact it may be even more difficult in some other countries. One problem is that the collection of primary linguistic data has sometimes become entangled and confused with religious and ethnic-identity issues.

Badenoch: Fieldwork in local languages is at the core of Area Studies at Kyoto University. However, it is my impression that the study of language itself had a somewhat higher profile at the Center when you were here the first time.

Diffloth: I'm not sure; I wouldn't say that the position of language has fallen all that much. The Center has always placed high emphasis on learning and using local languages, and this is one of the strong parts of the program at the Center. There are several dimensions to this. First of all, if we are going to do any kind of fieldwork, this cannot be done in a short period of time. A long-term, in situ commitment is required. Another side of this issue is what we mean by 'local' language. Fieldwork may range from work with officials conducted in the national language, all the way to situations in which the national language has fallen all that much. The Center has always placed very fine details of vowels, of tones, and of consonants. This is sometimes seen as a dry and technical subject. But working in this way also provides a guarantee that we can produce testable hypotheses, not just gratuitous fantasies. Such precision is costly in time and labor, and this is true in any field of science. For me, the methods and the tools are fascinating all by themselves; but there is also the much larger goal of understanding meaning, and changes in meaning, and how these changes reflect the history of human experience in a part of the world that is as little known as it is genuinely welcoming.

Badenoch: Finally, having explored these truths through many different languages over the past four decades, how would you describe the ‘project’ of your career in Austroasiatic linguistics?

Diffloth: The general idea has long been to compare languages and reconstruct the previous state of affairs many centuries ago, and as far back in time as the method permits to go. Sometimes, this may require paying close attention to some very fine details of vowels, of tones, and of consonants. This is not simply that we use different words or talk about different topics; what is true in one language may not be true in another.

References
A Dialogue with Information Scientists: An Anthropologist’s Experiment in Area Informatics

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A Challenge for Area Studies

Interdisciplinary study and extensive fieldwork have both been essential components of area studies at CSEAS since the center’s founding in 1963. From the beginning, CSEAS has carried out collaborative research projects with members from diverse backgrounds in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. In this environment, even natural scientists are used to spending long periods of time in the field conducting fieldwork to the same degree that anthropologists did. Fieldwork (field survey, ethnographic analysis) is thought of as an imperative and differentiates the CSEAS specialist from those whose study of Southeast Asian societies rely on available processed data.

However, even if both interdisciplinary study and extensive fieldwork remain paramount in our area studies, the conditions within which we undertake them have drastically changed in recent decades. What lies behind these changes is, in effect, a technological restructuring of our human lives. Nowadays, fieldworkers conduct research in Southeast Asian countries using various electronic tools that did not previously exist, such as the digital camera and mobile GPS systems. Yet, not only our research tools, but also those societies that are the subjects of our research, have substantially changed in recent years. Significantly, the use of electricity has now become very common in Southeast Asian lowland villages, and even highland peoples can now gain access through solar batteries sold in local markets. This expansion of the power grid shows the unparalleled degree in which both infrastructure and communication technologies have developed. Even though researchers at CSEAS have studied Southeast Asian societies for nearly 50 years, the landscape has undergone a radical transformation.

Area Informatics has its genesis in area studies and technological change. Prof. Shibayama Mamoru, Center for Integrated Area Studies (CIAS), and his colleagues working in the field of information technology at CSEAS and other institutions, played a key role in the birth of this new methodological approach. Shibayama has called for new research methodologies that incorporate methods of analysis and visualization from information science to process large amounts of data to search for regularities and patterns (See Shibayama 2012). Doing so can help us to discover and explain what has not been previously noted or accounted for in area studies.

But to what degree can ‘Area Informatics’ contribute to area studies? Information science makes it possible to gather, organize, integrate and share regional information. It also introduces innovations to data processing and accumulation of information. The introduction of new methods such as spatial area informatics like GIS for verifying previously argued hypothesis can deepen and extend empirical studies of societies. While data mining can contribute to discovering new knowledge, as Shibayama argues, we are still left with a question: is this merely a tool or is it a definable research ‘area’ that can provide new ways to understand regions and their societies? An experimental ‘Area Informatics’ that can fruitfully engage in area studies is essential to solve this question.

Dialogue with Information Scientists

I have been studying the culture and society of Cambodia and neighboring countries since the end of the 1990s. In 2008, I had a chance to work with information scientists on a research project titled “Mapping Theravada Buddhist Monasteries/Hermitages in Time and Space: A Cross Regional Study of Practice, Mobility and Network in Mainland Southeast Asia” (headed by Prof. Hayashi Yukio, CIAS, Kyoto University: 2008–2010). The project aimed to map the dynamic formation of Theravada Buddhist cultures in Mainland Southeast Asia and involved collaboration between area studies researchers (anthropologists and historians who speak vernacular languages and have long research experience in the area) and information scientists. The majority of the lowland population in Mainland Southeast Asia are Theravada Buddhists. The religion is based on the sacred Pali canon and its adherents share the same religious notions such as the ideology of merit, and hold events and rituals that have resemblances across Southeast Asia. However, everyday Buddhist practices embedded in people’s daily lives are notably different. The point here is that a comparative study of the diversity of Buddhist cultures in each locality has the potential to deepen our understanding of the complex cultural dynamics that played a crucial role in the formation of Mainland Southeast Asia.

Both area studies researchers and information scientists have exchanged frank opinions on the possibilities and challenges of ‘Area Informatics.’ Area studies researchers conducted quantitative data collections in several sites in Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Yunnan province of China. I worked as a member of this project and conducted field research in rural Cambodia in the Buddhist Lent Season (June–August) of 2009, 2010, and 2011. In each year, I organized a research team with nearly 10 young Cambodian researchers and visited all the wats in 4 districts in Kampong Thom province, located 190 kilometers from the capital. The team spent more than two weeks visiting nearly 90 temple-monasteries in the area. In each wat, we interviewed abbots and elderly laypeople regarding the general information of each place. At the same time, we collected the life-history data of all individuals, both monks and laypeople. In total we were able to conduct about 1,200 interviews each year.

This form of minute data collection is a positive example of applying ‘Area Informatics’ in area studies research. There is no
doubt that there are differences in Buddhist practices in Mainland Southeast Asia. However, the diversity in this region cannot be fully understood solely from the perspectives of canonical or philosophical texts. Anthropologists familiar with existing differences have used descriptive/ethnographic analysis to explore cultural features in a locality, but their insights, however rich, cannot be applied at the level of the region for any meta-understanding of its diversity. In short, we need a new approach for understanding a region. ‘Area Informatics’ helps in that it can help provide a macro-picture through quantification of people’s behavior. Actually, the project members spent a lot of time on the content of questionnaires, which were used in several research sites in the region. The data derived were then used in the discussion of cultural diversities in the region.

‘Area Informatics’ enables the processing of large amounts of data following certain criteria to identify regularities and patterns. However, it is very difficult to find reliable large data sets for Southeast Asia. National statistics are issued by government institutions in each country, but these provide only general information, which may not necessarily illuminate the situation of specific communities in the country, let alone the region. For monks/novices in Cambodia, official statistics only provide the total numbers in each province and not the actual details of information such as their age distribution and their duration in monkhood/novicehood. In short, determining ways to conduct research for collecting data is very important for ‘Area Informatics’ in Southeast Asia area studies, albeit extremely time consuming.

The above project encountered another difficulty. In reality, most area studies researchers were frustrated when they were told that there was no place for any qualitative understanding in ‘Area informatics.’ Information scientists see human behavior only from the perspective of quantitative information. One of the objectives of the project was to confirm if data mining could actually allow us to discover regularities in the behavior of people in Theravada Buddhist societies. Area studies researchers try to find regularities in the field through observations and interviews. Information scientists say that so-called data mining (that is, comprehensively collecting and analyzing all the information from societies) contributes to the discovery of knowledge in previously unexamined areas. But in what way can data-mining enable area studies researchers to explain the culture and behavior of Theravada Buddhists in each society in Mainland Southeast Asia? This question remains unresolved since my involvement on this project.

Case Study in Progress

One of my current research interests is to uncover the reason for the decline in the number of monks/novices in Cambodia through ‘Area Informatics’ techniques. Theravada Buddhism spread among the lowland populations in Mainland Southeast Asia over a period of a thousand years. In Cambodia, over 90% of the population are said to be Buddhists. The constitution declares Buddhism as the state religion, and the Ministry of Cults and Religions works for assisting broad Buddhist activities in the country.

Needless to say, Cambodian society has experienced dramatic and repeated transformation over the past forty years. The Pol Pot regime brought about the near-total destruction of Buddhist activities in 1976 by ordering all the monks in the country to disrobe. Cambodian monks were reborn under the initiative of socialist governments in 1979, but ordinations were banned for men under 50 years old until 1989. The state direction for religious activities ended in that year, and the recovery of Buddhist activities in the country went into full swing at the beginning of the 1990s. Since the early 2000s, Cambodian society entered the era of globalization leading to a tripling of GDP per capita (from $US 253 in 1998 to $US 739 in 2008) all within the last decade. This is testimony to this transformation.

Interestingly, the number of monks/novices in the country started to decline in 2004 after showing a continuous increase since 1979. There were over 60,000 monks/novices in the country in 1969, which accounted for 1% of the total population at the time. During the Pol Pot period this dropped to zero, but gradually increased after the official ordination ceremony held by the socialist government in September 1979. Between 1989 and 1992 there was a boost in the number of monks/novices through the removal of age-restriction for ordinations that the socialist state had determined in the previous decade. And increases continued in the 1990s within the context of rehabilitating society and culture. However, the number of novices started to decrease in 2004 and monks followed this trend in 2007.
Being a novice/monk in Theravada Buddhist societies is a very complex phenomenon. Ordination as a monk was once recognized by Cambodian people as one of the prerequisites for men to marry a woman, and their devotion to the development of Buddhism is often heard as a reason for their ordination on official occasions. This is seen as an opportunity for young men to pay a debt of gratitude to parents, especially mothers, by giving a chance of merit-making, something still often referred to by researchers. At the same time, it expands the possibilities for the social mobility of young boys by offering educational opportunities in the national Buddhist education system as well as training in secular subjects. As such, to be a monk/novice has multiple meanings and the changes in this reflect constantly evolving societal trends.

Recently, these trends have become common in Theravada societies. In Cambodia, the decrease peaked with a change in societal trends from rehabilitation to globalization in the mid-2000s. Population growth in Cambodia has been high in recent years and people are active in conducting various merit-making acts, such as donating food and money to monks. Yet, the ordination patterns of Cambodian men are now in transition. Since the beginning of the 21st century, Cambodian society has seen the further penetration of the market and globalization and a decline in the number of monks/novices in the country might be evidence of this shift. Sociological studies on this background, based on the interpretation of qualitative data such as narratives are very interesting to read, but have difficulty in putting forward convincing and empirically grounded explanations. In this regard, the quantitative analysis that can be provided by ‘Area Informatics’ can give us clues to understanding this trend from a different perspective.

Collected data shows is that a distinct majority of persons who wear yellow robes as monks/novices in this area are young. The native monks/novices account for quite a large portion of both monks and novices, but there are a number of them who have migrated from other provinces. Moreover, the degree of diversity in birthplace is a little bit larger in the case of novices, than the case of monks. Information scientists have helped to construct several images and figures from collected data and these can show the effectiveness of visualization technology of information science. The ordination experiences in terms of the life histories of monks/novices, is shown in chart 1.

The chart shows the actual trends in ordination patterns in recent Cambodia as expressed in the life-stories of individuals as well as rural communities and gives us much more information than a mere description or statistical number. Paying attention to the influences of warfare and totalitarian/socialist rule in the country in the 1970s and the 1980s is essential for studying Cambodian society. In the chart, the blank period for ordination experience, showed in white, tells us that there were no monks/novices during the Pol Pot period. We learned of this from previous interviews, but the chart shows this fact in a much more visually persuasive way.

With help from the information scientists we were able to examine the question of who decides to be monks/novices and live in wats in rural Cambodia today through a spatial approach (See Fig. 1). We created a map that includes the birth village of all monks and novices in the area. The red marks show the position of villages that produced a number of monks/novices, while blue ones represent villages that have not produced them. The size of those marks corresponds to the number of monks/novices born in the villages. This figure represents the base map showing what village produces what kinds of monks and novices in the area. What is clear is that there is a visible tendency for blue marks to concentrate in the vicinity of the provincial capital and the National Highway. This helps us understand that remote villages where poor households form a majority produce a much larger number of monks/novices. Adding various information such as geo-
graphical features, land usage, school attendance, household incomes, distances to a main road and so on, to the base map will open further possibilities for analyzing and answering the question of what kind of village has produced a large number of monks/novices. The analysis will very likely show that the transformations in living conditions in the villages in semi-urbanized areas will result in the rise of the education continuance rate and may be negatively correlated with the number of monks/novices produced there.

For Time-space Analysis of Living Culture

‘Area Informatics’ will become an important and viable analytical method to research society and culture. However, it will require area studies researchers to overthrow pre-existing understandings, not only stereotypes, but also things that appear obvious to specialists and the subsequent quantification of everything related with the object of study. This quantification has a potential constructive effect for breaking through the impasse that exists in area studies: one that wholly depends on qualitative interpretations. As made clear in this essay, the numbers of monks/novices in Cambodia began to decrease from a peak of 2004. But ordination practices are embedded in Cambodian society, so a simplistic perspective will not lead to any meaningful conclusion. Researchers must employ multiple viewpoints; both micro and macro; actor-oriented and systems-oriented; and from the perspective of practice and institution and policy. The cross-checking of two or more data sets through ‘Area Informatics’ will be a future method that will help us understand the complexities of Southeast Asian societies and contribute to potentially rewarding meta-analyses of the region as a whole.

References


Note

1 See “Number of monks dropping nationwide” in The Nation published on March 26, 2009.
What is ‘Deep-south’?

In recent years, ‘Deep-south’ Thailand is a term has come to be commonly used to refer to an area in Southern Thailand which have been affected by violence since late 2003. The area covers four southernmost provinces of Thailand; Songkhla, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat, bordering northern Malaysia. The majority of the population of this region are Malay-speaking Muslims, yet the area has long been ethnically and religiously diverse, with Thai Buddhist, Chinese and indigenous people living together for hundreds of years. Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat were once known as an integrated Malay kingdom called Patani, having a long history of trade and cultural contact with powers in the North in the Thai basin and to the South in the Indonesian archipelago. As an autonomous polity, Patani had a loose tributary relation with Thailand (then Siam) since the 16th century, but when the political climate of the two polities changed in 1810s, Thailand attempted to assert control over her southern periphery by separating Patani into seven small states, each ruled by a hereditary sultan. During the last decade of the 1800s and the turn of the 20th century, Patani saw a tremendous change in its political sphere as aThai royal commissioner was appointed to strengthen control over local rulers. In 1906 the position of the sultan was abolished and seven Malay states were reorganized again as Monthon Pattani under the direct jurisdiction of the central government in Bangkok, marking the end of Patani as a sultanate state. A traditional tributary sent to Bangkok in the form of ornamental tree made of gold and silver, and other local products were abolished. Needless to say, this process provoked discontentment among Malay elites which fostered and led to a separatist movement in 1950s and in the following years, a militant insurgency by radical Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand that has continued into the present (Aphornsuvan 2007).

When talking about the ‘deep-south’ conflict, the debate often revolves around the political struggles of Malay people against the Thai authorities; how they were treated through discrimination by the Thais; and how their Malay identity was suppressed by national identity. On the other hand, Thai elites and aristocrats have viewed the conflict differently. They have often claimed that Patani had always been a part of Thailand, so any attempt to resist central government is regarded as ‘rebellion.’ This ideological conflict has deep roots in different perceptions of history that exist between the Thais and the Malays, making the history of Patani itself hard to fit into Thai national history (Montesano et al. 2008). For example, Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir al-Fatani (1875-1954?), a Patanian religio-nationalist demanded Patani’s cultural and legal autonomy in 1950s and was seen by the Thai authorities to be a threat (Ockey 2011). But for many Malay people, he was regarded as their hero. Collective memories among Patanians also include their rulers such as the first female ruler Raja Hijau and the last sultan Tunku Abdulqadir Kamaruddin who has been remembered as a victim of Thai colonialism. Stories about the queen of Patani are often depicted in Thai movies, novels, and in recent years, as a heroine who struggles to keep her kingdom from a stronger influence. The fantasy and adventurous movie “the Queen of Langasuka” in Picture 1, for example, originates from the life of Raja Hijau (Piyada 2011). For Buddhist-Thai people in general, Malay Muslims in the southernmost region possess a different religious, ethnic, and cultural background, not to mention a unique geographical situation which is far removed from central Thailand. The word ‘deep-south’ thus inevitably reflects the remoteness and peripheral status of this area.

Background map in header: Patani and the Malay Peninsula (In Moreland 2002, 30)
Revisiting Patani’s Past

The Thai-Malay historical background mentioned above makes any attempt to map and reconstruct Patani’s past a difficult task. This is especially so when it comes to the political transitional period of the 1890s when the Central Thai regime and colonial powers like the British were becoming more involved in the region. Study of the region is made more difficult by the lack of local source materials (which are rare) as most existing documents were written by Thai officials and aristocrats, who were dispatched to oversee administration of the lower south at that time. These official records and reports were very Thai-centric, often self-serving and biased, yet these data sometimes provide valuable information on the social and economic activities of people in this region which are not easily found in local sources. However, it is not easy to obtain this source of information. Thai official archives concerning Patani and adjacent provinces during King Chulalongkorn (1868–1910) and King Vajiravudh (1910–1925), are kept in the Bangkok National Archive, and have been treated as confidential over the past ten years despite the fact that some contents are non-political. One of the reasons given is that materials remain confidential so as to avoid escalating the conflict between the Malay and Thai authorities in the ‘deep south.’ The fact that these sources are not publically accessible, undermines any attempt to enhance knowledge and understanding regarding Patani history especially from social and economic perspectives.

Apart from written sources, another kind of information that can help unravel the history of Patani is archaeological findings. Patani has several ancient sites such as Yarang and the famous Krue Sae mosque. Some sites date back to the 16th and the 17th century when trade with China, Japan and Dutch was active. It is said that a large amount of fragmented China ware, Chinese coins used in Ming period, and Dutch porcelain were found scattered in paddy fields and along the seashore in Pattani province. Unfortunately the ongoing insurgency makes it difficult for scholars to conduct serious studies and excavations (Pict. 2).

Recently however, there has been a push by some archaeologists of Prince of Songkla University Pattani campus to start an excavation, giving us hope to obtain alternative information that could shed light on Patani’s past. Such an attempt to unravel the little-known history of Patani will require the collaboration of experts from different fields working together.

Archaeological findings, together with existing written sources, can give us potential clues that this region was once an international entrepôt and ethnically and culturally diverse society, not a ‘Malay’ or ‘Thai’ dominated area often claimed by nationalists. The historical study of Patani might not be able to solve ongoing problems in southern Thailand, but new information and the reappraisal of old sources can enhance our knowledge and understanding of this region; an important step to help reduce ethnic and religious cleavage among the Buddhists and the Muslims in the region.

References


Montesano, Micheal and Jory, Patrick eds. 2008. Thai South and Malay North; Ethnic Interactions on a Plural Peninsular. Singapore: NUS Press.


Note

1 Personal interview with Prof. Krongchai Hatta at Prince of Songkla University, Pattani campus. 20 December, 2012.
Appraising the Significance of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies’ (CSEAS) Library Collection for Philippine Studies

Suzuki Nobutaka
Associate Professor, University of Tsukuba

The library at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) has been the most essential foundation for the promotion of research activities in the field of Southeast Asian studies. It has continually expanded and developed its collection by focusing on academic publications on Southeast Asia, and holds approximately 180,000 items. It assures access by both domestic and overseas patrons through its open access policy and reference services. Alongside materials collected in print, the library also collects many archival materials from the colonial period in Microfilm form. Suzuki Nobutaka focuses on a recent addition to the collection from the Philippines and their significance for Philippine Studies.

Collecting research materials such as newspaper articles, public documents, information, and data from field research is undoubtedly important not only for specialists in Philippine Studies, but also in Southeast Asian Studies in general. However, gathering and exploring such research materials in Southeast Asian countries can, at times, be discouraging because they are often poorly preserved. For this reason, it is necessary for researchers to go abroad, where rich archival collections are available.

To my knowledge, as far Philippine Studies is concerned, a lot of precious and rare research materials and documents are available in Japan. The library at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University is no exception for the collections it possesses. Between 2011 and 2012, I worked on a collaborative research project sponsored by the Center and had an opportunity to purchase the microfilms (a total of 109 reels) of the Tribune (1930–1945) from Cornell University. This collection allowed me to gain a firm understanding of the early 20th colonial Philippines.

The most useful part of the research materials is the daily newspaper's articles which are indispensable for analyzing past historical events. Good examples for Philippine Studies, using extensive newspaper’s articles in addition to public documents, are The Philippine Independence Missions to the United States (CSEAS), Kyoto University no exception for the collections it possesses. Between 2011 and 2012, I worked on a collaborative research project sponsored by the Center and had an opportunity to purchase the microfilms (a total of 109 reels) of the Tribune (1930–1945) from Cornell University. This collection allowed me to gain a firm understanding of the early 20th colonial Philippines.

The Philippine Independence Missions to the United States (1919–1934) by Bernardita Churchill which attempts to depict the Filipino elite’s diplomacy toward its own independence from the United States, and The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines (1977) by Benedict Kerkvliet, which focuses on the Hukbalahap, the anti-Japanese resistance movement in the Central Luzon Plain in pre-war times. English newspapers were first published when the Philippines became an American colony in 1898. The library has deposits of the microfilms of the English daily newspaper, Manila Times (1898–1930). Prior to my research project, one of the most serious problems Philippine Studies specialists and scholars faced was the absence of English newspapers in Japan from 1930 to 1945 in collections. However, in cooperation with Cornell University and thanks to the kind assistance of Mr. Greg Green and Ms. Carole Atkinson, both curators of the library’s Southeast Asian Collection, the Center was able to purchase microfilms of the Tribune following the Manila Times. This Manila-based nationwide English newspaper, originally published in 1925 is without doubt an important source of research materials, filling a gap between 1930 and 1945.

Scholars who used to go the Library of Congress and American universities to investigate this period can now benefit from this acquisition. The 1930s was a period of diplomatic negotiations with the United States, which were followed by the establishment of a Commonwealth government in 1935 in preparation for absolute independence after a 10-year transitional period. Since only three major nationwide English newspapers — the Tribune (1925–1945), the Philippines Herald (1920–1941), and the Manila Daily Bulletin (1907–1942, 1946 to present) — were published, the purchase of the first is of great interest to library users.

With this new acquisition, along with help of the Foronda and Ocampo Collections preserved in the Center, researchers and scholars will be able to explore interesting agendas from new perspectives. The latter includes very rare excellent collections which are available in the Center, such as the Constitutional Convention Record of 1935 (11 volumes), which include a legislative debate and argument over the new constitution promulgated in 1935, and the Annual Report of the Governor-General of the Philippines (1916–1935).

If more users are aware of the strengths of the Center’s collections in comparison with other libraries, material collection in Japan could become easier. For example, when scrutinizing the newspapers of the post-independence period for research purposes, the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE), in Mihamaku, Chiba, is often recommended. The most comprehensive statistical data on the Philippine economy during the American colonial period is available at the Institute of Economic Researches, Hitotsubashi University.1 It also offers two distinctive administrative reports in microfilm form, which include Manuscript Reports of the Governor-General of the Philippines (1916–1935) and Manuscript Reports of the U.S. High
Commissioner to the Philippine Islands (1936–1940). Additionally, the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILACCA) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies provides researchers with one of the most important public reports entitled Manuscript Reports of the Philippine Commission (1900–1915).

In addition to the library’s collection, a number of rare documents are easily accessible in Japan. To carry out efficient and practical library research in Japan prior to going abroad, knowledge of the latest repository conditions of each library, particularly those that focus on the early 20th colonial Philippines, can help improve our scholarship. It is hoped that these kinds of collections at the Center will play a vital role in becoming a “hub” of Southeast Asian Studies open to scholars not only Japan, but also those from abroad.

References


Newspapers

The Tribune (1925–1945)
The Philippines Herald (1920–1941)
The Manila Daily Bulletin (1907–1942, 1946 – to present)
The Manila Times (1898–1930)

Note

1 For more information, please see a short essay written by Nagano Yoshiko entitled The Location and Composition of Philippine Historical Statistical Materials.

Publications

Entering Unchartered Waters?
ASEAN and the South China Sea

Living With Risk:
Precarity and Bangkok’s Urban Poor
Endo, Tamaki. 2014. NUS Press and Kyoto University Press
Visiting Fellows

CSEAS is accepting applicants semiannually for about 14 positions for scholars and researchers who work on Southeast Asia, or any one of the countries in that region, to spend 3 to 12 months in Kyoto to conduct research, write, or pursue other scholarly activities in connection with their field of study. Since 1975, more than 300 distinguished scholars have availed themselves of the Center's considerable scholarly resources and enjoyed the invigorating atmosphere of scenic Kyoto, the ancient capital of Japan and the main repository of the country's cultural treasures, to pursue their interests in Southeast Asian Area Studies. The Center's multi-disciplinary character and the diverse research interests of its faculty offer visiting scholars an ideal opportunity for the exchange of ideas and the cultivation of comparative perspectives. The highly competitive selection process has brought to the Center in recent years researchers from Southeast Asian countries, Bangladesh, China, Korea, and western countries including the United States and France. The visiting fellows represent various basic disciplines in their study of Southeast Asia, and their official posts in their home institutions include teacher, researcher, librarian, journalist, and NGO worker. Information and Technology (IT) experts who conduct research on Southeast Asia are also joining the Center, not only to manage various database systems but also to construct academic networks for area study throughout the world. Successful applicants receive an appropriate stipend to cover international travel, housing, and living expenses in Kyoto. Research funds will also be provided to facilitate his/her work. Funds will also be allocated for domestic travel, subject to government regulations, and a number of other facilities are available to visiting scholars. Fellows will be expected to reside in Kyoto for the duration of their fellowship period. Fellows are normally invited to deliver a public lecture during their term at the Center and encouraged to submit an article for possible publication in the Center's journal, *Southeast Asian Studies* and to contribute to the online journal *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*. CSEAS also received researchers, both Japanese and foreign, who visit on their own funds or on external fellowships.

### List of Visiting Research Fellows, Visiting Researchers, and Visiting Project Researchers at CSEAS

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<td>4.1.2014–29.3.2014</td>
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<td>Transition of Tropical Peat Land Ecosystem Induced by Land Use Conversion</td>
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<td>Treerat, Nualnoi</td>
<td>1.11.2013–30.4.2014</td>
<td>Associate Professor, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University</td>
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<td>Tran Van Quyen</td>
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<td>Phakdeewanich, Titpol</td>
<td>7.1.2014–30.6.2014</td>
<td>Head of Department of Government, Faculty of Political Science, Ubun Ratchatthani University</td>
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<td>Bautista, Julius</td>
<td>15.1.2014–14.7.2014</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore</td>
<td>“Export Quality Martyrs”: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of “Suffering” and “Sacrifice” in the Philippines</td>
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<td>Cheng, Ke-Sheng</td>
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<td>Lai, Suat Yan</td>
<td>28.3.2014–25.6.2014</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer, Gender Studies Programme, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya</td>
<td>Buddhist Women As Spiritual Leaders, Ritual Specialists and Religious Innovators</td>
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<td>Andi, Amri</td>
<td>7.4.2014–30.9.2014</td>
<td>Associate Professor, Fisheries Department, Faculty of Marine Science and Fisheries, Hasanuuddin University</td>
<td>Fostering Local Experiences with Global Visions of Mangrove Conservation for Sustainable Humanosphere in Southeast Asia</td>
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Workshop Reports

On 10 January 2014, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), hosted two workshops. Both were sponsored by the “Toward Sustainable Humanosphere in Southeast Asian Studies” Research Program in conjunction with the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California-Berkeley and the School of Pacific and Asian Studies (SPAS), University of Hawai‘i at Manoa.

The joint workshop between SPAS and CSEAS concentrated on plural coexistence and engaged with how it has often been held up as both ideal and goal in managing political and social relations between states and in avowedly multiethnic and multireligious societies. Speakers from both CSEAS and SPAS shared presentations on how do specific strategies of classification, negotiation, contestation, mobilization, and redistribution bring “plural coexistence” into play and, just as importantly, into question. Speakers engaged in a lively discussion on how “plural coexistence” — particularly in its ethnic and state-mediated dimensions — is “operationalized” (to use Cathy Clayton’s phrase who spoke on the Macanese and Macau’s small mixed-race Eurasian minority) across East and Southeast Asia. Presentations worked through what happens when “difference” — and the capacities, resources, networks, and circulations (whether human, material or ideational) it indexes and taps — is codified, institutionalized, and enforced by a variety of so-called “stakeholders,” including the state, ethnic groups and their representatives, the organizations that act on their behalf, and individuals.

Discussions made clear that “differences,” in for example religion, ethnicity and its recognition, and the demands groups can make in seeking recognition, impact upon how East Asia’s experiences of plural co-existence can enrich discussions on the fluidity of people’s and their contexts. The discussions in this workshop highlighted how the concept and practice of “plural coexistence” travels and circulates. It unifies and fragment populations; erase divisions while producing new ones or deepening existing chasms; can provide the terms not only for empowerment, resistance, accommodation, and evasion, but also reproduce relations that are often asymmetrical. The workshop in effect offered an examination of the contours of plural co-existence in East Asia and evaluated how the variegated cultural, political, religious, and social visions for (re)thinking and (re)making particular communities are playing out at present.

The joint seminar between CSEAS and its counterpart at University of California-Berkeley focused on Indonesia’s experience of political transition, its economic growth (fueled in part by the high prices of commodities) and rich natural resources, its checkered record of successes and failures in managing ethnic and religious pluralism and co-existence, and its vibrant literary and arts scene. It was grouped around three-theme based sessions: on “Culture and Arts,” “Resources” and “Old politics and New.” In the first session, speakers discussed in depth on the socio-political context of Indonesia’s literary productions and postcolonial architectural styles. In the second session, speakers shared thoughts on the changing regimes of forest land in Java’s local politics and also on the recent development of a coal railway project in the Kalimantan hinterlands. In the third session, speakers discussed a number of key issues on Indonesian political conditions: the roles of journalist associations in colonial times, types of Chinese Indonesian emigration after the 1960s, the politics of aristocracy, and transitional justice in post-Suharto Indonesia.

The seminar was well attended by a number of Japan-based Indonesian specialists and graduate students who took part in the discussion. Overall, the seminar presented a wide range of debates and perspectives in the field of Indonesian studies.
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Since its first publication in 1963, the bilingual quarterly Southeast Asian Studies (SEAS), Kyoto University has reflected the Center for Southeast Asian Studies’ strong commitment to publishing the best of empirically grounded, multidisciplinary, and contemporary research on Southeast Asia and related areas.

In 2012, we re-launched Southeast Asian Studies as an all-English journal, alongside its Japanese sister journal, Tonan Ajia Kenkyu. Intended for a regional as well as global readership, Southeast Asian Studies is published three times a year.

The new journal aims to promote excellent, agenda-setting scholarship and provide a forum for dialogue and collaboration both within and beyond the region. Southeast Asian Studies engages in wide-ranging and in-depth discussions that are attuned to the issues, debates, and imperatives within the region, while affirming the importance of learning and sharing ideas on a cross-country, global, and historical scale. An integral part of the journal’s mandate is to foster scholarship that is capable of bridging the continuing divide in area studies between the social sciences and humanities, on the one hand, and the natural sciences, on the other hand. To this end, the journal welcomes accessibly written articles that build on insights and cutting-edge research from the natural sciences. The journal also publishes research reports, which are shorter but fully peer-reviewed articles that present original findings or new concepts that result from specific research projects or outcomes of research collaboration.

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