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FULBRIGHT IN INDONESIA:

THE VALUE OF AREA STUDIES IN AN UNCERTAIN WORLD

THOMAS PEPINSKY

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The Value of Area Studies in an Uncertain World

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A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS COMMEMORATING
THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF AMINEF &
THE 65th ANNIVERSARY OF FULBRIGHT IN INDONESIA

1. Margot Cohen, *The Ripple Effect: How Fulbright Alumni Are Making Their Mark on the World*
2. Thomas Pepinsky, *Fulbright in Indonesia: Area Studies in an Uncertain World*
3. Fadjar Thufail, *The Impact of Fulbright on the Development of Social Science in Indonesia*

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This second volume in the series of three books AMINEF has commissioned as part of the 25/65 anniversary celebration (25 years of AMINEF as a binational Fulbright Commission, 65 years of Fulbright in Indonesia), looks specifically at the American Fulbrighters to Indonesia over the years. The first volume, Margot Cohen's *The Ripple Effect: How Fulbright Alumni Are Making Their Mark on the World*, provides rounded portraits of 12 Fulbright alumni from various programs and generations. The third volume, based on research still ongoing, will be Fajar Thufail's *The Impact of Fulbright on the Development of Social Science in Indonesia*.

We approached Dr. Thomas (Tom) Pepinsky, associate professor of government at Cornell University, to help us survey the field of American Fulbrighters to Indonesia over the years because he himself is a Fulbright-Hays alumnus, a founder of the American Institute of Indonesian Studies (AIFIS), and a prolific scholar and public intellectual who has written previously about what can be called the ecosystem of area studies, to borrow a term from Tom, specifically Southeast Asia. And he has published not only in narrow disciplinary journals, but also for a wider audience, and about issues of policy and of concern to the general public interested in higher education. We counted on Tom's generous contribution of ideas and time and we were rewarded with a thoughtful essay in this book, which expands on his other published work, including two opinion pieces in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that take on directly the whole issue of funding for area studies, scholarships for study abroad, study of foreign languages, and fieldwork abroad.



As the most prestigious of US government international scholarship programs, Fulbright is a crucial part of the area studies ecosystem in the United States, as Pepinsky convincingly argues. And, in his *Chronicle of Higher Education* opinion pieces and here again, he argues that it is extremely important now, in what he calls an “uncertain world,” for the federal government to continue to play a crucial role in keeping alive Fulbright and other programs, such as Title VI, FLAS, AORC, and Fulbright-Hays in the Department of Education, that enable and strengthen expertise and knowledge on other countries in the world, in this case the most populous country in Southeast Asia, Indonesia. For, as the author writes,

Fulbright alumni include most of the most prominent scholars of contemporary Indonesian politics and society, influential figures in the policy world, business leaders and non-profit leaders—as well as scientists, artists, and generally well-rounded citizens. The record is clear: Fulbright in Indonesia has been wholly successful in creating the understanding, the knowledge, and the leaders who serve the U.S. national interest. And it proves easy to catalogue the knock-on benefits, which extend beyond the specific list of people whose research and teaching have been supported by Fulbright.

To give some sense of the range of well-known American Indonesianists who have studied, done research, or taught in Indonesia with Fulbright support, we have added as appendices lists of the Fulbright recipients in three major categories: (1) Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) and Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad (FRA) Fellowship grantees; (2) US Fulbright Scholar grantees; (3) US Fulbright Student Research grantees. We have tried to collate information from various sources but freely admit that our records and databases are incomplete. To those who find that their names have been left off, or that the information is incorrect, please do let us know, and we apologize for the omission or any mistakes.

I want to thank Tom Pepinsky for his eagerness to “give back” to Fulbright, a signal character trait in every Fulbrighter I’ve ever met. Below is a brief biosketch of the author.

Alan H. Feinstein
Executive Director, AMINEF



THE AUTHOR

Thomas Pepinsky is Associate Professor in the Department of Government at Cornell University. He specializes in comparative politics and international political economy, with a focus on emerging markets in Southeast Asia. Among other works, he is the author of *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and articles such as “The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism”; “Trade Competition and American Decolonization”; and “Context and Method in Southeast Asian Politics.” He serves as a member of the steering committee for the Association for Analytical Learning on Islam and Muslim Societies (aalims.org), and recently helped to found a new organization called the Southeast Asian Research Group (seareg.org) to highlight the best new contemporary research on Southeast Asian politics in North America. He regularly teaches the Southeast Asian Politics course at Cornell, as well as general courses on comparative politics and political economy. He received a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad award in 2004 to do fieldwork in Indonesia.



FULBRIGHT IN INDONESIA:

The Value of Area Studies in an
Uncertain World

by Thomas Pepinsky

Indonesia is one of America's most important, yet least understood, global partners. This lack of understanding is mostly a product of the sheer physical distance between the two countries, coupled with religious, linguistic, and cultural barriers that make it hard for most Americans to learn about Indonesia. Yet it is common for those Americans who do immerse themselves in Indonesian studies to find, much to their surprise, important commonalities between Indonesia and the United States. From the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* with its echoes of *E Pluribus Unum*, to Indonesians' everyday nationalism and patriotism, to the challenges of a regional diversity in a geographically large country, Indonesia and the United States are not as different as they might appear after a glance at a world map or a cursory reading of history



Initiatives such as the Fulbright Program enable Americans to discover such similarities and parallels between the United States and Indonesia, and to see the common interests of their citizens. Since its establishment, the Fulbright Program has sent American students, teachers, and scholars all over the world, including over 1,200 to Indonesia. These American Fulbrighters are ambassadors for the United States, sharing their knowledge and know-how, in exchange bringing back to the United States a depth of understanding and expertise of Indonesian society, culture, history, and politics that few American can ever hope otherwise to gain. Fulbright-in-Indonesia alumni include some of the most prominent Indonesianists in government and higher education, leaders in the business and non-profit sectors, as well as doctors, artists, teachers, and other experts. Fulbright and the American Indonesian Exchange Foundation, or AMINEF, which for 25 years has managed the program in Indonesia, have played a critical role in supporting the study of Indonesia as part of a higher education ecosystem that includes National Resource Centers and other programs that make research and teaching about distant countries possible.

In a climate of political uncertainty around the globe, political turmoil and economic uncertainty within the United States, and soul-searching about the purpose of area studies in higher education, programs such as Fulbright in Indonesia face new pressures to demonstrate their relevance. Proposed budgetary cutbacks amount to existential threats to their viability. In uncertain times such as these, a clear-eyed focus on the long-term interests of the United States is essential. Those interests include avoiding senseless conflicts, embracing mutually beneficial economic exchange, managing a tricky regional environment, and nurturing American soft power through people-to-people exchanges. Fulbright and AMINEF produce the kind of knowledge and expertise that makes this possible—they always have, *by design*, and so long as Washington continues to support them, *they always will*. These programs are valuable not because they generate immediate returns that can be measured in policy output or other short-term indicators, but specifically because the current climate of uncertain global politics requires deep reservoirs of area-specific knowledge that only sustained research and experience can generate.

Indonesia and American Strategic Priorities

One commonly measures Indonesia's importance with some reference to its size. It is the world's fourth most populous country, the world's largest archipelagic state, the world's third most populous democracy, and the world's most populous Muslim-majority country. It is also one of the world's most ethnically and linguistically diverse independent states, the home to more tropical rainforest than any country besides Brazil and DR Congo, and its growing economy will soon be among the largest emerging markets in the world.

In one sense, Indonesia's importance follows automatically from this list of superlatives. Yet this misses entirely the specific ways in which Indonesia has figured in American foreign policy—for better or for worse. From the Cold War to the “War on Terror,” Indonesia has occupied a central place in American policymaking. Those Fulbright alumni who are today's leaders in Indonesian studies were once students and scholars whose research took them to Indonesia to study how this “big and important” country figured into the policy debates of the day.

Consider first the years immediately following decolonization, during the period of Indonesia's brief experiment with liberal democracy. The United States had leaned on the Netherlands to help end Indonesia's war of independence by 1949, but relations were far from smooth, and there was precious little expertise in the United States about Indonesia. This was one specific instance of Americans' general lack of expertise and local knowledge about the newly independent countries across Asia. Responding to





¹ See Audrey R. Kahin, "Growth and Crisis: Cornell Southeast Asia Program's First Two Decades," *Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University Fall Bulletin* 2007.

² See George M.C. Kahin, *Southeast Asia: A Testament* (New York: Routledge, 2003), chapter 6.

³ Title VI support a wide range of area and international studies activities. These include Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships to support student language study, National Resource Centers that support area studies, Language Resource Centers that support language pedagogy, American Overseas Research Centers that support research and educational exchange in countries from Morocco to Indonesia, Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowships, Centers for International Business Education, and others. See <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/iegps/index.html#programs> (accessed September 15, 2017).

⁴ Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

this challenge, in 1953 the Ford Foundation identified Indonesia as one of several Asian countries about which American knowledge was particularly lacking, and provided support for the fledgling Modern Indonesia Project at Cornell. (Southeast Asian studies at Cornell was at the time supported by a large grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.¹) At the time, although the Fulbright Program in Indonesia (launched in 1952) had begun to send Indonesian students and scholars to the United States, the reverse flow of Americans to Indonesia was still small, with those supported by Fulbright exclusively focusing on cultural and sporting activities. Cornell's George Kahin faced serious difficulties returning to Indonesia in the mid-1950s, at the height of McCarthyism, due to his criticism of U.S. foreign policy towards Asia at the time.² Ironically, that visit to Indonesia was driven by his desire to better understand the politics of newly-independent Indonesia, which the Ford Foundation considered necessary to make better policy in this moment of global political change.

By the end of the 1950s, the U.S. government had come around to the position that language and area studies were important, as represented by Title VI of the National Defense Education Act which would come to support area studies programs across the United States for the next half century.³ The context was the intensification of superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the early 1960s, the last years of Sukarno's Guided Democracy and amidst the deepening conflict in Vietnam and the "domino theory" of communism, Indonesia was a major concern for U.S. policymakers seeking to hold the line against communism in Asia.⁴ After the terrible events of 1965-66, and Soeharto's rise to power, the threat of communism subsided and U.S. policy interests instead focused—as elsewhere in the developing world—on issues of modernization and economic development. The Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad program began to send U.S. PhD students to Indonesia in 1965, and many of these students joined in the study of modernization, both from the discipline of political science as well as working from adjacent disciplines such as geography, anthropology, and history. The list of Fulbright-Hays grantees in the first half of Indonesia's New Order (1966-1998) includes some of the most influential voices in U.S.-Indonesian relations and the fields of business, government, and philanthropy: John MacDougall (1969), Barbara Harvey (1970), James Castle (1976), Terry Bigalke (1977),

Sheldon Shaeffer (1977), Toby Volkman (1977), Suzanne Siskel (1981), and Alan Feinstein (1983), among others. Traveling to Indonesia for dissertation research, these scholars became important voices for understanding Indonesia beyond just the academy. It of course also includes nearly every leading figure of Indonesian studies in the United States educated during their period: Audrey Kahin (1975), Ellen Rafferty (1975), Ann Stoler (1976), John Bowen (1977), Ward Keeler (1977), Andy Sutton (1978), Robert Hefner (1979), John Pemberton (1981), Laurie Sears (1981), Kenneth George (1982), Mary Steedly (1982), and Marc Perlman (1983).

Likewise, the early years of the New Order saw arrival of non-Indonesia specialists through the Fulbright Program. Two particularly noteworthy examples are Seymour Martin Lipset and Samuel Huntington, two political scientists famous for their work on “modernization” (Lipset) and the problem of political order (Huntington), and each of whose foundational contributions were published prior to their arrival in Indonesia.⁵ Although there is no record of what they did during their Fulbright fellowship, it is hard to escape the conclusion that it must have been related to the newly consolidating New Order regime.

The late-New Order period saw a precipitous decline in the number of Fulbright-Hays grantees visiting Indonesia to study politics or foreign affairs. Most grantees instead came from the discipline of anthropology, and although many of these students had clear interests in politics, their projects focused instead on ethnographic or archaeological topics. A few Fulbright Student Grants went to students studying politics, but this number is far exceeded by the number going to students studying anthropology and other related disciplines.⁶ Fulbright Senior Scholars were drawn from a range of disciplines, and the only notable Indonesianist studying contemporary politics was R. William Liddle of Ohio State. This decline in the study of politics was partially a consequence of the restrictions placed on the study of politics itself in the late New Order period, which made it difficult to obtain an appropriate visa and research permits (required for Fulbrighters) if one planned to study contemporary politics. After the fall of the New Order, however, there is evidence of a broadening of Fulbright and Fulbright-Hays scholars’ topics of study. PhD students from the field of political science entered Indonesia to study religion and politics, labor

⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1960).

⁶ According to the most comprehensive data available to me, between 1985 and 1998 only three students received Fulbright Student Grants for projects from the field of political science. The number for anthropology, by contrast, is twenty-seven.





movements, crisis management, and democratization. I myself held a Fulbright-Hays DDRA fellowship from 2004-2005 to work on these issues in Indonesia and Malaysia.⁷ Other U.S. Fulbrighters from history, anthropology, and journalism turned to a more explicit consideration of political issues as well.

Shortly after Indonesian democratization came the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and in their aftermath, U.S. foreign policy priorities changed sharply. Now Indonesia was a foreign policy priority not because of global communism or regional economic crisis, but because it was a Muslim-majority country in the midst of a tricky democratization process accompanied by localized but nevertheless serious intercommunal violence. A series of terror attacks in Jakarta and Bali carried out by Islamists in the following years, targeting Australian and other foreign interests, confirmed to many in Washington and around the world that Indonesia was a front line in a “Global War on Terror.” Fulbright and Fulbright-Hays grantees in Indonesia once again followed these important U.S. foreign policy priorities, studying Islam, politics, terrorism, and global security in Indonesia. Many researchers from this most recent generation of Indonesianists are still early in their careers, but Fulbright-Hays grantees such as Robin Bush (2000) and Steve Rhee (2004) have become important figures in the Asia Foundation and Ford Foundation, respectively. Others, such as James Hoesterey (2005), have become important voices in the study of Islam and Indonesian foreign policy. These Fulbright alums are voices of reason and reflection in conversations in Washington about Islam in Indonesia, the threat of radicalization, and the future of Indonesia’s plural democracy.

After sixteen years of war in Afghanistan and Iraq, and no end to either in sight, Islam, radicalism, and terrorism remain a policy priority in Washington. It is likely, then, that Fulbrighters will continue to study these issues, and as a result, to contribute to foreign policy debates back in the U.S. Looking forward, though, China’s continued rise is likely to be the defining feature of the coming decade. It is also an area in which deep area studies has been lacking. The strategic context surrounding the South China Sea and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is well-known but (in this author’s opinion) most research is superficial, stale, and driven by scholars whose main interest is China itself. Relatively under-explored are country-

⁷ My dissertation research was ultimately published as *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

specific insights into how the rise of China is shaping *domestic* politics in countries like Indonesia, and in turn, the consequences for Indonesia's foreign policy towards China and other regional players. As China's rise continues, a good bet is that Fulbright grantees will increasingly turn to serious research on foreign policymaking and regional diplomatic relations in Indonesia—and in the rest of the region—to help make sense of these developments and their implications for U.S. foreign policy.

It is worth pausing to reflect on this history of U.S. foreign policy priorities and their influence on the Fulbright Program in Indonesia. A critical reader might conclude from this history that U.S.-based scholars have been forced to chase research funding by responding to the policy concerns of the day. Does this distract scholars from real issues, preventing them from studying the social problems that are of most importance to *Indonesians themselves*? Does this make them complicit in U.S. foreign policy, or affect the kinds of knowledge that U.S. scholars produce about Indonesia? These questions have no easy answers, and for many critics of U.S. foreign policy in Indonesia and elsewhere, the dependence of research funding on government priorities always raises the possibility of “researcher capture.” And yet my view is that these concerns are overblown. Fulbright alumni are savvy critics—and frequently harsh ones—of U.S. policy. Every Fulbright alumnus I know has learnt from experience that the theory, concepts, questions, and problems that may have drawn them to Indonesia require serious rethinking. And at any rate, the days of George Kahin nearly having his passport revoked for his opposition to U.S. foreign policy are long gone. Many Fulbrighters go to Indonesia with the goal of making U.S. policy better precisely because they disagree with it—this certainly describes me in 2004. In that sense, the Fulbright Program is enormously successful in fulfilling the goals of its namesake.





Creating Area Expertise

The preceding discussion has shown how Indonesia's place in U.S. foreign policy, together with developments within Indonesia itself, has been reflected in the Fulbright Program and the kinds of research that it funds. My focus on politics—which has not always been openly embraced on the Indonesian side—gets at the most obvious ways that Indonesian affairs interface with U.S. higher education and foreign policy. But plainly Indonesia is not *only* important because of politics; Indonesia's size, diversity, and resources do explain why anthropologists, biologists, linguists, geographers, musicians, artists, and environmentalists have flocked to Indonesia even at those moments when attention to “contemporary politics” has subsided.

That wide spread of disciplines, topics, and areas of study embraced by the Fulbright Program in Indonesia reflects something essential about what area expertise does. Specifically, an area studies perspective encourages researchers to think beyond their disciplinary and topical boundaries to consider the broader geographic, human, and natural environment in which they do their research. Linguists who travel to eastern Indonesia to catalogue small or endangered local languages will, as a matter of course, become familiar with the social systems and environmental conditions. Primatologists studying orangutans become familiar with forestry concerns and the relationship between human activity and the natural environment. Economists studying local labor productivity must understand issues such as rural-to-urban migration, industrial relations, and Indonesia's education system. Even if Fulbrighters were to enter Indonesia with no interest whatsoever beyond their narrow, discipline-centered research project, they would

find themselves becoming versed in a broader range of Indonesia-specific topics as a matter of course. This makes them not just subject experts, but also, in the most basic sense, Indonesianists.

And yet it is hard to support research on the argument that it generates these kinds of ancillary, cross-disciplinary benefits. Why? Because the benefits of area expertise are hard to anticipate, and because they do not immediately contribute to established disciplines. If it were possible to specify in advance what kinds of related topics would be covered, then researchers could plan around them, and funders could target them for financial support. Yet the benefits of deep area engagement are frequently a product of serendipity, the type of incidental discoveries and insights that are interesting and valuable specifically because they could never be anticipated. They are *unknown unknowns*, the types of findings or perspectives that a scholar does not even know that she does not know, only revealing themselves during the course of the research enterprise itself. For obvious reasons, it is hard to justify funding research on the argument that it will probably uncover something that matters for some reason. Instead, funders tend to want evidence *ex ante* of a clear research schedule and measurable impact.

For the same reason, the benefits to deep area engagement are often hard to justify on ground that they contribute to a specific discipline. The *linguist* who discovers something important about the social conditions of the community she studies, for example, probably cannot use that discovery to justify to *linguists* the value of supporting her research. Yet it is to that disciplinary community that she is best positioned to appeal for research support. The result of this dynamic is that disciplines have the effect of “disciplining” researchers’ approach to conceptualizing their work. This is welcome—disciplines *should* discipline research⁸—but it runs contrary to the other, no less important goal of gaining knowledge about local context and local problems that cannot have been identified prior to the conduct of the research itself.

In this respect, the Fulbright Program is uniquely suited to supporting the kind of work that transcends disciplinary boundaries and facilitates the unexpected and unforeseeable discoveries that come from deep engagement in Indonesia (or any other national context). Instead of designing a

⁸I discuss the value of disciplinary knowledge in Southeast Asian studies in the essay “Disciplining Southeast Asian Studies,” *Sojourn* 30 (March 2015), pp. 215-226.



program that begins with a disciplinary perspective or a delimited set of research questions, Fulbright Programs begin from the perspective that area studies itself has value. The Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program's own summary description reads, for example,

Program Description

This program provides grants to colleges and universities to fund individual doctoral students who conduct research in other countries, in modern foreign languages and area studies for periods of six to 12 months.

Types of Projects

Projects deepen research knowledge on and help the nation develop capability in areas of the world not generally included in U.S. curricula.⁹

The Fulbright U.S. Student Program likewise reads

During their grants, Fulbrighters will meet, work, live with and learn from the people of the host country, sharing daily experiences. The program facilitates cultural exchange through direct interaction on an individual basis in the classroom, field, home, and in routine tasks, allowing the grantee to gain an appreciation of others' viewpoints and beliefs, the way they do things, and the way they think. Through engagement in the community, the individual will interact with their hosts on a one-to-one basis in an atmosphere of openness, academic integrity, and intellectual freedom, thereby promoting mutual understanding.¹⁰

The primary justifications for two of the most important elements of the Fulbright Program, in other words, have nothing to do with completing a specific task or making a particular contribution to a discipline or field (although Fulbrighters may indeed do this too as part of their research and study plans). Instead, they emphasize area studies and language, learning about how others think, and the learning that happens in the everyday encounters ("routine tasks") between Americans and the people in their host country.

One conclusion to draw from this discussion is that the Fulbright Program

⁹ See <https://www2.ed.gov/programs/iegpsddrap/index.html> (accessed September 12, 2017).

¹⁰ See <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/fulbright-us-student-program> (accessed September 12, 2017).

encourages Americans to gain the types of knowledge and expertise that are unlikely to be encouraged by disciplinary organizations or by funders seeking to support well-defined research projects whose impacts can be neatly anticipated and measured. No less important, though, is a second conclusion: there is probably no other way to support the accumulation of knowledge than through government-supported programs like Fulbright.

One way to make this case is to consider how the education systems of other countries support area studies research, in Indonesia in particular but also in Southeast Asia and other world regions more generally. The general pattern found in countries like Japan, Singapore, Australia, and the Netherlands is that government-funded or otherwise government-linked institutions (either universities or research and policy institutions) play a lead role in supporting area studies research. They do so based on the presumption that area knowledge serves the national interest in some way. An incomplete list of high-profile centers for Indonesian studies includes the following:

1. In the Netherlands, the Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV after the Dutch acronym) was established in 1851 to increase knowledge in the Netherlands of what were then its colonies. Today KITLV sits underneath the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW), which sets policy for KITLV and which in turn is the highest official learned society in the Netherlands, supported by grants from the Netherlands government.¹¹
2. The Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University in Japan, which has long been a center for interdisciplinary research on regional issues from environment to trade to local politics, has been partially supported by the Japanese government since 1965, shortly after the Center itself was established. Early support came from the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, and subsequently from successors to that ministry, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and others. Interestingly, Ford Foundation support was also critical in the early days of the Kyoto CSEAS.¹²
3. Southeast Asian studies in general, and Indonesian studies in particular, are a special focus of the Australian National University.

¹¹ See <http://www.kitlv.nl/our-history/> and <https://www.knaw.nl/en/about-us/organisation> (both accessed September 12, 2017).

¹² See <http://www.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/about/history-of-cseas/> (accessed September 12, 2017).

ANU's Indonesia Project, the world's premier interdisciplinary Indonesian studies center, is supported by the ANU (which itself has a special connection to the Australian government) and by Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.¹³

4. The Institute for Southeast Asian Studies (now styled ISEAS-Ishak Yusof Institute), established by the Singaporean Parliament in 1968, has a mandate to "be a leading research centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment." The vast majority of its funding comes in the form of a grant from the Singaporean Ministry of Education.¹⁴

The story of Indonesian studies and Southeast Asian studies in the United States is much the same, as described above with the launching of Title VI centers beginning in the 1950s. Initial seed funding for the study of Southeast Asia as a region came from private foundations (Ford and Rockefeller, in the Cornell case; Carnegie and Ford, in the Yale case), but maintaining an infrastructure for Southeast Asian studies—institutional homes, language instructors, library collections, outreach programs—beyond one or two universities requires federal government support. In the same way, supporting those scholars whose research and teaching actually comprise Southeast Asian studies requires programs like Fulbright.

Given that every serious center for the study of Indonesia and Southeast Asia anywhere in the world depends on support from a national government, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Indonesian studies requires government funding to be viable. To reiterate, private foundations have played and continue to play an irreplaceable role in supporting Indonesian studies in the United States. For example, today the Henry Luce Foundation supports the American Institute for Indonesian Studies and the Southeast Asia Research Group, two organizations that in turn are nurturing the next generation of interdisciplinary Indonesianists and Southeast Asianists.¹⁵ But these efforts to build research communities and facilitate access to underserved communities still depend on programs like Fulbright to support basic area studies research and teaching. To illustrate just how deeply that next generation of experts depends on Fulbright, we need only observe that each of the five conveners of the Southeast Asia Research Group—Allen Hicken, Amy Liu, Edmund Malesky, Dan Slater, and me—have been supported by a Fulbright grant in the past. It is probably safe to say that we could not have become the regional experts that we are without Fulbright.

¹³ See <https://crawford.anu.edu.au/acde/1p/> (accessed September 12, 2017).

¹⁴ ISEAS-Ishak Yusof Institute, Annual Report 2015–16. Available online at <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS-AR2015-16.pdf> (accessed September 12, 2017).

¹⁵ See <https://aifis.org> and <https://seareg.org>.



Research, Teaching, and Beyond: The Higher Education Ecosystem

The argument that I have advanced in this essay is that the Fulbright Program in Indonesia—alongside other forms of federal support for area studies research—is an irreplaceable part of Indonesian and Southeast Asian studies in the United States. It is a point of historical fact that the study of Indonesia in the United States has depended on financial support from the federal government, through programs like Fulbright that support basic research by scholars and students as well as through other programs such as Title VI that support area studies centers and so much more. Fulbright, Title VI, and a range of other programs have always been justified on the premise that deep area expertise serves the U.S. national interest. Fulbright alumni include most of the most prominent scholars of contemporary Indonesian politics and society, influential figures in the policy world, business leaders and non-profit leaders—as well as scientists, artists, and generally well-rounded citizens. The record is clear: Fulbright in Indonesia has been wholly successful in creating the understanding, the knowledge, and the leaders who serve the U.S. national interest. And it proves easy to catalogue the knock-on benefits, which extend beyond the specific list of people whose research and teaching have been supported by Fulbright.

My argument, however, does not apply only to Fulbright or to Indonesian studies. It speaks to a general challenge facing the U.S. higher education ecosystem, and the role of the federal government in supporting research and teaching. Higher education in the U.S. serves many stakeholders: the students who pay often princely sums to learn, faculty who must juggle teaching and research responsibilities, the private sector which depends on both an educated labor force and technological and scientific discovery, and various arms of the U.S. government that depend in various ways on the technical, scientific, administrative, and regional expertise produced by U.S. higher education institutions. In a time of scarce resources, the instinct is

to devote time and effort to ensuring that resources are spent effectively. This is a good instinct, yet as a practical matter to know if resources are being spent effectively one must develop metrics of effectiveness, on a time scale consistent with the funding cycles in Washington and with college and university budgets. The easiest indicators to measure are those that can be compiled at regular intervals based on the typical work of higher education (students taught, degrees awarded, articles accepted, positions obtained, patents pending, dollars raised).

The description of the value and purpose of area studies that I presented above should make it clear that there is a contradiction between the instinct to measure outputs in the short term and the way that area studies works. How do we count “expertise” or “insight” or “understanding”? How do we measure impact when the goal is to create leaders and experts, and their work may not be visible for decades? How do we capture the influence of ideas and expertise on U.S. policymaking, especially when the specific mechanisms of influence are not publically recorded?¹⁶ The problem of demonstrating the value of area studies is in fact specific instantiation of a larger debate in U.S. higher education about how to value investments that have long-term, intangible, hard-to-predict payoffs. Fulbright programs in Indonesia are the classic example of such an investment. To put this point in concrete terms, if funders had been forced to evaluate James Castle’s contribution to U.S. knowledge about Indonesia when he received his Fulbright in 1976, we would have no ability to capture the depth of his influence over the following four decades.¹⁷

There is no easy solution to these challenges of valuing area studies and protecting programs such as Fulbright in an era of scarce resource and heavy focus on measurable outputs and visible returns. The best way forward, in fact, is to return to the programmatic roots of Fulbright as a program that “increases mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries,”¹⁸ and to recall why that was deemed such a valuable objective in the first place. It was not—and is not—simply because mutual understanding is itself valuable. It is because through mutual understanding that Americans are better positioned to further U.S. interests by making informed choices about how best to pursue U.S. interests abroad.¹⁹ Any government that wants to make good policy—to safeguard taxpayer resources, to avoid pointless wars or prosecuting them ineffectively, and to identify partners and allies abroad—must recognize the role of Fulbright and related programs in doing so.

¹⁶ Specifically, experts who work together with the U.S. security and foreign policy establishment are often instructed not to share the details of this work. Even if this kind of consultant work is not secret and is often actually uncontroversial, the optics are bad, so it does not appear on a curriculum vitae or on an annual report.

¹⁷ See <https://www.cas-tleasia.com> (accessed September 14, 2017).

¹⁸ See <https://www.iie.org/en/Why-IIE/History/IIE-and-Fulbright-Program> (accessed September 14, 2017).

¹⁹ See my essay “The Federal Budget’s Threat to Foreign Policy,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 16, 2017.



APPENDIX A

Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) Fellowship Grantees

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Heather Strange	1965	Anthropology
Albert Little	1968	Linguistics
John MacDougall	1969	Political Science
Martha Logsdon	1969	Political Science
Morris Casuto	1970	Business
James Osborn	1970	Geography
Wade Edmundson	1970	Geography
Robert Oudemans	1970	Geography
Barbara Harvey	1970	Political Science
Mason Hoadley	1970	History
Gloria Poedjosoedarmo	1970	Linguistics
David Opdyke	1971	Political Science
Ronald Grant	1972	Political Science
George Larson	1973	History
Thomas Porter	1973	Anthropology
E. A. Ross	1974	Anthropology
Steven Minzer	1974	Political Science
Russell Smith	1974	Southeast Asian Studies
Susan B. Millar	1974	Anthropology
Elizabeth Morris	1974	Economics
R. Coleman	1975	
Ellen Rafferty	1975	Linguistics



NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Andrew Toth	1975	Ethnomusicology
Audrey Kahin	1975	History
Ann Stoler	1976	Anthropology
Alan Smith	1976	
Russell Brooks	1976	
James Castle	1976	History
John Miksic	1976	History
Toby Volkman	1976	Anthropology
Sheldon F. Shaeffer	1977	Education
John R. Bowen	1977	Anthropology
James T. Collins	1977	Linguistics
Ward W. Keeler	1977	Anthropology
Jeffrey V. Dreyfuss	1977	Linguistics
Terrance W. Bigalke	1977	Anthropology
Christian F. Latta	1978	Linguistics
John W. Duiwel	1978	Sociology
R.L. Klotz	1978	Environmental Studies
D.J. Orr	1978	
Kathryn J. Brineman	1978	Sociology
Nancy J. Smith	1978	Linguistics
R. Anderson Sutton	1978	Ethnomusicology
Janet Hoskins	1979	Anthropology
Carol Burch	1979	Anthropology
Robert Hefner	1979	Anthropology
Philip Yampolsky	1979	Ethnomusicology
Joseph Weinstock	1979	Religion
Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing	1979	Anthropology
Adam C. Messer	1980	Biology
Nancy Lutz	1980	Anthropology
Peter Berman	1980	Economics
Jessica Glicken	1980	Anthropology

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Laurel Schwede	1981	Anthropology
William S. Johnson	1980	Sociology
Gregory L. Acciaoli	1980	Anthropology
George N. Appel	1980	Anthropology
Elizabeth Coville	1980	Anthropology
Leslie Dexter	1980	Ethnomusicology
Suzanne Siskel	1981	Anthropology
Laurie Sears	1981	History
Roger Vetter	1981	Ethnomusicology
Carol Carpenter	1981	Anthropology
Nancy Florida	1981	History
John Pemberton	1981	Anthropology
Marvin L. Rogers	1981	Anthropology
Sandra Wood	1981	Anthropology
Benjamin Brinner	1982	Ethnomusicology
Kenneth George	1982	Anthropology
Mary E. Steedly	1982	Anthropology
Lenore Launer	1982	Public Health
Anne L. Schiller	1982	Anthropology
Charles R. Daloz	1982	Biology
Jan Di Girolamo	1982	Anthropology
Philip L. Thomas	1982	Literature
Susan McKinnon	1983	Anthropology
James N. Baker	1983	Anthropology
Alan H. Feinstein	1983	Ethnomusicology
Thomas Hunter	1983	Linguistics
Jennifer Nourse	1983	Anthropology
Marc Perlman	1983	Ethnomusicology
Kathleen M. Adams	1983	Anthropology
Maribeth Erb	1983	Anthropology
Joel L. Fagan	1983	Linguistics





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Jeffrey Kingston	1984	History
Charles Barber	1984	Sociology
Margaret Wiener	1984	Anthropology
Janice Hostetler	1984	Anthropology
Rebecca Joseph	1985	Anthropology
Edward Webb Keane	1985	Anthropology
Patricia Spyer	1985	Anthropology
Rene Lysloff	1985	Ethnomusicology
Molly McNamara	1985	Ethnomusicology
Suzanne Brenner	1985	Anthropology
Gretchen G. Weix	1985	Anthropology
Fay Wouk	1986	Linguistics
Lorraine Aragon	1986	Anthropology
David Brawn	1986	Anthropology
Lisa Klopfer	1986	Anthropology
Astri Wright	1986	Art History
Christopher Alhambra	1987	Sociology
Sean Williams	1987	Ethnomusicology
Barry Drummond	1987	Ethnomusicology
David Harnish	1988	Ethnomusicology
Marc Benamou	1988	Ethnomusicology
Anita Kendrick	1988	Sociology
James Riker	1988	Political Science
Joseph Saunders	1988	Anthropology
Karen Frojen	1989	Anthropology
Michael L. Leaf	1989	Urban Planning
Kaja McGowan	1989	Art History
Kristina Gryboski	1990	Anthropology
Stephanie Morgan	1990	Anthropology
Eva L. Bynum	1990	Anthropology
Stephanie Fried	1990	Sociology

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Scott Buresh	1991	Anthropology
Stephanie Spencer	1992	Anthropology
Lisa Gold	1992	Ethnomusicology
Judith H. Mayer	1992	Urban Planning
James Hagen	1992	Anthropology
Susan Walton	1992	Ethnomusicology
Danilyn F. Rutherford	1992	Anthropology
Benjamin E. Brinner	1992	Ethnomusicology
Clark Neher	1992	Political Science
Angela Francais-Simbuenger	1993	Anthropology
Gwen Evans	1993	Anthropology
Andrew Weintraub	1993	Ethnomusicology
Matthew Cohen	1993	Anthropology
Paul K. Gellert	1994	Sociology
Sarah E. Murray	1994	Anthropology
Rachel M. Silvey	1994	Geography
Nancy Vogt	1994	Anthropology
Ethan Mark	1995	History
Mary Breinholt	1995	Urban Planning
William Cummings	1996	History
Lisa Gollin	1996	Anthropology
Amanda Grunden	1996	Anthropology
Hans C. Nesseth	1996	Political Science
Andrew Abalahin	1997	History
Blair King	1997	Political Science
Brian Hoey	1997	Anthropology
Robin Bush	1997	Political Science
Loren S. Ryter	1997	Political Science
Cathryn Houghton	1997	Anthropology
Karen Campbell-Nelson	1998	Education
Jennifer Gaynor	1998	Anthropology





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
W. Bradley Horton	1998	History
Karen Strassler	1998	Anthropology
Andrew J. Solheim	1998	History
Elizabeth Drexler	1998	Anthropology
Kathleen Woodward	1998	Political Science
Benjamin Zimmer	1999	Anthropology
Clarissa Adamson	1999	Anthropology
Ward W. Keeler	1999	Anthropology
Andrew M. Goss	2000	History
Gareth Barkin	2000	Anthropology
Christine Brannick	2000	Public Health
Amanda Rath	2001	Art History
Julia Byl	2001	Ethnomusicology
Eric Stein	2001	Anthropology
Marina Welker	2001	Anthropology
John David Neidel	2001	Anthropology
William Robert Hodges	2002	Ethnomusicology
Ronit Ricci	2002	Literature
Paul Dionne	2002	Anthropology
Andrew McGraw	2002	Ethnomusicology
Steve Rhee	2002	Environmental Studies
Wendy Gaylord	2002	Education
Rachel Rinaldo	2002	Sociology
Doreen Lee	2003	Anthropology
Anastasia Riehl	2003	Linguistics
Daniel Slater	2003	Political Science
Katherine Holmsen	2003	Anthropology
Daromir Rudnykyj	2003	Anthropology
John Brownlee	2003	History
Robin Tatu	2003	History
Stephen Brown	2003	Anthropology

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Mark Renner	2003	Ethnomusicology
Richard Payne	2003	Anthropology
Eugene E. Ammarell	2003	Anthropology
Birgit Berg	2004	Ethnomusicology
Thomas Pepinsky	2004	Political Science
Bethany Collier	2004	Ethnomusicology
Ehito Kimura	2004	Political Science
Laurie Ross	2005	Theater
Christina Sunardi	2005	Ethnomusicology
William Redfern	2005	History
Erick Danzer	2005	Political Science
James Hoestery	2005	Anthropology
Sonja Downing	2005	Ethnomusicology
Nathaniel Gerhart	2006	Ecology
Andrew Hicken	2006	Ethnomusicology
Brent Luvaas	2006	Anthropology
Ethan Lechner	2006	Ethnomusicology
Adam Harr	2006	Anthropology
Matthew Sargent	2007	History
Daniel Birchok	2007	Anthropology
Amy Liu	2007	Political Science
Amy Kimura	2008	Ethnomusicology
Kelli Swazey	2008	Anthropology
Karen Bryner	2008	Anthropology
Joshua Gedacht	2009	History
Kevin Fogg	2009	History
Lance Nolde	2010	History
Gustav Brown	2010	Sociology
Rebakah Daro Minarchek	2013	Sociology
Ian Parker	2013	Anthropology
Colin Cahill	2013	Anthropology





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Bradley McDonnell	2013	Linguistics
Michaela Campbell	2013	Southeast Asian Studies
Dag Yngvesson	2013	Film Studies
Maho Ishiguro	2014	Ethnomusicology
Sophia Warshall	2014	Archaeology
Andy Chang	2015	Sociology
Jenny Zhang	2015	Education
Eli Asikin-Garmager	2015	Linguistics
Emma Nolan-Thomas	2016	Anthropology
Katherine Bruhn	2016	Art History
Brandon Williams	2016	History

Fulbright-Hays Faculty
 Research Abroad (FRA)
 Fellowship Grantees
 to Indonesia

Breakdown by Field

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Donald K. Emerson	1974	Political Science
James T. Siegel	1980	Anthropology
Ellen Rafferty	1980	Linguistics
Jeffrey Heath	1981	Linguistics
James Rush	1982	History
John Wolff	1982	Linguistics
James T. Siegel	1987	Anthropology
Takashi Shiraishi	1990	History
Eugene Ammarell	1990	Anthropology
Roberta Ann Johnson	1991	Political Science
Thomas R. Leinbach	1992	Sociology
Basia J. Irland	1993	Art History
Rudolf Mrazek	1994	History
Anne L. Schiller	1998	Anthropology
Nancy Smith-Hefner	1998	Anthropology
Leonard Y. Andaya	2000	History

Anthropology	92
History	31
Ethnomusicology	30
Political Science	20
Linguistics	16
Sociology	13
Art History	5
Geography	4
Education	4
Urban Planning	3
Economics	2
Environmental Studies	2
Biology	2
Southeast Asian Studies	2
Public Health	2
Literature	2
Religion	1
Business	1
Archaeology	1
Ecology	1
Theater	1
Unknown	4
TOTAL	239



APPENDIX B

US Fulbright Scholar Grantees

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Janet Steele	1970	English Teaching
David Stevens	1971	Library Science
Wayne A. Bogas	1972	English Teaching
Curtis M. Hagen	1972	English Teaching
Charles S. Haynes	1972	English Teaching
Samuel P. Huntington	1972	Education
Seymour M. Lipset	1972	Education
Richard M. McGinn	1972	English Teaching
John J. Soucy	1972	English Teaching
Sarah K. Vann	1972	Library Science
Robert S. Weissberg	1972	English Teaching
Daniel H. Wright	1972	English Teaching
Clark T. Atkinson	1973	English Teaching
Charles R. Krimminger	1973	English Teaching
Michael J. Sadoski	1973	Library Science
Gloria R. Poedjosedarmo	1974	English Teaching
Dick L. Williams	1974	English Teaching
Michael E. Foley	1975	English Teaching
Patsy P. Layne	1975	English Teaching
Thomas J. Hudak	1975	American Literature
Mildred J. Cobb	1976	Communications
Roy D. Cobb	1976	Communications



NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Ronald J. Grele	1977	American Studies
Raymond Stannard Jr	1977	American Studies
John Walzer	1977	
Don P. Flourney	1978	Education
Duncan A. Holaday	1978	Communications
Leo Hamalian	1979	American Studies
Beverly M. Carl	1979	Law
William H. Frederick	1979	History
Woon Ping C. Holaday	1979	American Literature
William J. Parente	1979	Political Science
John J. Reed	1979	American Studies
William P. Tuchello	1979	English Teaching
Arthur F. Wertheim	1979	American Studies
Richard L. Degerman	1980	Psychology
Jan Baker	1980	American Literature
Pamela Cowan	1980	Law
Steven S. Miller	1980	Law
Barbara W. Van der Veur	1980	Education
Paul W. Van der Veur	1980	Political Science
Vern Wagner	1980	American Literature
Robert Wessing	1980	Anthropology
Donald S. Allen	1981	Chemistry
Sy M. Kahn	1981	American Studies
Joseph H. Schiffman	1981	American Studies
Raman K. Singh	1981	Economics
Robert E. Klitgaard	1982	Political Science
Geoffrey G. Pope	1982	Anthropology
Kathryn Van Spanckeren	1982	American Literature
Nancy Weiss	1982	American Studies
William R. Steinhoff	1983	American Literature
Todd G. Willy	1983	American Studies

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
John H. Hafner	1984	American Literature
Geraldine Moreno-Black	1984	Anthropology
Donald Murray	1984	American Literature
Jogindar S. Uppal	1984	Economics
Frederick M. Denny	1984	Religious Studies
David K. Adams	1985	American Literature
William Liddle	1985	Political Science
Bruce P. Wheatley	1985	Anthropology
Joseph M. Dixon	1986	History
Sandra F. Siegel	1986	American Literature
Linda K. Yoder	1986	American Literature
Janet Hoskins	1986	Anthropology
Jane C. Wellenkamp	1986	Anthropology
John C. Guilds, Jr	1987	Education
Keith Hafford	1987	American Studies
Judith H. Livingston	1987	American Literature
Walter L. Williams	1987	American History
Jill M. Belsky	1987	Sociology
Stephen F. Siebert	1987	Environmental Studies
Barry R. Burg	1988	History
Lawrence F. Friedman	1988	American History
Clifford Hoelscher	1988	Biology
John J. MacDougall	1988	American Studies
James A. Roger	1988	American Studies
Anne L. Fessenden	1989	American Studies
Christopher Silver	1989	Urban Planning
Edward J. Cushing	1989	Biology
Jane M. Atkinson	1989	Anthropology
Thomas W. Goolsby	1989	Music
Claudia B. Haynes	1989	Business
James M. Aton	1989	American Literature





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Andrew P. Vayda	1989	Political Science
Lawrence R. Ford	1990	Geography
Kenton Clymer	1990	History
Wilhelm G. Solheim II	1990	Anthropology
William D. Eiserman	1990	Education
Harold F. Farwell Jr	1990	American Literature
Kenneth M. Rosen	1990	American Literature
Murlin R. Hodgell	1990	Architecture
Robert W. Hornaday	1990	Business Administration
Mary Ann D. Sagaria	1990	Education
Susan Rodgers	1991	Anthropology
Verne A. Dusenbery	1991	Anthropology
Roberta A. Johnson	1991	Political Science
Lawrence Meredith	1991	Religious Studies
Josephine F. Milburn	1991	Political Science
David P. Ragan	1991	American Literature
Thomas M. Hunter Jr	1992	Literature
Craig T. Latrell	1992	Theater
David L. Krantz	1992	Psychology
Gary L. Smart	1992	Music
Katherine T. Frith	1992	Communications
Mary T. Battenfeld	1992	American Literature
Sara U. Douglas	1992	Anthropology
Walter R. Goldschmidt	1992	Anthropology
William F. Fox Jr	1992	Law
William C. Alves	1993	Musicology
Gerald L. Houseman	1993	Political Science
Stefan L. Sharff	1993	Communications
John G. Sproat	1993	American History
Michael R. Stevenson	1993	Psychology
John Tagliabue	1993	American Literature

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Richard J. Tersine	1993	Business
Ted C. Hinckley	1994	American History
Howard M. Federspiel	1994	Political Science
Doran C. French	1994	Psychology
Thomas F. Courtless	1994	Law
Michael C. Romanos	1994	Urban Planning
Thomas Courties	1994	Sociology
Josiah B. Dodds	1994	Psychology
David P. Ragan	1994	American Literature
Charles Capwell	1994	Ethnomusicology
David Farber	1995	American History
Thomas C. Cope	1995	English Teaching
Christine Drake	1995	Geography
Gerald J. Bakus	1995	Oceanography
Byron J. Good	1996	Medical Anthropology
Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good	1996	Medical Anthropology
Beth L. Bailey	1996	History
Catherine M. Sajna	1996	English Teaching
David M. Esposito	1996	American History
David K. Linnan	1996	Law
Ronald A. Harris	1996	Geology
Alice M. Klement	1996	Communications
Andrew Tkach	1996	Journalism
Avis T. JonesPetlane	1996	English Teaching
Winfield W. Cooper	1997	English Teaching
David S. Thomas	1997	History
Janet E. Steele	1997	American History
Linda S. Walbridge	1997	Anthropology
Thomas R. Seitz	1997	Political Science
Anne K. Rasmussen	1998	Ethnomusicology
Joanne V. Rhone	1998	Education





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Accra P. Shepp	1998	Photography
Dwight Y. King	1999	Political Science
John C. Raines	1999	Religion
Kim H. Wilhelm	1999	English Teaching
Linda K. Yoder	1999	English Teaching
Rita Maran	1999	Political Science
Roger K. Paget	1999	Political Science
Jason M. Patlis	2000	Environmental Studies
Armando A. de la Cruz	2000	Biology
Denise D.J. Roy	2000	Law
Douglas A. Kammen	2000	Political Science
Jeffrey A. Hadler	2000	History
Stefano M. Harney	2000	Sociology
Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi	2000	Religion
Robert A. Hooper	2000	Journalism
Robert K. Kamei	2000	Public Health
Mark Delancey	2001	Political Science
Evelyn J. Blackwood	2001	Anthropology
Mark J. Valencia	2001	Biology
Edward (Ned) Schneier	2001	Political Science
Christine E. Gudorf	2001	Religion
Jared L. Levinson	2001	Law
Laurence A. Jolidon	2001	Journalism
Maurice D. Weinrobe	2001	Economics
Rosemarie B. Mahyera	2001	Linguistics
Zachary M. Abuza	2001	International Relations
M. Kathleen Foley	2002	Theater
Elizabeth F. Collins	2002	Southeast Asian Studies
Ellen S. Boneparth	2002	Political Science
Hugh M. Egan	2002	American Literature
Joseph V. McDermott	2002	Musicology

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Karma C. Dolma	2002	English Teaching
Martha F. Haffey	2002	Social Work
Roger K. Paget	2002	Political Science
Shirley A. Baker	2002	English Teaching
Edgar McManus	2002	History
Eric S. Tagliacozzo	2003	History
Sharon L. Gursky	2003	Anthropology
Timothy P. Daniels	2003	Anthropology
Joyce B. Milambiling	2003	English Teaching
Kenneth R. Hall	2003	History
Gisela M. Webb	2003	Religion
Christopher D. Candland	2004	Political Science
Teri L. Caraway	2004	Political Science
Richard W. Moore	2004	Education
Hugh T. Halman	2004	Religion
Rachel M. Silvey	2004	Geography
Daniel J. Lehrmann	2005	Geology
Janet E. Steele	2005	American History
Marc L. Benamou	2005	Ethnomusicology
Shaienne T. Osterreich	2005	Economics
Bruce B. Lawrence	2005	Religion
Eve L. Mullen	2005	Religion
Irfan A. Omar	2005	Religion
Richard G. Kraince	2005	Southeast Asian Studies
Andrew N. Weintraub	2006	Ethnomusicology
Evan D. Winet	2006	Theater
John S. Klock	2006	Biology
Michael S. Fish	2006	Political Science
Pieterella A. van Doorn	2006	Religious Studies
Ramaraj Boopathy	2006	Biology
Richard McGinn	2006	Linguistics





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Ronald S. Jenkins	2006	Theater
Vincent G. Boudreau	2006	Political Science
Bartholomew J. Ryan	2007	Anthropology
David W. Damrel	2007	History
Deborah L. Cole	2007	Linguistics
Lloyd E. Chiasson	2007	Communications
Mark R. Woodward	2007	Religion
Michael L. Sheridan	2007	Film Studies
Barbara J. Anello	2007	Art History
Alton C. Carroll Jr	2008	American History
Brian F. Atwater	2008	Geology
Celia Lowe	2008	Anthropology
Jill K. Forshee	2008	Anthropology
Mark Harrison	2008	Business Administration
Ronald A. Lukens Bull	2008	Anthropology
Jennifer Nourse	2009	Anthropology
Maria E. de Bellard	2010	Biology
Kirk Branch	2010	American Literature
William Darrow	2010	Religion
Paul Gellert	2010	Sociology
Dale Willman	2010	Journalism
Maria Lichtmann	2010	Religion
Richard Fox	2010	Religion
Joel Kuipers	2010	Anthropology
Teresa Murphy	2010	American Studies
Jeff Budiman	2011	Engineering
Michael DeAlessi	2011	Environmental Sciences
Ronnie Ward	2011	Computer Science
Andrew Hicken	2011	Ethnomusicology
Thomas Weeks	2011	Chemistry
Beth Rivin	2011	Public Health

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Melinda McAdams	2011	Art History
Joan Edwards	2011	Nursing
Terry Anderson	2011	American History
Martha Beck	2011	Philosophy
Abigail C. Cohn	2012	Linguistics
Michael G. Vann	2012	History
David R. Vishanoff	2012	Religion
Douglas A. Singleton	2012	Physics
Mark W. Freeman	2012	Film Studies
Henry J. Spiller	2012	Ethnomusicology
Christian S. Hammons	2012	Anthropology
Gabriel J. Culbert	2013	Public Health
Siti N. Hidayati	2013	Environmental Studies
Norman Quinn	2013	Environmental Studies
William Davies	2013	Linguistics
Geoffrey Kushnick	2013	Anthropology
Jay Wade	2013	Psychology
Gene E. Harkless	2013	Public Health
Carleitta Paige Anderson	2013	Biology
Whitney Bauman	2013	Religion
Denise M. Horn	2013	Political Science
Andreas Schwab	2013	Business Administration
Barry Jones	2014	Engineering
Kevin Thompson	2014	Environmental Studies
Stephan Zeeman	2014	Oceanography
Florian Pohl	2014	Religion
Brian Roberts	2014	Literature
James Gannon	2014	Biology
Edward Herbst	2014	Anthropology
Nancy Peluso	2014	Sociology
Karma L. Tsomo	2014	Religion





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Allen Price	2015	Physics
Ana R. Otero	2015	Biology
Elizabeth Dexler	2015	Anthropology
James Dennison	2015	Engineering
James B. Hoesterey	2015	Religious Studies
Lisa Danish	2015	Biology
Marina Welker	2015	Anthropology
Philip Yampolsky	2015	Ethnomusicology
Anne K. Rasmussen	2016	Ethnomusicology
Helen J. Nathanielsz	2016	Dance
Juiching Wang	2016	Ethnomusicology
Richard Daniels	2016	Psychology
Rupert Stasch	2016	Anthropology
Wendy Erb	2016	Anthropology
Yashwant Pathak	2016	Public Health
Andreas Schwab	2017	Business
Andrew J. Henderson	2017	Biology
Nancy I. Cooper	2017	Ethnomusicology
Nancy E. Karraker	2017	Environmental Studies
Patricia A. Hardwick	2017	Anthropology
Andrew D. Garner	2017	Political Science
Krisnawati Suryanata	2017	Geography

Breakdown by Field

Anthropology	34
English Teaching	24
Political Science	24
American Literature	21
Religion	20
American Studies	14
Music	13
History	12
Biology	12
Journalism & Communications	11
American History	10
Education	9
Law	8
Psychology	7
Business	6
Environmental Studies	6
Linguistics	5
Sociology	5
Public Health	5
Geography	4
Theater	4
Economics	4
Engineering	3
Library Science	3
Geology	3
Chemistry	2
Urban Planning	2
Art History	2
Physics	2

Film	2
Literature	2
Southeast Asian Studies	2
Oceanography	1
Nursing	1
Dance	1
Computer Science	1
Social Work	1
TOTAL	292



APPENDIX C

US Fulbright Student Research Grantees

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
James Castle	1977	History
Sandra K. Higbie	1977	Dance
J. Joseph Errington	1978	Linguistics
Mark Woodward	1979	Anthropology
Theresa N. Rohlck	1981	Ethnomusicology
David D. Harnish	1982	Ethnomusicology
Michael S. Tenzer	1982	Ethnomusicology
Elna Brunckhorst	1983	Literature
David Lopato	1983	Ethnomusicology
Eric Oey	1983	Linguistics
Dirk G. Schroeder	1984	Anthropology
Eliza Dejesus	1984	Linguistics
Lynn Araujo	1984	Theater
Jill A. Tucker	1984	Linguistics
Allen Gunther	1984	Communications
Mark A. Dunkhase	1984	Anthropology
Stephanie Fried	1984	Agriculture
Gary Gartenberg	1984	Linguistics
Fatimah T. Rony	1984	Anthropology
Joseph H. Saunders	1984	Economics
Brita R. Heimarck	1984	Ethnomusicology
Nina K. Stephenson	1985	Art History
Lucy A. Whalley	1985	Anthropology
Leslie M. Morris	1985	Anthropology



NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Kent Devereaux	1985	Theater
Colleen Chase	1985	Theater
Gretchen G. Weix	1985	Anthropology
Michael S. Bishop	1985	Political Science
Miguela R. Altiveros	1985	Dance
Mindy K. Klein	1985	Ethnomusicology
Jonathan R. Pincus	1986	History
Virginia Gorlinski	1986	Ethnomusicology
Carla Fabrizio	1986	Ethnomusicology
Michael Bodden	1986	Literature
Claire Siverson	1986	Linguistics
Evan Ziporyn	1986	Ethnomusicology
David G. McKendrick	1986	Business
Robert Petersen	1986	Theater
Shae Uisnachs	1986	Theater
Christopher Airries	1986	Urban Planning
Laura Scheerer	1986	Anthropology
Katherine M. Booz	1987	Law
William R Ward Jr.	1987	Law
Elizabeth P. Gray	1987	Architecture
Mark Turkel	1987	Architecture
Garrett C. M. Kam	1987	Anthropology
Eric B. Collier	1987	Architecture
Ann Bunnel	1987	Anthropology
Roy W. Hamilton	1987	Art History
Thomas Johnston O'Neill	1987	Anthropology
Shari Johnston O'Neill	1987	Anthropology
Kenneth S. Smallwood	1987	Ecology
Charles Zerner	1988	Law
Jennifer Thom	1988	Ethnomusicology
Nancy I. Cooper	1988	Anthropology
Deena E. Burton	1988	Dance
Matthew I. Cohen	1988	Theater

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Caroline Y. Princehouse	1989	Anthropology
Daniel Fessler	1989	Anthropology
Jennifer M. Krier	1989	Anthropology
Steven M. Miller	1989	Ethnomusicology
Tamara L. Fetters	1989	Geography
Christina Kreps	1990	Anthropology
Andrew D. Mason	1991	Economics
Cathy A. Hoshour	1991	Anthropology
Douglas E. Ramage	1991	Political Science
Richard S. Howard Jr	1991	Anthropology
Steve F. Ferzacca	1991	Anthropology
Phoebe D. Williams	1991	Public Health
William B. Horton	1991	History
Ben A. Jacobson	1992	Anthropology
Michael C. Ewing	1992	Linguistics
Shaun M. Moss	1992	Marine Biology
Jill Forshee	1992	Anthropology
Lorenzo Kristov	1992	Economics
Matthew Arciniega	1993	Ethnomusicology
Victoria A. Beard	1993	Urban Planning
Charles A. Causey	1993	Anthropology
Tia L. Hallberg	1993	Anthropology
Todd R. Hooe	1993	Anthropology
Peter Kleinman	1993	Environmental Studies
Robert J. Lee	1993	Anthropology
Benjamin G. Zimmer	1993	Linguistics
Jeffrey A. Hadler	1994	History
Michael S. Malley	1994	Political Science
Christine E. Cocca	1994	Arts Management
Paul K. Gellert	1994	Sociology
Juliet P. Lee	1994	Anthropology
Bartholomew J. Ryan	1994	Anthropology
Mary-Louise Totton	1994	Art History





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Minki Chatterji	1995	Public Health
Leslie K. Dwyer	1995	Anthropology
James H. Jones	1995	Biology
Karen A. Kroeger	1995	Anthropology
Celia L. Lowe	1995	Environmental Studies
Lisa M. Paciulli	1995	Biology
Rupert S. Stasch	1995	Anthropology
Julie A. Tumbarello	1995	Anthropology
Anna M. Gade	1996	Islamic Studies
Arthur G. Blundell	1996	Environmental Studies
Bryan L. Walser	1996	Public Health
Craig T. Latrell	1996	Theater
Emily E. Harwell	1996	Environmental Studies
Robert B. Allen Jr	1996	Linguistics
Robert B. Lemelson	1996	Anthropology
Christopher B. Bjork	1997	Education
Craig C. Thorburn	1997	Environmental Studies
Curtis E. Renoe	1997	Linguistics
Jennifer Bright	1997	History
John M. MacDougall	1997	Anthropology
Karen E. Washburn	1997	Anthropology
Natasha A. Reichle	1997	Art History
Peter V. Lape	1997	Anthropology
Rebecca A. Wostrel	1997	Art History
R. Michael Feener	1997	Islamic Studies
Susan H. Giles	1997	Art History
Clarissa S. Adamson	1998	Anthropology
Laura J. Bellows	1998	Anthropology
John M. Brownlee	1998	History
Teri L. Caraway	1998	Political Science
Nancy E. Drilling	1998	Ecology
Jennifer H. Munger	1998	Anthropology
Sasimar Sangchantr	1998	Biology

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Hogan M. Sherrow	1998	Biology
Henry J. Spiller	1998	Ethnomusicology
Juliana M. Wilson	1998	Southeast Asian Studies
Claudia F. D'Andrea	1999	Environmental Studies
Diana L. Whitten	1999	Art History
Gary D. Paoli	1999	Ecology
Jamie S. Davidson	1999	Political Science
Jeanine M. Pfeiffer	1999	Biology
Jennifer L. Hoke	1999	Anthropology
Kevin R. Casey	1999	Economics
Richard G. Kraince	1999	Islamic Studies
Robert J. Cowherd	1999	Urban Planning
Susan M. Bauer	1999	Dance
Thomas E. Goodman	1999	History
Wendy M. Ames	1999	Anthropology
Robert K. Jaques	1999	Religion
Amy E. Peebles	2000	Linguistics
Andrew J. Marshall	2000	Anthropology
Andrew M. Goss	2000	History
Deborah L. Cole	2000	Linguistics
Gareth S. Barkin	2000	Anthropology
Kyle A. Hollingsworth	2000	Law
Samantha S. Tate	2000	Journalism
Stacey K. Sowards	2000	Communications
Susan M. Lappan	2000	Biology
Catherine Clark-Schmidt	2001	Biology
Daniel G. Boylan	2001	Journalism
Amanda K. Rath	2001	Art History
Beth A. Suedmeyer	2001	Environmental Studies
Catherine L. Greene	2001	History
Jessica S. Champagne	2001	Anthropology
Mark K. Renner	2001	Ethnomusicology
Paul D. Dionne	2001	Anthropology





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Piper L. Crisovan	2001	Anthropology
Robert R. Stallmann	2001	Biology
Shannon M. Poe Kennedy	2001	Anthropology
Stephanie A. Sapiie	2001	Political Science
Tikka O. Sears	2001	Theater
Tuong Huu Vu	2001	Political Science
Vanessa M. Hildebrand	2001	Anthropology
Allison E. Collins	2002	Public Health
Dorian Fougères	2002	Environmental Studies
Elizabeth L. Prado	2002	Linguistics
Erin E. Wilson	2002	Dance
Jana C. Hertz	2002	Southeast Asian Studies
Katherine E. Holmsen	2002	Anthropology
Miya W. Buxton	2002	Architecture
Paul J. Harder	2002	Religion
Thomas J. Conners	2002	Linguistics
Adam B. Ellick	2003	Journalism
Andrew T. Fields	2003	Biology
Christian S. Hammons	2003	Anthropology
Jennifer M. DeMuria	2003	Biology
Kathleen B. Kerigan	2003	Philosophy
Michael D. Gumert	2003	Psychology
Andrew M. Conroe	2004	Anthropology
Erick M. Danzer	2004	Political Science
Lauren K. Inouye	2004	Economics
Laurie M. Ross	2004	Southeast Asian Studies
Leila S. Sievanen	2004	Anthropology
Adam P. Harr	2005	Anthropology
Ann E. Shoemake	2005	Communications
Bryan Morris	2005	Southeast Asian Studies
David S. Wolfowitz	2005	Energy economics
Eric B. Fink	2005	Anthropology
Jennifer L. Epley	2005	Political Science

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Kevin W. Fogg	2005	Southeast Asian Studies
Mary Danzer	2005	Communications
Maryani P. Rasidjan	2005	Anthropology
Amanda B. King	2006	Agriculture
Anjali P. Bhat	2006	Political Science
Benjamin J. Otto	2006	Literature
Brian M. Harding	2006	Southeast Asian Studies
Christopher A. Lundry	2006	Political Science
Dorcinda C. Knauth	2006	Ethnomusicology
Elayne McCabe	2006	Southeast Asian Studies
Jeff B. Purmort	2006	Ethnomusicology
Jesse H. Grayman	2006	Anthropology
Kia Jacquelyn Omotalade	2006	Public Health
Lydia K. Ruddy	2006	Economics
Rachel E. Niec	2006	Public Health
Scott E. Schlossberg	2006	Southeast Asian Studies
Troy A. Johnson	2006	Southeast Asian Studies
Bradley J. McDonnell	2007	Linguistics
Carrie E. Morris	2007	Theater
Christopher J. Hayden	2007	Biology
Elizabeth L. Rhoads	2007	Anthropology
Hannah G. Reiss	2007	Anthropology
Karyn M. Fox	2007	Anthropology
Nathan B. Sachs	2007	Political Science
Sarah E. Krier	2007	Anthropology
Camia M. Crawford	2008	Public Health
Dahlia G. Setiyawan	2008	History
Dylan M. Fagan	2008	Political Science
Erin C. Myers	2008	Environmental Studies
Jennifer L. Goodlander	2008	Theater
Joseph P. Sandino	2008	Ethnomusicology
Lawrence B. Leavell	2008	Geography
Melanie A. Nyhof	2008	Psychology





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Melissa J. Umbro	2008	Religion
Rebekah E. Moore	2008	Ethnomusicology
Jeremy Menchik	2009	Political Science
Colin Cahill	2009	Anthropology
Christina Pomianek	2009	Anthropology
Lacey M. Raak	2009	Environmental Studies
Aaron Connelly	2009	International Relations
Elizabeth Bunde	2009	Public Health
Jeffrey Chattelier	2009	Energy Economics
Desmond Ang	2009	Economics
Timothy McKinnon	2009	Linguistics
Melissa Reisland	2010	Ecology
Jeffrey Peterson	2010	Anthropology
Phillip Drake	2010	Political Science
Rose Bunch	2010	Literature
Saul Allen	2010	Southeast Asian Studies
Katie Feilen	2010	Anthropology
Laura Sima	2010	Engineering
Jacob Ricks	2010	Political Science
Ben Hargrove	2010	Education
Rebecca Sandidge	2010	Ecology
Lynne Stillings	2010	Ethnomusicology
Mayco Santaella	2011	Ethnomusicology
Steven Laronga	2011	Ethnomusicology
Russell Skelchy	2011	Ethnomusicology
Jennifer Shyu	2011	Ethnomusicology
Heather Gallivan	2011	Anthropology
Elise Luce	2011	Ethnomusicology
Wendy Miles	2011	Geography
Ryan Burner	2011	Environmental Studies
Charles Sullivan	2011	History
Steven Patriarco	2011	Biology
Nicholas Williams	2011	Linguistics

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Eliot Yasumura	2011	Islamic Studies
Andrew M. Carruthers	2012	Anthropology
Arjun B. Potter	2012	Ecology
Ellen L. Prusinski	2012	Education
Susan Tsang	2012	Biology
Sonja K. Dahl	2012	Design
Kelly M. Haisfield	2012	Environmental Studies
Olivia C. Kulander	2012	Biology
Megan E. Cattau	2012	Ecology
Amanda S. Bergman	2013	Physics
Ashley M. Enrici	2013	Geography
Elizabeth N. Orlan	2013	Public Health
Fatmata H. Barrie	2013	Engineering
James E. Hesla	2013	Theater
Janalyn C. Taylor	2013	Agriculture
Katlin V. Kraska	2013	Environmental Studies
Kristina L. Tannenbaum	2013	Theater
Matthew S. Luskin	2013	Ecology
Nathaniel A. Tuohy	2013	Anthropology
Sarah J. Tucker	2013	Biology
Andy S. Chang	2013	Sociology
Jenny E. Goldstein	2013	Geography
Dominique Bertrand	2014	Anthropology
Elizabeth Ballare	2014	Anthropology
Erin Poor	2014	Ecology
Jaimie Adelson	2014	Public Health
Jon Emont	2014	History
Kemen Austin	2014	Environmental Studies
Lauren Yapp	2014	Anthropology
Lisa Kelley	2014	Environmental Studies
Mark Phuong	2014	Biology
Martha Walters	2014	Anthropology
Megan Hewitt	2014	History





NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Melinda Clarke	2014	Ecology
Samantha Martin	2014	Anthropology
Alexandra Passarelli	2015	Public Health
Braden Bernards	2015	Urban Planning
Christopher Rumble	2015	Engineering
Christine Sur	2015	Environmental Studies
Frank Sedlar	2015	Engineering
James Erbaugh	2015	Environmental Studies
Jeffrey Good	2015	Environmental Studies
Kathrine Harrel	2015	Ethnomusicology
Michael Aleman	2015	Engineering
Michael Myers	2015	Anthropology
Susan Vulpas	2015	Environmental Studies
Thornton Larson	2015	Biology
Timothy Ravis	2015	Urban Planning
Christina Geros	2015	Urban Planning
Adam D. de Boer	2016	Art
Aldo W. Foe	2016	Archaeology
Alex A. Laplaza	2016	Environmental Studies
Christopher R. Foertsch	2016	Anthropology
Diana Parker	2016	Geography
Florence W. Durney	2016	Anthropology
Gavin Ryan	2016	Ethnomusicology
Ivan de La Grange	2016	Engineering
Jonathan D. McLeod	2016	Ecological Anthropology
Katherine S. Lauck	2016	Biology
Rachel C. Thompson	2016	Anthropology
Stephanie L. O'Gara	2016	Biology
Walker H. Depuy	2016	Anthropology
Andrea Decker	2017	Ethnomusicology
Emilie Coakley	2017	Ethnomusicology
Eric Gulson	2017	Biology
Gillian Irwin	2017	Ethnomusicology

NAME	YEAR	FIELD
Hannah Standiford	2017	Ethnomusicology
Jenna Davidson	2017	Biology
Jin Yoo	2017	History
Joss Whitaker	2017	Archaeology
Justin D'Agustino	2017	Anthropology
Kathryn Lee	2017	Environmental Studies
Lisa Miles	2017	Design
Matthew Libassi	2017	Environmental Studies
Michael Surrett	2017	Anthropology
Royce Novak	2017	History
Thao Nguyen	2017	Environmental Studies
Tyler Butkus	2017	Agriculture



Breakdown by Field

Anthropology	80
Ethnomusicology	30
Environmental Studies	23
Biology	20
Linguistics	17
Political Science	16
History	15
Theater	12
Economics	11
Public Health	11
Southeast Asian Studies	10
Ecology	10
Art History	8
Communications & Journalism	7
Geography	6

Engineering	6
Urban Planning	6
Law	5
Dance	5
Architecture	4
Agriculture	4
Literature	4
Islamic Studies	4
Education	3
Religion	3
Sociology	2
Archaeology	2
Psychology	2
Design	1
Art	1
Arts Management	1
Business	1
TOTAL	333

