

Research Note

***The China Quarterly's* Creation of Communal Identity — Lessons for Defining the China Studies Field**

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This article seeks to highlight the methods by which The China Quarterly (CQ)—the founding journal of the modern China studies field—has helped create a larger communal identity among researchers interested in China. The argument is that CQ has used a variety of tools at its disposal—including choices regarding articles, book reviews, research notes, obituaries, cover design, editorial staff, advisory board, editorial notes, advertisements, and extra-journal activities and publications: (1) to create an editor-readership connection that creates a more intimate "community of like-minded scholars"; (2) to maintain an informal yet quite public "China studies field membership list"; (3) to act as community newsletter noting events, institutes, and publications of interest to the field; (4) to present a "living textual history" of the development of the field; and (5) to define or debate the topics, methodologies, and broad research directions that constitute China studies research. These five functions have allowed CQ to shape a communal identity among China watchers that extends far

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beyond the journal itself. The article closes by drawing implications for attempts to define the China studies field today.

KEYWORDS: state of the field; academic journal; journal editing; *The China Quarterly*; China studies field; community building.

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To counterbalance the power of disciplines, academic leaders also established China centers and journals like *The China Quarterly* to bring together people working on China from different social science disciplines. Because issues concerning China are so interrelated, scholars often find that they are more interested in working closely with fellow China specialists than with others in their discipline.

—Ezra Vogel¹

While many reviews of the China studies field have adopted geographical, disciplinary, and even occupational approaches to understanding the field, very few have looked at China studies from the view of journal editing.² Yet in the above quote on the rise of the China studies area discipline, Ezra Vogel mentions but one organization—be it China studies center or journal—by name: *The China Quarterly* (CQ). First published in 1960, CQ is both the longest-running journal on modern Chinese affairs and the founding masthead for the field. Most importantly, the journal was the first organization to provide a forum for "like-minded" people—i.e., those with a primary interest in modern China—to associate. Indeed, the magic of any journal is that it provides a reference point that cuts across

¹Ezra F. Vogel, "Contemporary China Studies in North America: Marginals in a Superpower," in *The Development of Contemporary China Studies* (Papers read at the Chinese University of Hong Kong to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of its Universities Service Centre in June 1993) (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1994), 190-91.

²See, for instance, Jonathan Unger, "Recent Trends in Modern China Studies in the English-Language World: An Editor's Perspective," *Asian Research Trends*, no. 4 (1994): 179-86. An additional source is the collective short essays written by six CQ editors for the journal's 35th anniversary (no. 143): David Shambaugh's "Keeping Pace with a Chang-ing China: *The China Quarterly*" (pp. 669-76), Brian Hook's "China in the First Decade of Reform and Opening Out: An Edited View" (pp. 677-81), Dick Wilson's "The Man in the Middle" (pp. 682-84), John Gittings' "The Years of Great Debate" (pp. 685-88), David Wilson's "The Cultural Revolution to Sino-American Rapprochement" (pp. 689-91), and Roderick MacFarquhar's "The Founding of *The China Quarterly*" (pp. 692-96).

time, geographical space, and individual research project to provide a public intellectual arena accessible to all. This interaction of publishing and readership, moreover, helps to form a larger communal identity that goes beyond the confines of the journal-space itself.

The goal of this essay is to twofold. The first is to describe the mechanics by which *CQ* has provided this public space for dialogue about the world's most populous nation—a space that has, in turn, helped create a larger China studies communal identity among *CQ* readers. Given that this identity springs from the journal's very print space, the only source used in this analysis is therefore the journal itself: By reading *CQ*, how would one perceive the larger China studies field? What does *CQ* tell us about who are some of the major players in the field and what topics and methods of studying China are of import, or at least worthy of debate? What does the journal itself say about the development of the field over time? Most importantly, what are the mechanics by which the *CQ* communicates all of the above to its readers?

Indeed, both the journal's format and substance have—whether intentionally or unintentionally—shaped communal identity amongst the journal's readers in a variety of ways. The argument is that *CQ* has used, in the context of its print space, a variety of tools—including choices regarding articles, book reviews, research notes, obituaries, cover design, editorial staff, advisory board, editorial notes, advertisements, and extra-journal activities and publications: (1) to create an editor-readership connection that creates a more intimate "community of like-minded scholars"; (2) to maintain an informal yet quite public "China studies field membership list"; (3) to act as community newsletter noting events, institutes, and publications of interest to the field; (4) to present a "living textual history" of the development of the field; and (5) to define or debate the topics, methodologies, and broad research directions that mark China studies research. These five functions, which are analyzed respectively in the first five sections of this paper, allow *CQ* to shape a communal identity among China watchers that extends far beyond the journal itself.

A final section deals with the second goal of this paper—to discuss what lessons we can draw from the analysis in order to improve our efforts

at understanding the China studies community today. The paper argues that while we may speak of a "China studies field," we must be careful to realize that this one "community of scholars" with a passion for and interest in China is today comprised of various, sometimes overlapping, "research communities," each of which is based upon a shared disciplinary/methodological approach to studying the PRC. The analysis concludes by offering a preliminary research agenda for defining these disciplinary/methodological research communities as well as measuring the cross-fertilization between them.

This essay should be of interest to a variety of people. First, editors may appreciate this public discussion of the complex process by which journals are able to use choices regarding format and substance to help create a larger communal identity, a process much more involved than the simple periodical publishing of a collection of articles. For the China studies community, this paper provides the most in-depth review to date of the field's founding journal, a history that should be particularly of interest to newcomers to the field.³ Finally, for experienced "China hands" and others interested in the field's development, the final section of this paper offers suggestions for researchers tackling the larger question of defining the parameters of the China studies field today.

Linking the Journal and Readership: The Role of *CQ*'s Editorial Notes in Forming Community

One unique aspect of *CQ* is the sophisticated way in which the journal strives to use editorial notes to strengthen its position as a mid-way point between the China studies field writ large on the one side, and the journal

³The reader is reminded that this analysis focuses on highlighting the mechanics by which a journal can create larger identity. It is not a commentary on to what degree *CQ* has defined the China studies field nor does it seek to evaluate the pros and cons of the journal's role in shaping the field. *The China Quarterly* was chosen as the case study solely given the journal's indisputable role in creating the modern China studies field as well as its status as the longest-running journal on contemporary Chinese affairs.

readers and contributors as a pool of individuals on the other. This effect is achieved through a variety of methods.

The Journal and the Field

First, the journal has employed editorial notes as a device by which to comment on, and thus in effect help define, the evolution of a larger China studies community—while taking careful note of the journal's important role in this development process. As one example, an editorial note by Roderick MacFarquhar marking the journal's fifth-year anniversary stated the key role that the journal has played in the establishment and development of the field:

In the first issue of this journal, we cited the present fact of Chinese power as sufficient justification for launching a specialist quarterly on China... Over the past five years, the field of contemporary Chinese studies has expanded encouragingly. With the support of the growing numbers of Chinese specialists, this journal has attempted above all to decrease our ignorance. Expanding with the field, *The China Quarterly* has been to some extent a reflection of and a comment on its strengths and weaknesses... (no. 21:1)

A later editorial note by David Wilson further linked the journal's growth to the geographical expansion of the field by taking note of the fact that "articles are coming in greater numbers and from an increasing number of countries around the world" (Editorial, no. 45). David Shambaugh has even stated that "The articles and perspectives that *The China Quarterly* has published over the years have done much to shape and give identity to the China studies field internationally" (no. 143:670). A foreword written by Shambaugh at the end of his editorial tenure, moreover, noted that the journal's Editorial Board includes "most of the world's leading academic specialists in the field," and further stated that the journal's special issues—which are reprinted by Oxford University Press in "large press runs"—are "selling extremely well and are proving very popular for teaching adoption" (no. 147:701). Shambaugh has also written that "*China Quarterly* articles pepper student course syllabi and are reprinted and cited in publications world-wide. They are also frequently reprinted (without permission) in various journals in China" (no. 143:671). Moreover, an editorial note attached to the journal's "Books Received" section stated "This list is

intended to serve as an up-to-date guide to books published on imperial, modern and contemporary China. It covers those books which have been received at *The China Quarterly* during the period stated" (no. 139:853). The journal thus clearly portrays itself as being very much in tune with the field—and in many ways being equivalent to the field.⁴

The Journal and its Readers

Yet the fact that there exists a larger China studies field and that the journal to some appreciable extent embodies that field does not in itself build community among *CQ* readers. Community comes about, in part, when members are able to identify and participate in the larger abstract group. Indeed, *CQ* editors have worked to build a community among the China scholars who comprise the journal's audience, including those whose work is published in the journal.

One simple method of achieving this goal is to use editorial notes to keep the *CQ* community informed of the status of the journal, a device which serves both to make the readers feel like valued members of a larger group and to build a public history of the journal itself. For instance, Roderick MacFarquhar's editorial appearing in the January-March 1968 issue went to great lengths to explain the journal's institutional affiliations and funding sources.⁵

Editorial notes are also used to send two interrelated messages: that the journal exists to serve the community of readers and that the readers are also both expected and encouraged to participate in the journal. For example, an editorial by David Wilson pointed out that "*The China Quarterly* exists to meet the needs of all those throughout the world who have a serious interest in the study of contemporary China and we welcome articles from as wide a range as possible of subjects, countries and opin-

⁴Perhaps the most direct embodiment of this message can be found in the six essays related to "China, China Studies and *The China Quarterly*" that were published respectively by the first six *CQ* editors in a special issue of the journal (no. 143). See note 1 above.

⁵This tradition has been carried out by later editors, including David Wilson (Editorial, no. 45) and Richard Louis Edmonds (no. 147:704).

ions" (Editorial, no. 45). Many of the additional ways in which the journal's readers are able to participate in the journal were spelled out recently in a note by editor Richard Louis Edmonds:

Letters to the Editor have suggested that most readers welcome the special issues which have tried to assess or anticipate developments in China. *The China Quarterly* will continue to publish such special issues on an annual basis. Suggestions for topics and sources of funding for special issue-related workshops will be appreciated.... The International character of *The China Quarterly* will be maintained.... This includes the continuation of research notes on the "State of the Field" in various countries and regions as well as an increase in the number of reviews of books written in languages other than English.... In these areas *The China Quarterly* would appreciate help from the readers. Non-English language presses often do not send us review copies. Your suggestions for books and reviewers in languages other than English will be most welcome. (no. 147:704-5)

The Editor as Community Focal Point

This intermediary role of the journal is bolstered, moreover, by a method oft-used in the building of other social groups: the projection of an individual as leader or focal point. For *The China Quarterly*, this individual is the editor. In addition to the many editorial notes mentioned above which personalize the journal-reader-author relationship, *CQ* has also purposefully used the succession of editors to create an institutional—and thus communal—memory. This is achieved in part by publishing in every issue of *CQ* the journal's past and present editors and their tenures:

- Roderick F. MacFarquhar (1960-68)
- David C. Wilson (1969-74)
- John Gittings (Acting Editor 1972)
- Dick Wilson (1975-80)
- Brian G. Hook (1980-91)
- David Shambaugh (1991-96)
- Richard Louis Edmonds (1996-2002)
- Julia Strauss (Current Editor)

Moreover, the ending of each editorial career as well as the launching of each new one have all been marked by personal editorial notes. The January-March 1968 (no. 33) issue signifies Rod MacFarquhar's retirement with a farewell speech that shows the closeness and youth of the field.

Stuart Schram, in his discussion of the relationship between the Contemporary China Institute and *CQ*, said that David Wilson—MacFarquhar's successor and the Institute's Publications Officer—"requires no introduction to the readers of this journal" (no. 36:132). A final exemplar is the pair of editorial notes which captured the passing of the torch from outgoing editor David Shambaugh to incoming editor Richard Louis Edmonds (no. 147:701-3, 704-5).

The journal uses the above mechanisms as a public statement: "These are the individuals that have not only led our institution but to some extent also represent and embody the spirit of the more abstract community, the field of China studies."

Defining the Community's Membership List

A second community-building device is the journal as membership list. The journal is able to use articles, book reviews, special acknowledgements, and obituaries as means to communicate to its readers which people comprise the *CQ* community and, by extension, a larger China studies field.

The Editorial Department

The China Quarterly's editorial department has been published in every issue since the January-March issue of 1967 (no. 29:iii). The December 2000 issue (no. 164) contained an impressive seventy-nine members.⁶ This list of individuals, reproduced below, marks both who is important to the journal and, as argued above by David Shambaugh, "most of the world's leading academic specialists in the field."

Journal Contributors

The community membership list is also formed by a second category of names: the scholars whose writings appear in the journal. One such

⁶Note that Michel Oksenberg has since passed away.

Editor: Richard Louis Edmonds

Editorial Manager: Joanne Phillips

Editorial Assistant: Allison Surry

Acting Editorial Assistants: Laura Church, Kirsty French

Editorial Board (*66 members, 9 of which are members of the Executive Committee*): Robert F. Ash, Hugh D.R. Baker, Richard Baum, Marie-Claire Bergere, Thomas P. Bernstein, Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, John P. Burns, Elisabeth J. Croll, Lev Deliusin, Anthony R. Dicks, Frank Dikotter, Arif Dirlik, Lowell Dittmer, Richard Louis Edmonds, Joseph W. Esherick, Victor Falkenheim, John W. Garver, Thomas B. Gold, Merle Goldman, Steven M. Goldstein, David S.G. Goodman, Harry Harding, Ruth Hayhoe, Michel Hockx, Brian G. Hook, Christopher B. Howe, John Israel, William Kirby, Kojima Tomoyuki, Kokubun Ryosei, Y.Y. Kueh, Nicholas R. Lardy, Kenneth Lieberthal, Stanley B. Lubman, Roderick MacFarquhar, Bonnie S. McDougall, Manoranjan Mohanty, Ramon Myers, Andrew Nathan, Barry Naughton, Peter Nolan, Jean C. Oi, Michel Oksenberg, William L. Parish, Elizabeth Perry, Pitman B. Potter, Thomas Rawski, Gilbert Rozman, Tony Saich, Michael Schoenhals, David Shambaugh, Susan Shirk, Vivienne Shue, Vaclav Smil, Dorothy Solinger, Jonathan Spence, Frederick Teiwes, Ezra Vogel, Rudolf Wagner, Frederick Wakeman, Andrew G. Walder, James L. Watson, Lynn T. White III, Martin King Whyte, Michael Yahuda, David Zweig

Advisory Board (*8 members*): Jurgen Domes, Ishikawa Shigeru, John W. Lewis, Lucian W. Pye, Stuart R. Schram, G. William Skinner, Wang Gungwu, Allen S. Whiting

group is the authors of *CQ*'s articles. The mere publication of these articles is in itself a way of defining who has gained membership in the community.⁷ Space limitations prevent a listing of all such names here, but interesting is that the *CQ* has a unique way of emphasizing that these authors form a community: note that the journal cover often lists authors by name. By adding these names—and these names only, as opposed to listing author

⁷The 75 percent rejection rate of papers submitted to *CQ* noted in Shambaugh's parting editorial (no. 147:701) in a way confers membership status on the select few whose research meets the standards of the journal's inner core of China scholars.

and paper title or simply paper topic—the journal is in a sense conveying to its audience that the community of China scholars is best thought of as a collection of individuals.

A second way of contributing to the journal is by either submitting a book for review or by providing a book review. Early reviews in *CQ* were limited in number, but as the journal grew and books on China became more numerous and specialized, the journal took to publishing a "Books Received" section in addition to its book review section as of *CQ*'s April-June 1973 edition (no. 54). By both publishing book reviews and listing books received, the journal has been able to convey the sense of an even larger and more inclusive community membership. The September 1994 issue (no. 139), for instance, includes book reviews of thirty-nine books, nine of which are multi-authored volumes; this same issue's "Books Received" section lists seventy-nine volumes, almost a dozen of which are multi-authored—for a combined total of over two hundred individuals mentioned in these two sections alone.

Another interesting way of stressing the fact that the authors should be thought of as members of the same group—a China studies group—rather than as individual scholars is that the biographical data for each contributor (be it author or book reviewer) is placed together in one section entitled "Contributors."⁸

Finally, *CQ* has recently added an "Acknowledgement" section in order to thank those who have helped out the journal in ways other than contributing written essays. The December 2000 volume, for instance, expressed thanks to forty-nine individuals (not on the Editorial or Advisory Boards) who have provided "invaluable assistance over the past year" (no. 164:1137).

Obituaries

There are those China watchers, moreover, who the journal feels have provided exceptionally important contributions to the field of China stud-

⁸Note that many other journals, such as *Issues & Studies*, instead place biographical data on the first page of each individual essay.

ies. Upon the passing away of such individuals, *CQ* publishes public memorials in the journal's occasional obituaries section. Examples include:

- Roderick MacFarquhar's obituary for John King Fairbank (no. 127:613-15)
- John S. Service's "Edgar Snow: Some Personal Reminiscences" (no. 50: 209-19)
- Michel Oksenberg for A. Doak Barnett (no. 158:484-89)
- Stuart Schram on Tang Tsou (no. 160:1057-59)
- obituaries for Bill Brugger, Jacques Guillermez, Benjamin Schwartz, and Gerald Segal (no. 161:294-303)
- multi-authored obituary section for Michel Oksenberg prepared by Steven M. Goldstein, Kenneth Lieberthal, Jean Oi, and Andrew Walder (no. 166: 474-75).

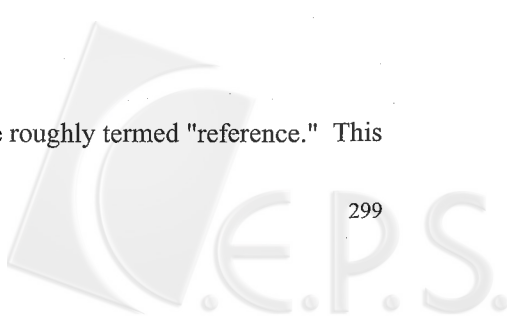
The inclusion of this occasional "Obituary" section further emphasizes the value the journal places on the members of the China field as well as the importance *CQ* attaches to constructing communal memory. Note that a final method by which *CQ* identifies field members is the journal's choice of obituary writer.

The *CQ* as Community Service Bulletin

In addition to editorial commentary and membership-setting devices, *CQ* has a third identity-forming feature: the journal as a community service bulletin. Key news-bulletin functions include providing reference and reference-related material in the journal, as well as publishing current events information regarding extra-journal services provided by both *CQ* and other institutions in the field.

Reference Material

The first service is one that can be roughly termed "reference." This



includes *CQ*'s gathering and publishing of useful raw empirical data as well as reference-related information. One excellent example of this type of community service is *CQ*'s "Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation" section, which includes a summary of BBC world broadcasts, translations, and other reference information, divided by general topics. The journal also occasionally publishes other data, such as translations of important Chinese documents, including Michael Dutton's "The Basic Character of Crime in Contemporary China, translation of the Ministry of Public Security Research Unit Number Five" (no. 149:160-77).

Complementing the provision of raw data is M. Taylor Fravel's recent article "Online and on China: Research Sources in the Information Age" (no. 163:821-42), which provides valuable tips to researchers on tracking down data on China in the digital age. This article is an updated version of a theme that has consistently appeared in the journal: articles that identify resources of interest to China researchers and highlight effective methods to tap such information. These include:

- Howard Nelson's note on "Chinese Maps: An Exhibition at the British Library" (no. 58:357-62)
- Jonathan Mirsky's review of Donald Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu, eds., *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History* (no. 61:153-54)
- J. Bruce Jacobs' research note, "Taiwan's Press: Political Communications Link and Research Resource" (no. 68:778-88)
- Gayle Feldman's "The Organization of Publishing in China" (no. 107: 519-29)
- Michael H. Hunt and Odd Arne Westad's article, "The Chinese Communist Party and International Affairs: A Field Report on New Historical Sources and Old Research Problems" (no. 122:258-72)

CQ as Bulletin Board for Current Events

Bulletin boards are often public areas allowing various interested parties to post items of note to the community. *The China Quarterly* is no exception, publicizing information related to book and journal publications, job and fellowship opportunities, and conferences and other events.

Below is a sampling.

Books: Mention has already been made in section two of the service that the journal provides by listing recently-published books on China. Advertisements, moreover, are an additional method that allows readers to learn of new books. Examples include ads put out: by Cornell University Press (no. 140), Princeton University Press (no. 139), Stanford University Press (no. 101), and Westview Press (no. 136); by the National Council for U.S.-China Trade for its *Directory of Research Institutes in the People's Republic of China* (no. 69); and by University Publications of America for its *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files* (no. 113).

Periodicals: The journal has carried advertisements for other China-related periodicals as well, with examples being too numerous to need mention here. Note, in addition, that journals not directly related to China have often used the ad space in *CQ* to call attention to their China-related issues and articles. For instance, *The Journal of International Affairs* made note of a special issue with contributing articles by Edward Friedman, Lee Sands, and June Dreyer, as well as statements by various Chinese dissidents (no. 144). Finally, other periodicals have placed ads in *CQ*, including the BBC's promotion of its *Summary of World Broadcasts* (no. 118).

Institutional events and opportunities: Ads for other research institutions also appear in the journal. For example, the Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies has advertised its program in the journal (no. 135), and when the University Service Center moved to the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1989, they placed a notice in the *CQ* informing the general China studies public (no. 118). Note that many ads taken out by such institutions relate to job and fellowship opportunities including:

- the University of Michigan's Center for Chinese Studies announcement of its Postdoctoral Fellow Competition (no. 112)
- the advertisement for the Center for Chinese Studies' (Taiwan) Fellowship program "to assist foreign Sinologists to carry out research in the R.O.C." (no. 120)
- the Ford Foundation's call for applicants for Program Officer, Assistant Program Officer, and Representative for China (no. 136)

- the ad posted by the School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS) for Director of Chinese Studies program (no. 138)

Services Provided by CQ and Affiliated Institutions

The journal has also used the journal as free press for *CQ*-related activities. Some of these ads, for instance, are for services provided by the various institutions that have been affiliated with the journal throughout *CQ*'s history. One such institution is the journal's one-time host, the Contemporary China Institute (CCI), which was introduced to *CQ* readers by Stuart Schram (no. 36). These overseeing institutions are often responsible for hosting events and issuing publications related to the journal. An example of the latter is the Modern China Studies International Bulletin. This is "a bi-annual Bulletin of post-graduate research in progress, conferences and senior staff movements in the field of modern China studies" that is published for the journal by its overseeing institution (no. 42:iv). This publication shows the journal's willingness to devote its resources to performing an important public service; the Bulletin also reflects the pioneering role that journal has played in delimiting the field; and the fact that the first two issues were given free to *CQ* subscribers suggests, in part, the community spirit of the journal.

A second important publication is the *CQ* indexes, the first two of which were published in 1982 and contained cross-referenced indexes to all the contents of issues 1-40 and 41-80 (advertisement, no. 88). This publication reflects the fact that the journal has become a necessary long-term benchmark for the field, with yearly indexes failing by themselves to satisfy the needs of the China watching community.

A third publication stems from various themed conferences hosted by the journal itself that are regularly turned into special issue of *CQ*, such as the journal's December 1988 issue on "Food and Agriculture in China during the Post-Mao Era" (no. 116). Note that these special issues put out by the journal are later reissued by *CQ*'s overseeing institution. CCI, for instance, began publishing these reprints under the name "Research Notes and Studies," with the title later being changed to "Studies on Contemporary China" (advertisement, no. 139).

The *CQ* as Living Textual History

Many of the articles in *CQ* also play a fourth community-building function: providing a historical text reflecting important milestones in the development of both China and the China studies field itself. When viewed as an ongoing historical record, these articles together provide different generations of *CQ* readers with the same historical memory, further cementing both the identity of the larger community and the journal's position in the field.

A brief history review is helpful. Note that for reasons both geopolitical and domestic in nature, China was closed to most foreign visitors—especially from the West—since the 1950s. The PRC only began opening up very slowly with the initial warming of Sino-American ties in the 1970s, with a major jump in access occurring from the early 1980s onwards. This historical context is evident in many of the articles that were published in *CQ* from the 1970s to the early 1980s. The following is an attempt to connect the individual articles to reveal the rough contours of the field's progression during this historical period.

Readers looking for reference information in the *CQ* during the early 1970s would find a "special notes" article by Gordon A. Bennett on "Hong Kong and Taiwan Sources for Research into the Cultural Revolution Period" (no. 36:33-37). This treatise on research sources reflects the need for indirect China watching—the method of studying the PRC to which the first generation of Sinologists were all but confined.

Next, the precious few opportunities to visit China that appeared throughout the 1970s due to the PRC's changing international and domestic political contexts were reflected in *CQ*'s "Reports from China" section that the journal launched in 1972 and ran for an entire decade.⁹ The titles of many of these notes emphasize the importance of actually being able to pay a visit to the PRC, such as Jon Sigurdson's "Rural Industry—A Traveler's

⁹As noted by John Gittings in his "The Years of Great Debate" editorial reflection (no. 143: 687).

View" (no. 50:315-32), Parris Chang's "Political Rehabilitation of Cadres in China: a Traveler's View" (no. 54:331-40), and William R. Heaton's "Professional Military Education in China: A Visit to the Military Academy of the People's Liberation Army" that—given the sensitivity of military affairs—appeared a few years later (no. 81:122-28).

Other articles discuss the problems associated with traveling to China in these early periods. One interesting account, Andrew J. Watson's "The Guiders and the Guided," directly addresses one of the unique concerns about conducting research in the PRC during this and even later historical periods. His essay begins by stating "One of the most frequent questions one is asked on returning from a visit to China is whether the tour was guided or whether one could do what one liked and forage for oneself" (no. 49:136). He spends the next fourteen pages analyzing the limits and possibilities of conducting research in the PRC under such careful monitoring by the Chinese state.

Another article noting the limitations of early research is Victor H. Li's "Health Services and the New Relationship between China Studies and Visits to China." Li writes:

The new improved relations with China have placed China specialists in the United States, and in some other countries as well, in an apparently contradictory position. On the one hand, direct contact is now possible instead of being confined to libraries an ocean away or visiting Hong Kong a border away, China specialists can now look forward to visiting China itself, and to experiencing at first hand what before was principally a mental concept. On the other hand, it appears that most of the scholarly exchanges will be in areas such as physics, medicine, and the biological sciences, and that social scientists in general and China specialists in particular are low on the priority list of people being admitted to China. (no. 59:566)

Slowly, however, China specialists gained the opportunities to conduct dialogues or interviews with the Chinese themselves—an important step towards conducting more rigorous research in the PRC. Examples include Frederic Wakeman's "A Conversation with Four Chinese Historians in Nanking" (no. 60:767-71), and A. R. Sanchez and S.L. Wong's "An Interview with Chinese Anthropologists" (no. 60:775-90).

China even began to open up to more extensive academic exchanges. One *CQ* special focus (no. 67), for example, resulted from a path-breaking

international conference on agriculture held in China—an event which allowed scholars to visit China for a longer research stint. As another example, China at this time also began to open up to foreign students. Timothy Brook and Rene Wagner's piece on "The Teaching of History to Foreign Students at Peking University" (no. 71:598-607) relates the experiences of two dozen Second World students who were admitted to the Department of History at Peking University in 1974—the first time since the Cultural Revolution that Beijing allowed foreign students to study in China.

At the same time, articles began to appear on how to conduct research of a more in-depth nature in China, including Pichon P.Y. Loh's "The Institute of Modern History, Peita and the Central Institute of Nationalities" (no. 70:383-89) and Carl E. Walter's "Facilities Offered for Research on Contemporary China by the National Library of Beijing" (no. 85:138-47), both of which provided information regarding people and places one should consult while conducting research in Beijing and Shanghai. As China further opened up to longer research trips, other articles provided related information on the logistics of staying in China, such as Dorothy J. Solinger's "'Temporary Residence Certificate' Regulations in Wuhan, May 1983" (no. 101:98-103).

The journal also found ways to mark the other side of the slow opening of Sino-American scholarly exchanges. The December 1980 issue, for instance, carried articles by two scholars at Beijing's Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (no. 84:720-26, 727-36). A short editorial note introducing the two articles stated that:

The current issue contains two articles by distinguished scholars in the People's Republic of China... The articles were contributed in response to an invitation extended by the previous editor, Dick Wilson, during a visit to China. It is hoped that *The China Quarterly* may, in future, have the opportunity to consider other articles submitted by colleagues in China. (no. 84:720)

One of the reasons behind these warming of scholarly ties was due to changes in China's domestic political situation. Unsurprising, therefore, is that the journal also carries articles and reports which in themselves are first-hand markers of important political events in China. An excellent

example is David Zweig's "The Peita Debate on Education and the Fall of Teng Hsiao-p'ing," published in the March 1978 issue (no. 73). Being a student from Canada, Zweig was able to visit China on an exchange program—an opportunity not available to U.S. citizens at the time. The introduction to his report provides the reader with the feeling of what it was like to have a rare first-hand scholarly view of a watershed event in PRC politics at a time of sharply limited access.¹⁰

CQ's Role in Defining China Research

The above analysis has mostly focused on how *CQ* makes readers feel part of a larger China studies community. This section now shifts gears and explores how the journal actually works to define the very content of China studies research itself. How does *CQ* help prioritize what subjects are of importance to the field? How does the journal help categorize the progress that has been made towards the research agenda in both the field in general as well as the many individual subfields? This article argues that the main methods of agenda setting employed by *CQ* are through the use of the journal's "State of the Field" and "Review Essay" sections, as well as through the publication of themed "Special Issues" and "Briefings."

"State of the Field"

The journal publishes from time to time a section entitled "State of

¹⁰Note should be made that *CQ* continues this tradition of publishing articles and other commentary reflecting both important changes in China and key events in the study of Chinese affairs. The events surrounding the June 4th, 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, for instance, have been well reflected in the journal. Examples include Andrew Nathan's discussion of his edited volume containing translated internal CCP documents regarding the crackdown in his "Comment: *The Tiananmen Papers: An Editor's Reflection*" (no. 167: 724-37), as well as Lowell Dittmer's review of the book (no. 166:476-83). Moreover, for a descriptive characterization of the China studies field in the immediate post-Tiananmen Square crackdown, see Lucian Pye's Review Essay, "Social Science Theories in Search of Chinese Realities." Michael Hunt and Odd Arne Westad's "Report on Historical Sources and Old Research Problems," moreover, discusses the impact of the Tiananmen crackdown on scholarly efforts to conduct research in China, especially by those interested in party (i.e., political) issues (no. 122:258-72).

the Field." These articles provide updates of China research from a variety of perspectives. One method is to focus on themes that are important to the field. For instance, the September 1994 issue (no. 139) carried a focus on Chinese politics—including Harry Harding's general overview of the study of politics in the PRC (pp. 699-703), Elizabeth Perry's treatment of state-society relations (pp. 704-13), Avery Goldstein's review of elites and institutions (pp. 714-30), and Peter Moody's reflection on trends in the study of Chinese political culture (pp. 731-40). Such state of the field reviews provide *CQ* with the opportunity to choose those the journal deems as experts in their field to provide a summary of the major issues and research progress made in particular disciplinary and sub-disciplinary research areas.

Other themes have been included in *CQ* as well. James L. Watson, for instance, has written on "Anthropological Analyses of Chinese religion" (no. 66:355-64). Ronald G. Knapp, moreover, has commented on "The Geographer and Taiwan" (no. 74:356-68). Country-oriented studies, moreover, have also been a common review approach appearing in the journal, with examples including articles by Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard on research in Scandinavia (no. 147:938-61), Lucien Bianco on France (no. 142: 509-20), Mark Sidel on Vietnam (no. 142:505-18), and Gilbert Rozman on Moscow (no. 94:215-42).¹¹

Special Issues

The first ever full-scale academic conference hosted by *CQ* took place from August 13-17, 1962, resulting in the special issue "Special Survey of Chinese Communist Literature" (no. 13). The journal has published a multitude of themed issues since. Some of the more recent topics include "Deng Xiaoping: An Assessment" (no. 135), "Greater China" (no. 136), "China's Transitional Economy" (no. 144), and "China and Europe

¹¹These reviews typically follow the structure of Rozman's piece, which overviews Soviet publications on China; lists authors with the most publications on contemporary China; and provides a general overview of the authors, works, and major thematic groupings—and how they relate to politics and policy.

Since 1978: A European Perspective" (no. 169). The use of these themed special issues provides *CQ* an additional method for reviewing the field. Most importantly, these issues all address a particular subject that the journal feels is important to the China studies research effort. For instance, the January-March 1965 (no. 21) special issue on "Fifteen Years of Communist China" was undertaken, according to the Editorial Note, to ask the big-picture questions of interest to the field: "Have 15 years of power changed the CCP leadership's vision of the world?" "How has China's position in the world been changed during those years?" "What effects have they had on the Chinese people?" and "What effects have they had on the Chinese state?"¹²

The articles that appear in these special issues, moreover, often contain reviews of the progress to date made by the field on a particular theme. One example is David Shambaugh's "China's Military in Transition: Politics, Professionalism, Procurement and Power Projection," the lead essay in the June 1996 issue (no. 146) on "China's Military in Transition." Shambaugh reviews the field's progress in accumulating knowledge in what he sees as the three main areas of import to PLA-watchers: civil-military relations, military professionalization, and defense capabilities in the PRC.

Briefings and Review Essays

There are a number of smaller-scale tools that the *CQ* can use to delineate China studies research. The occasional "Briefings," for instance, are shorter versions of special issues, providing a more limited collection of thematically related articles. Examples include the "Taiwan Briefing" (no. 99); "20 Years On: Four Views on the Cultural Revolution" (no. 108); a focus on the PLA (no. 112); and a briefing on employment issues in China (no. 157).¹³

¹²That many of the journal's special issues were commissioned by *CQ*'s editors in order to address the important issues and events in the PRC and the China studies field is one of the main issues discussed in Brian Hook's "China in the First Decade of Reform and Opening Out: An Edited View" (no. 143:677-81).

¹³Editor Richard Louis Edmonds noted that he in particular has promoted these "grouped article sections in regular issues" (no. 147:704).

Another mechanism is the journal's occasional "Review Essay" section. Essays that appear in this section are written by a single author who compares and contrasts a select group of books that address one thematic issue. Examples include Lucian W. Pye's "Chinese Politics in the Late Deng Era" (no. 142:573-83) and Michael Yahuda's "Perspectives on China's Foreign Policy" (no. 95:534-40). As with the articles appearing in the "State of the Field" noted above, these book review essays often focus on a specific discipline or theme, such as Stuart R. Schram's "Mao Studies: Retrospect and Prospect" (no. 97:95-125);¹⁴ others focus on a geographical area or areas, as in the case of Ronald Suleski's "Modern Chinese Studies in Japan and the West: Coming Closer Together" (no. 75:655-59); while some do both at the same time, such as David D. Buck's "Appraising the Revival of Historical Studies in China" (no. 105:131-42).

The Question of Methodology

Despite the journal's stated commitment to publishing all types of quality research on China, regardless of discipline, viewpoint, or methodology,¹⁵ *CQ* certainly has a predilection for which methods should be employed in "China-watching." Younger members of the China study field perusing through older issues of the journal are apt to be struck by the amount of print space the journal has devoted to issues relating to measuring and counting. One such theme that has appeared in a number of volumes is the issue of how to accurately measure Chinese grain production.¹⁶ Other articles are concerned with analyzing rather curious empirical data, such as the dialogue between Donald Klein and Roderick MacFarquhar over the meaning of Chen Yun's (陳雲) absence from a published photograph of an

¹⁴This ambitious review section compared *sixteen* volumes.

¹⁵See, for instance, Shambaugh's parting editorial (no. 147:702), *CQ*'s self-promotion ad (no. 127), and David Wilson's essay in the *CQ*'s 35th anniversary issue (no. 143:691).

¹⁶Such as the research note by Robert Michael Field and James A. Kilpatrick on "Chinese Grain Production: An Interpretation of the Data" (no. 74:369-84); Kenneth Walker's "China's Grain Production 1975-80 and 1952-57: Some Basic Statistics" (no. 86:215-47); and the exchange reflected in K.R. Walker's "Chinese Grain Production Statistics: A Comment on Kang Chao's Research Note" (no. 92:342-43).

important session of the Party Congress (no. 47:552).

Such focus on empirical issues has traditionally been a hallmark of *CQ* and the larger China studies field due to many factors unique to China. The system, as noted above, was closed off from the outside world for an extended period of time, thereby limiting the quantity of data on China for many years. China, moreover, is a large, bureaucratic country, which impedes accurate data collection even by the Chinese themselves, with political factors often intervening to further obfuscate information gathering and management. Thus, David Wilson's categorization of the field in the 1960s and 1970s noted that: "With much of the Chinese system little understood, and information restricted and hard to come by, there was a great need in those days for articles of detailed, basic research—the coal-mining approach, digging a deep seam on a narrow front" (no. 143:690).

Reflecting this concern, Andrew Walder's 1979 Methodological Note, "Press Accounts and the Study of Chinese Society" (no. 79:568-92) began by stating that "Students of contemporary Chinese society must confront early in their training a problem that has become a dominant feature of their area of interest: the scarcity and crudity of useful information." The article's main focus was to discuss how the China studies field should "pay much stricter attention than we commonly do to the ways we gather evidence and draw conclusions from any single available source."

Indeed, one of the most common areas where empirical measurement issues have been a major focus is in the field of economics. From the very outset, an editor's note of an early *CQ* special issue on Chinese industry lamented the lack of data (no. 17:1). The available data, moreover, often had problems of reliability, as noted in Fred C. Hung and Yuan-li Wu's "Conceptual Difficulties in Measuring China's Industrial Output" (no. 17: 56-65) and S. Lee Travers' "Bias in Chinese Economic Statistics: The Case of the Typical Example Investigation" (no. 91:478-85).

John Gittings has noted, however, that an ever-increasing amount of information has become available since China's opening to the West in the 1980s (no. 143:685). Kang Chao's research note on "The China-Watchers Tested" is an interesting analysis which uses the PRC's relaxation of restrictions on reporting economic statistics to test the earlier "guestimates" of

foreign China watchers (no. 91:97-104).

China's opening has not, however, always resulted in a dramatic increase in *accurate* information. Leo A. Orleans begins his research note on "Graduates of Chinese Universities: Adjusting the Total" (no. 111:444-49) by stating:

China's drive towards modernization has been accompanied by a phenomenal increase in the number of statistics available. The statistical hiatus during the Cultural Revolution was followed by a revived and revitalized State Statistical Bureau (SSB) which in recent years has been churning out figures on every conceivable aspect of China's economy and society. Notoriously suspect in the past, China's statistics are now recognized as being much more indicative of the true state of China's development and, what is more, they are improving. This does not mean, however, that they should always be taken at face value.

Interpreting Chinese trade statistics, for instance, is still a major concern of the field, as Nicholas Lardy's piece in this volume testifies. Other measurement issues have also recently been the subject for interpretation and debate by China-watchers, as illustrated by Christopher Howe's "Concepts and Methods" review article entitled "New Light on China's Population" (no. 114:285-89). Another popular topic of debate, moreover, has been the breadth and depth of the defense budget, as reflected in Shaoguang Wang's research note, "Estimating China's Defence Expenditure: Some Evidence from Chinese Sources" (no. 147:889-911).

There are other issue areas, moreover, where knowledge remains quite limited, moving *CQ* to publish articles quite descriptive in nature. Many of these areas involve China's political process. Examples include David Shambaugh's research note on "China's National Security Research Bureaucracy" (no. 110:276-304) and William W. Moss' "Dang'an: Contemporary Chinese Archives" (no. 145:112-29).

Towards Differentiating *CQ* Community and the China Studies Field

This paper has attempted to bring to the fore the mechanics by which the journal has sought to create a larger community through a variety of

tools available to publishers of academic journals. The focus has been on the role of the editor in utilizing journal format and substance to help instill a larger academic identity in the journal's readership.

Yet to what extent does this *CQ*-generated community delineate the actual "China studies" field? One thing is certain—both the journal and the field have expanded over time. David Shambaugh, for instance, has noted that in his five-year tenure alone the journal has "published over 200 articles and nearly 1,000 book reviews. We have expanded the size of the journal from 800 to 1,200 pages annually" (no. 147:701). The editorial board, in addition, has expanded from twenty-seven individuals listed in 1967 (no. 29:iii) to seventy-nine members in December 2000 (no. 164). Moreover, in all of 1962 *CQ* reviewed only twenty-nine books; in the September 1995 issue (no. 143) alone, the journal reviewed thirty-five books and listed seventy-three more books in the "Books Received" section.

Although earlier editors complained of the difficulty the journal had in the early days of finding articles to fill an issue (no. 143:674-75), David Shambaugh expressed regret that despite the aforementioned increases in the journal's size and format, "we have still been able to accept only a relatively small percentage. Every year approximately 125 manuscripts are submitted to the editorial office, with 25 per cent accepted on average" (no. 147:701). Brian Hook has added, "In many instances, we had to turn down papers for reasons of space or because of prior commitments" (no. 143:680). Indeed, Shambaugh writes that:

For many years *The China Quarterly* monopolized the field. Articles on China always appeared in *Problems of Communism*, *Studies in Comparative Communism* and a handful of disciplinary journals, but the *CQ* was the only journal solely devoted to China. Those days are long gone—and much for the better. (no. 143:670 n. 2)

Shambaugh goes on to list the many English-language journals focusing on China that have since risen to complement the efforts of *CQ*, including: *The China Journal*, *Issues & Studies*, *Modern China*, *Late Imperial China*, *Republican China*, *China Report*, *China Information*, *The Journal of Contemporary China*, *China Law Reporter*, *Modern Chinese Literature*, *T'oung*

Pao: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Chinese Studies, The China Business Review, and China Economic Review.

China Studies Community vs. China Studies Research Communities

What insights can we draw from the fact that the China studies publishing field has, over the years, outgrown even an expanding *CQ*? This paper argues that helpful is to make a distinction between "community of those interested in China" and "community of those sharing a common disciplinary/methodological approach to researching China." At the early stage of the modern China studies field (mostly in the 1960s and 1970s), these two communities were one in the same—and the *CQ's* attempts to build the first community were in fact the equivalent to trying to build the second. Limited in membership, facing scarcity in data and past research on China, and being established at a time of only limited development of disciplinary approaches, those interested in China could easily be assembled in one physical or intellectual space; more or less employed the same terminology, methodology, and concepts in their research; and could easily hold discussions that could cover the state of the China studies field. *The China Quarterly* was the primary force that encouraged this community to form and grow.

Yet, three main types of changes have come about to deepen and widen China-related research, thereby creating important epistemological divisions among the community of those who study China. First, as noted earlier, is the developments within the PRC since the late 1970s—including her opening to the outside world, the changing nature of the CCP, and the growth of civil society in China. In an insightful essay, Victor Li opined on how China's opening provided methodological challenges and opportunities facing the field:

I want to suggest here that we should begin to rethink our approaches to research on contemporary China... Research methods developed in the past decade or more were directed towards finding "new" sources of data ... or extracting the most information out of the limited data available... Now that visits to China are possible, how do we go about making maximum use of the additional possibilities? (no. 59:567)

The second change, the parallel development of the disciplines (in-

cluding general theories, research tools, and the like), helped diversify the China studies field by offering up a variety of methodological approaches. In a *CQ* review essay entitled "Social Science Theories in Search of Chinese Realities" (no. 132:1161-70), Lucian Pye has written:

For two decades those in the United States were trained in an environment in which area studies received special treatment because of generous foundation and government funding and there was a community of China specialists regardless of discipline. Those days are now over, and the sovereignty of the disciplines has been authoritatively reasserted. It is not enough to hold the respect of other area specialists. Tenure depends upon the judgment of those who guard the standards of each discipline. (no. 132:1161)

Certainly, there are younger "China" scholars whose interests lie almost strictly in China, yet use disciplinary approaches to conducting research on the PRC as a means to satisfying these new disciplinary requirements. There are also comparativists who, while focusing a great deal of their efforts on China, do, however, branch out in their research to a few other selectively chosen countries—these researchers are also more likely to seek to contribute to general political science theory building. The last disciplinary category is that of the generalists: those who tend to include the PRC only as one of many example countries to use in building or testing general theories of political phenomena.

As a third factor, China's growing importance to the world has attracted many outside the realm of academia with an interest in understanding China's political, economic, and social situations. Government specialists, private-sector experts (especially those focusing on political and economic risk analysis), human rights groups and other NGOs, and media representatives all—despite their united interest in China—have their own individual research agendas and research methodologies. To this we can add the many security specialists who have much more recently developed an interest in the PRC given her rapidly expanding economic, political, and military resources.

Given this blossoming of approaches to understanding the PRC in the decades following the establishment of *CQ*, no wonder that there has been an explosion in journals publishing research on contemporary China. More importantly, however, is that these journals are targeted towards different

research communities. There are many journals such as *China Information*, *The China Journal*, *Issues & Studies*, *The Journal of Contemporary China*, and others who, like *CQ*, have a dedication to presenting a variety of China-related research—with the degree of emphasis on disciplinary scholarship varying by journal. There are journals that look at China from a larger regional perspective, such as *The American Asian Review*, *Asian Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, and *Pacific Affairs*. There is even a growing number of journals that seek to combine the area studies approach with a particular discipline; these journals boast such titles as *The Asian Economic Journal*, *Asian Journal of Political Science*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *China Economic Review*, *Journal of Asian Economics*, and *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*. The general disciplinary standard-bearers—such as *The American Journal of Sociology*, *The American Sociological Review*, *The American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Politics*, and *International Organization*—also increasingly field China-related research. Finally, security policy-related publications such as *American Foreign Policy Interests*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Survival* also offer an expanding range of commentary on the PRC from yet another methodological perspective.

Thus while we may speak of a "China studies field," we must be careful to realize that this one "community of scholars with a passion for and interest in China" is comprised of various, sometimes overlapping, "research communities, each based upon a shared disciplinary/methodological approach to studying the PRC": China is the common interest of all, yet disciplinary-based subjects and methodological issues are what often set the boundaries of these individual research communities today. Put differently, Ezra Vogel's quote which opened this article perhaps is no longer applicable to the China studies field today—while China enthusiasts (especially the younger ones) may enjoy gathering as a group and discussing China as an area study, they are just as interested (or perhaps even more so) in gathering with like-minded people to discuss the accumulation of knowledge of the PRC from their specific disciplinary/methodological approach. Finally, there is an additional dimension worth remembering: there are now many more people who undertake research on China who

are not "China specialists," and there are even those who could be labeled as "China specialists" yet make important scholarly contributions to non-China fields of study as well.

Towards Defining the China Studies Field Today

Thus, any attempts at defining the China studies field or reviewing the progress would benefit from careful consideration of the following issues. First, what exactly are the main research centers or research communities within the larger China studies community? Taking into account the various potential research subjects and the plethora of research methodologies both between and within research communities, what is the best way to define these communities? How much sharing of information occurs between these centers? Do different research communities incorporate or build on the work of other research communities? Also interesting questions are to what degree these individuals also participate in disciplinary journals and other forums, and what percentage of their work is devoted to general theory-building?

Posing these questions is the easy part; the challenge lies in finding answers. One cannot simply compare different China- or Asia-journals along the five mechanisms outlined in this paper—because the field has advanced into too complex and varied of a group, divorcing to a large degree area studies community-building and research community accumulation of knowledge. What might be fruitful, however, is to compare, for instance, the China-centered journals to see which topics and methodological approaches are championed by which journals. This could be done by scanning editorial commentary, articles, books chosen for review, advertisements, and the research background of editorial board members and other participants in the journals. Comparing these changes over time, moreover, could provide interesting insights into how topics and approaches to China studies have changed among the field's core members.

A second avenue of attack is to examine non-China journals. The goal would be to track over time the space these journals have devoted to China-related research. This could include compiling the numbers of articles (or book reviews, advertisements, etc.) dedicated solely to dis-

cussing China as well as those that include China as an important data point. These numbers could be given both in absolute values and in comparison to other country-specific articles.¹⁷

An additional research project could be to select a journal representing each of the various approaches—a China journal, an East-Asian regional journal, a security or policy periodical, a journal on comparative politics, and a general theoretical periodical. One could then take all the articles that deal with China and compare them for topic (agenda-setting), analytical approach (methodological predilection), and purpose (to explain China, general political phenomenon, or both?). Interesting would be to uncover to what extent the authorship on Chinese research overlaps between these types of journals, especially if this could be broken down by "generation" of "China watcher." What is the breakdown for young scholars today in terms of journal—area studies, policy/security, comparative, and general theoretical—publications? In addition, how many prominent China scholars are also accepted leaders in their disciplinary/methodological approach?

Particularly useful would be an in-depth comparison of the footnoted sources appearing in these different articles. Do articles on China that appear in *International Organization*, for instance, tend to refer more to literature generated by traditional area studies experts, middle-ground comparativists, or general theorists? How does this figure compare to other country-based research such as those done by Europeanists or Americanists?

Taken together, the above preliminary research agenda would help to provide the China studies community with a much clearer and more useful characterization of its research fields and the cross-fertilization that occurs between them.

¹⁷Yanjie Bian's article in this special issue has provided an initial foray into this research agenda. He discusses the rise of China as a research focus in the discipline of sociology by, in part, tracking the China-related articles published in the field's three leading English-language journals.

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