Mapping Taiwan Studies in the United States – Reflections on the experiences of NATSA

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North American Taiwan Studies Association ("NATSA") is a student-run organization, which holds annual conferences on Taiwan Studies since 1995. Until 2010, it has been holding 16 conferences in 12 campuses of universities across the United States. In this brief report, I will try to offer my observations on the development of Taiwan Studies in the United States through the lens of NATSA. However, owing to my limited experience, the time period discussed here ranges only from 2004 to 2010.²

In the following sections, I first picture the terrain of Taiwan studies in the United States from the perspectives of discipline and institution. Meanwhile, I try to provide a list of experts in each research area through the NATSA's database, though it is, of course, not exhaustive yet. Later, I use the paper submission data from NATSA to analyze recent trends in Taiwan studies. Finally, I explain the efforts of NATSA to engage Taiwan studies in a broader horizon and its problems. Since the founding history, purpose and organization of NATSA will be covered by Professor Lin Tzu-lun's report, I will refrain myself from reiterating these parts.

1. Taiwan Studies in the United States

(1) Educational Institutions

Comparing with other area studies, Taiwan studies is still in its infant stage in the American scholarly world. Most Universities still bundle Taiwan studies with China studies in East Asian or Asian studies programs/centers. (On the contrary, Japan and Korea studies have been recognized as independent subjects. Some universities also set up separate programs/centers for those area studies.) So far, there are only three universities in the U.S. created research centers for Taiwan studies, including the

¹ The author was the president of NATSA 2007-2008. He would like to thank his colleagues at the NATSA. pecial thanks go to Danny Hsu. Mingui Huang (黃明慧), Fang-Yu Liu (劉芳瑜), and Si-siang Yang (楊翕 翔) provided excellent research assistance.

² In a separate paper, Professor Tzu-lun Lin of the National Taiwan University discusses the development of NATSA in its early age.

University of California at Santa Barbara,³ the University of Texas at Austin,⁴ and the University of South Carolina at Columbia⁵.⁶ Among them, the UT-Austin also begins to offer the first undergraduate degree for Taiwan studies in 2010. One year earlier, the University of California, San Diego just launched an endowed chair for Taiwan studies in 2009. The first holder of this Chuan Lyu Endowed Chair is Professor Liao Ping-hui. Therefore, although its development is far behind that of Korean Studies (which has been constantly, heavily sponsored by the Korean government.) Taiwan studies has received more and more attention in recent days.

In the past few years, the NATSA has cooperated with some major universities in holding its annual conferences throughout the United States. Most of these universities have no independent research center or program for Taiwan studies. Nevertheless, their Asian studies centers have generously provided various helps to facilitate the conferences. The long list of co-sponsors is provided in Table 1.⁷

University	Center	U.Sbased Faculty Involved
Harvard University	-8	-
University of Chicago	-	-
Rutgers University	-	-
University of Hawaii	East-West Center	Ming-cheng M. Lo

Table 1 List of Asian studies centers collaborated with NATSA from 2000

³ Center for Taiwan Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara (present director: Dr. Tu Kuo-ch'ing 杜國清).

⁴ Program in Taiwan Studies, the University of Texas at Austin (director: Sung-Sheng Yvonne Chang 張頌 聖) Regarding UT-Austin's degree program for Taiwan Studies, please see: http://www.asiantexasexes.org/2010/university-to-launch-taiwan-studies-program/

⁵ Taiwan Studies Program, Center for Asian Studies, University of South Carolina - Columbia, http://www.cas.sc.edu/aisn/USC TECRO/index.html

⁶ University of California, Los Angeles also has a separate taskforce-unit of Taiwan studies. However, it is not fully institutionalized and also under the auspices of Chinese studies. Its title is "New Directions in Taiwan Studies, Center for Chinese Studies, Asian Institute, International Institute, UCLA. See

http://www.international.ucla.edu/china/taiwanstudies/news.asp

⁷ Please note that some of these faculty members are from other universities and some of them might not be regarded as expert in Taiwan studies conventionally.

⁸ Data unavailable for the author.

at Manoa	(http://www.eastwestcenter.org/home/)	(Sociology, UC Davis)
University of Colorado at Boulder		
University of California, Santa Cruz	East Asian Studies (minor), Department of History (http://eastasianstudies.ucsc.edu/)	Minghui Hu (History) Benjamin Read (Politics, from 2008)
University of Wisconsin -Madison	Center for East Asian Studies (http://eastasia.wisc.edu/)	Edward Friedman (Political Science), Louise Young (History), Lin Yu- sheng (History), Ann Stoler (Anthropology, New School)
University of Washington in Seattle	East Asian Center, Jackson School of International Studies (http://jsis.washington.edu/eacenter/) Asian Law Center, Law School (http://www.law.washington.edu/asianlaw/)	Stevan Harrell (Anthropology); Jeff Hou (Urban Planning); Veronica Taylor (Law); Jane Winn (Law); Gary Hamilton (Sociology); William Lavely (Sociology)
University of Texas at Austin	Center for East Asian Studies (http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/eastasia/)	Wei-Hsin Yu (Sociology); Sung- Sheng Yvonne Chang (Literature); Sang Tze- lan (Literature, University of Oregon)
University of California, Berkeley	Institute of East Asian Studies (http://ieas.berkeley.edu/)	Wen-hsin Yeh (History), Thomas Gold (Political Science); Sung-Sheng Yvonne Chang (Literature, UT Austin), Ping-hui Liao (UCSD), Sandrine Marchand (Artois U., France).
University of Pittsburg	-	-

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(2) Human Resources

In addition to educational institutions, NATSA also benefits from the participation of faculty members not only in the United States but also in other areas of the world. Many faculty members are invited to be reviewers of paper abstracts and panel discussants. Some of them also served as members of the advisory board. During 2007 and 2010, the **non-Taiwan-based members of advisory board** include,

- Prasenjit Duara, (then) Professor of History and East Asian Languages & Civilizations, University of Chicago (now Raffles Professor of Humanities; Director (Humanities and Social Sciences Research, National University of Singapore)
- Jerome A. Cohen, Professor of Law, Co-Director and Founder of U.S.-Asia Law Institute, New York University School of Law
- Stevan Harrell, Professor of Anthropology, University of Washington
- Tun-jen Chen, Class of 1935 Professor of Government, Department of Government, Williams and Mary College
- David Der-Wei Wang, Edward C. Henderson Professor of Chinese Literature, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University
- Patricia Sieber, Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Language and Literature, Ohio State University
- Jeff Hou, Associate Professor, Landscape Architecture, University of Washington
- Wei-shin Yu, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology at University of Texas, Austin

The lists of faculty-level paper presenters, reviewers, and discussants during 2008-2010 can be found in Table 2 and 3 below.

Name	Institutes	Academic Status	Affiliation
2008		I	
Mark Harrison	University of Westminster	Senior Lecturer	Centre for the Study of Democracy
Yang-Su KIM	DongGuk University, South Korea	Associate Professor	Dept. of Chinese Lannguage & Literature
Jeffrey Martin	University of Hong Kong	Assistant Professor	Sociology (Anthropology)

Institutes	A andomia Statua	A ffiliat
Table 2 Faculty-level Paper Submitters, 20	08-2010 (* Postdoc in	cluded)

ЪT

Ya-Chen Chen	City College of New York	Assistant Professor	CUNY SYSTEM	
Sieh-chuen Huang	Hokkaido Univ. Japan	Assistant Professor	Garduate School of Law	
Winnie King Univ. of Bristol, United Kingdom		Postdoc	Center for east asian stutdies	
2010		1		
Joel Fetzer	Pepperdine University	Professor	Social Science Division	
Cal Clark	Auburn University	Professor	Department of Political Science	
Evan Osborne	Wright State University	Associate Professor	Department of Economics	
R. Joel Campbell	Kansai Gaidai University, Japan	Associate Professor	Center for International Education	
Baohui Zhang	Lingnan University, Hong Kong	Associate Professor	Department of Political Science	
Zhiqun Zhu 朱志群	Bucknell University	Associate Professor	Political Science & International Relations	
Zhiyue Bo	National University of Singapore	Senior Research Fellow	Political Science	
Yantao Bi	Hainnan Univ/Univ College Cork	Director/Associate Professor	Mass Communication	
T. Doris Chang	Wichita State University	Associate Professor	Center for Women's Studies	
Philip Liu 劉曉鵬	Nanyang Technological Univ. Singapore	Assistant Professor	Chinese Studies	
Ching-Fen Pai 白卿芬	JOMEC, Cardiff University	Postdoctoral Researcher	Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies	
Dongtao Qi 祁冬濤	National University of Singapore	Research Fellow	East Asian Institute	

⊙ Discussants				
2007				
Name	Affiliation	Academic Status		
Louise Yong	University of Wisconsin, Madison	Professor, Department of History		
Yomi Braester	University of Washington, Seattle	Professor		
Edward Friedman	University of Wisconsin	Professor, Department of Political Science		
Hung Cam Thai	Pomona College	Professor, Department of Asian American Studies (Sociology)		
Karen Kelsky	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	Professor, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures		
Melissa Brown	Stanford University	Assistant Professor, Anthropology		
Shu-ju Ada Cheng	DePaul	Associate Professor, Sociology		
2008				
Jeff Hou	University of Washington	Associate Professor, Urban Planning		
William Lavely	University of Washington	Professor, Sociology		
Jeffrey Martin	University of Hong Kong	Assistant Professor, Anthropology		
Pheng Cheah	University of California, Berkeley	Professor, Rhetoric		
2009				
Madeline Y. Hsu	University of Texas-Austin	Associate Professor, History		
Tommy McClellan	University of Edinburgh	Senior Lecturer, Asian Studies		
Mark Fenster	University of Florida	Law and Mass Media		
Donald Rodgers	Austin College	Political Science		
Trysh Travis	University of Florida	Professor, Gender Studies		
Loretta Kim	SUNY at Albany	Assistant Professor, History		
Dafydd Fell	SOSA, University of London	Senior Lecturer, Politics		

Table 3 Faculty-level Abstract Reviewers and Paper Discussants, 2008-2010

2010		
Evan Osborne	Wright State University	Associate Professor, Economics
Ann Heylen	National Taiwan Normal University	Associate Professor, Taiwan History and Literature

The information listed above surely cannot reflect the full picture of Taiwan studies in the United States. It is also obvious that most of the U.S.-based scholars participated in NATSA's annual meeting has a strong tie to the venues of the meeting. For example, when the 2008 Annual Meeting was held in Seattle, Washington, most of the faculty-level panel discussants are academic staff from the University of Washington, Seattle. Considering the financial resource and manpower NATSA had in the past few years, we should not be surprised that the staff of NATSA always tries to use the local scholars as discussants or chairs. On the other hand, this is also an effective way to involve these scholars in the meeting of Taiwan studies. Therefore, owing to these limits, there should be a larger pool of U.S.-based scholars of Taiwan studies who might not appear on NATSA's program. For example, Emma Teng of MIT and Shelley Rigger of Davidson, both are leading scholars in their field, have not appeared on the NATSA' program.

However, from the list of 2008-2010, we might find that Taiwan studies has become a multi-disciplinary field in recent years. In its early days, most papers presented in NATSA more or less focused on the heated topics in social science (mainly, political science and sociology.) While Taiwan's democratization process has been relatively stabilized after 2000, Taiwan studies also went through a silent "paradigm shift." Again, we are going to use the "paper submission data" of NATSA from 2008 to 2010 to illustrate the diffusion of disciplines in Taiwan studies.

2. Sea Change in Taiwan Studies?

As mentioned above, the majority of authors/participants in NATSA are graduate students whose academic interests, fieldwork, and theses are related to Taiwan. Most of them are originally from Taiwan. Their career paths might be different from each other – some ended up getting a job in the United States (like Lo Ming-cheng of UC, Davis or Anru Lee of John Jay College, CUNY) and some might go even further to work in other countries (for example, Chen Ching-chang of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan). No matter where they ended up, their papers reflect the trends of Taiwan studies in a certain period in that those papers reflected contemporaneous scholarly interests of their professions. In this section, we use the submission data collected by and stored in the NATSA's web system during 2008 and 2010 to examine whether there is sea change in Taiwan studies.

However, there is one caveat we should add to the use of this data. Before the year of 2007, NATSA's Call-for-Paper used an over-arching topic as its theme so that almost every discipline can find its niches under the theme. However, NATSA has very limited staff-power so that the association could not find every discipline a competent planner to conduct reviewing work.⁹ This is even clearer after the devastating failure of the 2006 Annual Meeting at UC, Santa Cruz. Only 7 people stayed in the planning committee for the 2007 (the 13th) Annual Meeting. Therefore, beginning in the 13th Annual Meeting, NATSA's Call-for-Paper is issue-oriented, which did not assign any specific person to be in charge of one or two disciplines. There would be three to four "themes" in which everyone can find their niches and interests. The panel of reviewers are also consisted of scholars from different disciplines. This way of soliciting papers might discourage potential authors from submitting their papers, if they regarded there is nothing in the Call-for-Paper related to her/his filed. For example, the Main theme of 2007 is "Taiwan in the Nexus of Empires." Most people regarded this theme is more-literature-culutural studies, though the planning committee at that time did think scholars might address this topic from sociology, history or political science. In fact, to avoid this self-limitation, the planning committee also designed a couple of themes to help authors to find their places in the annual meeting. (For complete list of the conference themes from 2000, please refer to Appendix A.)

(1) Regional Distribution

The first question is "where did NATSA's authors come from?" We might assume, heuristically, most abstract submitters ("authors") of NATSA are graduate students (Taiwan national) in the United States. However, according the data (2008-2010), only 41.98% of the authors (131) are from the United States. Authors from Taiwan (104) comprised 33.33 percent and participants from Europe (54) 17.30 percent. Therefore, authors from Taiwan and Europe have actually outweighted those from the United States. In this regard, NATSA is not a regional organization limited to North America anymore.¹⁰ More than half of its authors are from regions outside the United States. It should be regarded as an international organization based in the United States now.

(Please see Table 4 and Figure 1 in page 20.)

(2) Composition of Academic Position

⁹ For example, the planning committee of 2005 Annual Meeting divided the work of paper review into 17 sections (disciplines): Aboriginal Studies, Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Education, Environmental Studies, Gender/Sexuality Studies, History, International Relations, Law, Linguistics, Literature, Media Studies, Philosophy, Political Science, Sociology, Urban Planning, Others.

¹⁰ There were only 4 authors are from Canada.

Following the first question, we might want to know "who these authors are?" Since NATSA is run by graduate students, does it serve graduate students only? Is it a kind of "graduate student workshop" (or even worse, a "summer camp")? Our data reveals, 45.83 percent of the authors (143) are in their Ph.D. program, either Ph.D. students or doctoral candidates. However, authors who held professional positions, like assistant professors, associate professors, and professors, comprised 23.39 % (73). If we included postdoc, lecturers, and independent scholars in this pool, the percentage would reach 31.41%, almost 1/3 of the authors are not graduate students. In the past three years, there are 22 assistant professor, 33 associate professors, and 18 professors submitted their paper abstracts to the NATSA. Although the majority of authors are still graduate students (64.10%, including students in their M.A. program or held an M.A. degree,) there are more and more faculty members participated in NATSA's annual meetings.

The plausible reasons that faculty members are only 1/3 of the authors include, (1) NATSA is not as well-established as other professional organizations, like the Association for Asian Studies or the American Association of Political Science, so people might not want to waste their time in submitting abstracts to or presenting papers in NATSA; (2) Taiwan studies has not been entrenched so not so many faculty members are interested in participating in a conference on Taiwan studies. We do not know which reason plays a bigger role than the other. However, there are almost 1/3 participants are faculty members demonstrate that this organization/research-area is getting more and more attention in scholarly world.

(Please see Table 5 and Figure 2 in page 21.)

(3) Disciplinary Distribution

Finally, we try to respond to the question: is there a sea change in Taiwan studies in the past few years? Based on the NATSA's abstracts submission data, authors with literature background prevailed over all other disciplines. There were 62 paper proposals in **literature**. The second largest group is **sociology** - 34 paper proposals. The third one is **political science** (without international relation studies) – 30 paper proposals. However, literature occupied an overwhelming position. The sum of proposals in political science and in sociology (64) is almost equal to the number of literature proposals(62). Among all the subcategory of literature, Taiwanese literature has dominated the field. There are 20 proposals from Taiwanese literature, which comprised almost 1/3 of the literature proposals.

NATSA was initiated by a group of graduate students from Taiwan who studied social science, mainly sociology and political science, in the United States. Therefore, most papers in its first ten years had focused on sociological surveys or political science issues.

The prominence of sociology and political science in NATSA's early history might have its root in the dramatic change after democratization in 1987. Though these two disciplines still occupy the second and the third largest groups on NATSA's conference schedule, it seems the authors from literature have outperformed those from social science. Why it is so?

There are at least two plausible explanations. First, the rise of Taiwan identity have significantly contributed to the establishment of Taiwan studies programs or Taiwanese literature department in Taiwan. (For example, the Institute of Taiwanese Literature in National Cheng-kung University and the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Studies at the Chang-jung Christian University.) Most of these institutes followed the model of other literature or humanities departments focusing on cultural and literary studies. It is very natural that their graduates who went studying abroad would submit papers to the NATSA in the field of literature, which covers cultural studies as well. However, since China becomes more and more prominent in the global society, social science students might have shifted their scholarly focus to China studies, be it affected by their advisors or the trend in U.S. academic world (for example, Chinese labor movements, Chinese party system, Chinese economy and global order, etc.) Second, there are less and less graduate students studying social science in the United States. There is no more crisis of "brain drain" in Taiwan's social science. Either that Taiwan students are less competitive than Chinese students in GRE score and Ph.D. program application or that Taiwan students are less willing to spend five or six years in pursuing Ph.D. in the United States, the fact is that we do not see much Ph.D. students in social science in recent years. This is more obvious in elite universities in the U.S. But why it is still so prosperous in literature? Some of the authors from Taiwan literature were actually graduate students or graduates from universities in Taiwan. They were encouraged to submit and present papers in international conferences so that NATSA usually became their first try. Meanwhile, literature students in Taiwan have a tradition to study English/comparative literature in the United States, since most modern literary theories are developed by western scholars. However, these are only speculations. We do not have any survey data to prove these speculations so far.

For other disciplines, history (13), anthropology (16), and media & film Studies (15) are the three minor fields in NATSA's abstract pool. Surprisingly, legal studies have emerged as a major field in Taiwan studies, which had 25 proposals in this period. On the one hand, there are more and more law students pursuing their doctoral degrees (J.S.D., S.J.D. or Ph.D.) in the United States. On the other, American scholars also have more interests in understanding Taiwan's experience in judicial reform or promotion for the rule of law, which many thought might provide invaluable lessons for China.

Overall, the sea change is represented by the fact that literature becomes a dominant subject in recent annual meetings of NATSA. Sociology and political science are less prominent than they were in the late 1990s. Anthropology, media & film studies, and history have mild performance, which is not as impressive as legal studies. The changing

focus of Taiwan studies reflects political and cultural development in Taiwan and its big neighbor, China. While Taiwan's democratization is gradually fulfilled, scholarly interests move toward the identity issues in Taiwan culture and literature. Meanwhile, since China has become the world's factory and its authoritarian regime creates rapid economic growth, social science students might shift their research topics to China studies. In fact, with the increasing number of Chinese students in the United States, more and more Chinese students would try to participate in NATSA's meetings.¹¹

(Please see Tables 6-8 and Figures 3-7 below; Figure 5 in page 22.)

3. Concluding Remarks

By way of examining the submission data of NATSA 2008-2010, we may conclude that Taiwan studies has become an entrenched field in the United States gradually, though it is still not institutionalized as other area studies of Asia. Every year, there are about 100 paper abstracts submitted to the NATSA's annual meetings. The majority of NATSA's authors are graduate students, but about 1/3 are not students (23.39% hold formal position in academic institutions.) More than half of the authors (50.63 %) are from regions outside of the United States. In recent years, 33.33% authors are Taiwan-based students and scholars.

We have witnessed a sea change of disciplinary composition in NATSA's latest three annual meetings. Literature scholars become the main humanpower in Taiwan studies, while sociology and political science are less prominent as they were. Meanwhile, the three latest establishments of Taiwan studies in United States are all related to Taiwan's literature and culture, rather than to its political, economic or social development. (For example, UC Santa Barbara's program has done various works in translating Taiwan literature into English; the first Taiwan studies endowed chair was created in the Literature Department of UCSD; the UT-Austin's program in Taiwan studies is more literature-oriented.) Taiwan has an ambiguous political position. Therefore, talking about literature rather than politics might ease the anxiety of creating an independent program of Taiwan studies.

However, while social scientists started to retreat from the battleground of Taiwan studies, Taiwan's development might be integrated into a comparative framework which places China in the center. In the long run, Taiwan studies would lose its strength in recognizing Taiwan's characteristic social, economic, and political institutions. Therefore, I urge academic institutions in Taiwan to take the waning power of Taiwan studies in Social Science more seriously. The rise of Korean studies might be a lesson from which Taiwan learn more. With the government's generous sponsorship, Korean studies programs are blossoming throughout the United States. Overwhelming population of Korean students is very common in American

¹¹ One Chinese student, Qi Dongtao had become a member of the planning committee in 2010.

universities. NATSA is merely a student-run organization. It has done a lot of things with limited and unstable financial support from the NGOs in Taiwan or the Taiwan government. To engage more American scholars in discovering the potentials of Taiwan studies, NATSA has been using its annual meetings as a platform to get nontraditionally-Asianist scholars involved in its activities. For example, its keynote speakers include Ann Stoler of the New School University in 2007, Pheng Cheah of the UC Berkeley in 2008, and Sergio A. Palleroni of the Portland State University in 2009. All these scholars have been required to reconsider the role of Taiwan in their researches or to apply Taiwan factors to their theories. Also, NATSA started to award the Best Graduate Student Paper to encourage participants to render a profound paper at its annual meetings. Since 2007, university publishers have been invited to join the meetings and have a chance to display their publication in or related to Taiwan studies. All these efforts are unbelievably done by a group of graduate students (no more than 20 persons.) When these board members start their career in American academia or elsewhere, we expect to see a more institutionalized NATSA which may foster Taiwan studies in North America in its third decades.

If NATSA can survive for 17 years in the United States, I trust that the government can do much more to help the flourishing of Taiwan studies in the future.

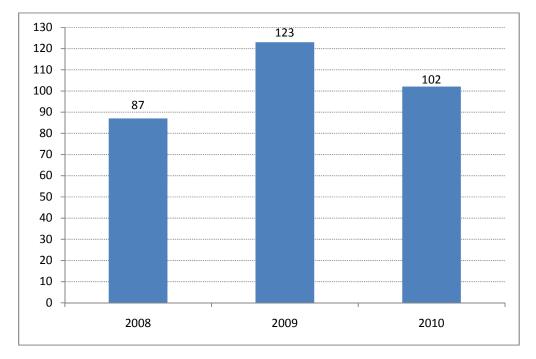


Figure 3 Sum of Submitted Abstracts in Each Year

Disciplinea	Total
Literature	62
Sociology	34
Political Science	30
Law	25
Anthropolgy	15
Education	15
Asian Studies	13
History	13
Public Administration (Public Policy)	13
I.R. (International Relations)	10
Mass Media	10
Taiwan Studies	7
Film Studies	5
Economics	4
Social Admin.	3
Geography	2
I.T.	2
Linguistics	2
Social Science	2
Theatre	2
Urban Planning	2
*Others	23

Table 6 Sum of Abstracts in Each Discipline

^{*} This section includes Architecture, Art, Art(Chinese), Biology, Cultural Studies, Dance, Divinity, Environmental Science, Environmental Studies, Ethnology, European Studies, Gender Studies, Int'l Trade,

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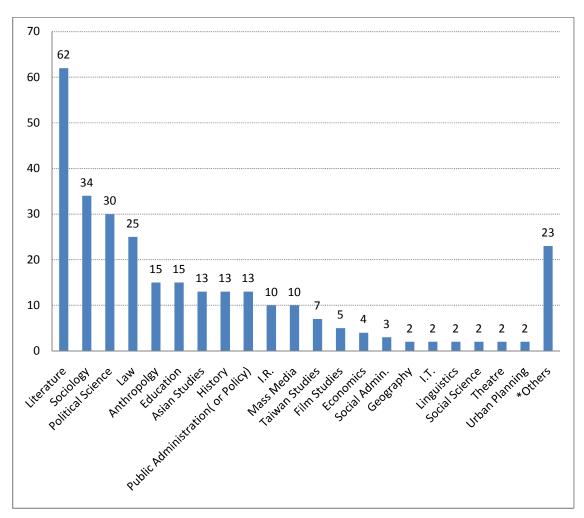


Figure 4 Sums of Papers in Each Discipline

Korea Studies, Labor, Land Administration, Management, Material Science, Medicine, Philosophy, Science History, Statistics, and Creative Writing.

^{**} Papers cannot be specified as a certain category.

	Disciplines	2008	2009	2010	Total
A	Sociology	14	7	13	34
В	Political Science & I.R.	8	17	15	40
С	Literature	19	20	23	62
D	History	4	3	6	13
Е	Anthropology & Ethnology	5	6	5	16
F	Mass Media & Film Studies	1	8	6	15
G	Law	9	8	8	25
Н	Asian Studies & Taiwan Studies	9	7	4	20

Table 7 Breakdown of Eight Major Disciplines, 2008-2010

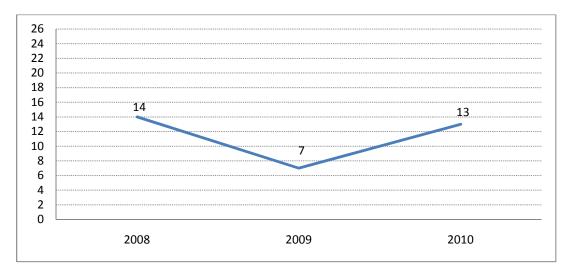
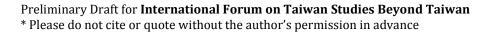
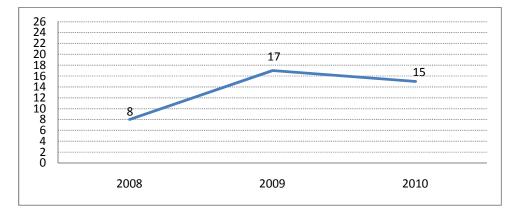


Figure 6-1 Sociology







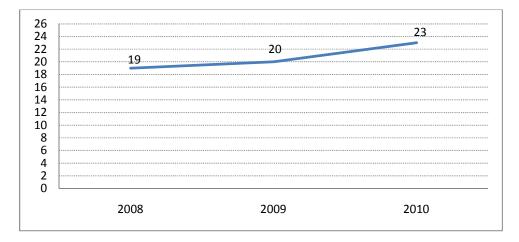


Figure 6-3 Literature

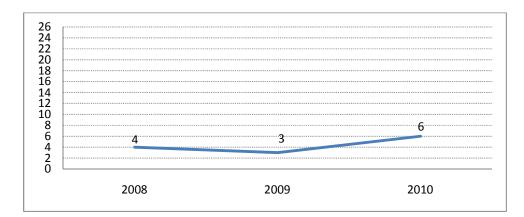


Figure 6-4 History

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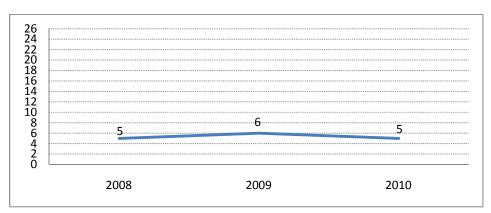


Figure 6-5 Anthropology & Ethnology

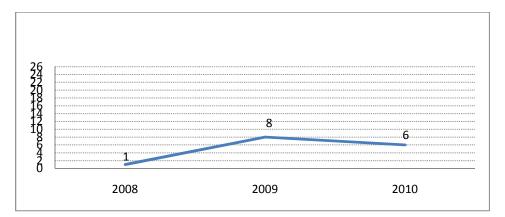


Figure 6-6 Media & Film Studies

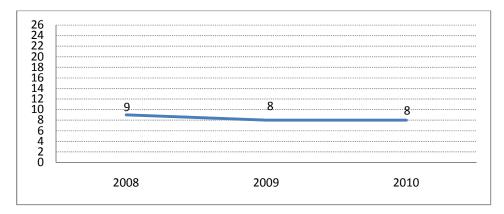
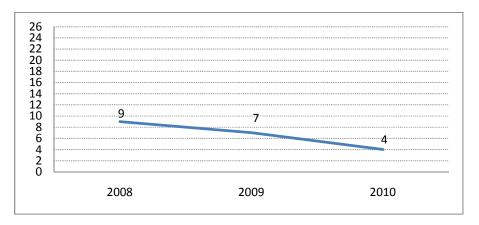
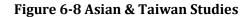


Figure 6-7 Law

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Subcategories	2008	2009	2010	Total
Literature(Chinese)	2	4	2	8
Literature(Taiwan)	8	2	10	20
Literature(English)	3	3	3	9
Literature(Comparative)	2	4	1	7
Literature(Foreign)	1	3	4	8
Literature (In General)	3	4	3	10

Table 8 Breakdown of Literature in Each Year

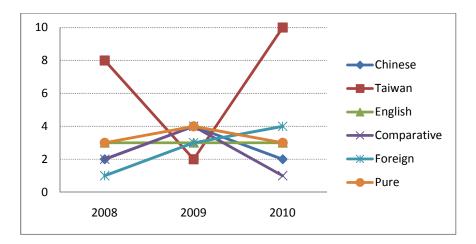


Figure 7 Tendency of Subcategories in Literature

Year	Conference Themes
2000	Taiwan 2000: Envisioning a Pluralistic Future
2001	Seeking Taiwanese Perspectives: Interdisciplinary Reflection and Dialogue
2002	Power, Knowledge Production, and Agency: Towards a Critical Taiwan Studies
2003	Changes, Continuity and Contestations in the Taiwanese Society
2004	Taiwan Studies in Comparative Perspectives
2005	Difference, Democracy, Justice: Toward an Inclusive Taiwanese Society
2006	Crossing the Borders, Fostering the Future: Taiwan Studies in the Intersections
2007	Taiwan in the Nexus of "Empires"
2008	Translating the Political, Re-envisioning the Social: What's the Next Turn for Taiwan?
2009	Locating Taiwan: Space, Culture and Society
2010	China Effect: Securing Taiwan in the Age of Conflicts and Cooperation

Appendix A Conference Themes from 2000

* For minor themes after 2007, please refer to the website of NATSA. (http://www.na-tsa.org/new/)