

**A Critical Survey of
Chinese Journal Articles
on Australian Literature in
China 1979–2016¹**
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According to Ouyang Yu, the earliest introduction of Australian literature in the Chinese language took place in 1906, five years after the Federation of Australia (65). In more than a century since then, Australian literature, transplanted and transcribed, has taken a life of its own in China, with ‘Chinese characteristics’², following a trajectory that manifests not only its development in Australia, but also, and perhaps more importantly, the social, economic and cultural environs in China.

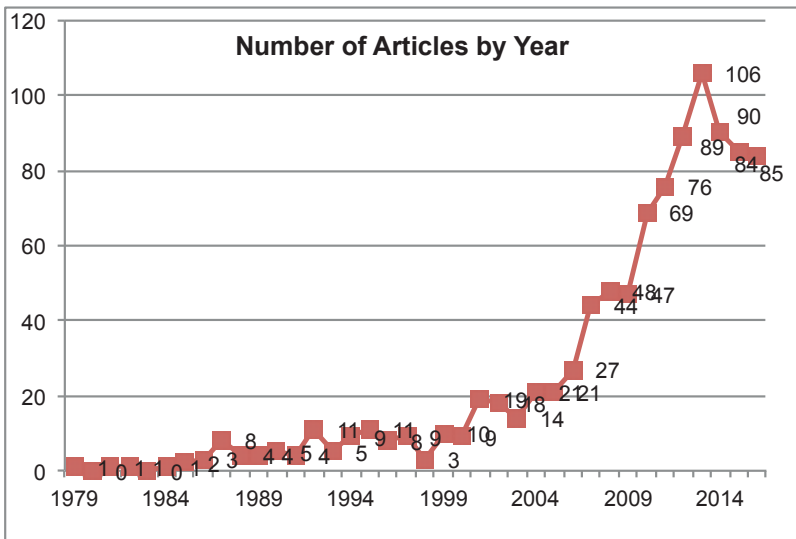
A few academics have outlined, from different perspectives, the trajectory of ‘this hard-won success’ (Wang Guanglin 51), marking out leading figures such as Sydney University’s Gang of Nine, later founding directors of leading Australian Studies Centres in China, as well as major events such as the establishment of the National Association of Australian Studies in China (NAASC). It is generally agreed that national-level interest in Australian literary studies began in the early 1980s, and that out of this interest grew Australian studies in other fields, which began nationally more than a decade later.

Instead of offering another historical overview, this paper aims to define some of the ‘Chinese characteristics’, via a quantitative study of the academic articles on Australian literature published in Chinese academic journals from 1979 through 2016, using CNKI’s China Academic Journal Network Publishing Database (CAJD) (cnki.net) as the major source and tool, and Cqvip (cqvip.com) and Wangfang (wangfangdata.com.cn) as supplementary ones³.

A broad, full-text search of ‘Australia’ and ‘literature’ in the databases yielded around 1500 articles in total (with duplicate articles from different databases removed), which are then skimmed through. Small introductory pieces, prefaces, short editorials, articles (often on Australian history,

culture or education) that mention Australian literature only in passing, and translated critical works of non-Chinese authors are all hand-picked and excluded from this study, along with a few totally unrelated stray pieces that somehow got into the net. The final valid data consists of 967 academic articles, which are then built into a small, searchable database, including author, institution affiliated, key words, abstracts, and most important of all, bibliography⁴.

With the efforts of two generations of academics, Australian literary studies in China has achieved commendable outcomes in over three decades, starting with the establishment of the first Oceanic Literary Studies Centre by Professor Ma Zuyi at Anhui University in 1979⁵, and with the ground-breaking work of Sydney University's Gang of Nine, whose foundational influence is still felt today. The number of critical articles published in academic journals has increased from one or two every year in the early 1980s to more than eighty in recent years, indicating the continual growth of scholarly interest as well as academic sophistication and depth.



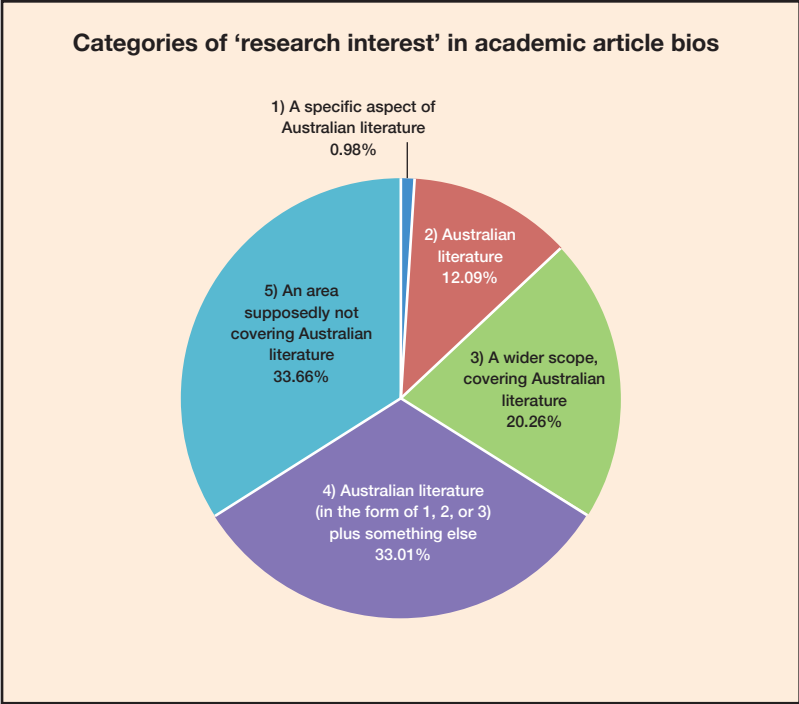
To some extent, growing interest over the decades in the literature of Australia is itself a testimony to the loosening grip of an ideologically-embedded research paradigm that encourages the study of big powers such as the Soviet Union and the United States on the one hand, and of smaller 'weak' nations of the third world. However, the old ambivalence

toward Australia, which somehow falls outside of and therefore threatens the decades-long cold-war dichotomy, still lingers on, as suggested by the results of similar searches regarding other literatures in the CNKI's CAJD database, with the same parameters: the number of articles returned for literatures of the United States, the United Kingdom, Russian literature, French literature and Japanese literature are respectively 35163, 29648, 16058, 15369 and 19679, against 834 for Australian literature, 158 for New Zealand literature, 1277 for Spanish literature, 2160 for Arabic literature and 2021 for Canadian literature. The sway of the nation-state paradigm in literary studies is strong even within the supposedly transnational framework of world literature written in English.

In a society where the value of things is largely measured against their direct contribution to economy, and in an academic community largely dominated by British and American literary scholars, Chinese academics studying Australian literature often find themselves doubly marginalized. The occasional question 'Does Australia have any literature?' is often more upsetting than humorous, because in most cases, it is a genuine question that requires some form of an answer, which, unfortunately, the inquirer is not ready to take seriously. It helps to mention *Schindler's List* (not Tom Keneally), *The Thorn Birds* and maybe Patrick White and Peter Carey. But not Coetzee, who is going to make it worse.

In addition to and probably because of external pressure, anxiety over the legitimacy and desirability of Australian literary studies is palpable within the small, friendly academic circle in China. Among the 967 articles surveyed, 306 have information about the authors' 'research interest'. As shown in the following chart, academics writing on Australian literature tend to define the scope of their research in generally unspecific and ambivalent terms.

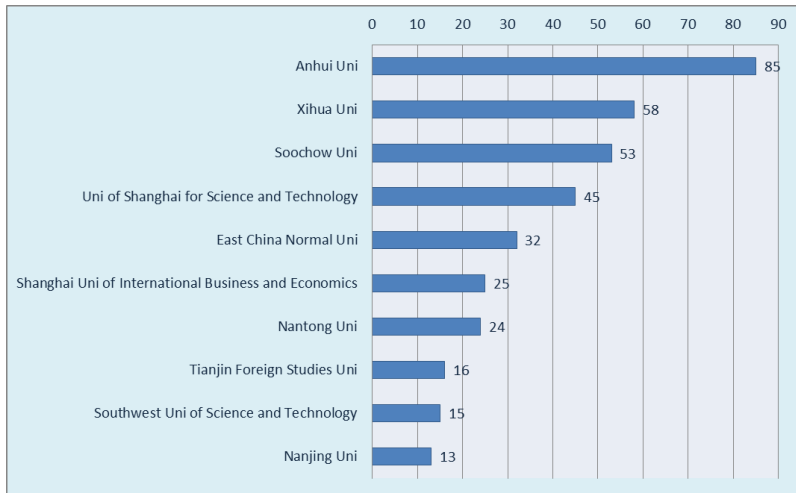
Out of 306 authors, only forty define their research as 'Australian literature' or in a few cases, as a particular aspect of Australian literature, such as 'Australian women's literature' (2) and 'Chinese Australian literature' (1). Some choose to use wider but perhaps less-committed terms that may cover Australian literature, such as 'Oceanic literature', '20th century English literatures', 'postcolonial literatures', 'foreign literatures', 'comparative literature and world literature', 'English-language literature and linguistics', 'foreign literature', 'Western literature' (62). More prefer to 'widen' their scope by adding to Australian literature something else, mainly 'western literary theory', 'cultural studies' or 'translation' (101). A surprisingly high percentage of authors (103) opt for an area of interest that generally doesn't include Australian literature, such as 'British literature' (2), 'American literature' (3), and 'British and



American literature' (69)! While authors writing on British or American literature generally describe their interest, quite accurately, as 'British and American literature', it is uncommon for academics in Australian literature to confine their research to 'Australian literature'. Instead, they tend toward mainstream labels for their research, often at the cost of confusing attentive readers.

This anxiety over the legitimacy of Australian literary studies and over marginalization, though perhaps unstated, has nonetheless very real effects. Many of these 'rarest of academic birds'⁶ choose to take up a more mainstream area of research, in addition to, and often at the expense of, Australian literary studies. The 967 articles surveyed are written by as many as 585 individual authors, with one author publishing 1.65 articles on average, over a period of thirty-seven years. It's safe to argue that the majority of these authors have turned to something else, after publishing one or two articles on Australian literature. With such a great number of 'touch-and-go' academics, we have enough reason not to be optimistic about the sustainability and expansion of Australian literary studies

in China. In nearly four decades, the bulk of research on Australian literature seems to be concentrated in a dozen institutions, often with longstanding Australian Studies Centres and staunch members. The leading institutions and the number of their academic articles are as follows:



Among the 585 authors, only thirty-two published five articles or more, with Chen Zhengfa of Anhui University (18), Ye Shengnian of University of Shanghai for Science and Technology (15), Wang Labao of Soochow University (14) and Peng Qinglong of Shanghai Jiao Tong University (13) topping the list⁷. However, with perhaps two or three exceptions, all leading scholars in Australian literary studies in China have other ‘research interests’, in British and American literature, literary theory, linguistics and second language teaching, and often with considerable achievements as well.

Some journals seem to be more inclined toward Australia-related work than others. During the time span of this survey, fifty-two articles were published by *Contemporary Foreign Literature*, a journal based in Nanjing University, where an Australian Studies Centre was established in 1991. Thirty-four articles were published in *Foreign Literature*, a journal based in Beijing Foreign Studies University, where one of the earliest Australian Studies Centres was founded by Professor Hu Wenzhong in 1983. Playing a major role in the early years of China’s Australian studies, the journal also published interviews, translations of Australian

literature and translations of critical articles by Australian academics, along with creative essays on Australian literature and correspondences between Professor Hu and Patrick White. The Australian Studies Centre of Xihua University was founded in 2007, and the University's Journal has published a total of forty-four articles on Australian literature since then, which is a commendable achievement since it's always hard for Australian literature to gain ground in China's university journals, which generally cover all fields of social sciences, arts and humanities. A similar case can be made for *Journal of Anhui University* (17), where the very first Australian Studies Centre was founded by Professor Ma Zuyi in 1979. Australia-related material published by *Foreign Literature* and *Journal of Anhui University*, including translations and critical articles by first-generation Australian literature academics in China and the translated articles by Australian critics such as Brian Kiernan, Leonie Kramer, Judith Wright, David Martin and Nicholas Jose, were vital in the first decade of Australian literary studies.

For many authors of the articles surveyed, interest in Australian literature seems cursory; however, for those who do stay and build part of their academic career on Australian literary studies, their interest in certain subjects and authors proves long-lasting. As a result, the subjects of the articles are not as diverse as they seem at first glance. Of the 967 articles, 149 list Colleen McCullough in their key words, with 137 on *The Thorn Birds* and 12 on *The Touch*. Interestingly, nearly fifty of the authors come from the Chinese department⁸, who either use a feminist approach to analyse the female characters in *The Thorn Birds*, or compare the female protagonist with that in *Jane Eyre* or *The Scarlet Letter*. The monotony here might be interpreted as the result of cursory interest and probably of academic expediency too.

Besides Colleen McCullough studies, which I consider a very special case, the most studied Australian writers are: Patrick White (80), Peter Carey (54), Henry Lawson (44), J. M. Coetzee (30), Tim Winton (30), Elizabeth Jolley (27), Brian Castro (25), Alex Miller (23), Helen Garner (23), Judith Wright (21), Miles Franklin (20), Kate Grenville (19), Thomas Keneally (18), David Malouf (15), Nicholas Jose (13), Katharine Susannah Prichard (11), Christina Stead (11), Alexis Wright (10), Sally Morgan (9) and Frank Moorhouse (9).

The most studied works largely correspond to the list of writers, with *The Thorn Birds* (137) topping the list by a wide margin. Following: 'The Drover's Wife' (22), *My Brilliant Career* (18), *Oscar and Lucinda* (17), *The Ancestor Game* (16), *Voss* (14), *True History of The Kelly Gang* (14), *The Tree of Man* (13), *The Eye of the Storm* (12), *Coonardoo* (11), *The Well* (9),

My Place (9), *Birds of Passage* (9), *The Man Who Loved Children* (8) and *The Secret River* (7).

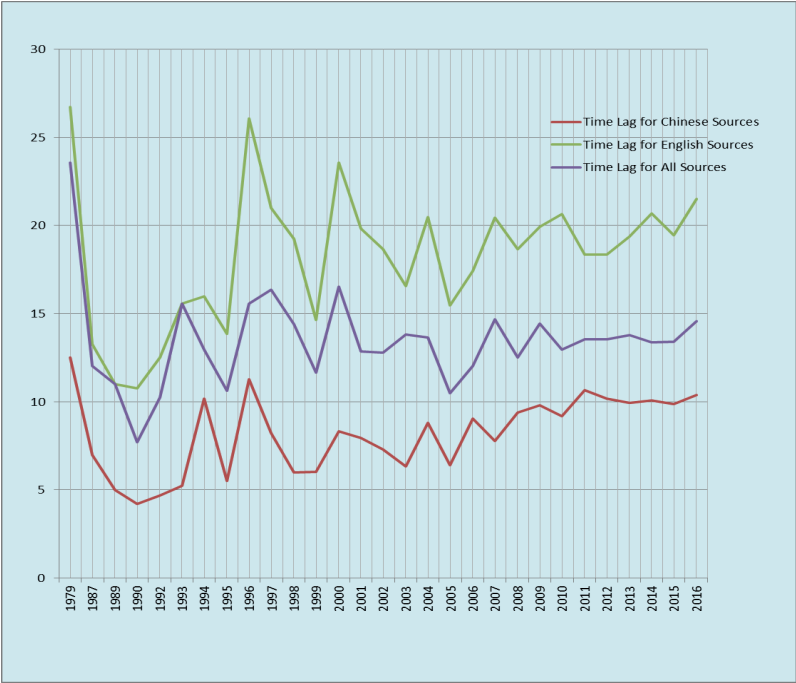
Both lists reveal that the pioneering work in the first decade of Australian studies in China is highly influential even today. In 1978, the People's Publishing House published a collection of twelve Lawson stories. In the years when Australia-related material (or any material) was scarce, the collection was for many the only thing they could get on Australian literature. Professor Hu Wenzhong, Professor Li Yao and Professor Zhu Jiongqiang visited Patrick White at 20 Martin Road at different times, and started studying and translating his novels in the early 1980s. Lawson and White have remained at the centre of Australian literary studies in China ever since. In addition to the early introductions, this is partly due to the widespread and generally accepted viewpoint of Professor Huang Yuanshen, who wrote profusely on both writers in his *A History of Australian Literature*, in which the Lawsonian realism and the Whitean modernism were used to frame the understanding of a large part of Australian literary history.

The two lists, if contextualized, also reveal the importance of available teaching and research material in China. In the early years, with very few English books and no Internet, the major sources were anthologies (in English) compiled and published in China, along with Chinese translations of Australian writing. In the thirty-seven years surveyed, six English anthologies compiled by Chinese academics were published: *Selected Readings in Australian Literature* (Huang Yuanshen, 1986/1997), *Selected Readings in Oceania Literature* (Chen Zhengfa, 2000/2006), *Australian Literature: Themes and Selected Readings* (Su Yong, 2004), *A Selection of Australian Short Stories* (Hu Wenzhong, 1983), *Anthology of Australian Literature* (Hao Zhenyi et al., 1989) and *Selected English Short Stories: Australia* (Zhang Min, 2007). Except perhaps Coetzee and Grenville who came to Chinese academic attention much later, writers and works on the above lists feature heavily in all the anthologies, especially the first three, which were historic and panoramic in selection and were obviously intended for teaching purposes. The anthologies were essential textbooks for undergraduate courses and for the dozen MA programs in Australian literature. Out of those courses and programs came a new generation of academics who continued their teaching and research in Australian literature, probably with memories of the majors authors whose works they had read, discussed and written about in school. Despite more people travelling on exchanges and better access to printed and digital books from abroad since late 1990s, some of the textbook anthologies remain important: Huang Yuanshen's *Readings* is directly quoted seventeen

times, nine after 2000; Chen Zhengfa's *Oceania Literature* is quoted nine times since its publication in 2000 and Su Yong's *Themes* is quoted twelve times, all after 2006. Direct quotes from compiled anthologies instead of the original work being studied somehow remind us that even in the 21st century Australian literature is not easily available to some academics in China, and probably even less so to the general public.

The other source of material in the early years was Chinese translations of Australian works. Except the poet Judith Wright and the novelist Helen Garner, all the 'most studied' writers are also 'most translated'. The earliest was Henry Lawson's twelve stories published in 1978. Patrick White's major works were all translated and published in Chinese, along with *Flaws in the Glass* and a condensed version of David Marr's biography. Except *Coonardoo*, all the 'most studied' works were translated and published in China. *The Thorn Birds* has nine Chinese editions (since 1983) and one English edition, and *My Brilliant Career*, *Voss*, *A Fringe of Leaves*, *The Tree of Man*, *The Eye of the Storm*, *Oscar and Lucinda*, and *The Man Who Loved Children* were all reprinted in the new century.⁹ A statistical survey of the articles shows that these English anthologies and Chinese translations are frequently listed in the references.

Publication time of the works referenced by these articles also points to the importance of accessing updated material. Of the 967 articles surveyed, only 851 have proper bibliographical information, in different forms and formats, which can be extracted for statistical analysis. On average, each article cites 7.60 works, 3.90 in Chinese and 3.74 in English. This suggests a generally meagre source of reference material, though some have as many as forty-three items in the bibliography. The updated-ness of the works referenced is quantified by the difference between the article publication year and the average time of publication of all the sources listed. The average time difference of the 851 articles is 13.467 years, (meaning that an average article cites sources that are published 13.467 years ago). The analysis shows a marked difference between Chinese and English sources. Of the 851 articles, ninety-five have only English references, while 255 cite only Chinese sources, an unreasonably high percentage (about 30%) for articles discussing a literature in English. The average time lag (between article publication year and the average publication year of sources listed) for Chinese references is 9.48 years, while that for English references is 19.24 years. This means an average author uses Chinese references published 9.48 years ago and English references published 19.24 years ago, showing that up-to-date English sources are noticeably less available than Chinese ones. However, if we break the time lag into yearly averages, we get the following chart¹⁰:



Considering the irregularities in the early decades when some academics could have far better, perhaps ‘accidental’, access to works in English, we can conclude that more equal access to sources is achieved in recent years. Another conclusion we can make is that Chinese works are always more accessible and more updated than English ones. However, perhaps contrary to our expectations, the chart shows no downward trend. Despite increasing popularity of the Internet and growing overseas visits, the time lags remain largely stable since 2000. One possible explanation I can venture is that while the Internet might have increased Chinese access to online sources, mainly journal articles and reviews, it hasn’t helped much with books, printed or electronic. The overall effect of the Internet has not been significant, because citations from journals or newspaper reviews, albeit more available now, are only a small part of the sources referenced by Chinese academics. Of the total 3155 English sources cited, those from journals and newspapers take up about only one sixth, no more than 500 in total, the rest being book-form sources. The most-cited journals and newspapers are as follows. The fact that JASAL, which is freely available on the Web (without subscription to

any database), doesn't top the list because of its availability somehow supports the assumption that Chinese academics may generally prioritize books over journal articles. However, this statement can't be made unless with large-scale personal survey.

<i>Australian Literary Studies</i>	77
<i>Meanjin</i>	39
<i>Australian Book Review</i>	33
<i>Westerly</i>	28
<i>Southerly</i>	27
<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	25
<i>Antipodes</i>	23
<i>The Age</i>	22
<i>Quadrant</i>	19
<i>Overland</i>	17
<i>New York Times Book Review</i>	16
<i>JASAL</i>	15
<i>Guardian</i>	11
<i>Kunapipi</i>	9
<i>The Australian</i>	9
<i>Island</i>	9
<i>World Literature Today</i>	9

Bibliographical analysis shows that in the thirty-seven years surveyed, various Australian literary histories, published in a span of half a century, remain at the top of the list of most cited single works. Huang Yuanshen's *A History of Australian Literature* (1997, simplified edition co-authored with Peng Qinglong 2006, revised edition 2014), the only history of Australian literature in Chinese, tops the list of histories, with 151 citations. It is the only one on the list that was written by a single author, a practice quite common in China but very rare in Australia. The list is followed by Elizabeth Webby's *The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature* (34), published in China in 2003 in English and therefore easily available to Chinese academics; *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* (28), edited by William H. Wilde, Joy Hooton and Barry Andrews; *The Literature of Australia* (24), by Geoffrey Dutton; *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia* (22), edited by Laurie Hergenhan; *The Oxford Literary*

History of Australia (20), edited by Bruce Bennett and Jennifer Strauss; *A History of Australian Literature: Pure and Applied* (14), by H. M. Green; *The Oxford History of Australian Literature* (13), edited by Leonie Kramer; *A History of Australian Literature* (11) by Ken Goodwin; and *The Cambridge History of Australian Literature* (6), edited by Peter Pierce. Some think Leonie Kramer's work has had an undue influence among Chinese academics because she taught the Gang of Nine at Sydney University¹¹, but the list of most cited histories showed otherwise. Except those by Pierce and Webby, the histories on the list were quite 'old'. Their tenacious presence in the articles may be partly explained by the fact that many Chinese academics begin their arguments with a brief introduction to the status of the writer in literary history. Perhaps highlighting the historical importance of a particular writer may add legitimacy to their research in a marginalized discipline.

The other type of works often cited in the articles is, quite expectedly, literary theory. Edward Said's works, in its various versions, are cited forty-three times, topping the list of theory. *The Empire Writes Back* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, and Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* feature prominently in the articles, as well as Graham Huggan's *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism*, suggesting a strong 'postcolonial' reading among Chinese academics. Along with works by Chinese postcolonial theorists such as Luo Gang and Zhang Jingyuan, two translated books, Elleke Boehmer's *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (translated by Sheng Ning) and B. M. Gilbert's *Postcolonial Theory* (translated by Yang Naiqiao) are also among the most cited single works. The other prominent theoretical perspective is feminist or postfeminist reading. Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* is cited thirty-one times and Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, though published in 1929, is directly quoted by thirteen, followed by the works of Germaine Greer, Carole Ferrier's *Gender, Politics and Fiction: Australian Women's Novels* and Kay Schaffer's *Women and the Bush*. Li Yinhe, a sociologist and sexologist at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, is the only local feminist theorist on the list. The popularity of feminist approaches to literature is confirmed by 'key word' survey, which shows a strong and still growing interest in major woman writers, especially Helen Garner. The predominance of these two approaches, certainly a progress from 'the loss of a usable critical perspective' (Wang Labao 128), nonetheless presents its own problems, monotony and repetitiveness being not the least of them.

Of all the authors referenced, Professor Huang Yuanshen (of East China Normal University and later Shanghai University of International Business and Economics) remains at the very top of the list, with 232

citations, ahead of the rest by a wide margin, as shown in the following table of the top twenty most cited academics, regardless of nationality or language of their works¹². I'm rendering a long list to allow for a broad picture of what has shaped the thinking and scholarship of Chinese academics on Australian literature in the past four decades. Among the forty or so Australian Studies Centres, works by academics from East China Normal University and Soochow University top the list of the most cited works on Australian literary studies in China.

Huang Yuanshen	232
Edward Said	43
Geoffrey Dutton	38
Hu Wenzhong	38
Peng Qinglong	37
Elizabeth Webby	36
Simone de Beauvoir	31
Bill Ashcroft	31
William H. Wilde	28
Wang Labao	28
Laurie Hergenhan	26
Bruce Bennett	26
Chen Zhengfa	24
Michel Foucault	24
Leonie Kramer	22
H.M. Green	22
Brian Kiernan	21
Sigmund Freud	20
Stuart Hall	19
Homi Bhabha	16

The last two findings, or rather two absences, are particularly noteworthy. Firstly, a particular group of Australian writers, those of Chinese heritage writing in Chinese rather than in English, somehow fall out of the radar and are therefore understudied. In Australia, they haven't been given the attention they deserve, though academics like Wenche Ommundsen have noticed the issue (83–89). In China, studies of these

writers are on the margin of the marginalized Australian literary studies. Besides the research of Qian Chaoying of Shenzhen University, the only Chinese who studies Australian Chinese writing in Chinese as part of his career, the few sporadic articles about them were written by the Chinese Australian writers themselves (notably Zhuang Weijie) and published in China. The second ‘unfortunate’ finding is that transnationality is largely absent, in both theory and practice, in Australian literary studies in China. Comparative studies are few, even within the national paradigm, excepting several articles that compare Peter Carey with Charles Dickens, or *The Thorn Birds* with *The Scarlet Letter*. Cross-border literary connections, in terms of literary traditions, global publishing and book market, and international mobility of writers themselves, are seldom explored, though continental and American theories are often used to interpret Australian works. Few foreign academics other than Australian have published their work in China. The only cases I know in this survey include a Slovenian academic publishing an English essay on Frank Hardy and a Korean pursuing a PhD in China publishing a Chinese essay on Chinese Australian writing. International collaborations in academic projects are few and Australian literary studies in languages other than English and Chinese are as good as non-existent. The two issues regarding the studies of Australian literature are confronting Chinese academics, but I guess to some extent they are issues for our Australian counterparts as well. Despite all the ‘trans-’ talk, barriers remain high between disciplines, cultures, nations and languages.

During the thirty-seven years surveyed, commendable achievements were made in Australian literary studies in China. However, as the survey shows, the anxiety over legitimacy of Australian literature studies is still palpable, in the ways researchers describe their own ‘research interest’, in the large number of academics who chose to leave Australian literature for a more mainstream area, and in the concentration of Australian studies efforts in a few Australian Studies Centres, academic journals and leading scholars. While the survey confirms the importance of available teaching and research material in China, especially in the pioneering years, analysis of the bibliographical information of the articles surveyed shows that the Internet and growing overseas visits have not contributed significantly to the up-datedness of research material. Despite the hard-won success of Australian literary studies in China, the findings of the survey point toward a future with no assured sustainability, diversity or growth, a future that calls for greater academic efforts and more effective support and promotion.

Notes

- 1 This study is subsidized by the Chinese Ministry of Education (grant number 15YJC752050) and kindly supported by Curtin University's China Australia Writing Centre (CAWC). Part of the data was collected by Zhang Zhihua and Liu Jinlong, postgraduate students at Shanghai University of International Business and Economics. To them, I offer my gratitude.
- 2 Nicholas Jose (3) first used this Chinese catchphrase, quite properly, to describe the development of Australian studies in China.
- 3 These are the major journal article databases in China. Developed and maintained by Tsinghua University, CNKI's CAJD is the largest academic journal database in China, with about 8000 journals (since 1915), and 490 million full-text articles, covering all fields of natural and social sciences, and humanities and arts.
- 4 There was no required format for academic articles before 1990s. Articles published before that time usually don't have abstracts, key words, author's bio, or most vexingly for this research, bibliographies. Quoted sources in English were translated into Chinese, often with omissions of publisher information or even year of publication. They have to be verified one by one. The current format for publication in China often requires titles, keywords and abstracts in both English and Chinese, and a full bibliography, along with an author's bio, which generally consists of name, professional title, gender, place of birth, institution affiliated, research interest and major works.
- 5 For details about the establishment of the first ASC in China, see Ma Zuyi, Li Shijing and Wang Jiantang (121–124).
- 6 Geordie Williamson (2016) uses this phrase to describe Nicholas Birns, 'an American scholar with a special interest in Australian writing'.
- 7 Professor Huang Yuanshen of East China Normal University and Professor Hu Wenzhong of Beijing Foreign Studies University, both from the 'Gang of Nine', have written extensively on Australian literature, but most of their articles were published in book form.
- 8 Academics studying foreign literatures in China generally come from two backgrounds, those from the foreign languages school, and those from the 'comparative literature and world literature' program of the Chinese school. However, it's very rare to come across an academic of 'Chinese' background with serious interest in Australian literature.
- 9 For a detailed survey on Chinese translation of Australian literature, see Chen Hong (129–134) and Peng Qinglong (24–28).
- 10 A few years in which there were either no Chinese sources or English ones are excluded in the data for this chart.
- 11 For instance, Wang Labao (2000), one of the most devoted Chinese scholars to Oz lit, argued, after surveying fifty or so essays, that Kramer's Oxford History 'was regarded as something of a "Bible"' (128). This is not true (or no longer so after 2000), at least in terms of citations by academic articles in China. Wang found that Chinese academics relied too heavily on Australian literary histories because they didn't have a theoretical perspective. I agree with his identification of the problem but am not entirely convinced of his explanation of its reasons. Their citation of Australian histories is not a bow to foreign authorities, but an acknowledgement of the long Chinese tradition of historicizing writers and works, in addition to a careful weighing of national situations of the time, when few Chinese were

acquainted with Australian literature. Biographical studies, close reading, and socio-political approaches to literature, 'theories' that many used in the 1980s, were easily and often hastily dismissed later when critical theories were used or misused, with much hubris but little scepticism.

- 12 The table shows academics whose works are quoted by the 851 journal articles (with proper bibliography) published in China in this survey, not including citations by PhD or MA degree dissertations.

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