China’s Cities: Divisions and Plans

ISS Collaborative Project Proposal
29 February 2016

Team Members:

Jeremy Wallace (Team Leader)
Associate Professor, Government [wallace@cornell.edu]

Panle Barwick
Associate Professor, Economics [pjb298@cornell.edu]

Eli Friedman
Assistant Professor, International and Comparative Labor [edf48@cornell.edu]

Shanjun Li
Associate Professor, Applied Economics and Management [sl2448@cornell.edu]

Jessica Weiss
Associate Professor, Government [jcw335@cornell.edu]
China’s cities are home to one in ten human beings. During the past decade, nearly 200 million people in China have migrated from rural to urban areas. Eight million more—the equivalent of New York City—are expected to join them every year until 2050. Rapid urbanization has brought about improvement in living standards as well as huge social challenges. The Chinese government has been carefully managing the process as urbanization plays a central role in efforts to shift to a more socially equitable, economically sustainable, and environmentally sound model of development. But realizing these aims will require innovation on an absolutely unprecedented scale. Policy and governance challenges abound, in areas including pollution, transportation, housing, and education, among others.

In our ISS Collaborative Project, we propose research that delves below the surface to understand the economic, political, and social phenomena at play in China’s urbanization. While many scholars in different disciplines have studied China’s cities, the interdisciplinary expertise of our team makes for the possibility of both policy impacts and academic breakthroughs in answering important questions. Will China’s urbanization reduce inequality or reinforce internal cleavages amid rising nativism and nationalism? What environmental and health consequences does this urban growth pose for the residents of these cities?

Decisions that will remake China’s cities are happening now, and our project holds the promise of research that can generate knowledge and improve these decisions. At the same time, the project represents an investment in building the infrastructure needed to turn Cornell into a leader in social science research on China, bridging gaps and forging connections between different institutions and communities on campus and in China.
Collaboration

Understanding the changing political economy of China’s cities requires attention to both the individual details and the overall context. Our collaboration draws together experts across disciplines and departments—sociology, economics, and political science—using in-depth field work, big data analytics, and experimental methods. This prior expertise allows us to hit the ground running, while the grant would allow us to embark upon new joint research and writing. By putting researchers with different questions and perspectives together, the grant will foster ties, improve our existing projects, and generate productive collaborations among faculty and graduate students across campus. Our research can be seen as falling into two themes—divisions and plans—with the first theme building on the research agendas of Friedman and Weiss, and the second building on the research agendas of Barick, Li, and Wallace. Yet our proposed research includes broader collaborations making connections across these themes. The project also provides an opportunity to build on Cornell’s existing institutions—Cornell Institute for China Economic Research, Cornell Contemporary China Initiative, and China and Asia-Pacific Studies—to become a recognized leader in social science research on China.

Research Program

Legacies of social divisions and economic plans from the socialist period persist in the face of China’s tremendous economic dynamism. Levers of state control—over what land is developed, who has access to urban social services, which sectors and companies receive loans, and more—shape China’s cities and the lives of their 750 million inhabitants. Yet increasingly the state at different levels is finding these old levers inadequate to address the new problems caused by development—congestion, pollution, corruption, and inequality.
The team believes that, with support, this collaboration will improve both the scope and depth of our research and build Cornell into a base for social science on China. Our proposed research program can be separated into two themes: divisions and plans.

1) Divisions

Although the communist name remains, Chinese society under the Communist Party has become increasingly marked by inequality, internal divisions, and anti-foreign nationalism (Friedman, 2014; Wallace, 2014; Weiss, 2014). Our first theme explores these divisions, especially those related to the place of migrants in China’s urbanization. The move from countryside to city is a traditional one in developing countries and is generally associated with improved economic circumstances for those willing to make the journey. Yet while migrants live in the cities of China, they are not of those cities and face substantial barriers that prevent access to social services, especially education. Chinese migrant workers’ inclusion in Chinese cities is highly segmented: they are formally included in urban labor markets via contract labor, but at the cost of forsaking their rights to subsidized social reproduction.

From the perspective of urban natives, migrants remain an “other,” separate from the local population. Much of China’s foreign policy rhetoric is nationalist and demonizes foreign actors. Do nationalist appeals increase domestic unity—reducing individual perceptions of internal divisions? Or do they exacerbate antagonisms toward different varieties of “other,” including internal migrants and ethnic minorities? As many Chinese cities move away from or relax formal policies that exclude rural-to-urban migrants, how have these changes affected local-migrant relations and nationalist sentiments? These questions are more than academic, as the 2012 anti-Japan demonstrations in over 200 Chinese cities were the largest protest events in the country
since the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations. Our prior research has shown that cities with more migrants were more likely to have protests and to have them earlier in the protest wave (Wallace & Weiss, 2015), but questions remain as to the consequences—for development, investment, political promotions, and migrant-native relations—in these cities.

Four new collaborative projects will enable us to dig deeper to answer these questions. First, Weiss and Wallace propose to utilize an experiment embedded in a public opinion survey planned for year one of the project to investigate how different nationalist messages shape attitudes towards migrants and other perceived “outsiders” in China. Playing up a sense of external threat has long been regarded as a useful tactic for quashing internal discord, rallying “us” against “them” and increasing domestic cohesion. A heightened sense of external threat or victimization by foreign aggression may also increase support for authoritarianism, even in a democratic context like the United States. On the other hand, the effects of an increased preference for authoritarianism born of a heightened sense of threat and insecurity may also breed intolerance toward others, fostering a selfish unity and withdrawal into ever smaller concentric circles of society, heightening the sense that the metaphorical drawbridge must be raised to protect those inside the keep, walling out the huddled masses in the street. This study will therefore draw links between China’s foreign relations and internal social divisions that may be sharpened during a period of mass rural to urban migration.

The advantage of utilizing a survey experiment is that we can assign treatment conditions at random, enabling us to isolate the effect of different tropes and elements of nationalist propaganda that are often deployed together in the “real world,” such as the effect of messages that prime “victimization” by foreign powers versus those that prime “victory” in overcoming
past challenges. Randomization also helps mitigate problems of selection and endogeneity inherent in observational data. We will field the survey experiment through Qualtrics, a reputable survey firm with local partners in China.

Second, using different methods and data, Friedman and Weiss propose to investigate how internal migrants relate to and are affected by state-led and grassroots expressions of nationalism. How does exposure to patriotic education differ across urban and migrant schools, and how are these materials read and understood by children who are “of” and “not of” the city? What motivates some migrants but not others to participate in displays of patriotism, such as anti-foreign protests? News coverage of the 2012 anti-Japanese protests in Shenzhen suggested that migrant workers utilized nationalism as a means of venting labor-related grievances. But other commentators have suggested that nationalism may provide an important venue for internal migrants to demonstrate their “belonging” to the nation. We plan to collect and compare patriotic education curricula materials in migrant and urban schools in Guangzhou and Shenzhen and to conduct interviews with migrant workers. The open-ended interviews will seek to elicit these workers’ views on patriotic education and public participation in nationalist demonstrations, particularly the 2012 anti-Japanese protests, asking about their motivations for participating or not participating in the demonstrations.

Third, a related set of papers will investigate the consequences of urban unrest on consumer behavior, firm investment, and the political careers of city officials. Barwick, Friedman, Li, Wallace, and Weiss will analyze the impact of labor strikes and anti-foreign protest on consumer purchases of Japanese automobiles, utilizing data on labor strikes (Friedman), firm and consumer behavior (Barwick and Li), and data on the 2012 anti-Japan protests provoked by territorial
dispute over islands in the East China Sea (Wallace and Weiss). Wallace and Weiss (together with a PhD student in Government, Kevin Foley) will also analyze the consequences of anti-foreign protest for the promotion and demotion patterns of Chinese officials.

Finally, Friedman and Wallace will initiate a project asking the following question: among rural to urban migrants, who gets access to which social services and why? Migrants no longer face the categorical exclusion of years past, but are still not guaranteed services such as education, healthcare, and public housing, and can face difficulty in accessing pensions and lines of credit. As the government intends to move 100 million people from the countryside to the cities between 2014 and 2020, it is of utmost academic and practical importance to assess the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, to chart variation based on region and city size, and to gauge how these dynamics shift over time. Existing census and survey data will help us in identifying broad patterns, while new qualitative research will help us get at the concrete bureaucratic and social processes whereby migrants are included or excluded from social services in the city. In a sense, this project aims to combine our concerns with divisions and plans, as the government’s highly scripted urbanization plan will inevitably bump up against deeply entrenched forms of inequality.

(2) Plans

While China’s economy is increasingly market-based, plans and planning remain critical to understanding its contours and how they interact with urbanization. The second theme of our research program explores the economic, environmental, and health consequences of various national and local economic and urbanization plans, employing large scale data sets.
Our first project aims to examine the environmental challenges facing China’s cities today. It is well documented that China’s impressive growth and urbanization in the past several decades have come at a tremendous environmental cost. To address these issues, China has implemented various environmental policies, including control zones for acid rain and SO2 (in place since 1998), pollution taxes (in place since 2003), various policies enacted during the Five-Year Plans (e.g., closure of dirty establishments), and the Environmental Protection Law (in place since 2015). How effective are these policies? How are they implemented? How do they interact with other policies, most crucially industrial policy, in shaping firm behavior and economic growth?

To answer these questions, Barwick and Li plan to compile several large data sets from various sources that include: a) major environmental policies since the 1980s, b) provincial five-year plans and national five-year plans from 1990 onward, c) air quality data (PM2.5, SO2, etc.) from all monitoring stations from 2000 onward, d) water quality data from monitoring stations along major rivers since 2002, e) annual manufacturing surveys that cover all firms with revenues above $800k from 1998 to 2013 as well as the Economic Censuses from 2004 and 2008, f) confidential input and output data at the plant (facility) level for all power plants since 2003, g) county level mortality measures for 52 most common diseases in 1970, 1990, and 2010, and h) various household surveys. These data will be integrated with additional geographic data from the 2000 and 2010 Population Censuses and remote sensing data (nighttime lights, remote sensing imagery) that Wallace has used previously.

Once merged, these data sets allow us to systematically document changes in environmental quality in Chinese cities for the past couple of decades, how industrial activities have contributed to the environmental degradation, and how individual health outcomes are affected as a
consequence. In addition, by relating environmental quality measures with policies in place, we plan to analyze whether and to what extent environmental policies are effective.

One key challenge in conducting these analyses is endogeneity. For example, to evaluate the effectiveness of environmental policies, we need to confront non-random policy creation and implementation. Regions with a strong governance culture and more abundant human capital are likely more environmentally conscious and have better enforcement of environmental policy. These same factors also affect economic growth and pollution emissions. We plan to exploit policy discontinuities in geographically contiguous areas and use diff-in-diff analysis to get causal estimates of how regional environmental policies affect pollution emissions and economic growth. Similarly, to evaluate how pollution affects health outcomes, we need to address the challenge that richer places have more pollution (more industrial activities), yet richer places also have better hospitals and greater resources to treat diseases. We plan to construct instrumental variables based on the economic conditions of the exporting destination countries that could affect local pollution but should be orthogonal to local public health infrastructure.

A second project plans to use big data to evaluate policies targeted at two other pressing concerns brought about by rapid urbanization and increase in vehicle ownership: traffic congestion and air pollution. One policy tool is large-scale investment in urban transportation infrastructure such as subways. Between 2002 and 2015, 16 new lines were built in Beijing alone, with a total investment amounting to 300 billion yuan ($47 billion). Beijing’s 552-kilometer subway network is now the second longest subway system in the world and the busiest by annual ridership. In the rest of the country, 87 subway systems totaling 3100 km were built in 25 cities from 2009 to 2015. With a construction cost of 1 billion yuan per km in major cities,
these large scale investments pose many important questions: do they help curb fast increasing vehicle ownership, provide relief in congestion, and reduce air pollution as planned? If so, to what extent? How do they affect local residents’ commuting patterns? How do these subways affect local economic activities—including land use and urban expansion—more broadly?

Our analysis will be based on several large data sets, including a) detailed GIS information of the subway lines in Beijing and major cities, b) automobile registration information for all vehicles owned by individuals, commercial entities, and nonprofit organizations nation-wide since 2001, c) for Beijing, hourly data on air quality in 18 air quality monitoring stations and hourly traffic volume and speed from 1,958 traffic monitor stations (about 17 million observations per year), and d) information on national housing transactions, including listing prices, transaction prices, housing attributes, and detailed address of each property (which can be matched with the GIS information on subway systems).

This analysis will provide direct evidence on how the subway expansion affects vehicle ownership, traffic congestion, and air quality. In addition, we can quantify the benefit of large-scale infrastructure investments on other economic activities through the housing market using the hedonic approach. The key insight is that benefits of subway construction such as congestion relief should be capitalized in housing prices. By examining changes in housing prices before and after subway construction (while controlling for macroeconomic factors), one can obtain direct monetary measures of the effect of subways on local economic activities.

A final extension of this theme uses Wallace’s geographic data on land use change to examine the manner and extent to which the expansion of subways and other large scale infrastructure projects affects the subsequent urban form of cities. Do cities that welcome the
arrival or expansion of a subway absorb additional space compared with similar cities without such investments? Or are they characterized instead by an intensification in the use of the existing urban land? China’s large number of cities concurrently building and expanding subway systems allows for cross-city comparisons within a given national political context that represents a unique research opportunity.

These descriptions only scratch the surface of the connections between our different research interests, questions, and data. Particularly fruitful will be projects connecting across the two themes. How are planning decisions regarding subway expansions taking into account estimates of in-migration in different cities? Are local level decisions about the positioning of such infrastructure projects different in cities that are more open to incorporating non-local migrants? Or are those cities particularly concerned about being overwhelmed by a deluge of non-locals because of their policy lenience, and are therefore adjusting investment decisions accordingly?

To reduce the coastal-inland divide and promote a more even spatial distribution of growth, the central government has been providing incentives for manufacturing firms to move to China’s interior. Yet, these localities also tend to have lower labor costs and more lax environmental regulations and enforcement. An understanding of how firm location choices interact with migration decisions will help us understand the social and economic dynamics of urbanization in the face of changing industrial geography.

**Year One: Conferences, Collaborations, and Infrastructure**

In June 2016, team members plan to participate in a project we helped to launch, sponsored by the Cornell Contemporary China Initiative in Shenzhen, China. In collaboration with partners at Shenzhen University and the local planning bureau, following a public conference on
urbanization and sustainability, we hope to gain access to a remarkable trove of planning data—blueprints, alternative master plans, oral histories—related to the 30 year history of Shenzhen’s urbanization. Depending on this data’s richness, it is likely to be integrated into our collaborations going forward and serve as a resource for students working with team members.

After this summer conference, we will begin a regular working lunch to ensure that the collaborative project aids our research and to continue fostering connections between team members. In the drafting of this proposal, the team has already met on multiple occasions and had fruitful conversations about shared points of interest. We believe that continued sessions will aid in keeping each other abreast of our individual and collaborative research projects, as well as those of students working on related subjects. Funds for the survey experiment on nationalism and attitudes towards migrants as well as for travel to research sites for data acquisition as described above are also budgeted and planned.

In terms of teaching, to generate interest in the undergraduate population for work on China’s urbanization and political economy, Jeremy Wallace plans to develop and teach a new lecture course, entitled “China’s Next Economy,” in the Fall 2016 semester.

Another major goal of the collaboration’s first year is to develop the infrastructure to house and improve in our capacity to integrate a variety of “big data” structures for combined analyses. Barick, Li, and Wallace have large scale industrial and geographic datasets that require significant processing power to analyze. Similarly, existing survey and census data relate to key questions of population movement and preferences connected to Weiss and Friedman’s work. The project believes that investing in the merging and integration of these data, though involving substantial efforts to due to the different units of analysis, name changes, translation issues,
among others, is likely to yield substantial benefits. Working with GIS trained professionals (i.e. Xu Yuanshuo, a Ph.D. student in City and Regional Planning working with Wallace), we believe that these merged data would help answer significant research questions including those noted above and others. Furthermore, the infrastructural investment will improve efficiency and research productivity for our team and students for years afterwards.

**Year Two: Research, Writing, and External Grants**

By the end of year one, our team will have completed intensive field work in Guangzhou, Beijing, and Chengdu on migrant education (Friedman); fielded survey experiments and interviews to explore the patterns of attitudes on social inclusion and exclusion in urban China and connections with nationalism (Friedman, Wallace, Weiss); and integrated big datasets for analysis (Barick, Li, and Wallace). In our second year, the team plans to focus on core collaborations and writing. We again plan to maintain regular lunch meetings to keep everyone abreast of on developments and gather feedback.

Given that China’s urbanization is globally critical and at the nexus of significant questions related to climate change and inequality, we believe that the team is well positioned to find additional research funding to continue building on the foundation of support that the ISS Collaborative Project would provide. The National Science Foundation and large private foundations such as Carnegie, Luce, Smith Richardson, the Hewlett Foundation, and others are focused on funding such research and institution building. For instance, the Ford Foundation recently has reoriented its funding practices to a topical focus on inequality and a predisposition towards building institutions. We believe that a research-based China social science group (possibly with the moniker ChinaLab) would be compelling given the concentration and breadth
of social science expertise on China at Cornell relative to other competing institutions. Newer organizations, such as the Omidyar Network’s initiatives on governance and property rights, are also potential project funders. As the project’s research products accrue throughout the first and into the second year, time will be allotted to external grant writing.

**Year Three: Publicity and Dissemination**

By Year 3 (2018-2019), most of the initial research projects described above will be completed and on their way to publication. Publicizing our work, on campus but also in broader academic and policy circles, will come to the fore. The project will aim to have its capstone lecture raise the profile of the research team on campus. The infrastructure and data management systems that will have been developed to enhance our research productivity will facilitate incorporating additional scholars and students from around campus into continued research on issues related to urbanization, sustainability, and inequality not just in China but in developing countries around the world.

Team members are committed to public engagement, through writing and speaking with popular media, conference and workshops, digital dissemination of research findings (as through Jeremy Wallace’s ChinaLab podcast), as well as collaborations with think tanks and policy institutions in China, as seen in the Shenzhen 2016 initiative. Care will be taken to maximize the reach of our research online through a website and data portal, featuring attractive infographics, data visualization, social media presence, and data accessibility.

In the end, our long-term goal is to make Cornell the leader in social science research on China. This proposal represents the beginning of an attempt to stitch together the amazing diversity of expertise across campus including the Cornell Contemporary China Initiative
(CCCI), the Cornell Institute China Economic Research (CICER), China and Asia-Pacific Studies (CAPS), and the Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future.

Team Member List

Our team is made up productive, engaged mid-career researchers from four different departments across three colleges. Jeremy Lee Wallace (Govt) wrote his first book on China’s management of urbanization and continues to explore its political, economic, and environmental consequences. Panle Jia Barwick (Econ) and Shanjun Li (Dyson) investigate China’s industrial policies, economic growth, environmental and energy challenges and policy options. Eli Friedman (ILR) analyzes urbanization, education, and inclusion in China's megacities and wrote his first book on Chinese labor politics. Jessica Chen Weiss (Govt) wrote her first book on Chinese nationalism and anti-foreign protests and explores the importance of mass attitudes in Chinese domestic and foreign policy-making.

In addition to the core research team, we plan to invite outside members with related interests to engage with and comment on the research. The number of faculty on campus with overlapping interests are too numerous to list fully but include Allen Carlson (Govt), Susan Christopherson (CRP), Nancy Chau (Dyson), Yongmiao Hong (Econ), Neema Kudva (CRP), Crocker Liu (SHA), Thomas Lyons (Econ), Robin McNeal (Asian), Andrew Mertha (Govt), Victor Nee (Sociology), Victor Seow (History), Calum Turvey (Dyson), Qi Wang (HD), and Mildred Warner (CRP). Graduate students from a range of social science disciplines are already working with the core team faculty as advisors and committee members, and many more students—both undergraduate and graduate—have expressed interest in participating in these research projects.
Bibliography


http://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123414000106


http://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741015000417

# Draft Budget

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>Proposed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Individual research stipends ($6,000 x 5)</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kick Off Organizational meeting</td>
<td>$125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Team photograph</td>
<td>$125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undergrad Research Assistance (100 hrs @ $10 / hr for fall/spring/summer)</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 biweekly working team lunches</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GIS Research Assistance (Planning PhD Student; 5 hrs/wk, 50 wks, $15/hr)</td>
<td>$3,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Infrastructure (Server hardware, setup, software, etc.)</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Travel to Shenzhen, research sites, presentations</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Survey experiments through Qualtrics</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1st Year Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$67,500</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>FT summer graduate research assistant (hourly, does not include tuition): $15 per hour (12 weeks x 40 hours x $15)</td>
<td>$7,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 month GRA stipend and insurance (estimated)</td>
<td>$28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undergrad Research Assistance (100 hrs @ $10 / hr for fall/spring/summer)</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professional Grant Writing Assistance</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Travel to research sites, presentations</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 biweekly working team lunches</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2nd Year Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$55,700</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Undergrad Research Assistance (100 hrs @ $10 / hr for fall/spring/summer)</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd year capstone lecture and conference</td>
<td>$3,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FT summer graduate research assistant (hourly, does not include tuition): $15 per hour (12 weeks x 40 hours x $15)</td>
<td>$7,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Travel to research sites, presentations</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infographic design and statistical distribution assistance</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 biweekly working team lunches</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3rd Year Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$25,825</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Project Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expense Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balance</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jeremy L. Wallace
Cornell University
Department of Government
211 White Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853–7901
Phone: 607.255.3549
Fax: 607.255.4530
Email: wallace@cornell.edu
Web: www.jeremywallace.org

Positions

Associate Professor, Government, Cornell University July 2015—Present
Assistant Professor, Political Science, The Ohio State University Sept. 2009—June 2015

Education

Ph.D. Political Science, Stanford University, 2009
B.A. Economics and Political Science, Indiana University, 2002

Fields of Interest

Chinese politics, authoritarian regime survival, political economy of development, redistributive politics, politics of urbanization and geography, politics of information

Books

Seeking Truth and Hiding Facts in China. (manuscript in progress)

Articles and Chapters


Selected Ongoing Research

“The New Normal: Reform, Information, and China’s Anti-Corruption Crusade in Context”
“Nationalism and Nativism: Varieties of Other in China”
“Information, Migration Restrictions, and Public Service Provision in China”
“Hard Landings and Political Survival”

Fellowships and Awards

Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on US-China Relations (NCUSCR), 2014-2016
Strategy and Policy Fellowship Grant ($60,000), Smith Richardson Foundation, 2014-2016
Fellow, MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University, 2012-2014
NASA Land Cover/Land Use Change Grant (Collaborator / Karen Seto (Yale) PI), 2011–2014

Teaching

Cornell University

GOVT 6353: Field Seminar in Comparative Politics; GOVT 4000.01: Authoritarianism;
GOVT 4293/6293: Comparative Urbanization

The Ohio State University

PS 597.02: Political Problems in the Contemporary World; PS 100: Introduction to
Comparative Politics; PS 537: Chinese Political System; PS 734: Readings on Chinese
Politics; PS 744: Democratic Transitions

Presentations

Selected Conferences

International Studies Association (ISA): 2010

Politics of Urbanization in China
Columbia University, March 2015

Field Research

Beijing; Yinchuan May 2014
Beijing June 2013
Hong Kong; Guangzhou January 2010
Hong Kong; Beijing; Jiangsu; Heilongjiang January – July 2007
Beijing; Shandong Summer 2005; February—November 2006
Advising

OSU Political Science, Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member
Yoon-Ah Oh, Filed Spring 2011; Lan Hu, Filed Summer 2011;
Miryam Chandler, Filed Summer 2013; Kursat Cinar, Fall 2012–present

Service

Cornell University

Exploratory M.A. Committee, Government Fall 2015—current
Curriculum Advisory Committee, CAPS Fall 2015—current
Global Research Dissemination Project, Einaudi Center Fall 2015—current

The Ohio State University

Financial Aid Committee, Dept. of Political Science 2014–2015
Graduate Studies Committee, Dept. of Political Science 2009–2011; 2014–2015
Undergraduate Studies Committee, Dept. of Political Science 2011–2012

Reviewer


National & International

ChinaLab podcast, publicizing current research on China
APSA Short Course on Urban Politics in Developing Countries, Panelist, Aug. 2014
NCUSCR–Scholar Escort for Congressional Staff Delegation; Beijing, May 2014

Selected Media Appearances and Other Writing

2015.01.04. “Q & A: Jeremy Wallace on China’s Rush to Urbanize.” NYT.
2013.10.04. “Great Leap Backward? China to Move Millions into its Cities.” LinkAsia TV.
CURRICULUM VITAE
Panle Jia Barwick

Department of Economics
Cornell University
462 Uris Hall
Ithaca, NY 14850
Phone: (607) 255-4867
Fax: (607) 255-2818
Email: panle.barwick@cornell.edu
Web site: economics.cornell.edu

Professional Experience

Academic Positions
- Associate Professor (with tenure), Cornell, 2013 –
- Visiting Professor, Chinese University of Hong Kong, December 2012
- Rudi Dornbusch Career Development Associate Professor (without tenure), MIT, 2011 – 2013
- Rudi Dornbusch Career Development Assistant Professor, MIT, 2009 – 2011
- Visiting Professor, University of Chicago Booth School of Business, 2008 – 2009
- Visiting Professor, University of Chicago, Department of Economics 2009
- Assistant Professor, MIT, July 2006 –

Professional Affiliations
- Faculty Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2013 –
- Faculty Research Fellow, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2007 – 2013
- Member, American Economic Association, Econometric Society, 2006 –

Education
- Ph.D. in Economics (with distinction), Yale University, 2006
  Dissertation Title: Entry and Competition in the Retail and Service Industries
  Dissertation Committee: Steven Berry (co-chair), Penny Goldberg (co-chair), Hanming Fang, Philip Haile
- M.A. in Economics, Tufts University, 1999
- B.A. in Economics, Fudan University, China 1997

Recent Fellowships, Honors and Awards:

2015
Nomineated for Cornell University’s Faculty Award on Excellence in Teaching, Advising, and Mentoring of Graduate and Professional Students

2015
Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future in-Residence Fellowship

2012 –
MISTI Global Seed Grant: “The Impact of International Chains on China’s Retail Industry”

2011 –
National Science Foundation Grant: “Social Inefficiencies in the Real Estate Brokerage Industry”

2009 – 2013
Rudi-Dornbusch Career Development Professorship

2008
Tufts Economics Alumni Achievement Award, Inaugural Recipient

2007
SHASS Research Fund, MIT
2007 Advanced Young Scientist Award, University of Arizona
2007 Zellner Award for Best Dissertation, American Statistical Association
2006 Review of Economic Studies’ European Seminar Tour Speaker

Publications:


Working Papers:


“One State, Many Regions: China’s Fragmented Industrial Takeover,” with Mingyu Chen, and Myrto Kalouptsidi, 2015

Work in Progress:


“Costs of Capital Formation in China: a Tale of Two Sectors” with Tom Eisenberg and Shanjun Li

“Chinese Environmental Policies: Can They Lead to Sustainable Development?” With Shanjun Li
“Excess Capacity and Industrial Policies: an Empirical Analysis of China’s Automobile Industry,” with Shengmao Cao and Shanjun Li

“China’s Five Year Plans and Industrial Growth in the Past Two Decades: What Have We Learned,” with Shanjun Li

Recent Conference Presentations (Discussions) and Invited Seminar Presentations:

2015  Fudan University, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Institute, Yale University, Department of Justice

2014  National Bureau of Economic Research Conference on the Chinese Economy, UCLA Anderson School of Management

2013  American Economic Association Annual Meeting, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

2012  Georgetown, University of Toronto, London School of Economics, Stanford Graduate Scholl of Business, Duke University, Cornell University, University of California, Los Angeles, Haas School of Business, University of California Berkeley, Pennsylvania State University, Maryland University, Carnegie Mellon University, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

2011  American Economic Association Annual Meeting, Yale University, School of Management, University of Michigan, Washington University Olin Business School, Columbia University, the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, Yale Marking-Industrial Organization Conference, Pennsylvania State University Conference on Auctions and Procurements, National Bureau of Economic Research Working Group in Organizational Economics, National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Institute, Northeastern University, Princeton University, U.S. Department of Justice, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University College London

Advisees:

Current thesis advisees:
Shengmao Cao; Jialie Chen; Thomas Eisenberg; Debi Prasad Mohapatra
Saisandeep Satyavolu; Flavio Stanchi; Nick Tilipman; Jianwei Xing; Yang Zhang;
Sherry Wu (Duke Phd)

Initial placement of PhD advisees:
Brad Larsen (Stanford University, Economics Department, 2013)
Rongzhu Ke (Chinese University of Hong Kong, School of Economics and Finance 2009)
Maisy Wong (University of Pennsylvania, Wharton Business School 2008)

Selected Press Coverage:

“Real Estate Agents May be Colluding,” Fortune, 2015
ELI FRIEDMAN

372 Ives Faculty Wing
Ithaca, NY 14853-3901
(510) 417-9018
edf48@cornell.edu

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS
Assistant Professor, Cornell University
Department of International and Comparative Labor
Member of the Field of Sociology 2011-Present
Member of the Field of Development Sociology 2012-Present

Visiting Fellow, Brown University
International Studies 2015

EDUCATION
Ph.D. Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, CA 2011
M.A. Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, CA 2007
B.A. Asian Studies, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY 2002
A.A. Liberal Arts, Bard College at Simon’s Rock, Gt. Barrington, MA 2000

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION
China, Development, Globalization, Social Movements, Theory, Urbanization, Work and Labor

BOOKS

EDITED VOLUMES & SPECIAL ISSUES
Special Issue: Changing Work, Labour and Employment Relations in China. Human Relations. 68(2). 2015. (co-editor with Sarosh Kuruvilla)

China on Strike: Narratives of Worker Resistance from the Pearl River Delta. Haymarket Press. (co-editor of the English edition with Zhongjin Li) [forthcoming]

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS (CONT’D)


OTHER PUBLICATIONS


[Portuguese translation forthcoming]


“In China, investors follow migrant workers from the coast to the inland region.” *Quartz.* October 29, 2012.

BOOK REVIEWS


WORKS IN PROGRESS

“Teachers’ Work in Urban China’s Migrant Schools.” [under review at *Modern China*]

“Faltering Centralization: Labor Conflict in China’s Taxi and Sanitation Sectors.”


TEACHING

Awards
MacIntyre Award for Exemplary Teaching, Cornell University, 2013

Courses
Comparative Employment Relations in China and India, Cornell University
Globalization and Sociology of Work (writing seminar), Cornell University
Political Economy of Postsocialism, Cornell University
Sociology of Work (PhD Seminar), Cornell University
Urbanization in China: Megacities, Mass Migration, and Citizenship Struggles, Brown University
Work and Labor in China, Cornell University
Work, Labor and Capital in the Global Economy, Cornell University

Teaching Assistant Courses
Classical Social Theory, UC Berkeley
Contemporary Social Theory, UC Berkeley
Introduction to Sociology, UC Berkeley
SHANJUN LI

Cornell University  
405 Warren Hall  
Ithaca, NY 14853  
Webpage: http://dyson.cornell.edu/people/shanjun-li

EMPLOYMENT
Associate Professor, Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management, Cornell University, July 2015~ (Assistant Professor July 2011-June 2015)
Co-director, Cornell Institute for China Economic Research, Cornell University, 2015~
Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, State University of New York - Stony Brook, Sept. 2007 - August 2009

EDUCATION
Ph.D. in Economics (2007), Duke University, Durham, NC, USA
M.S. in Agricultural Economics (2002), Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, USA
B.A. in International Economics (1998), Nankai University, Tianjin, China

RESEARCH INTERESTS
Environmental and Energy Economics, Empirical Industrial Organization, Applied Micro

PUBLICATIONS


13. Getting Energy Prices Right: from Principle to Practice, Ian Parry, Eliza Lis, Dirk Heine and Shanjun Li, Book (183 pages), International Monetary Fund Press, 2014


**SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS**


2. The Cost of Greening Stimulus: A Dynamic Discrete Analysis of Vehicle Scrappage Programs, Shanjun Li and Chao Wei, R&R at *International Economic Review*

3. The Market for Electric Vehicles: Indirect Network Effects and Policy Impacts, Shanjun Li, Lang Tong, Jianwei Xing and Yiyi Zhou, R&R at *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists*
GRANTS AND AWARDS

- NSF CREATIV Grant ($700K total, Dyson $325k), Lang Tong (PI) and Shanjun Li (Co-PI), 2012-16, an engineering and economic pathway to EV-based transportation
- NET Institute Summer Grant ($3k), with Yiyi Zhou, 2015
- USDA Hatch Funding ($67K), 2012-2015, Renewable Energy and Employment
- Cornell Lehman Fund ($14k), 2013-2014, Transportation Policies in China
- Cornell ACSF Rapid Response Fund ($20K), 2012-2013, Supplement to NSF Grant
- Cornell Institute of Social Sciences Small Grant ($12K), 2012-2013, Employment Impacts of Renewable Energy Investment
- Cornell College of Agriculture and Life Sciences Early Achievement Award, 2015
- Outstanding Graduate TA Award, Duke Economics, Fall 2005, Spring 2005

TEACHING

- Econometrics (PhD)
  - Spring 2012, 2013, 2014, enrollment (30, 34, 20), evaluation (4.9/5.0, 4.8, 4.9)
- Environmental Economics (undergraduate)
  - Spring 2012, 2013, 2014, enrollment (41, 50, 52), evaluation (4.2/5.0, 4.5, 4.6)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Co-Editor: Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists, 2015~
Associate Editor: Resource and Energy Economics, 2014~

DOCTORAL STUDENTS ADVISING (*indicates committee chair)

Completed: Qi Sun (Assistant Professor, Shanghai Univ. of Finance and Economics); Zongcui Mu (Senior Analysis, HSBC); Kevin Roth (Assistant Professor, UC-Irvine); Wooyoung Jeon (Korea Research Institute); Ben Leard (Research Fellow, Resources for the Future); Scarlett Zuo (Data Scientist, Zurich); Kuming Chang (Ewha School of Business); Esther Chiew (Postdoc at Cornell); Teevrat Garg (Assistant Professor, UC-San Diego); Parul Sharma (Economist at SEC)

In Progress: Leah Bevis (Dyson); Shun Chonabayashi (Natural Resources); Jennifer Cisse (Dyson); Rhiannon Jerch* (Dyson); Richard Klotz (Dyson); Jing Qian* (Dyson); Sanket Roy (Economics); Andrew Simon (Dyson); Dennis Tai (Economics); Yiwei Wang (Dyson); Chen Wang (Civil); Andrew Waxman (Dyson); Jianwei Xing* (Dyson)
JESSICA CHEN WEISS
Cornell University
Department of Government
209 White Hall
Ithaca, NY 14850

jessica.weiss@cornell.edu
http://www.jessicachenweiss.com

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT
2015 - Associate Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University
2009 - 2015 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University

EDUCATION
2008 Ph.D. Political Science, University of California, San Diego
2003 B.A. Political Science, Stanford University
With distinction and minor in Economics

BOOKS
Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China’s Foreign Relations (Oxford University Press, 2014)

ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS


WORK IN PROGRESS
Confrontation and Accommodation: Leaders and the Domestic Politics Shaping China’s Rise (book project)
“Nationalism and Nativism: Varieties of Other in China” (with Jeremy Wallace)
“The Local Consequences of Chinese Nationalist Protests” (with Jeremy Wallace and Kevin Foley)
“External Influence on Exchange Rates: Does US Pressure Predict RMB Appreciation?” (with Amber Wichowsky)
“Authoritarian Audiences in International Crises: Evidence from China” (with Allan Dafoe)
“More than Cheap Talk: U.S. Campaign Rhetoric and Congressional Activity on China” (with Amber Wichowsky)

Op-Eds, Congressional Testimony, and Other Commentary


Fellowships and Awards

2015-2018 International Faculty Fellow, Einaudi Center for International Studies, Cornell University

2013-16 “Escalation, Reputation, and Audience Costs in the East and South China Seas,” Uppsala University East Asia Peace Program Grant ($50,780), Co-Principal Investigator (with Allan Dafoe)

2011-13 Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations

2011-12 Visiting Scholar, Department of Political Science and Mershon Center for International Security Studies, The Ohio State University

2009-14 Research Fellow, The MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies
2009 American Political Science Association Helen Dwight Reid Award for “best dissertation in international relations, law and politics”
2009 Bradley Foundation Research Program Fellowship, Princeton University
2008-09 Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton-Harvard China & The World Program, Princeton University
2008 Peggy Quon Prize for UCSD Ph.D. candidate in Political Science “most likely to contribute to the scientific study of politics”
2007 Visiting Scholar, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China
2006-07 Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program Fellowship
2006-07 Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation Dissertation Fellowship
2006 Graduate Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science
2002 Phi Beta Kappa (junior year), Stanford University
2001 National Security Education Program David L. Boren Scholarship for Study Abroad

**Invited Talks and Presentations**

Harvard University, joint International Relations/Comparative Politics Workshop, October 8, 2015.
University of Southern California, Center for International Studies Workshop, September 1, 2015.
UCSD, Department of Political Science, IR workshop, May 19, 2015.
McGill University, Dept. of Sociology, Conference on “Nationalism in Rising Powers,” May 9, 2015.
Williams College, Department of Political Science, April 30, 2015.
Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School, China and the World program, April 9, 2015.
Tsinghua University, Department of International Relations, Oct. 29, 2014.
Center for Strategic and International Studies, Freeman Chair in China Studies, Oct. 6, 2014.
University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Contemporary China, Sept. 18, 2014.
University of Michigan, Ford School of Public Policy International Policy Center, Mar. 17, 2014.
Stanford University, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Feb. 6, 2014.
Stanford University, Center for East Asian Studies China Social Science Workshop, Feb. 6, 2014.

**Teaching**

Anti-Americanism in Comparative Perspective (Seminar, Fall 2015)
Domestic Politics in International Relations (Seminar, Fall 2015)
China in World Politics (Lecture, Spring 2010, Spring 2013, Spring 2014, Spring 2015)
China’s International Relations (Seminar, Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Fall 2014)
State & Society in Post-Mao China (Seminar, Fall 2009, Fall 2010, Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Spring 2015)
Hi Annaliese,

I understand that Jeremy Wallace and Jessica Chen Weiss are applying for an ISS Collaborative Grant. In the second year of this grant, should they receive it, they would be eligible for a partial teaching release (2017-2018).

The Government Department agrees to offer both of them course releases as indicated in the ISS guidelines in the event they receive this award, and will work with them to best allocate their service and other responsibilities.

Best, Michael

Michael Jones-Correa
Robert J. Katz Chair of the Department of Government
Professor of Government

White Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14853
tel (607) 255-3170
March 4, 2016

Jeremy Wallace
Team Leader ISS Project ‘China Cities’

RE: Participation of Shanjun Li in the ISS Project ‘China’s Cities’

Dear Prof. Wallace;

Professor Shanjun Li of the Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management has informed me of his involvement under your leadership in the ISS project proposal titled, ‘China’s Cities.’

The Dyson School strongly supports him in this undertaking and wish you all the best success with your proposal.

Shan further informs me that to be eligible under ISS’s guidelines he must have only minimal administrative responsibilities during the second year of the project, and for the same period his teaching obligation will be reduced to two courses. I have conferred with Shan, and I can confirm those requirements can be met. That is, I personally authorize on behalf of the Dyson School that I will hold his administrative duties to a minimum, and assign him to no more than two courses for the second year of your project, should it be funded.

Kindly contact me if I can provide additional information at this time.

Regards,

William Lesser
Susan E. Lynch Professor in Science and Business
David J. Nolan Interim Director
Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management
Hi Annaliese,

I understand that Jeremy Wallace and Jessica Chen Weiss are applying for an ISS Collaborative Grant. In the second year of this grant, should they receive it, they would be eligible for a partial teaching release (2017-2018).

The Government Department agrees to offer both of them course releases as indicated in the ISS guidelines in the event they receive this award, and will work with them to best allocate their service and other responsibilities.

Best, Michael

---

Michael Jones-Correa  
Robert J. Katz Chair of the Department of Government  
Professor of Government  

White Hall  
Cornell University  
Ithaca, NY 14853  
tel (607) 255-3170
Dear Dan,
I am happy to guarantee that Panle Barwick will have no administrative duties in year 2 of the proposed ISS project in which she participates, nor will she teach more than two courses. I can also guarantee to keep her off of graduate admissions next year, the one truly onerous committee assignment we have, and also to exclude her from Department leadership positions in the first two years of the project.

Best wishes,
--Larry Blume

Donald C. Opatrny ’74 Chair &
Goldwin Smith Professor of Economics,
Professor of Information Science,
Cornell University
Visiting Research Professor, IHS Vienna
External Professor, Santa Fe Institute
Dear Prof. Wallace and Ms. Truame,

I approve of Eli Friedman’s participation in an ISS Collaborative Grant. He will be given teaching relief during the 2017-18 academic year, and we will make sure not to give him any heavy administrative duties during that year. Please let me know if you have any other questions.

Cheers,
George R. Boyer

George R. Boyer
Professor of Economics and
Chair, Department of International and Comparative Labor, ILR School
March 4, 2016

Jeremy Wallace
Team Leader ISS Project ‘China Cities’

RE: Participation of Shanjun Li in the ISS Project ‘China’s Cities’

Dear Prof. Wallace;

Professor Shanjun Li of the Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management has informed me of his involvement under your leadership in the ISS project proposal titled, ‘China’s Cities.’

The Dyson School strongly supports him in this undertaking and wish you all the best success with your proposal.

Shan further informs me that to be eligible under ISS’s guidelines he must have only minimal administrative responsibilities during the second year of the project, and for the same period his teaching obligation will be reduced to two courses. I have conferred with Shan, and I can confirm those requirements can be met. That is, I personally authorize on behalf of the Dyson School that I will hold his administrative duties to a minimum, and assign him to no more than two courses for the second year of your project, should it be funded.

Kindly contact me if I can provide additional information at this time.

Regards,

William Lesser
Susan E. Lynch Professor in Science and Business
David J. Nolan Interim Director
Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management