

# China's Cities: Divisions and Plans

ISS Collaborative Project Proposal  
29 February 2016

## **Team Members:**

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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 SO<sub>2</sub> (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 (PM<sub>2.5</sub>, SO<sub>2</sub>, 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 of 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**

- Friedman, E. (2014). *Insurgency Trap: Labor Politics in Postsocialist China* (1 edition). Ithaca ; London: ILR Press.
- Li, S. (2014) Better Lucky than Rich? Welfare Analysis of Vehicle License Allocations in Beijing and Shanghai, Shanjun Li , Working paper, 2014
- Li, S., Xiao, J. and Liu, Y. (2015a). The Price Evolution of China's Automobile Market, Shanjun, *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, 24(4).
- Li, S., Yang, J., Qin, P., and Chonabayashi, S. (2015b) Wheels of Fortune: Subway Expansion and Property Values in Beijing, forthcoming *Journal of Regional Science*
- Wallace, J. (2014). *Cities and Stability: Urbanization, Redistribution, and Regime Survival in China*. New York: Oxford University Press USA.
- Wallace, J. (2014). Juking the Stats? Authoritarian Information Problems in China. *British Journal of Political Science, FirstView*, 1–19.  
<http://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123414000106>
- Wallace, J., & Weiss, J. C. (2015). The Political Geography of Nationalist Protest in China: Cities and the 2012 Anti-Japanese Protests. *The China Quarterly*, 222, 403–429.  
<http://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741015000417>
- Weiss, J. C. (2014). *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations* (1 edition). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.



## Draft Budget

YEAR	ITEM	Proposed
1 <sup>st</sup>	Individual research stipends (\$6,000 x 5)	\$30,000
	Kick Off Organizational meeting	\$125
	Team photograph	\$125
	Undergrad Research Assistance (100 hrs @ \$10 / hr for fall/spring/summer)	\$3,000
	16 biweekly working team lunches	\$500
	GIS Research Assistance (Planning PhD Student; 5 hrs/wk, 50 wks, \$15/hr)	\$3,750
	Computer Infrastructure (Server hardware, setup, software, etc.)	\$8,000
	Travel to Shenzhen, research sites, presentations	\$7,000
	Survey experiments through Qualtrics	\$15,000
		<b>1st Year Total</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	FT summer graduate research assistant (hourly, does not include tuition): \$15 per hour (12 weeks x 40 hours x \$15)	\$7,200
	9 month GRA stipend and insurance (estimated)	\$28,000
	Undergrad Research Assistance (100 hrs @ \$10 / hr for fall/spring/summer)	\$3,000
	Professional Grant Writing Assistance	\$10,000
	Travel to research sites, presentations	\$7,000
	16 biweekly working team lunches	\$500
		<b>2nd Year Total</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	Undergrad Research Assistance (100 hrs @ \$10 / hr for fall/spring/summer)	\$3,000
	3rd year capstone lecture and conference	\$3,125
	FT summer graduate research assistant (hourly, does not include tuition): \$15 per hour (12 weeks x 40 hours x \$15)	\$7,200
	Travel to research sites, presentations	\$7,000
	Infographic design and statistical distribution assistance	\$5,000
	16 biweekly working team lunches	\$500
		<b>3rd Year Total</b>
	<b>Project Summary</b>	<b>Proposed</b>
	Income Total	\$149,993
	Expense Total	\$149,025
	<b>Balance</b>	<b>\$968</b>

# Jeremy L. Wallace

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## Positions

Associate Professor, Government, Cornell University	July 2015—Present
Assistant Professor, Political Science, The Ohio State University	Sept. 2009—June 2015
Instructor, Political Science, The Ohio State University	Sept. 2008—Aug. 2009

## 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

*Cities and Stability: Urbanization, Redistribution, and Regime Survival in China.*  
New York: Oxford University Press. 2014.  
*Seeking Truth and Hiding Facts in China.* (manuscript in progress)

## Articles and Chapters

- Forthcoming. "Juking the Stats? Authoritarian Information Problems in China." *British Journal of Political Science*. [FirstView](#). Media mentions: [Marginal Revolution, 16 May 2014](#); [Washington Post Monkey Cage, 30 April 2014](#).
2015. "The Political Geography of Nationalist Protest in China: Cities and the 2012 Anti-Japanese Demonstrations." *China Quarterly*. Vol. 222. (June 2015): 403-429. (with Jessica Chen Weiss)
2015. "Information Politics in Dictatorships." in *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. (eds.) Robert Scott and Stephen Kosslyn. John Wiley and Sons.
2014. "Central vs. Local States: Which Matters More for China's Urban Growth?" *Land Use Policy*. Vol. 38, (May 2014): 487-496. (with Qian Zhang, Karen Seto, & Xiangzheng Deng)
2013. "Cities, Redistribution, and Authoritarian Regime Survival." *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 75, no. 3. (Jul 2013): 632-645. Media mentions: [Foreign Policy, 15 July 2013](#); [Wall Street Journal, 9 May 2013](#).
2013. "Who Uses the Clean Development Mechanism? An Empirical Analysis of Projects in Chinese Provinces." *Global Environmental Change*. Vol. 23, no. 2. (Apr 2013): 512-521. (with Patrick Bayer & Johannes Urpelainen)

### *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*

American Political Science Association (APSA): 2014, 2013, (2012), 2011, 2010, 2009, 2007

Association for Asian Studies (AAS): 2015, 2013, 2011, 2009

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA): 2015, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2010, 2009, 2008

International Political Economy Society (IPES): 2013, 2011, 2010

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*

*American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, World Politics, Journal of Politics, China Quarterly, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, International Organization, Journal of East Asian Studies, Studies in Comparative International Development, American Sociological Review, Journal of Peasant Studies, Political Research Quarterly, Public Administration, China Journal, Modern China*

### *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

- 2015.08.26. [The Political Implications of China’s Stock Market Crisis](#). *Washington Post*.
- 2015.03.15. [CDT Bookshelf: Interview with Jeremy Wallace](#). *China Digital Times*.
- 2015.01.04. [“Q & A: Jeremy Wallace on China’s Rush to Urbanize.”](#) NYT.
- 2014.12.17. [“Urbanization, Redistribution, and Regime Survival.”](#) NCUSCR Podcast.
- 2014.12.10. [“Did Beijing Get What It Wanted?”](#) *Foreign Policy*.
- 2014.10.27. [“Corruption and a Changing China”](#) *Washington Post*.
- 2014.10.15. [“The Protests in Hong Kong”](#) *All Sides with Ann Fisher*. (Public Radio program.)
- 2014.09.02. [“Cities and Stability”](#) *ChinaFile* book video.
- 2014.03.26. [“Today’s China Is Communist and Modern, Not High Modernist”](#) *Dart-Throwing Chimp*.
- 2013.10.04. [“Great Leap Backward? China to Move Millions into its Cities.”](#) LinkAsia TV.

# CURRICULUM VITAE

## Panle Jia Barwick

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### 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	Norminated 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-Dornbush 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:**

“Estimating the Effects of Global Patent Protection in Pharmaceuticals: A Case Study of Quinolones in India,” with Shubham Chaudhuri and Penny Goldberg, *American Economic Review*, 96(5): 1477-1514, December 2006.

Reprinted in ‘Measuring WTO’s Contributions to Global Economic Welfare’, Edited by Kym Anderson

“What Happens When Wal-Mart Comes to Town: An Empirical Analysis of the Discount Retail Industry,” *Econometrica*, 76(6): 1263-1316, November 2008 (Winner of the Zellner Award for Best Dissertation, American Statistical Association).

“Tracing the Woes: An Empirical Analysis of the Airline Industry,” with Steven Berry, *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics*, 2(3): 1-43, August 2010, lead article.

“The Impact of Commissions on Home Sales in Greater Boston,” with Parag Pathak, *American Economic Review*, May 2010.

“Inference for Parameters Defined by Moment Inequalities: A Recommended Moment Selection Procedure,” with Donald Andrews, *Econometrica*, 80(6): 2805-2826, November 2012.

“The Cost of Free Entry: An Empirical Analysis of Real Estate Agents in Greater Boston,” with Parag Pathak, *RAND Journal of Economics*, 46(1), pp. 103-145, January 2015.

### **Working Papers:**

“Conflicts of Interest and the Realtor Commission Puzzle,” with Parag Pathak and Maisy Wong, NBER working paper, No. 21489, 2015

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

### **Work in Progress:**

“Competition and Productivity: An Empirical Analysis of the U.S. Retail Industry from 1977 to 2007,” with Daniel Xu

“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 School 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 Marketing-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:**

“The Economics of Airline Layovers,” *New York Times*, 2009.

“Real Estate Agents May be Colluding,” *Fortune*, 2015

# ELI FRIEDMAN

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Ithaca, NY 14853-3901  
(510) 417-9018  
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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

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Assistant Professor, Cornell University	
Department of International and Comparative Labor	2011-Present
Member of the Field of Sociology	2012-Present
Member of the Field of Development Sociology	2013-Present
Visiting Fellow, Brown University	
International Studies	Spring 2015

## EDUCATION

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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

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China, Development, Globalization, Social Movements, Theory, Urbanization, Work and Labor

## BOOKS

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*Insurgency Trap: Labor Politics in Postsocialist China*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2014.

## 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

---

"Decentralization and Experimentation in China's Labor Relations." *Human Relations*. 68(2): 181-195. 2015. (First author, with Sarosh Kuruvilla).

"Alienated Politics: Labor Insurgency and the Paternalistic State in China." *Development and Change*. 45(5): 1001-1018. 2014.



## PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS (CONT'D)

---

"Economic Development and Sectoral Unions in China." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. 67(2): 481-503. 2014

"Insurgency and Institutionalization: The Polanyian Countermovement and Chinese Labor Politics." *Theory and Society*. 42(3):295-327. 2013.

"Getting Through the Hard Times Together? Chinese Workers and Unions Respond to the Economic Crisis." *Journal of Industrial Relations*. 54(4):459-475. 2012.

"Remaking the World of Chinese Labour: a 30-Year Retrospective." *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. 48(3):507-533. 2010. (First author, with Ching Kwan Lee).

"External Pressure and Local Mobilization: Transnational Activism and the Emergence of the Chinese Labor Movement." *Mobilization*. 14(2):199-218. 2009.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

---

"The Primary Contradiction." *Jacobin*. February 2, 2015.

"The Urbanization of the Chinese Working Class." *Jacobin*. 15/16. 2014.

"Why Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' Movement has Beijing Very, Very Scared." *The Nation*. September 12, 2014.

"Outside the New China." *Jacobin*. 11/12. 2013.

Italian Translation: "I 'dannati della terra' nella nuova Cina." *MicroMega*. 9. 2013.

"China in Revolt." *Jacobin*. 7/8. 2012.

French Translation: "La Chine en révolte." *La Revue des Livres*. Jan-Feb. 2013.

Spanish Translation: "Las mutaciones de la resistencia obrera en China." *Nueva Sociedad*. 244: 15-28. 2013

Chinese Translation: "躁动的中国." *劳动世界*. March, 2013.

[Portuguese translation forthcoming]

"Dissociated Development: Between Countryside and City." In *Factory Towns of South China*, edited by Stefan Al. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2012.

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

"China Since Tiananmen: The Labor Movement." *Journal of Democracy*. 20(3):21-24. 2009. (second author, with Ching Kwan Lee)

## BOOK REVIEWS

---

Zhang, Lu. "Inside China's Automobile Factories: The Politics of Labor and Worker Resistance." *ILR Review*. [forthcoming]

Becker, Jeffrey. "Social Ties, Resources, and Migrant Labor Contention in Contemporary China: From Peasants to Protesters." *The China Journal*. [forthcoming]

Kim, Jaesok. "Chinese Labor in a Korean Factory: Class, Ethnicity, and Productivity on the Shop Floor in Globalizing China." *Pacific Affairs*. [forthcoming]

Chan, Anita. "Walmart in China." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. 66(5). 2013.

Kay, Tamara. "NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism." *Social Forces*. 91(1). 2012.

Hurst, William. "The Chinese Worker after Socialism." *Enterprise and Society*. 11(3):672-674. 2010.

## 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."

"Labor Unrest and Informal Work in China: Evidence from the Sanitation Sector."

## TEACHING

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### *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

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Cornell University

405 Warren Hall

Ithaca, NY 14853

Webpage: <http://dyson.cornell.edu/people/shanjun-li>

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Fax: (607)255-9984

SL2448@cornell.edu

## 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~

Fellow, Resources for the Future, Washington, DC, Sept. 2009 - June 2011

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

1. How Do Gasoline Prices Affect Fleet Fuel Economy? Shanjun Li, Chris Timmins, and Roger von Haefen, *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 1(2): 113-137, 2009.
2. Gasoline Prices, Government Support, and the Demand for Hybrid Vehicles, Arie Beresteanu and Shanjun Li, *International Economic Review*, 52(1): 161-182, 2011.
3. Lose Some, Save Some: Obesity, Automobile Demand, and Gasoline Consumption, Shanjun Li, Yanyan Liu and Junjie Zhang, *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 61(1): 52-66, 2011.
4. Traffic Safety and Vehicle Choice: Quantifying the Arms Race on American Roads, Shanjun Li, *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, 27(1): 34-62, 2012.
5. Is There an Energy Paradox in Fuel Economy? Antonio Bento, Shanjun Li and Kevin Roth, *Economics Letters*, 115(1): 44-48, 2012.

6. Cost-Effectiveness of Electricity Energy Efficiency Programs, Toshi Arimura, Shanjun Li, Richard Newell and Karen Palmer, *Energy Journal*, 33(2): 63-99, 2012
7. How Important Are Endogenous Peer Effects in Group Lending? Estimating a Static Game of Incomplete Information, Shanjun Li, Yanyan Liu and Klaus Deininger, *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, 28(5): 864-882, 2013.
8. Evaluating "Cash-for-Clunkers": Program Effects on Auto Sales and the Environment, Shanjun Li, Joshua Linn and Elisheba Spiller, *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 65(2): 165-193, 2013.
9. Firm Competitiveness and EU Emissions Trading System, Ron Chan, Shanjun Li and Fan Zhang, *Energy Policy*, 63: 1056-1064, 2013.
10. A New Look at Residential Electricity Demand Using Household Expenditure Data, Harrison Fell, Shanjun Li and Anthony Paul, *International Journal of Industrial Organization* 33: 37-47, 2014.
11. Gasoline Taxes and Consumer Behavior, Shanjun Li, Joshua Linn and Erich Muehlegger, *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 6(4):302-342, 2014.
12. How Should Different Countries Tax Fuels to Correct Environmental Externalities? Ian Parry, Dirk Heine, Shanjun Li and Eliza Lis, *Economics of Energy & Environmental Policy*, 3(2), 2014.
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
14. Are Physicians' Prescribing Decisions Sensitive to Drug Prices? Evidence from a Free-Antibiotics Program, Shanjun Li and Ramanan Laxminarayan, *Health Economics*, 24(2):158-174, 2015.
15. The Price Evolution of China's Automobile Market, Shanjun Li, Junji Xiao and Yimin Liu, *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, 24(4), 2015
16. Public Bus Procurement: The Role of Regulation, Energy Prices and Federal Subsidies, Shanjun Li, Matthew E. Kahn and Jerry Nickelsburg, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 87: 57-71, 2015.
17. Assessing the Role of Renewable Energy Policies in Landfill Gas to Energy Projects, Shanjun Li, Han Kyul Yoo, Molly Macauley, Karen Palmer and Jih-Shyang Shih, *Energy Economics*, 49: 687-697, 2015.

## **SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS**

1. Better Lucky than Rich? Welfare Analysis of Vehicle License Allocations in Beijing and Shanghai, Shanjun Li, R&R at *Review of Economic Studies*
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
- Public Utility Research Prize for the best paper in regulatory economics in 12th Annual International Industrial Organization Conference, 2014
- 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~

**Editorial Council:** Journal of Environmental Economics and Management, 2011~

**Editorial Council:** Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists, 2014~ 2015

## 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

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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)  
Reviewed in *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2015, *Financial Times*, 2 Nov. 2014, *Global Asia*, Winter 2014. Other media mentions: *New York Times*, 25 Sept. 2015; *China Daily*, 10 Aug. 2015; MSNBC, 13 Oct. 2014; MSNBC, 2 Oct. 2014; *Dongfang Zaobao*, 3 Sept. 2014; *New York Times*, 30 June 2014; *Washington Post*, 16 Dec. 2013

## ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

Forthcoming. "Nationalist Protest, Government Responses, and the Risk of Escalation in International Disputes," *Security Studies* 25:4 (December 2016, with John D. Ciorciari)

2015. "The Political Geography of Nationalist Protest in China: Cities and the 2012 Anti-Japanese Protests," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 222 (with Jeremy Wallace)

2015. "Popular Protest, Nationalism, and Domestic-International Linkages in Chinese Politics," in *Emerging Trends in the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, ed. Robert Scott and Stephen Kosslyn. Wiley & Sons.

2014. "Circumstances, Domestic Audiences, and Reputational Incentives in International Crisis Bargaining," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (with Alexandre Debs), published online before print at <http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/08/13/0022002714542874>.

2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China," *International Organization*, Vol. 67, No. 1, pp. 1-35. (lead article)

2012. "The Sino-Vietnamese Standoff in the South China Sea," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2012. (with John D. Ciorciari)

## 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**

- Written and Oral Testimony, Hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, “Reviewing President Xi’s State Visit,” Oct. 7, 2015.
- “Q&A: Jessica Chen Weiss on Nationalism in Chinese Politics,” with Edward Wong, *New York Times*, September 24, 2015.
- “What the Protests Mean for the Future of a Democratic Hong Kong,” *Washington Post* (The Monkey Cage), Sept. 30, 2014.
- “The Flame of Chinese Nationalism,” *Foreign Policy*, Sept. 17, 2014.
- “China and Vietnam: Riots and the Risk of Escalation in the South China Sea,” China-US Focus, May 29, 2014. (with John D. Ciorciari)
- “Nationalism and Escalation in the East China Sea,” China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham, Nov. 14, 2013.
- Written and Oral Testimony, Hearing before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission on “China’s Maritime Disputes in the East and South China Sea,” Apr. 4, 2013.
- “China and Vietnam: Danger in the South China Sea,” China-US Focus, Jan. 10, 2013. (with John D. Ciorciari)
- “Nationalism and Anti-Japan Demonstrations in China,” The Monkey Cage, Sept. 19, 2012.
- “The Need for Liberalization in China: Electoral Reform and the People’s Congress System,” *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 2003, p. 39-44.
- “Stability, Development, and Democracy: Conflicting Objectives? U.S. Aid to Egypt, 1975-2000.” *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, 2002, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 48-57.

### **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.
- Center for a New American Security, Roundtable on China’s Future, June 26, 2015.
- UCSD, School of Global Policy Studies, 21<sup>st</sup> Century China program, May 20, 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.
- Foreign Correspondents’ Club of China, Beijing, Oct. 28, 2014.
- American Chamber of Commerce, Beijing, Oct. 28, 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.
- National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, Henry Luce Foundation, Sept. 4, 2014.
- University of Pittsburgh, Dept. of Political Science, Symposium on Political Violence, Mar. 20, 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)



## **Anneliese M. Truame**

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**From:** Michael Jones-Correa <mj64@cornell.edu>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 5:29 PM  
**To:** Anneliese M. Truame  
**Cc:** Dinnie Sloman  
**Subject:** Jeremy Wallace and Jessica Chen Weiss

Hi Annaliese,

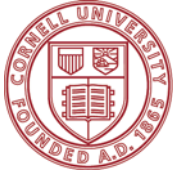
I understand that Jeremy Wallace and Jessica Chen Weiss are applying for an ISS Collaborative Grant. In the second year of this grant, should they receive it, they would be eligible for a partial teaching release (2017-2018).

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



Cornell University

Charles H. Dyson School  
of Applied Economics  
and Management

*A unit of the College of Agriculture  
and Life Sciences*

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,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Will Lesser'.

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

## **Anneliese M. Truame**

---

**From:** Michael Jones-Correa <mj64@cornell.edu>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 5:29 PM  
**To:** Anneliese M. Truame  
**Cc:** Dinnie Sloman  
**Subject:** Jeremy Wallace and Jessica Chen Weiss

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

## **Anneliese M. Truame**

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**From:** Larry Blume <lb19@cornell.edu>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2016 3:03 PM  
**To:** Jeremy Lee Wallace; Anneliese M. Truame  
**Subject:** Panle Barwick

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

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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

## **Anneliese M. Truame**

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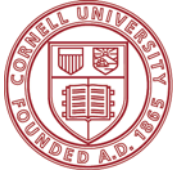
**From:** George R. Boyer  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 09, 2016 5:54 PM  
**To:** Jeremy Lee Wallace; Anneliese M. Truame  
**Cc:** George R. Boyer  
**Subject:** Eli Friedman ISS Collaborative Grant

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



Cornell University

Charles H. Dyson School  
of Applied Economics  
and Management

*A unit of the College of Agriculture  
and Life Sciences*

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,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Will Lesser'.

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