

Curriculum Vitae

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Education

1997-2003: Harvard University. Ph.D. in Government with a focus on comparative political economy, Chinese politics, and international relations.

1993-1997: The George Washington University. BA *summa cum laude* in East Asian studies with a minor in economics.

Employment

6/2010- : associate professor of political science, Northwestern University

9/2003-6/2010: assistant professor of political science, Northwestern University.

1999-6/2003: teaching and head teaching fellow at Harvard University.

Monograph

2008 *Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation*. Cambridge University Press.

Refereed Publications

2010. "Gauging the elite political equilibrium in the CCP: a quantitative approach using biographical data," with Wei Shan and Mingxing Liu. *China Quarterly* (201).

2009. "Tools of Survival: Sovereign Wealth Funds in Singapore and China," *Geopolitics*. 14(2): 328-344.

2008. "'Nauseating' Displays of Loyalty: Monitoring the Factional Bargain through Ideological Campaigns in China " *Journal of Politics* 70 (4):1177-92.

2008. "Deficit Estimation and Welfare Effects after the 1994 Fiscal Reform in China: Evidence from the County Level" with Pengfei Zhang, *China and the World Economy* 16(3): 23-39.
2007. "Partial Reform Equilibrium, Chinese Style: Political Incentives and Reform Stagnation in Chinese Financial Policies" *Comparative Political Studies*. 40 (10): 1238 – 1262.
2007. "Comparing the Performance of Chinese Banks: A Principal Component Approach" with Mingxing Liu and Qi Zhang, *China Economic Review*. 18 (1):15-34.
2004. "Dealing with Non-Performing Loans: Political Constraints and Financial Policies in China." *The China Quarterly* 180 (-1):922-44.
2004. "Development, the Second Time Around: The Political Logic of Developing Western China," *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 4 (3): 427-451.
2004. "Factions Matter: Personal Networks and the Distribution of Bank Loans in China," *Journal of Contemporary China*. 13 (38): 3-19.
2003. "Political Efficacy in Rural China: An Exploration of Villager Attitude Toward Village Assemblies and Village Committees," *American Asian Review*. 21(4): 401-424.

Book Chapters and Other Articles

- Forth-coming. "When are Banks Sold to Foreigners? An Examination of the Politics of Selling Banks in Mexico, Korea, and China" in Scott Kennedy (eds.). *Beyond the Middle Kingdom: Comparative Perspectives on China's Capitalist Transformation*. Paolo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
2010. "The central committee past and present: a method of quantifying elite biographies" with Wei Shan and Mingxing Liu in Mary Gallagher, Allen Carlson, Melanie Manion (eds). *Sources and Methods of Chinese Studies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
2010. "Local government debt." *China Economic Quarterly*. June. 26-33.
2010. "China's 8000 Credit Risks." *Wall Street Journal Asia*. 2/9/2010
2009. "Why China isn't ready to lead." *Wall Street Journal Asia*. 10/22/2009.
2009. "China's 'legless' stimulus." *Asian Wall Street Journal*. 4/13/2009.
2008. "Chinese banks' great leap backward." *Asian Wall Street Journal*. 12/18/2008.

2008. Book Review of *The Party and the Arty in China: The New Politics of Culture*. By Richard C. Kraus. *Journal of Asian Studies*. 67(1): 279-281.

2008. "China's Credit Boom." *Asian Wall Street Journal*. 2/21/2008.

2007. "Who Receives Subsidies? A Look at the County-level in Two Time Periods" with Qi Zhang in Vivienne Shue & Christine Wong (eds). *Paying for Progress in China*, London: Routledge: 145-165.

2007. "'Trapped in Transition, but not Spinning Out of Control: An Analysis of the Chinese Banking Sector' (Working Paper) Foundation for Law, Justice, and Society, Oxford, UK.

2006. Book Review of *The Business of Lobbying in China*. By Scott Kennedy. *Perspectives on Politics*. 4(3): 614-615

2006. Book Review of *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China*. By Dali Yang. *Governance* 19(1).

2006. "China's NPL market revealed" with Louie Huang. *China Business Review*. 33 (May-June): 30-35.

2005. "Banking: China's Uphill Battle For Stronger Banks" *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 168 (November): 37-40.

2005. "Beijing's Bailout of Joint-Stock and State-Owned Banks" *China Brief*. 5(18).

Working Papers

"Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China" with Chris Adolph and Mingxing Liu (under review at *American Political Science Review*).

Are authoritarian leaders mainly preoccupied with promoting regime-wide interests or with maintaining power vis-à-vis other leaders? We make use of a new biographical database of Central Committee (CC) members and a previously overlooked feature of CCP reporting to test hypotheses about how Communist Party elite were ranked throughout the reform period. We analyze these data with a novel Bayesian model of partial ranks which can estimate individual-level correlates of ranks that are only partially observed. We find that educational qualifications and provincial revenue collection played substantial roles in elite ranking in the reform era, while provincial economic growth did not. Factional ties with various top leaders and princeling status helped officials climb higher in the CCP elite throughout the reform period. Going beyond simple labels of the CCP regime as "meritocratic" or "clientelistic," our findings suggest that both regime strengthening tendencies and elite rivalries drove political advancement.

“Interest Group Influence in Authoritarian States: The Political Determinants of Chinese Exchange Rate Policy” with David Steinberg (under review at *Comparative Political Studies*)

Why do countries keep their exchange rates weak and undervalued? This paper argues that domestic politics is more important than systemic factors, but existing domestic political explanations do not fully explain how interest group preferences and political institutions influence exchange rate policy. We argue that tradable industries do not always demand an undervalued exchange rate, but only do so when they are unable to receive other compensatory policies. In addition, interest groups have a larger impact on exchange rate policy in nondemocratic regimes than is often recognized: autocrats select exchange rate policies that correspond to the preferences of the most powerful interest groups because lobby groups have access to the political process and leaders are sensitive to their preferences. A case-study of exchange rate policy in China supports these arguments.

“When the Autocrat Gives: Determinants of Fiscal Transfers in China” with Mingxing Liu and Luke Qi Zhang.

In the absence of democracy, credible federalist institutions, and a welfare state legacy what would motivate transfer payments from the federal to the local level? By examining central transfer payments to Chinese counties, which deliver the bulk of the public goods, this paper discusses and tests an alternative set of motivations for transfer payments in autocracies. According to “authoritarian bargain” theories, autocratic governments have incentive to elevate the general welfare of citizens in order to prevent uprisings. In the “stationary bandit” tradition, however, autocrats are strongly motivated to pay off local defenders of the regime, and given sufficiently long time horizon, they also have incentive to promote development through awarding growth and supporting education. We test these competing logics on central and provincial transfer payments to Chinese counties between 1993 and 2005. Through GLS and 2SLS regressions with and without fixed effects, we consistently find that the size of the local government payroll has the largest impact on transfer payments, followed by the level of development and the share of school-age children. This gives credence to the “stationary bandit” hypothesis. Contrary to the prediction of the “authoritarian bargain” hypothesis, we consistently find that poorer counties and counties with higher share of the elderly receive no extra fiscal transfers.

“Credible Decentralization in Authoritarian Regimes: the Case of China” with Mingxing Liu and Dong Zhang

In the absence of a credible constitution, what mechanism can commit authoritarian leaders to preserving local fiscal autonomy? We explore the political origin of the puzzling economic decentralization in China, which persisted for two decades. Through a detailed analysis of the composition of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, we find that the Cultural Revolution radically reoriented the composition of the elite selectorate from one favoring central agencies to one favoring

local interests. This realigned elite incentive to favor decentralization policy. Even when Deng took power in the late 1970s, he had good reason to pander to local interests through enacting even more decentralization policies. This local bias of the Central Committee credibly committed the Chinese leadership in the 1980s to a path of decentralization. The recentralization of the Chinese economy in the 1990s can likewise be explained by changing elite composition

Presentations and Lectures

“The Young, the Tainted, and the Specialized : Powerless Elite and Political Stability in the Chinese Communist Regime”

UC Berkeley Center for China Studies Colloquium, Berkeley CA 9/10/2010

“The Autocratic Difference: Information Paucity”

University of Chicago Comparative Seminar, Chicago IL 1/15/2010

Harvard University Political Economy Seminar, Cambridge MA 4/5/2010

University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign Comparative Politics Seminar,
4/12/2010

Northwestern University Political Science Department, Evanston IL 5/28/2010

“Political Shock and Economic Decentralization: An Alternative History of the Chinese Economic Reform”

University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies Workshop, Ann Arbor, MI
10/21/2009.

Midwest Political Science Associations Annual Conference, Chicago IL
4/24/2010

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago IL 9/2/2010

“Prospering from a Purge: The Strategic Use of Tainted Figures in the Chinese Communist Party”

Annual American Political Science Association Meeting, Toronto, ON 9/5/2009

“The looming problem of local debt in China”

Overseas Young Chinese Forum Annual Conference, New York, NY 5/30/2009

Europe and China: A Strategic Dialogue, Brussels 5/19/2009

“Tools of Survival: Sovereign Wealth Funds in Singapore and China,” presented at the Cornell University Workshop on Sovereign Wealth Funds 11/6-8/2008.

“Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining Advancement of Central Committee Members” with Chris Adolph and Mingxing Liu

Annual American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, MA 8/30/2008

University of Chicago East Asia Colloquium 11/27/2008

Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania 2/12/2009

Department of International Affairs, Tsinghua University 7/12/2009

“Elite Politics and Inflation in China: Then and Now”

University of Washington China Studies Workshop, Seattle, WA 11/23/2004
School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University 2/20/2008
Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University 2/19/2008
JP Morgan Investors Luncheon, Hong Kong 3/18/2008
Foreign Correspondence Club, Hong Kong 3/19/2008
US-China Business Council, Shanghai 7/28/2008
The Wharton School of Business, University of Pennsylvania 2/12/2009

“Measuring Party Fragmentation in the Chinese Communist Party” with Wei Shan and Mingxing Liu

University of Chicago East Asia Colloquium 10/16/2007
Northwestern University Linkage Colloquium 5/20/2008

“Major Risks Confronting China and Implications for US Policies”

National Fishery Institute, Boulder, CO 10/21/2007
Northwestern Alumae Continuing Education Course, Chicago, IL 3/24/2008

“Placating Credible Rebel: Chinese Fiscal Transfers to Religious and Non-Religious Minorities” with Mingxing Liu and Qi Zhang

University of Southern California Conference on Development in Western China, Los Angeles, CA 10/6/2007
Annual American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL 9/2/2007
Council on East Asia Colloquium, Yale University, 2/14/07

“Trapped in Transition, but not Spinning Out of Control: An Analysis of the Chinese Banking Sector” presentation at the China Trapped in Transition Workshop, Foundation for Law, Justice, and Society, Oxford University, 3/15/2007

“The Central Committee Past and Present: A Method of Quantifying Elite Biographies,” with Wei Shan and Mingxing Liu, presentation at the Sources and Methods in Chinese Politics conference, University of Michigan, 11/4/06

“The Nexus of Institutions and Unexpected "Unintended Consequences" in China's Fiscal Reform,” with Mingxing Liu and Xueyan Su

Munk Center for International Affairs, University of Toronto, 10/6/06
Annual APSA Conference, Philadelphia PA, 9/2/06

“When are Banks Sold to Foreigners? An Examination of the Politics of Selling Banks in Mexico, Korea, and China” Paper presented at the Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, May 19-20, 2006

“Free Riding to Dollar Decline: Changes in Global Dollar Holdings and the Future of Dollar Hegemony,” with David Steinberg, presentation at the Annual MPSA Conference, presentation at the Annual MPSA Conference, Chicago, IL 4/6/2006

“Beyond Elections: A Broader Examination of Inner-Party “Democracy,” with Li Ling and Mingxing Liu, presentation at the Annual MPSA Conference, Chicago, IL 4/6/2006

“Nauseating’ Displays of Loyalty: Credible Intra-Factional Communication through Ideological Campaigns”

Davis Center Post-Socialist Workshop, Cambridge, MA 3/10/2006

Annual American Political Science Association Conference, Washington, DC, 9/3.2005

“Elite Decision-Making in China’s Financial Sector: A Quasi-Market Analysis,” presentation at the Centre D’Etudes Prospectives et D’Informations Internationales (CEPII) “System Financier Chinois” Conference, Paris, France 9/19/2005

“The ‘Eating Budget:’ Determining Fiscal Transfers Under Predatory Fiscal Federalism” with Zhang, Qi and Liu, Mingxing.

2005 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, 4/8/2005

2004 American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, 9/1/2004

“What does the Political Economy of China Tell us about the Future of China,” talk given at the University of Trier China Studies Colloquium, Trier, Germany 11/6/2004.

“Who Receives Subsidies: A Look at the County-level before and after the 1994 Tax Reform” with Zhang, Qi Paper presented at the conference *Paying for Progress: Public Finance, Human Welfare, and Inequality in China*, Institute for Chinese Studies, Oxford University, May 21-23, 2004

“Gauging the Deficit and Welfare Effect of the 1994 Fiscal Reform,” with Liu, Mingxing, Paper presented at the 2004 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, 4/16/2004.

“Credibility without Institution: Factional Politics and Dis-Inflationary Policy in China,” presentation at the IR/PS, Political Science Workshop, University of California, San Diego, 4/12/2004

“Development, the Second Time-Around: the Political Logic of Developing Western China,” paper presented at the East Asia Institute workshop *After the Developmental State in East Asia*, Seoul, Korea, 3/27/2004.

“The Impact of the 1994 Fiscal Centralization on County-Level Public Goods Provision,”(with Liu, Mingxing), paper presented at the Associations for Asian Studies Annual Conference, San Diego, CA, 3/7/2004.

“Why is Chinese monetary policy credible: an elite political perspective,” Paper presented at the School of Government, Beijing University, 12/16/2003.

“Partial Reform Equilibrium, Chinese Style: Elite Political Incentive and Financial Reform Stagnation," Paper presented at the Political Economy Workshop at the Kellogg Center for International Studies, Notre Dame University, 12/5/2003.

“How Factional Politics Constrained Inflation: the Case of the 1987-1990 Inflationary Cycle.” Paper presented at the East Asian Workshop at the University of Chicago, 10/4/2003

“Not Interested: Political Disincentives and Stagnation in Interest Rate Liberalization in China.” Paper presented at the 2003 Associations for Asian Studies Annual Conference, New York, New York, 3/28/2003.

“Dishonest Technocracy: Political Incentives and Banking Reform in China.” Paper presented at the 2002 American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Boston, MA, 8/30/2002.

“Questionable Reforms: Political Obstacles to the Commercialization of State Banks in China.” Paper presented at the 2002 Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, Washington, DC, 4/4/2002.

“Authoritarian Power Imperatives and the Chinese Banks: an Endogenous Model of Inflationary Cycles.” Paper presented at the 2001 American Political Science Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA, 9/1/2001.

“The State of Banking Reform in China.” Lecture given at the Fujian Agricultural University (in Chinese), Fuzhou City, China, 6/8/01.

Post-doctoral Awards, Honors, and Fellowships

2009: Northwestern University Alumnae Gifts and Grants Fellowship, “Comparative Investigation of Sovereign Wealth Funds,” 4/2009-12/2009.

2006-2007: Harvard CFIA Visiting Fellowship

2005: Kellogg School Dispute Resolution Research Center Faculty Grant, “Ethnic Conflicts Under Leninist Authoritarianism,”1/2006-10/2006.

2004: Northwestern University Research Grant Committee Grant, “Measuring Factional Loyalty in Authoritarian China,” 5/2005-1/2006.

2004: Northwestern University Farrell Fund for Teaching Support, “computer equipment purchase” 1/2004.

2003-2009: Northwestern University Junior Faculty Support Fund

Peer Review Activities

2004: Reviewer for Social Science Research Council dissertation fellowship applications.

9/2003-present: Referee for *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Publius: Journal of Federalism*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, *China Quarterly*, *China Journal*, *China Review*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Issues and Studies*.

Teaching and Advising

1/2004-present: organized and taught a graduate seminar on the political economy of development, a senior seminar on the politics of finance and development, and lecture courses on comparative politics and Chinese politics.

9/2007-present: Head of Asian Studies Research Cluster of The Graduate School. Organize speaker events for Asian studies, organize graduate student outings, preside over cluster fellowship committee.

Skills

Languages: Fluent Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese Chinese, and elementary level of French.

Quantitative Methods: linear and non-linear modeling, dealing with heteroskedasticity and panel and time-series data, and simulations of predicted outcomes.

Computer skills: programming in Stata, Gauss, and SPSS, as well as operational knowledge of all standard software.