

Curriculum Vitae

Victor C. Shih

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School of Global Policy and Strategy
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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

7/2023-: Director, 21st Century China Center, University of California at San Diego

1/2014- : Ho Miu Lam Chair associate professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California at San Diego

9/2017- 6/2021 : faculty equity advisor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California at San Diego

4/2012-1/2014: principal, global market strategy group, The Carlyle Group

6/2010-7/2012: 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

Monographs

2022. *Coalitions of the Weak: Elite Politics from Mao's Stratagem to the Rise of Xi Jinping*. Cambridge University Press.

2020, eds., *Economic Shocks and Authoritarian Stability*. University of Michigan Press. Ann arbor, MI.

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

Refereed Publications

Chester, P. J., & Shih, V. (2023). Vaccine Nationalism: How China's State Media Misinform about Western Vaccines and Highlight the Successes of Chinese Vaccines to Different Audiences. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. <https://doi.org/10.1215/03616878-10910260>

2022. "Revolution, State Building, and the Great Famine in China." With Dong Zhang, and Mingxing Liu. *Political Research Quarterly*, DOI: 10659129221120384.

2021. "Elite Cleavage and the Rise of Capitalism under Authoritarianism: A Tale of Two Provinces in China." with Luke Qi Zhang, Dong Zhang, and Mingxing Liu. *Journal of Politics*. 83 (3).

2018. "Locking in Fair Weather Friends: Assessing the Fate of Chinese Communist Elite When Their Patrons Fall from Power." with Jonghyuk Lee. *Party Politics*. (online: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818801143>)

2018. "The Fall of the Old Guards: Explaining Credible Decentralization in China" with Dong Zhang, Mingxing Liu. *Studies in Comparative and International Development*. (online:<https://www.springerprofessional.de/the-fall-of-the-old-guards-explaining-decentralization-in-china/15796436>)

2016. "Contentious Elites in China: New Evidence and Approaches" (introductory essay to a special issue) *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 16:1, pp. 1-15

2016 "The performance of various factional indicators" with Meyer, David and Lee, Jonghyuk, *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 16: 1, pp. 43-60

2013. "Guerilla Capitalism: Revolutionary Legacy, Political Cleavage, and the Preservation of the Private Economy in Zhejiang" with Qi Zhang and Mingxing Liu. *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 13: 379-407

2012. "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China" with Chris Adolph and Mingxing Liu *American Political Science Review*. 106(1): 166-183
2012. "The Domestic Politics of the International Dollar Standard: a Statistical Analysis of Support for the Reserve Currency, 2000–2008" with David Steinberg. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 45(4): 1-26
2012. "Interest Group Influence in Authoritarian States: The Political Determinants of Chinese Exchange Rate Policy," with David Steinberg. *Comparative Political Studies*. 45(11): 1405-1434
2011. "'Goldilock' Liberalization: the Uneven Path Toward Interest Rate Reform in China." *Journal of East Asian Studies*. (11): 435-464
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 Invited Pieces

2023. Outsourcing Repression: Everyday State Power in Contemporary China. By Lynette H. Ong. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. 286p. 29.95 paper. *Perspectives on Politics*, 21(2), 698-699.

2023. Response to Lynette H. Ong's Review of Coalitions of the Weak: Elite Politics in China from Mao's Stratagem to the Rise of Xi. *Perspectives on Politics*, 21(2), 701-702

"Jiang Zemin Helped China Become a Global Powerhouse" *Foreign Policy* (Nov. 30, 2022)

2022. "Beyond the 20th Party Congress: Elite Autonomy in the Politburo Standing Committee Under Two Scenarios." in Harris Doshay (eds.) *The Party Remakes China: What to Watch for After the 20th Party Congress*. La Jolla, CA: 21st Century China Center.

2022. Age, Factions and Specialisation in the Path to the New Leadership at the 20th Party Congress. In F. N. Pieke & B. Hofman (Eds.), *CPC Futures: The New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*. National University of Singapore Press.

2022. "How China Would Like to Reshape International Economic Institutions." In The Bretton Woods 2.0 Project. Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council.

2022. "Who Gets into the Chinese Communist Party, and Who Rises up the Ranks?" in Jennifer Rudolph & Michael Szonyi (eds.) *The China Questions 2*. Harvard University Press.

2021. "China's Leninist Response to Covid-19". In Scott Greer, Elizabeth King, Elize Massard da Fonseca & Andre Peralta-Santos (eds.) *Coronavirus Politics*. University of Michigan Press.

2021. "Constructing a Chinese AI Global Supply Chain in the Shadow of "Great Power Competition." in Etel Solingen (eds.). *Geopolitics, Supply Chains, and International Relations in East Asia*. Cambridge University Press.

2020. "Financial Liberalization in China: the Contradiction Between Opening and Guaranteed Outcomes. *China Leadership Monitor*. Winter.

2019. "Financial repression still: policy concerns and stagnation in China's corporate bond market" in Avery Goldstein & Jacques DeLisle (eds.) *To Get Rich Is Glorious: Challenges Facing China's Economic Reform and Opening at Forty*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

2017. “Financial Instability in China: Possible Pathways and their Likelihood” in *MERICs China Monitor*. MERICS: Berlin.
2017. “1.3 billion People are in One Man’s Grip” with Jude Blanchette. *Foreign Policy* (October 16, 2017).
2017. How the party-state runs the economy: a model of elite decision-making in the financial market. In Willy Lam (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Communist Party*. London: Routledge.
2016. “Efforts at exterminating factionalism under Xi Jinping: Will Xi Jinping dominate Chinese politics after the 19th Party Congress?” in Heilmann, Sebastian & Stepan, Matthias (ed.) *China’s Core Executive: Leadership styles, structures and processes under Xi Jinping*. Berlin: Mercator Institute for China Studies
2015. “Market Governance and Firm Performance under China’s State Capitalism” with Fuller, Douglas B. & Rao, Ran. *Management and Organization Review*. 11: 4, pp. 711-713
2015. “Research in Authoritarian Regimes: Tradeoffs and Solutions” *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research*. Vol 13: 1, pp. 20-22.
2013. “This time is different: the domestic financial impact of global rebalancing.” In Tao Sun, Udaibir Das, & Jonathan Fiechter (ed.). *China’s Road to Greater Financial Stability: Some Policy Perspectives*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund
2011. “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*. Palo 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).

Works in Progress

"Shocks, Skills, and Political Instability in Authoritarian Regimes: A Theoretical Analysis" with Pengfei, Zhang & Mingxing, Liu

"Expectation of Power, Protective Umbrella, or Both: Investigating the Heterogeneous Effect of Power on Provincial Investment in China" with Duy Trinh

"Loyalty versus Institutional Norms in Authoritarian Promotions: Machine-learning Approach". With Jonghyuk Lee.

"How Bureaucratic Incentives Shape Repression in China". With Erin Baggott Carter & Jonghyuk Lee.

"Compensation and the Consolidation of Authoritarian Power: Evidence from China's 2016 PLA Reform" with Hans Tung & Keng-chi Chang.

Services

University and departmental:

12/2021-2022 : search committee for 21st Century China Center Director

9/2017- : Member, equity, diversity, and inclusion committee of GPS

9/2018- : Member, the J. Yang Foundation Fellowship committee of UCSD

9/2017- 6/2021 : Faculty equity advisor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California at San Diego

- Recommend new measures to promote equity and diversity for the university along with other divisional advisors and the associate provost for equity and diversity

- Raise awareness of and implement university equity and diversity policies in the division

- Support faculty members with potential equity complaints

- Organize activities promoting diversity in the division

2017- : Member of the admissions committee for the Masters in China Economy and Public Administration (MCEPA) program

2015-2019: Attended alumni outreach gatherings in Washington DC, New York, and Seattle

2017, 2019: Participated in the 21st Century China Center fund raising trips in New York and San Francisco

2019-2020: Application review committee for the University of California Presidential Post-Doctoral Fellowship program

2/8/2019: Raised funding for and organized the conference “China’s Financial Opening: Risks and Opportunities” attended by officials from the People’s Bank of China and the Ministry of Commerce

2017, 2018: Faculty equity advisor for cross divisional searches

2015, 2017: Faculty search committees

Peer Review Activities

2014-: Reviewer for tenure and full professor promotions

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

9/2003-present: Referee for *American Political Science Review*, *American Economic Review*, *Economics and Politics*, *Econometrica*, *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*, *World Development*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Journal of Asian Studies*.

Teaching and Advising

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

1/2004-present: Served as chair or co-chair on 14 dissertation committees, member on an additional 9 dissertation committees

Presentations and Lectures (Past Ten Years)

“How Chinese Analysts See America: A Sentiment Analysis of Their Writing on the U.S.

Associations for Asian Studies Annual Conference, Boston MA 3/18/2023
Stanford APARC Workshop, Palo Alto, CA 5/30/2023

“Will China's financial sector remain forever state-dominated?”

PIIE “Financial Statements” Weekly Talks, Washington DC 5/23/2023

“How Bureaucratic Incentives Shape Repression in China”

Chinese Politics Research Virtual Workshop, 5/12/2022
Stanford China Workshop, Palo Alto CA 2/22/2022
UCSD China Workshop, La Jolla CA 10/22/2021

“Compensation and the Consolidation of Authoritarian Power: Evidence from China’s 2016 PLA Reform”

USC China Workshop, Los Angeles CA 4/24/2023
Conference on Political Elites in Comparative and Historical Perspective,
Columbia U, 11/3/2022

“Coalitions of the Weak”

US Embassy in China Virtual Talk 11/6/2022
George Washington University Sigur Center lecture series, Washington DC
9/13/2022
SAIS China lecture series, Washington DC 9/12/2022
Princeton University Contemporary China series (virtual talk) 12/6/2021

Economic Shocks and Authoritarian Stability

Oxford University China Center, Oxford, UK 2/7/2020

Mercator Institute of China Studies, Berlin 2/16/2020

WCED, University of Michigan 11/19/2019

“The Strategic Dimension of Belt and Road: Assessing the Impact of Belt and Road on Chinese Defense Firms’ External Footprints”

2020 APSA, 9/11/2020

Geoeconomic workshop, UCSD 3/11/2021

“China’s policies of economic coercion”

Center for New American Security, Washington, DC 7/23/2019

“China’s emerging deficit problem”

Mercator Institute of China Studies, Berlin 6/12/2019

“Expectation of power, protective umbrella, or both: investigating the heterogeneous effect of power on provincial investment in China”

Princeton University, 3/22/2021

Peking University, Beijing 6/4/2019

Hong Kong University of Science and Technology 11/4/2018

“Perspectives on the 70th Anniversary of the CCP: Is the Party Just Getting Started or Coming to an End?”

10th Annual China Business Conference, American Chamber of Commerce, Washington DC, 4/30/2019

“After the 19th Party Congress: Where is Xi’s China Heading?”

CSIS, Washington DC, 10/20/2017

UCDC, Washington DC, 10/23/2017

SOAS, London, 11/14/2017

Washington State China Council, Seattle, 11/21/2017

“Efforts at exterminating factionalism under Xi Jinping: Will Xi Jinping dominate Chinese politics after the 19th Party Congress?”

Mercator Institute of China Studies, Berlin 6/25/2016

“Are Factions Self-Enforcing Contracts: Identifying the Impact of Patrons’ Exit on the Careers of Clients” with Jonghyuk Lee

Georgetown University, Washington, DC 2/29/2016

Hong Kong University, 4/13/2016

“Pathways to Stability and Instability in the Midst of Prolonged Slow-down: the Case of China” presentation at the “Authoritarian Rule under Economic Shocks” Workshop, UCSD, 12/5/2015

“Shocks, Skills, and Political Instability in Authoritarian Regimes: A Theoretical Analysis” with Pengfei, Zhang & Mingxing, Liu
Fudan Conference on Political Economy, Fudan University, Shanghai 8/24/2018
Leitner political economy workshop, Yale University, New Haven 2/4/2017
Political Economy of China Conference, Tsinghua University, Beijing, 1/22/2016
Annual American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, CA. 9/2/2015
China’s Political Economy: Theory and Evidence Workshop, San Diego, CA 10/6/2014

“The performance of various factional indicators” with Meyer, David and Lee, Jonghyuk
Quantitative Studies of the Chinese Elite Conference, San Diego, CA 2/6/2015

“Rejuvenating the Party Leadership as a Survival Strategy: Mainland China and Taiwan in Comparative Perspective”
Annual American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL. 8/29/2013.

Post-doctoral Awards, Honors, and Fellowships

2017: MERICS visiting fellowship

2014-2016: Smith Richardson Foundation Grant

2012-2015: U.S. Army Research Office (ARO) grant #W911NF-12-1-0389 (Co-PI David Meyer)

2010: Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Faculty Fellowship.

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

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.