

## **Mark W. Frazier**

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### **Education**

University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D., Political Science, 1997  
University of Washington, MA, International Studies, China  
Princeton University, BA, History

### **Current Positions**

ConocoPhillips Professor of Chinese Politics and Associate Professor of  
International and Area Studies, University of Oklahoma, 2007 – present.  
Director, School of International and Area Studies, University of Oklahoma,  
2009 - present  
Associate Director, Institute for U.S.-China Issues, University of Oklahoma,  
2007 – present.

### **Past Positions**

Associate Professor, Department of Government, Lawrence University, 2006-  
2007.

Assistant Professor of Government and Luce Assistant Professor of East Asian  
Political Economy, Department of Government Lawrence University, 2002 -  
2006.

Fulbright Research Fellow, China. Research on pension reform, based in Beijing  
and Shanghai, 2004-2005.

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of  
Louisville, 1999-2001. Full-time appointment, graduate and undergraduate  
courses.

Director of Research, The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), Seattle,  
Washington, 1996-1998. Research grants and administration for projects on  
East Asian international relations and political economy.

## Research Fields

Political economy of China; labor and social policy of China; comparative and international political economy

## Teaching Fields

Chinese politics; comparative politics of developing countries; international political economy

## Publications

### Books:

*Socialist Insecurity: Pensions and the Politics of Uneven Development in China*. (forthcoming 2010) Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

*The Making of the Chinese Industrial Workplace: State, Revolution, and Labor Management*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Reviewed in: *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *China Quarterly*, *China Journal*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Perspectives on Political Science*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*

### Articles in refereed journals:

"Pensions, Public Opinion, and the Graying of China," *Asia Policy* Vol. 1, No.1 (January 2006), pp. 43-68.

"State Sector Shrinkage and Workforce Reduction in 1990s China," *European Journal of Political Economy* (June 2006), pp. 435-451.

"After Pension Reform: Navigating the 'Third Rail' in China," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 43-68.

"China's Pension Reform and Its Discontents," *The China Journal*, No. 51 (January 2004), pp. 97-114.

"China-India Relations Since Pokhran II: Assessing Sources of Conflict and Cooperation," *AccessAsia Review* (July 2000), pp. 5-36.

"Mobilizing a Movement: Cotton Mill Foremen in the Shanghai Strikes of 1925," *Republican China*, Vol. 20 (November 1994), pp. 1-45.

### Book chapters:

"From Status to Citizenship in China's Emerging Welfare State," in *Chinese Politics: State, Society, and the Market*, Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds., RoutledgeCurzon, 2010.

"Commanding Heights Industrialization and Wage Determination in the Chinese Factory, 1950-1957," in *How China Works: Perspectives on the 20th Century Industrial Workplace*, Jacob Eyferth, ed., Routledge Press, 2006.

"What's in a Law? China's Pension Reform and Its Discontents," revised version of *China Journal* article in *Engaging the Law in China: State, Society, and Possibilities for Justice*, Neil J. Diamant, Stanley B. Lubman, and Kevin J. O'Brien, eds., Stanford University Press, 2005.

"Quiet Competition and the Future of Sino-Indian Relations," in *The India-China Relationship*, Harry Harding and Francine Frankel, eds., Columbia University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2004.

#### **Book reviews:**

Of Ching Kwan Lee, *Working in China: Ethnographies of Labor and Workplace Transformation*, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 66, No. 4 (November 2007).

Of Virginia Harper Ho, *Labor Dispute Resolution in China: Implications for Labor Rights and Legal Reform*, in *China Review International*, Vol 12, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 448-450.

Of Bruce J. Dickson, *Red Capitalists in China*, in *Business History Review*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 816-818.

Of Susan H. Whiting, *Power and Wealth in Rural China*, in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 6 (August 2003), pp. 729-732.

Of Neil Hughes, *China's Economic Challenge: Smashing the Iron Rice Bowl*, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (February 2003), pp. 246-248.

Of John W. Garver, *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century*, in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 469-470.

#### **Professional and policy articles:**

"Pensions, Public Opinion, and the Graying of China," *Asia Policy* Vol. 1, No.1 (January 2006), pp. 43-68.

"Managing Labor, Managing Change: Shop-Floor Institutions in Chinese Factories Before and After 1949," *Chinese Business History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 6-9.

"Coming to Terms with the 'WTO Effect' on U.S.-China Trade and China's Economic Growth," *NBR Briefing*, No. 6 (September 1999).

"China's Accession to the WTO: A Candid Appraisal from U.S. Industry," *NBR Briefing*, No. 7 (September 1999).

### **Current Manuscripts and Research Projects**

"Welfare Policy Pathways Among Large Uneven Developers," under review.

"Pension Rights and the Foundations of State and Labor Relations in China," under review.

"Putting Things into Context: China and the Challenges of Comparison," under review.

"The Role of Business in China's New Welfare State," under review.

"The Sources of Social Policy: Foreign and Local Influence on China's Pension Reforms," under review.

"Economic Nationalism and the Sources of China's Foreign Economic Relations," manuscript in preparation.

### **Conference Papers and Presentations**

"Distributional Coalitions and Welfare Politics in China and Other Large Uneven Developers," presented on the panel "China's Welfare Politics in Comparative Perspective" at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 2009, Toronto.

"A Comparative Perspective on Social Welfare and Multi-level Governance in China," presented at "Challenges, Dynamics, and Implications of Welfare Regime Change in Comparative Perspective," University of Toronto, February 6-7, 2009.

"The Role of Business in the Formation of China's New Welfare State," presented at "Business and the Chinese Miracle," Bocconi University, Milan October 16-18, 2008.

"Pension Rights and the New Foundations of State and Labor Relations in China," presented at "Breaking Down Chinese Walls: The Changing Faces of

Labor and Employment in China," Industrial and Labor Relations School, Cornell University, September 26-28, 2008.

"Globalization and the Making of China's New Welfare State," presented at the University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, October 3, 2006.

"Welfare State Building: China in Comparative Perspective," presented on the panel, "Asian Welfare States: A Cross-National Perspective," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2006, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

"The International Sources of Social Policy Reconsidered: Foreign and Local Influence on China's Pension Reforms," presented on the panel, "Rethinking Policy Reform: the Politics of Poverty and Social Policy in Developing Countries," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2006, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

"One Country, Three Systems: The Politics of Welfare Policy in China's Authoritarian Developmental State," at the conference, "Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: China's Political Economy in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, May 19-20, 2006.

"Pensions, Provinces, and Partial Privatization: External Sources of China's Reforms," presented on the panel, "A Middle Level of Analysis for the Study of the Middle Kingdom: Using Sub-National Comparative Analysis in the Study of Chinese Politics," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

"Whose Money is It? Pension Rights and Property Rights in China's Emerging Welfare State," presented at Institute of Social Development and Public Policy, Beijing Normal University, December 1, 2004, and at School of Public Policy and Management, Qinghua University, December 2, 2004.

"International Influences on China's Pension Reforms," presented at the World Forum on China Studies, Shanghai, China, August 19-21, 2004.

"Advanced Welfare is not Fair: The Centrality of Ideas in Shaping Pension Reform in China," presented at the conference "Socio-Economic Rights in China," Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, April 15-17, 2004.

"Coming Out of Retirement: Ideas and Institutions in China's Pension Reform," presented on the panel, "Chinese Workers Under and After State Socialism:

- Proletarian Masters or Dislocated Losers?" at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, California, March 4-7, 2004.
- "State Sector Shrinkage and Workforce Reduction in 1990s China," paper presented at "The Political Economy of Transition: Job Creation and Job Destruction," Center for European Integration Studies, Bonn, Germany, August 14-17, 2003.
- "There Ought to Be a Law: Evading Fees, Diverting Funds, and Resolving Disputes over Pension Administration in China," presented at "Law and Society in Contemporary China," University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, September 20-21, 2002.
- "The Unfunded Mandate of Heaven: The Center, the Cities, and the Politics of Pension Reform in China," presented on the panel, "Governing from the Center: Structural Reforms and Recentralization in China, Russia, and Eastern Europe," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 28- September 1, 2002.
- "Central-Local Relations and the Politics of Pension Reform in China," presented at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Economics Institute, workshop on state enterprise reform, Beijing, China, June 29-30, 2002.
- "Commanding Heights Industrialization and Wage Determination in the Chinese Factory, 1950-1957," presented at "Workplaces and Work Experiences in The People's Republic of China," Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, June 1-2, 2002.
- "Between a Law and a Hard Place: State and Provincial Governments and the Politics of Labor Market Reform in India and China," presented at the South Asia/China Seminar, Department of Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin, May 2, 2002.
- "Roundtable on India-China Relations," panelist at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, April 4-7, 2002.
- "Prospects for China-India Relations," paper presented at workshops in Beijing, Shanghai, New Delhi, Bangalore, as part of scholarly delegation sponsored by the Asia Society and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, July 2001.
- "The Politics of Proprietorship and Piracy: Three Different Approaches to Understanding Intellectual Property Rights in China," discussant, at the

Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, March 22-25, 2001.

"Charting Changes in China-India Relations after the South Asian Nuclear Tests," presented on the panel, "Asia into the 21st Century," at the Annual Meeting of International Studies Association, South region, in Lexington, Kentucky, November 12-14, 1999.

"Did Planning Take Place?: Guangzhou's Reluctant Proletariat and the Transition to Socialist Factory Management in the 1950s," presented on the panel, "Native Sound, Native Taste, Native Work, Native Place: Guangdong's Coming of Age," at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, March 26-28, 1998.

"Money Talks: Unplanned Outcomes of Socialist Wage Planning in the 1950s," presented at, "Time, Money, and Work in Chinese Culture and Society," Center for Chinese Studies Annual Symposium, University of California, Berkeley, March 21-22, 1997.

"Strikes and Nationalism: Gangs, Bosses and Unions in the May Thirtieth Movement," presented on the panel, "Nationalism Reconsidered: Urban Society in Republican China," at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, Massachusetts, March 23-27, 1994.

## **Grants, Fellowships, Awards**

### **National Awards**

Council for International Exchange of Scholars (Fulbright), Research award, China Studies, 2004-05, for research on pension reform in China.

Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 2005-07. Selected as one of twenty American China scholars to engage in discussions with policymaking communities, media, business leaders in the U.S. and China.

Ford Foundation, Beijing. Individual grant for inclusion of pension-related questions in public opinion survey of Beijing urban households, 2004-05.

Co-director, "Linking Wisconsin Students and Companies to East Asian Markets." Funded with grant from the Bradley Foundation, 2003-05.

Committee on Scholarly Communication with China, National Program for Advanced Study and Research in China, 1994-1995.

American Council of Learned Societies, Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation/ACLS  
Dissertation Research Fellowship in Chinese Studies, 1995.

### **University-wide**

Lawrence University, 2002, 2003, Global Diversity Course Development grants, for development of case materials for courses on international political economy and comparative politics.

University of Louisville, 2001, Intramural Research Incentive Grant, for research on state enterprise reform in China.

Alice Galloway Memorial Fellowship for graduate study, University of California, Berkeley, 1995-1996.

Peter H. Odegard Memorial Award in Political Science for Outstanding Achievement as a Distinguished Doctoral Candidate, University of California, Berkeley, 1994-1995.

Foreign Languages Area Studies (FLAS) and Regents Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 1992-1993.

### **Professional Service**

Manuscript reviews for Cornell University Press, Yale University Press, PalgraveMacMillan; *The China Journal*, *International Politics, Governance, Pacific Affairs*, *Business History Review*, and *Asia Policy*

Participant and presenter, Luce Capstone Conference on Asia in the Liberal Arts Curriculum, Princeton, NJ, October 12-13, 2007.

Peer Review Panelist, Fulbright Research Proposals, China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong; Council on International Exchange of Scholars, Washington, DC, 2006.

Panel organizer, "Governing from the Center: Structural Reforms and Recentralization in China, Russia, and Eastern Europe," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 28- September 1, 2002.

"The India-China Relationship: What the United States Needs to Know," member of scholarly delegation of China and India experts to Beijing, Shanghai, New Delhi, and Bangalore. Sponsored by the Asia Society and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, July 2001.

"State Enterprise Reform in China," project participant in a 2000 survey of 800 enterprises in China, undertaken in cooperation with the National Bureau of

Asian Research and the Economics Institute of the China Academy of Social Sciences, with a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation, 1999-2001.

Selection Committee, Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order, 1999-2000 and 2000-01. Administered by University of Louisville Political Science Department.

Panel organizer, "Nationalism Reconsidered: Urban Society in Republican China," at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, March 23-27, 1994.

### **Public Symposia and Media**

"Pensions: Will China go the Way of General Motors?" China Strategic Demography Workshop, Hudson Institute and American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, September 11, 2008.

"The Paradoxes & Politics of Rapid Growth in China," at 2008 Puterbaugh Conference on World Literature, April 3-4, 2008, University of Oklahoma.

"Made in China: Our Fears about Free Trade," at China Town Hall, Williams Resource Center, Tulsa, OK, sponsored by National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, April 17, 2008.

"The Asian Hedge," at the Energy and Transportation Forum (automobile and energy sector corporate economists), Naperville, Illinois, August 8-9, 2006.

"China's Welfare State: Emerging or Collapsing?" on the panel "Hard Times: The Current Labor Situation in China," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, January 25, 2006. Similar presentation to Congressional staff, January 26, 2006.

"China, India, and the U.S.: The Emerging Strategic Triangle," Great Decisions speech at the Institute of World Affairs at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, March 14, 2006.

"What Will China Do With Its Power?" at the Energy and Transportation Forum (automobile and energy sector corporate economists), Houston, Texas, July 26-28, 2005.

"Pension Policy and Obstacles to Reform in China," at the Russell 20-20 Forum (emerging market investors), Beijing, China, November 9, 2004.

"Five Popular China Myths and their Geopolitical Implications," at the Energy and Transportation Forum, Troy, Michigan, October 28-29, 2003.

"Straddling the Himalayas: Sino-Indian Relations and the Challenges for United States Policy," luncheon speaker at "Luncheon at Lawrence" series for alumni and community, May 10, 2002.

Panelist (on pension reform in China) at "Investing in China's Capital Markets: Where Will WTO-Sparked Reforms Lead?" The Asia Society, New York, May 9, 2002.

"The Making of the Chinese Industrial Workplace," Symposium and Book Talk at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, February 27, 2002.

"China in the Presidential Campaign 2000," panelist at the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, Board of Advisors meeting, Lexington, Kentucky, October 2000.

"China Joins the WTO: A Trade Deal by Any Other Name," speech at Crane House, Louisville, Kentucky, January 2000.

"The People's Republic of China at Fifty," symposium panelist at the Center for East Asian Studies, Indiana University, October 1, 1999.

Guest appearances and interviews with Associated Press, Wisconsin Public Radio, Radio Free Asia, Louisville Courier-Journal, WHAS-TV Louisville.

### **Service to Academic Institution**

Faculty Representative to Committee A (personnel and promotion), School of International and Area Studies, University of Oklahoma. 2008 – 2009.

Area Studies Coordinator for Asian Studies, School of International and Area Studies, University of Oklahoma. 2008 -

Chair, Department of Government, Lawrence University, 2005 – 2007.

Faculty Committee on University Governance, Lawrence University, 2006-07.

Chair, Search Committee in for American Politics position, fall 2005.

Freeman Foundation Grant Steering Committee, 2003-04.

Co-organizer of "The Economic and Political Integration of Greater China," study program in Hong Kong, Shenzhen, and Shanghai, August-September 2004, with 12 students.

Organizer, Mojmir Povolny Lectureship in International Studies, identifying and inviting speakers, organizing speaker schedules, administration of program budget, 2003-04; 2005-06.

Administrator of Luce grant program funds, Lawrence University, 2002-2006.

### **Professional Affiliations**

National Committee on United States-China Relations  
Senior Advisor, National Bureau of Asian Research  
American Political Science Association  
Association for Asian Studies  
International Studies Association

### **Non-Professional Employment**

Staff Writer, *Roll Call* newspaper, Washington, DC, 1987-1989. Covered Congressional campaign finance, elections, ethics issues.

### **Languages**

Mandarin Chinese: advanced speaking and reading. Interuniversity Program, Mandarin Language Training Center ("Stanford Center"), Taipei, Taiwan, 1991-92, full-time enrollment.

Spanish: intermediate. College-level instruction, Princeton University.