

**SHEENA CHESTNUT GREITENS**  
Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs  
University of Texas at Austin  
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## ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT & AFFILIATIONS

### University of Texas at Austin (2020-present)

- Associate Professor (tenured), Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
- Faculty Fellow, Clements Center for National Security
- Distinguished Scholar, Strauss Center for International Security and Law

### University of Missouri (2015-2020)

- Assistant Professor of Political Science
- Faculty Co-Director, Institute for Korean Studies (2017-2020)

### Affiliations:

- **Non-Resident Senior Fellow**, Brookings Institution (2014-present)
- **Adjunct Fellow**, Korea Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies (2016-present)
- **Member**, Digital Freedom Forum, Center for a New American Security (2020-present)
- **Associate in Research**, Harvard Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies (2013-present)

## EDUCATION

### Harvard University

- PhD, Department of Government, 2013
- Dissertation: “Coercive Institutions and State Violence under Authoritarianism.”  
Awarded APSA’s Walter Dean Burnham Award & Harvard’s Richard J. Herrnstein Prize.

### Oxford University (St. Antony’s College)

- M.Phil in International Relations, 2007

### Stanford University

- B.A in Political Science with Distinction & Honors in Security Studies, 2005

## PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

### BOOK

2016. *Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (Cambridge University Press, Studies in Contentious Politics, Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute).
- Winner, 2017 Best Book Award, International Studies Association
  - Winner, 2017 Best Book Award, Comparative Democratization section, APSA
  - Hon. Mention, 2017 J. David Greenstone Best Book Award, APSA Politics & History section
  - Reviewed in *Democratization*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Global Asia*, *Governance*, *H-Diplo ISSF roundtable*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*.

## ARTICLES

2021. "The Geopolitics of Citizenship: Evidence from North Korean Claims to Membership in the South." *Journal of Korean Studies* (forthcoming, March).
2020. "Surveillance, Security, & Democracy in a Post-COVID World," *International Organization* (special supplemental issue on the pandemic), forthcoming (Fall).
2020. "Research Transparency in Authoritarian & Repressive Contexts." With Eva Bellin, Yoshiko Herrera, and Diane Singerman. *Perspectives on Politics* (forthcoming).
2020. "Counterterrorism and Preventive Repression: China's Changing Strategy in Xinjiang." With Myunghee Lee and Emir Yazici. *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 3 (Winter 2019/20).
2019. "Rethinking Democratic Diffusion: Bringing Regime Type Back In." With Edward Goldring. *Comparative Political Studies*. OnlineFirst: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019852701>.
2019. "Repressive Experiences among China Scholars: New Evidence from Survey Data." With Rory Truex. *The China Quarterly*. OnlineFirst: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741019000365>.
2017. "Rethinking China's Coercive Capacity: An Examination of PRC Domestic Security Spending, 1992-2012." *The China Quarterly*: 1-24. September.
2013. "Authoritarianism Online: What Can We Learn From Internet Data in Non-Democracies?" *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 46 (02), April: 262-270.
  - Reprint, *Review of the North Korean Economy* (Korea Development Institute, 2013). In Korean.
2013. "Editors' Introduction: Technology, Data, and Political Science." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 46 (02), April: 259-261. With Gabriel Koehler-Derrick.
2007. "Illicit Activity & Proliferation: North Korean Smuggling Networks." *International Security* 32(1), summer: 80-111.

## BOOK CHAPTERS

2020. "Claiming Citizenship: Rights-Claiming & Recognition for North Koreans Entering South Korea." In *Rights Claiming in South Korea*, eds. Celeste Arrington and Patricia Goedde (Cambridge).
2020. "The North Korean Diaspora." Adrian Buzo, ed., *Handbook of Contemporary North Korea* (Routledge).
2019. "Explaining Economic Order in North Korea." Gregg Brazinsky, ed., *Korea and the World: New Frontiers in Korean Studies* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).
2014. "The U.S.-Philippine Alliance: Opportunities and Challenges." *Strategic Asia 2014-15* (National Bureau of Asian Research).
2013. "Nuclear Weapons and Proliferation." John Baylis, Steve Smith, & Patricia Owens, eds. *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford University Press, 6th/7th eds.) Revised/reprinted 2017.
2012. "Humanitarian Intervention and Peace Operations." John Baylis, James Wirtz, & Colin Gray, eds. *Strategy in the Contemporary World* (Oxford University Press, 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> eds.) Revised/reprinted 2015.
2009. "Is China Rising?" Eva Paus, Penelope Prime, and Jon Western, eds. *Global Giant: Is China Changing the Rules of the Game?* (Palgrave Macmillan). With Alastair Iain Johnston. Other versions published as:
  - "The People's Republic of China at 60: Is it Rising?" in William C. Kirby, ed., *The People's Republic of China at 60: An International Assessment* (Harvard University Press, 2011).

- “‘中国崛起’: 对概念运用的探讨” [‘China’s Rise’: Investigating Operationalization of a Concept]. *中国国际战略评论* [*China International Strategy Review*]. (Peking Univ, 2011). In Chinese.

## WORK IN PROGRESS

- “Information Capacity & Authoritarian Governance: The Local Politics of Social Control in China.” With Huirong Chen. Article manuscript (R&R).
- “Explaining the Global Spread of Chinese Surveillance Technology.” Article manuscript in preparation.
- *Preventive Repression: China’s Search for Coercive Capacity* (book manuscript in progress)
- *Authoritarian Diasporas: Contention & Repression Across International Borders* (book manuscript in progress)

## CONGRESSIONAL & GOVERNMENT TESTIMONY:

2020. “Technological Surveillance of Religion in China.” Testimony before the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. 22 July.
2017. “Black Flags Over Mindanao: Terrorism in Southeast Asia.” Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Asia & the Pacific. 12 July.
2017. “Child Welfare Policy Reforms for the 2018 Session.” Testimony before the Joint Committee on Child Abuse and Neglect, Missouri General Assembly. 13 December.

## POLICY & OTHER WRITING

2020. “The *Saobei* Campaign, Protection Umbrellas, & Impact on China’s Political-Legal Apparatus.” *China Leadership Monitor* (September).
2020. “Universities Need a China Strategy.” *ChinaFile* roundtable on “Future of China Studies in the US,” 27 August 2020.
2020. “China’s Troubling Vision for the Future of Public Health.” *Foreign Affairs*. 10 July. With Julian Gewirtz.
2020. “Why Taiwan’s Assistance to Hong Kong Matters.” *Foreign Policy*. 2 July. With Aram Hur.
2020. “Dealing with Global Demand for China’s Surveillance Exports.” *Brookings Global China Series*. May.
2020. “Why U.S.-North Korea relations will stay stable...for now.” *The National Interest*. 15 May.
2020. “North Korea’s Leader may be in ill health. Is the US well-positioned to respond?” *Washington Post (Monkey Cage)*, 22 April.
2019. “Domestic Security in China under Xi Jinping,” *China Leadership Monitor*, March 1.
2019. Response to *Reviews of Dictators & Their Secret Police*, ISSF H-Diplo roundtable, April.
2017. “What Was Behind the Trump-Duterte Phonecall?” *Washington Post (Monkey Cage)*, 16 May.
2017. “IS THAAD the Start of a US-China Arms Race?” *ChinaFile*, 10 March.
2016. “The US-Philippine Alliance in a Year of Transition,” Brookings report, Summer.
2016. “Better Late Than Never: Why Closing Kaesong Is the Right Call,” Brookings, 17 February.
2014. “Lost in Translation? Problematic Metaphors in U.S.-China Relations,” in *Exploring the Frontiers for US-China Strategic Cooperation* (Center for American Progress).
2014. *Illicit: North Korea’s Evolving Operations to Earn Hard Currency* (HRNK).
  - Summary in *Review of North Korean Economy* (Seoul: KDI, June 2014). In Korean.

2014. “Non-Traditional Security & The U.S.-Philippine Alliance,” *Brookings East Asia Commentary*, No. 77.
2013. “U.S.-China Relations & America’s Alliances in Asia,” *Brookings East Asia Commentary*, No. 65.
2012. “Where Was Asia?” *The New York Times/International Herald Tribune*, 22 October.
2012. “The China-Philippines Standoff and the US-Philippines Alliance,” *Foreign Policy*, 12 April.
2012. “A North Korean Corleone,” *The New York Times*, 4 March.
2012. “Succession & Stability in North Korea,” *CSIS Korea Platform*, 23 January.
2005. “Sopranos State? North Korean Involvement in Criminal Activity,” Nautilus Institute.
  - o Cited in testimony to U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee (March 2011), U.S. Senate (April 2006), Republic of Korea National Assembly (March 2006).

#### **AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS**

- 2020-21 Wilson Center China Fellowship
- 2019 Provost’s Award for Leadership in International Education, University of Missouri
- 2019 National Asia Research Fellowship
- 2017 Major E. Garrett Faculty Fellowship, University of Missouri
- 2015-16 East Asia Institute Fellowship
- 2014 Walter Dean Burnham Dissertation Award, APSA Politics & History section
- 2014 Richard. J. Herrnstein Prize (GSAS, Harvard University)
- 2014 ISA Human Rights Section’s “Best Faculty/Practitioner Paper” award
- 2014-16 Fellow, Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on US-China Relations
- 2013-16 Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International & Area Studies
- 2013-14 Korea Foundation-Mansfield Foundation Scholar
- 2012-13 Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard
- 2011-12 Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Fellowship, U.S. Institute of Peace
- 2011-12 Miller Center National Fellowship in Public Affairs, University of Virginia
- 2010-11 Frederick Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, Harvard University
- 2010-11 Graduate Society Merit Fellowship, Harvard University
- 2009-10 National Security Studies Fellow/Graduate Associate, WCFIA, Harvard University
- 2009 Certificate of Distinction in Teaching, Harvard University Bok Center
- 2009 Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship, Social Science Research Council
- 2008 Wilson Carey McWilliams Prize, APSA Politics, Literature, & Film section
- 2007-12 Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Fellowship, Harvard University
- 2005-07 Marshall Scholarship
- 2005 Firestone Medal, for exceptional undergraduate honors thesis
- 2004 Phi Beta Kappa

#### **RESEARCH GRANTS**

- 2016-21 Academy of Korean Studies, Global Lab Grant on North Korea
- 2017 Research Council Grant, University of Missouri
- 2012 Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant, National Science Foundation
- 2012 Philippines Research Grant, Harvard Asia Center
- 2009-11 Summer Research Grants, Harvard Fairbank Center, Harvard Asia Center
- 2008 Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Grant, to study Mandarin in Beijing

## INVITED TALKS & CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

The *Saobei* Campaign, Protection Umbrellas, & China's Political-Legal Apparatus.

- Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (Sept. 2020)
- *China Leadership Monitor* virtual briefing (Sept. 2020)

Domestic Security in China under Xi Jinping.

- Conversations in Conflict, Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University (Nov. 2020, invited)
- Yonsei University, Institute of Sinology (July 2020)
- Center for a New American Security, annual National Security Conference (July 2020)
- Kluge Center, Library of Congress (Washington, DC, Dec. 2018)

Surveillance, Security & Democracy in a Post-COVID World.

- Brookings Asia Transnational Threats Forum (Oct. 2020, invited)
- US-ROK Alliance conference, Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (Oct. 2020, invited)
- Brookings/NBR workshop, "Asia in Transition: New Technologies and Virtual Divides" (Sept. 2020, invited)
- NBR workshop on Bio-Surveillance in China and Taiwan (August 2020)
- America in the World consortium conference (June 2020)
- Perry World House conference, University of Pennsylvania (June 2020)
- Asia Society webinar (June 2020)

The International Export of China's Surveillance Technology.

- U.S. Naval War College (June 2020)
- University of Pennsylvania, U.S.-China conference (June 2020)
- Brookings, "Global China: Assessing China's Technological Reach," webinar (May 2020)
- NBR/INDOPACOM conference "The PLA & Emerging Technology" (December 2019)
- Duke University, "Getting China Right" conference (December 2019)
- Princeton University, International Relations colloquium (October 2019)
- University of Texas-Austin (LBJ School/Government Dept., October 2019)
- Bridging the Gap/Center for a New American Security workshop (September 2019)
- American Political Science Association annual conference (Washington, September 2019)
- National Asia Policy Assembly (Washington, DC, June 2019)

Information Capacity and Authoritarian Governance: The Local Politics of Social Control in China.

- MIT Comparative Politics workshop (rescheduled for 2020-21, date TBD)
- Harvard Business School (December 2018)
- George Washington University (December 2018)
- American Political Science Association annual conference (Boston, September 2018)

How Geopolitics Shapes Citizenship: Evidence from the North Korean Diaspora.

- Institute for Korean Studies, Indiana University (September 2020, invited)
- Freeman-Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University (February 2019)
- Institute for Korean Studies, George Washington University (April 2018)
- Association for Asian Studies annual conference (March 2018, April 2016)
- Washington University in St. Louis (February 2018)
- Liu Institute for Asia & Asian Studies, Notre Dame (February 2018)
- Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (January 2018)
- Stanford University, APARC Korea Program, Koret Workshop (April 2016)
- East Asia Institute (Seoul, March 2016)

Repressive Experiences Among China Scholars: New Evidence from Survey Data.

- China Program, Stanford University (“State of Chinese politics” conference, December 2018)
- Center for Strategic and International Studies (October 2018)
- American Political Science Association annual conference (Boston, September 2018)

Rethinking China’s Coercive Capacity: PRC Domestic Security Spending, 1992-2012.

- National Committee on US-China Relations (New York, April 2017)
- Project 2049 Conference, Washington, DC (March 2017)
- Princeton University, Center for International Security Studies, Woodrow Wilson School (March 2017)
- George Washington University, Institute for Security & Conflict Studies (March 2016)
- International Studies Association annual conference (March 2015)
- Association for Asian Studies annual conference (March 2015)
- Harvard University, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (March 2014)
- Cornell University, invited China workshop (May 2013)

Coercive Institutions and State Violence Under Authoritarianism.

- Columbia University Weatherhead East Asia Institute (April 2017)
- University of Pennsylvania, Browne Center/Center for Study of Contemporary China (January 2016)
- Duke University, “Young Turks” Workshop on civil-military relations (May 2015)
- Columbia University Human Rights Program (April 2015)
- Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (March 2014)
- International Studies Association annual conference (March 2014)
- Mershon Center/Institute for Korean Studies, Ohio State University (November 2013)
- Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence, Yale University (October 2013)
- American Political Science Association annual conference (September 2013, Sept. 2012, Aug. 2011)
- Association for Asian Studies annual conference (March 2013, March 2012)
- Washington University in St. Louis (October 2012)
- Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia (May 2012)
- Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines (November 2011)
- Sawyer Seminar on Human Rights, University of Wisconsin-Madison (May 2011)

Methodology for studying state violence and authoritarian politics:

- “Opacity and Transparency in the Study of Authoritarian Politics,” American Political Science Association annual conference (September 2016)
- “Researching Political Violence under Authoritarianism: How Ethics Should Shape Methodology,” American Political Science Association annual conference (September 2015)
- “Authoritarianism Online: How Non-Democracies Deal with Information & Communication Technology,” Washington University in St. Louis (April 2013)
- “Lessons Learned from Archival Research in the U.S. and Asia,” Summer Institute for Conducting Archival Research, George Washington University (May 2011)

North Korea: Illicit Networks and Proliferation.

- Center for East Asia Policy Studies, Brookings Institution (April 2014)
- Brookings–Korea Institute for Defense Analysis annual conference (September 2013)
- Turtle Bay Security Roundtable, “Proliferation Challenges in a Flat World” (January 2013)
- Illicit Networks Summit/Council on Foreign Relations, Google Ideas, Tribeca Film Festival (July 2012)
- Oxford University, “Changing Practices & Discourses of War and Crime” conference (January 2007)
- Naval Postgraduate School conference “Terrorism, Networks & WMD Proliferation” (July 2006)
- Center for International Security & Cooperation/Preventive Defense Project (May-June 2005)
- Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard University (November 2007, March 2012)

## TEACHING

### University of Texas at Austin-LBJ School

Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy (Masters in Global Policy Studies, Fall 2020)

### University of Missouri

Democracy and Dictatorship (PhD: Spring 2015, Spring 2017; Fall 2018)

Dictatorship and Democracy (Undergraduate: Spring 2015; Fall 2018)

Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy (Undergraduate: Fall 2015, Fall 2019)

China and Political Science (PhD: Fall 2015, Fall 2019)

America's Wars in Asia (Undergraduate: Spring 2017, Spring 2020)

Research Design & Qualitative Methods (PhD: Spring 2016, Spring 2020)

Research Design & Development Workshop (PhD: Summer 2019)

Professional Development in Political Science (PhD: Spring 2020)

## PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS & SERVICE

### Departmental & Campus Service (UT-Austin)

- Budget Council, LBJ School (2020-present)
- Graduate Studies Committees (PhD, MGPS, 2020-present)
- Third-year review committee, LBJ School (fall 2020)

### Departmental & Campus Service (University of Missouri)

- Department Service:
  - Executive Committee (2019-2021)
  - Search Committees: Constitutional Democracy, 2019-20; Korean Politics & Public Policy, 2018-19
  - Graduate Studies Committee (2018-19)
  - Undergraduate Studies Committee (2015-16)
  - Awards Committee (2015-16)
- Campus Service
  - Peace Studies Advisory Committee (2019-20)
  - Internationalization Strategic Planning Committee (2019-20)

### Disciplinary Service:

- Associate Editor, *Security Studies* (2020-present)
- Editorial boards: *Asia Policy* (2019--); *Asian Politics & Policy* (2020--); *Texas National Security Review* (2020--)
- Advisory Council, Chinese Language Fellowship Program, National Bureau of Asian Research (2018--)
- Selection Committee, North Korea Freedom Scholarship, George W. Bush Library (2017--)
- Committee on Recommendations to AAU, National Committee on US-China Relations (2019)
- Member, APSA Qualitative Transparency Deliberations Working Group on "Research in the Context of Authoritarian/Repressive Political Regimes" (2016--)
- Section program chair, Asian Politics, Midwest Political Science Association (2019-20)
- Co-editor, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, symposium on online data in political science (April 2013).
- Award Committees, American Political Science Association:
  - International Security Studies Best Article Award (2019)
  - Comparative Democratization Section Best Book Award (2016, 2018)
  - International History & Politics Best Article Award (2018)
  - Politics & History Section Walter Dean Burnham Dissertation Award (2015)
  - Politics, Literature & Film Section Wilson Carey McWilliams Prize (2009)

- Panel organizer:
  - “Mobilization and Repression under Authoritarianism” (APSA, 2019)
  - “Narrative, Identity, Citizenship: How N. Korean Defectors Shape Politics” (AAS, Seattle, 2016)
  - “China’s Security State: Past, Present, Future” (AAS, Chicago, 2015)
  - “Coercive Institutions Under Authoritarianism” (APSA, New Orleans, 2012)
- Reviewer: *Administration & Society*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Asia Policy*, *Asian Politics & Policy*, *Asian Security*, *Asian Survey*, *China Journal*, *China Quarterly*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Democratization*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Human Rights Review*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Studies Review*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Journal of Korean Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *World Politics*. Brookings; Columbia University Press; Center for Security and Emerging Technology (Georgetown); Oxford University Press; Routledge; Yale University Press.
- Research-based media commentary and coverage: *Arirang TV*, *Asahi TV*, *Asia Business Daily*, *Associated Press*, *Ave Maria radio*, *Bloomberg*, *Business Insider*, *Buzzfeed*, *Channel News Asia*, *CNN*, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, *Daily Mail*, *Deutsche Welle*, *Fox News*, *Fuji TV*, *Global Post*, *The Guardian*, *KBS*, *KFRU*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Maneater*, *Le Monde*, *NBC News*, *New York Daily News*, *New York Post*, *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *NKNews*, *National Public Radio*, *Phnom Penh Post*, *Politico*, *Radio Free Asia*, *Reuters*, *Slate (Political Gabfest)*, *South China Morning Post*, *TBS “This Morning”*, *The Telegraph*, *Time Magazine*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *USA Today*, *Vice News*, *Vox*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *Wired*.
- Professional Memberships:
  - National Committee on US-China Relations (2015-present)
  - American Political Science Association (2007-present)
  - Association for Asian Studies (2010-present)
  - International Studies Association (2012-present).

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

### Oxford University Press (2006-2012)

- Edited chapters and coordinated production of textbooks on strategy, international relations

### Office of the Secretary of State, Policy Planning Staff (summer 2006)

- Wrote policy reviews and briefing memos on East Asia, nuclear proliferation, and political violence

### International Institute of Strategic Studies (Summer 2004)

- Conducted research and drafted text for *The Military Balance*

### Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University (2002-03)

- Researched wartime atrocities for *Rethinking Historical Injustice & Reconciliation in Northeast Asia* (Routledge, 2008)

### Brookings Institution, Center for Northeast Asia Policy Studies, Washington, DC (Summer 2003)

- Researched Korea-China relations for chapter in *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia* (ME Sharpe, 2005)

## RESEARCH SKILLS & TRAINING

- **Software:** R, LaTeX, ArcGIS
- **Languages:** Mandarin Chinese (proficient); Spanish (intermediate); German, French, Korean (basic)



- **Overseas field research & travel:** China (2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017); Taiwan (2010, 2011, 2013); South Korea (2005, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017); North Korea (2012); Japan (2005, 2013, 2014); Philippines (2011, 2012); Burma/Myanmar (2012).
  - Visiting Scholar, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica (Taipei, 2010)
  - Visiting Scholar, Institute for China Studies, Seoul National University (Seoul, 2011)
  - Visiting Research Fellow, Third World Studies Center, Univ. of the Philippines (Manila, 2011)
- **Additional professional training:**
  - Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR, Summer 2011)
  - Institute for Qualitative & Multi-method Research (IQMR, Summer 2011)
  - Faculty Success Program, National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity (Spr. 2020)
  - Responsible Public Engagement Institute (Univ. of Denver, Spring 2021)
  - Bridging the Gap, International Policy Studies Institute (Summer 2021)