

TIM SUMMERS

PROFILE

Dr Tim Summers works on the politics, international relations and political economy of contemporary China. He is an Assistant Professor at the Centre for China Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) where he is also Director of the MA in Chinese Studies.

Tim's research interests range from contemporary China and critical geopolitics / global political economy to China's sub-national regions, especially southwest China and Hong Kong. He is the author of three books, *China's Hong Kong: the Politics of a Global City* (2019), *China's Regions in an Era of Globalization* (2018) and *Yunnan – A Chinese Bridgehead to Asia* (2013). He has published in a range of academic journals, including *Third World Quarterly*, *The Pacific Review*, *International Affairs*, *China Information*, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *The Journal of Contemporary China* and *Issues & Studies*.

As a (non-resident) Senior Consulting Fellow at Chatham House, Tim has co-authored research papers on *EU-China Innovation Relations* (2018), *EU-China 2025* (2017) and *The Asia-Pacific Power Balance* (2015), and is the sole author of *Brexit: implications for EU-China relations* (2017) and *China's Global Personality* (2014). Tim has also written extensively on UK-China relations and British policy towards China (including Hong Kong).

Tim is a member of the European Think Tank Network on China (ETNC), the Global China Research and the Policy Research programmes at CUHK, and has appeared regularly in the media. He was Secretary of the Hong Kong Political Science Association from 2014 to 2018, and has served as a reviewer for grant proposals, book publishers and academic journals, and as a PhD examiner (see below for details).

Prior to taking his PhD, Tim was a British diplomat for 13 years, including a posting as Consul-General in Chongqing from 2004 to 2007, and five years in Hong Kong from 1996 to 2001. He speaks both Cantonese and Putonghua.

EDUCATION

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 2008-2010 | PhD in Chinese Studies, Centre for East Asian Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Advisors: Profs Arif Dirlik and Wang Shaoguang) |
| 1990-1994 | MA (Hons), Queens' College, Cambridge (United Kingdom) |

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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|--------------|--|
| 2020- | Assistant Professor, Centre for China Studies, CUHK |
| 2017-2020 | Lecturer, Centre for China Studies, CUHK |
| 2010-2017 | Adjunct Assistant Professor, Centre for China Studies, CUHK |
| 2013- | Senior Consulting Fellow, Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London (non-resident affiliation) |
| 2009-2012 | Research Associate, The Foreign Policy Centre, London (non-resident affiliation) |
| Jan-May 2011 | Part-time lecturer, Department for Asian and International Studies, City University of Hong Kong |
| 1994-2007 | British diplomat (Chongqing, Hong Kong, London) |

RESEARCH OUTPUT

BOOKS

China's Hong Kong: the politics of a global city (Agenda Publishing, 2019; second edition forthcoming)

China's Regions in an Era of Globalization (London and New York: Routledge, 2018)

Yunnan—A Chinese Bridgehead to Asia: a case study of China's political and economic relations with its neighbours (Oxford: Chandos, 2013)

JOURNAL ARTICLES & BOOK CHAPTERS

"Negotiating the boundaries of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)". In James Sidaway et al., eds, Politics and spaces of China's Belt and Road Initiative. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 2020

"Structural power and the financing of the Belt and Road Initiative", *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 61(2): 146-151, 2020

"The UK's China policy under US-China strategic rivalry: the impact of think tank research", *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 5(2): 1-20, 2019

"The Belt and Road Initiative in Southwest China: Responses from Yunnan Province", *The Pacific Review*, DOI: [10.1080/09512748.2019.1653956](https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2019.1653956), 2019

"The External Affairs of the Hong Kong SAR: UK-Hong Kong Economic Relations", *Asian Education and Development Studies* 8(2): 126-136, 2019

"US-China strategic rivalry and its implications", *China's World* 3(2): 14-27, 2018

"The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region at 20: Evaluating the Sino-British Joint Declaration", *Asian Education and Development Studies* 7(1): 89-101, 2018

"Rocking the boat? China's 'belt and road' and global order", in Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Niv Horesh, eds, *China's Presence in the Middle East: The implications of the One Belt, One Road Initiative*. Routledge, 2018

"Chinese multilateralism: diluting the TPP", in Adrian Hearn and Margaret Myers, eds, *The changing currents of transpacific integration: China, the TPP, and beyond*. Lynne Rienner, 2017, 77-86

"British policy towards Hong Kong and its political reform", *Issues & Studies* 52(4), 2016

"Discourses and institutions in China's maritime disputes", *China Information* 30 (3): 275-295, 2016

"Thinking inside the box: China and global/regional governance", *Rising Powers Quarterly* 1(1): 23-31, 2016

"China's 'New Silk Roads': sub-national regions and networks of global political economy", *Third World Quarterly* 37(9): 1628-43, 2016

"Society and politics in China Today", *International Affairs* 91(5): 1151-60, 2015

"Rebalancing towards a Sustainable Future: China's Twelfth Five-Year Programme" with Ash, R. and Porter, R. in *China and the EU in Context: Insights for Business and Investors*, Brown, K. (ed), London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014

"(Re)positioning Yunnan: Region and Nation in Contemporary Provincial Narratives", *Journal of Contemporary China* 21(75): 445-459, May 2012

“China’s Western Regions 2020: Their National and Global Implications”, in *China 2020: What Policy Makers Need to Know About the New Rising Power in the Coming Decade*, edited by Kerry Brown, Oxford: Chandos, 2011

“China and the Mekong Region”, *China Perspectives* 2008 (3): 68-77

POLICY RESEARCH

Written evidence for UK Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into “The FCO and the Integrated Review”, 2020

“UK: Sharpening the China Debate amid Covid-19” in *Covid-19 and Europe-China Relations*, European think-tank network on China, 2020

“Better the devil you know? US-China strategic rivalry and the UK’s China policy” in *Europe in the Face of US-China Rivalry*, European think-tank network on China, 2020

“Policy coordination is key element” in *Common Prosperity: Global Views on Belt and Road Initiative*, Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2019

“UK-China: Broadening the values agenda” in *Political values in Europe-China relations*, European think-tank network on China, 2018

“EU-China Innovation Relations: From Zero Sum to Global Networks”, with K. C. Kwok and Lawrence J. Lau, *Chatham House Research Paper*, 2018

Written evidence for UK Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into “China and the international rules-based system”, 2018

“Enhancing Hong Kong’s role in international relations”, report for the PPR Project “One Belt One Road: China’s Motives and Hong Kong’s Roles”, co-authored with Zhang Baohui, 2018.

“Chinese Investment in the UK: Growing Flows or Growing Controversy?” in *Chinese Investment in Europe: A Country-Level Approach*, European think-tank network on China, 2017

“EU-China economic relations to 2025: building a common future”, joint research paper for Chatham House, Bruegel, CUHK and China Center for International Economic Exchanges, co-authored with Alicia Garcia-Herrero, K.C.Kwok, Liu Xiangdong, Zhang Yansheng, 2017

“Brexit: implications for EU-China relations”, Chatham House research paper, 2017

“Hong Kong: Is the handover deal unraveling?” in *The Critical Transition: China’s Priorities for 2021*, Chatham House research paper, 2017

Written evidence for UK Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into China, Jan. 2017

“A platform for commercial cooperation”, chapter on UK approaches in *Europe and China’s New Silk Roads*, European think-tank network on China, 2016

“The Asia-Pacific Power Balance: beyond the US-China narrative” Chatham House research paper, co-authored with Xenia Wickett and John Nilsson-Wright, Sept. 2015

“UK-China relations: navigating a changing world” in *Mapping Europe-China relations: a bottom-up approach*, European think-tank network on China, 2015

“China’s approaches to globalization”, *China’s World* 1 (1), 2015

Written evidence for UK Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into the UK’s relations with Hong Kong, Jan. 2015

“China’s Global Personality”, Chatham House research paper, 2014

“China’s New Leadership: approaches to international affairs”, Chatham House, 2013

“China: state aid and subsidies”, unpublished paper for the Europe-China Research and Advice Network, with Robert Ash and Robin Porter, 2013

“Reform’ and China’s new leadership”, *Foreign Policy Centre*, Nov. 2012

“China’s economic geography: moving outside the Pearl River Delta”, *Foreign Policy Centre*, 2012

“Engaging with inland China”, *Foreign Policy Centre*, 2011

“Global Shifts and China’s Response – Is Beijing taking a new approach to global issues?” *Foreign Policy Centre*, 2010

“The PRC at 60 – A New Chapter for China?” *Foreign Policy Centre*, 2009

SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS (* indicates invited presentation)

“Economic statecraft in Sino-British negotiations: the Hong Kong airport”, Conference on China’s economic statecraft, City University of Macao, 6 Jan. 2020

“Imagining Brexit: Britain’s China policy and the Belt and Road Initiative”, Nottingham University, 1-2 Nov. 2019

“British policy towards Hong Kong”, Hong Kong Political Science Association annual conference, 26 Oct. 2019

“Structural power, globalization, and the financing of the belt and road initiative”, 1st FinGeo Global Conference, Beijing Normal University, 15-18 Sept. 2019

“The Belt and Road as Discourse”, International Convention of Asian Scholars, Leiden, 16-19 July 2019

“Maritime politics and maritime discourse in the Indo/Asia-Pacific”, ISA regional conference, Singapore, 4-6 July 2019

*“US-China relations: global implications”, Fourth East Lake Forum on Global Governance, hosted by Huazhong University of Science and Technology, Wuhan, 24-25 Nov. 2018

“Yunnan and the Belt and Road Initiative”, annual conference of the Hong Kong Political Science Association, City University of Hong Kong, 3 Nov. 2018

*“China and globalization: prospects and challenges”, second international symposium on the new demands of global economic governance, organised by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai, 23 June 2018

*“Beijing’s economic statecraft since 1992: Hong Kong and Taiwan”, conference on China’s economic statecraft, City University of Macau, 30-31 May 2018

*“China and the US”, conference on American Grand Strategy and US-China Relations under Trump, Zhejiang University, 19 May 2018

*“Borders and the Belt and Road Initiative”, Workshop on Borders, Mobilities and New Infrastructure in an Age of Shifting Power Configurations, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 9-10 Jan. 2018

*“China, infrastructure and development finance”, conference on the Belt and Road Initiative, Chatham House, 16 Oct. 2018

“British policy towards Hong Kong and its political reform”, Conference on the 20th Anniversary of Hong Kong SAR, Hong Kong Education University, 25 May 2017

*“The Hong Kong SAR at 20: a British perspective”, conference on Cultural Integration and Cultural Conflict: Great Power Relations and Hong Kong, Zhejiang University, 20 May 2017

“Brexit and EU-China relations”, UK-China universities and think tank dialogue, Fudan University, 5 Dec. 2016

“Hong Kong identity and British policy towards Hong Kong”, Hong Kong Political Science Association conference, CUHK, 26 Nov. 2016

“The EU, China and a global order in flux”, UACES annual conference, London, 5-7 Sept 2016

*“Hong Kong-Pearl River Delta relations”, Distinguished Scholar Lecture, Qianhai Institute for Innovative Research, 17 May 2016

*“China’s ‘New Silk Roads’”, University of Nottingham conference, 5 May 2016

“China’s ‘New Silk Roads’”, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology MBA programme, 22 March 2016

“China 2020: will the reforms work?” ASIS conference, Shanghai, Dec. 2015

*“EU-China partnership in a changing world”, conference on EU-China relations, Chinese Academy of Governance, Beijing, 5 May 2015

*“The Rise of China and Regional Order in Asia”, Savantas Liberal Arts Academy, 2 May 2015

“China, Globalisation and Chinese ODI”, symposium on the global impact of Chinese foreign direct investment, World Universities Network conference, CUHK, 27 April 2015

*“The Making of China’s Foreign Policy”, Leadership and Public Policy programme, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 8 Dec. 2014

“China’s Maritime Disputes: Discourses of Maritime Space and the Renegotiation of Regional Order”, presented at *China Information* workshop on China’s maritime disputes, University of Macao, 5-6 Dec. 2014

“From Surfaces to (Global) Networks: PRC Regional Policy and the New Silk Roads”, presented at a conference on “The Silk Web in the 21st Century: Global Landscapes Among the West, China and Southwest Asia”, The Hopkins Nanjing Center, 7-8 Nov. 2014

“Yunnan and the Southern Silk Roads: Provincial history and contemporary Chinese policy formation”, paper presented at Inter-Asian Connections III, Hong Kong University, June 2012

BOOK REVIEWS

Huiyao Wang and Lu Miao, eds. *Handbook on China and Globalization*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. 2019. In *The China Journal* (forthcoming).

Yun Fan. *Social movements in Taiwan’s democratic transition: linking activists to the changing political environment*. London and New York: Routledge. 2019. In *International Affairs* 95(6): 1473-74, Nov. 2019

Kerry Brown. *China’s Dream: the culture of Chinese communism and the secret sources of its power*. 2018. Carl Minzner. *End of an era: how China’s authoritarian revival is undermining its rise*. 2018. In *International Affairs* 95(5): 1196-7, Sept. 2019

Scott A. W. Brown. *Power, Perception and Foreign Policymaking: US and EU Responses to the Rise of China*. 2018. In *International Affairs* 95(3): 748-9, May 2019

Qin Yaqing. *A Relational Theory of World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2018. In *International Affairs* 95(1), Jan. 2019

- Benjamin Barton. Political Trust and the Politics of Security Engagement: China and the European Union in Africa. London and New York: Routledge. 2018. In *International Affairs* 94(5), 2018
- Yonghong Yang. Sovereignty in China's Perspective. Frankfurt am Maim: Peter Lang GmbH. 2017. In *International Affairs* 94(4), 2018
- Edward Vickers and Zeng Xiaodong. Education and Society in Post-Mao China. London and New York: Routledge. 2017. In *International Affairs* 94(2),2018
- John Farnell and Paul Irwin Crookes. The Politics of EU-China Economic Relations: An Uneasy Partnership. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2016. Jianwei Wang and Weiqing Song, eds. China, The European Union, and the International Politics of Global Governance. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2016. In *International Affairs* 94(1), 2018
- J. Michael Cole. Convergence or Conflict in the Taiwan Strait: The illusion of peace? London and New York: Routledge. 2017. In *International Affairs* 93(6), 2017
- Kai He. China's Crisis Behavior: Political Survival and Foreign Policy after the Cold War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2016. In *International Affairs* 93(5), 2017
- Jim Stent, China's Banking Transformation: The Untold Story. Oxford: OUP. 2017. In *Asian Review of Books*, 20 June 2017
- Richard Bush. Hong Kong in the Shadow of China: Living with the Leviathan. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. 2016. In *International Affairs* 93(4), 2017
- Ben Hillman and Grey Tuttle, eds. Ethnic Conflict and Protest in Tibet and Xinjiang. New York: Columbia University Press. 2016. Michael E. Clarke and Douglas Smith, eds. China's Frontier Regions: Ethnicity, Economic Integration and Foreign Relations. London and New York: I.B.Tauris. 2016. In *International Affairs* 93(3), 2017
- Steve Chan. China's Troubled Waters: Maritime Disputes in Theoretical Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2016. In *China Information* 31(1), 115-116, 2017
- Syaru Shirley Lin. Taiwan's China dilemma: contested identities and multiple interests in Taiwan's cross-strait economic policy. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2016. In *International Affairs* 93(2), 2017
- Emil J. Kirchner, Thomas Christiansen, and Han Dorussen, eds. Security Relations between China and the European Union. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2016. Philippe Le Corre and Alain Sepulchre. China's Offensive in Europe (translated by Susan Emanuel). Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. 2016. In *International Affairs* 93(1), 2017
- Brantly Womack and Yufan Hao, eds. Rethinking the triangle: Washington-Beijing-Taipei. Singapore: World Scientific and University of Macau. 2016. In *International Affairs* 92(6), 2016
- Marco Aliberti. When China Goes to the Moon... Switzerland: Springer. 2015. In *International Affairs* 92(5), 2016
- China under Mao: a revolution derailed. Andrew G. Walder. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2015. In *International Affairs* 92(4), 2016
- David B. H. Denoon, ed. China, the United States, and the Future of Central Asia. New York University Press. New York and London. 2015. In *International Affairs* 92(3), 2016
- Sulmaan Wasif Khan. Muslim, Trader, Nomad, Spy: China's Cold War and the People of the Tibetan Borderlands. The University of North Carolina Press. 2015. In *International Affairs* 92(2), 2016

Phillip C. Saunders and Andrew Scobell, eds. PLA influence on China's national security policymaking. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2015. In *International Affairs* 92(1), 2016

Marcin Kaczmarek. Russia-China Relations in the Post-Crisis International Order. Routledge: Oxon and New York. 2015. In *International Affairs* 91(6), 2015

Simon Reich and Richard Ned Lebow. Good-bye hegemony! Power and influence in the global system. 2014. In *International Affairs* 91(4), 2015

Tai Ming Cheung, ed. Forging China's military might: a new framework for assessing innovation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. In *International Affairs* 91(3), 2015

Shicun Wu and Keyuan Zou, eds. Security the Safety of Navigation in East Asia: Legal and political dimensions. Oxford, Cambridge, Philadelphia, New Delhi: Chandos Publishing. 2013. Shicun Wu. Solving Disputes for Regional Cooperation and Development in the South China Sea: A Chinese perspective. Oxford, Cambridge, Philadelphia, New Delhi: Chandos Publishing. 2013. In *International Affairs* 91(2), 2015

Mark Beeson and Fujian Li. China's Regional Relations: Evolving Foreign Policy Dynamics. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2014. Gilbert Rozman. The Sino-Russian Challenge to the World Order: National Identities, Bilateral Relations, and East versus West in the 2010s. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2014. In *International Affairs* 91(1), 2015

David M. Lampton. Following the Leader: Ruling China, from Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press. 2014. Jonathan Fenby. Will China Dominate the 21st Century? Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press. 2014. In *International Affairs* 90(6), 2014

Elizabeth C. Economy and Michael Levi. By All Means Necessary: How China's Resource Quest is Changing the World. New York: OUP (a Council on Foreign Relations book). 2014. Gabriel Lafitte. Spoiling Tibet: China and Resource Nationalism on the Roof of the World. London and New York: Zed Books. 2013. In *International Affairs* 90(5), 2014

Han Enze. Contestation and Adaptation: The Politics of National Identity in China. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. In *International Affairs* 90(4), 2014

Evelyn Goh. The Struggle for Order: Hegemony, Hierarchy, and Transition in Post-Cold War East Asia. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013. David P. Rapkin and William R. Thompson. Transition Scenarios: China and the United States in the Twenty-First Century. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 2013. In *International Affairs* 90(3), 2014

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell. China's search for security. New York: Columbia University Press. 2012. Denny Roy. Return of the dragon: rising China and regional security. New York: Columbia University Press. 2013. Gilbert Rozman, ed. National identities and bilateral relations: widening gaps in East Asia and Chinese demonization of the United States. Washington DC, and Stanford, CA: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Stanford University Press. 2013. In *International Affairs* 90(2), 2014

Mel Gurtov. Will this be China's century? A skeptic's view. Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner. 2013. David Shambaugh. China goes global: the partial power. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Hugh White. The China choice: why we should share power. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012. In *International Affairs* 89(6), 2013

Marlene Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse. The Chinese question in Central Asia: domestic order, social change and the Chinese factor. London: Hurst. 2012. In *International Affairs* 89(4), 2013

OTHER ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Recipient of CUHK Faculty of Arts **outstanding teaching award** 2019.

External **PhD examiner** for Monash University (2020) and King's College London (ongoing).

Reviewer of **grant and book proposals** for the European Research Council, Oxford University Press, Taylor & Francis Books, Edward Elgar, Hong Kong University Press, and Agenda Publishing.

Peer reviewer of articles for journals including *The Pacific Review*, *International Affairs*, *China: An International Journal*, *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, *Issues and Studies*, *Global Policy*, *Fudan Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, *World Development*, *Globalizations*, *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, *Cambridge Journal of Regions Economy and Society*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Political Science*, *Territory Politics Governance*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *SAGE Open*, *International Journal of Asian Studies*, *Island Studies Journal*, *Journal of Peace and War Studies*, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*.

Research grants (individual):

- CUHK Faculty of Arts Direct Grant: "A community of shared future": ideas, innovations and debates in China's global vision, May 2020-May 2021 (HK\$34,987)
- CUHK Faculty of Social Science Direct Grant: China's Belt and Road Initiative: Provincial Policy Responses in Yunnan, May 2018 - Feb. 2019 (HK\$25,906)
- Paper on "China's global personality" for Chatham House, funded by the Canadian Government, 2014 (CA\$16,000)

Ongoing collaborations:

- Palacky University project on perceptions of China in Europe
- European Think-tank Network on China