

## References

- Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Alkon, Meir, and Erik Haixiao Wang. 2018. "Pollution Lowers Support for China's Regime: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Beijing." *Journal of Politics* 80 (1): 327–31.
- Alt, James E., and David Dreyer Lassen. 2006. "Transparency, Political Polarization, and Political Budget Cycles in OECD Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 530–50.
- Andrews, Steven Q. 2008a. "Inconsistencies in Air Quality Metrics: 'Blue Sky' Days and PM<sub>10</sub> Concentrations in Beijing." *Environmental Research Letters* 3 (3): 034009.
- 2008b. "Playing Air-Quality Games." *Far Eastern Economic Review* (July–August): 53–57. <http://iz.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2008/images/08/12/sqandrews.air.games.pdf>.
- Arias, Eric, Pablo Balán, Horacio Larreguy, John Marshall, and Pablo Querubín. 2019. "Information Provision, Voter Coordination, and Electoral Accountability: Evidence from Mexican Social Networks." *American Political Science Review* 113 (2): 475–98.
- Austin, Wes, Stefano Carattini, John Gomez Mahecha, and Michael Pesko. 2020. "COVID-19 Mortality and Contemporaneous Air Pollution." Centre for Climate Change Economics and Policy Working Paper no. 380. Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment Working Paper no. 352. London: London School of Economics and Political Science. [www.lse.ac.uk/granthaminstitute/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/working-paper-352-Austin-et-al-1.pdf](http://www.lse.ac.uk/granthaminstitute/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/working-paper-352-Austin-et-al-1.pdf).
- Beeler, Carolyn. 2017. "Is China Really Stepping up as the World's New Climate Leader?" *The World*. November 8. <https://theworld.org/stories/2017-11-08/china-really-stepping-world-s-new-climate-leader>.
- Bennett, Gordon. 1976. *Yundong: Mass Campaigns in Chinese Communist Leadership*. Berkeley, CA: Center for Chinese Studies China Research Monographs.
- Bernstein, Thomas. 1967. "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivisation Campaigns of 1929–30 and 1955–56: A Comparison." *The China Quarterly* 31: 1–47.
1984. "Stalinism, Famine, and Chinese Peasants: Grain Procurements during the Great Leap Forward." *Theory and Society* 13 (3): 339–77.
- Bernstein, Thomas, and Xiaobo Lü. 2003. *Taxation without Representation in Contemporary Rural China*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bo, Zhiyue. 2002. *Chinese Provincial Leaders: Economic Performance and Political Mobility since 1949*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

- Bradsher, Keith. 2017. "Shivering Children, Pricier Spandex: The Impact of China's Energy Stumble." *New York Times*, December 12. [www.nytimes.com/2017/12/12/business/energy-environment/china-gas-coal.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/12/business/energy-environment/china-gas-coal.html).
- Buchanan, James. 1980. "Rent Seeking and Profit Seeking." In *Toward a Theory of the Rent-Seeking Society*, edited by James Buchanan, Robert Tollison, and Gordon Tullock, 3–15. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cai, Yongshun. 2004. "Irresponsible State: Local Cadres and Image-Building in China." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 20 (4): 20–41.
- Carlin, Ryan E., Gregory J. Love, and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo. 2015. "Security, Clarity of Responsibility, and Presidential Approval." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (4): 438–63.
- Cejudo Ramírez, Guillermo Miguel, and Alejandra Ríos Cázares. 2009. "La Rendición de Cuentas de Los Gobiernos Estatales En México." Working Paper no. 225. Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas.
- Cell, Charles. 1976. *Revolution at Work: Mobilization Campaigns in China*. Cambridge, MA: Academic Press.
- Central Committee of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party). 2013. Decision on Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reforms. Abridged version by *China Daily*. [www.china.org.cn/china/third\\_plenary\\_session/2013-11/16/content\\_30620736.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/china/third_plenary_session/2013-11/16/content_30620736.htm).
2015. Proposal on Formulating the Thirteenth Five-Year Plan (2016–2020) on National Economic and Social Development. <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2015/1103/c399243-27772351.html>.
- Cernak, Jan, and Reto Knutti. 2009. "Beijing Olympics as an Aerosol Field Experiment." *Geophysical Research Letters* 36 (10): L10806.
- Chen, Xi, and William D. Nordhaus. 2011. "Using Luminosity Data as a Proxy for Economic Statistics." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108 (21): 8589–94.
- Chen, Ye, Hongbin Li, and Li-An Zhou. 2005. "Relative Performance Evaluation and the Turnover of Provincial Leaders in China." *Economics Letters* 88 (3): 421–25.
- Chen, Yuyu, Avraham Ebenstein, Michael Greenstone, and Hongbin Li. 2013. "Evidence on the Impact of Sustained Exposure to Air Pollution on Life Expectancy from China's Huai River Policy." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110 (32): 12936–41.
- Chen, Yuyu, Ginger Zhe Jin, Naresh Kumar, and Guang Shi. 2013. "The Promise of Beijing: Evaluating the Impact of the 2008 Olympic Games on Air Quality." *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 66 (3): 424–43.
- China Daily. 2017. "11 Unheated Hebei Primary Schools Get Temporary Heating." December 6. [www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201712/06/WS5a279272a3107865316d4cfe.html](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201712/06/WS5a279272a3107865316d4cfe.html).
- Chong, Alberto, Ana De La O, Dean Karlan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2015. "Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice and Party Identification." *Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 55–71.
- Christensen, Darin, and Simon Ejdemyr. 2020. "Do Elections Improve Constituency Responsiveness? Evidence from US Cities." *Political Science Research and Methods* 8 (3): 459–76.
- Clark, Alan. 2017. "China's Environmental Clean-up to Have Big Impact on Industry." *Financial Times*, May 22. [www.ft.com/content/e22dd988-3ed9-11e7-9d56-25f63e998b2](http://www.ft.com/content/e22dd988-3ed9-11e7-9d56-25f63e998b2).
- Congreso de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. 1998. Reforma 18: Ley de Coordinación Fiscal. [www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/lcf/LCF\\_ref18\\_31dic98.pdf](http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/lcf/LCF_ref18_31dic98.pdf).

- Coutino, Alfredo. 2017. "Mexico's Political Business Cycle: The Economy Benefits, and Suffers, Every Six Years." Moody's Analytics. April 7. [www.economy.com/economic-view/analysis/294677/Mexicos-Political-Business-Cycle](http://www.economy.com/economic-view/analysis/294677/Mexicos-Political-Business-Cycle).
- Crenson, Matthew A. 1971. *The Un-Politics of Air Pollution: A Study of Non-Decisionmaking in the Cities*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Dasgupta, Susmita, Mainul Huq, and David Wheeler. 1997. "Bending the Rules: Discretionary Pollution Control in China." World Bank, Environment, Infrastructure, and Agriculture Division, Policy Research Department Working Paper no. 1761. Washington, DC. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/146211468771863312/pdf/multiopage.pdf>.
- Davis, Lucas W. 2008. "The Effect of Driving Restrictions on Air Quality in Mexico City." *Journal of Political Economy* 116 (1): 38–79.
- Deacon, Robert T. 2009. "Public Good Provision under Dictatorship and Democracy." *Public Choice* 139: 241–62.
- Dewatripont, Mathias, Ian Jewitt, and Jean Tirole. 1999. "The Economics of Career Concerns, Part II: Application to Missions and Accountability of Government Agencies." *The Review of Economic Studies* 66 (1): 199–217.
- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto. 2019. "Fiscal Federalism and Redistribution in Mexico." In *Federalism and Social Policy: Patterns of Redistribution in 11 Democracies*, edited by Scott L. Greer and Heather Elliott, 247–69. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Dirección de Salud Ambiental. 2016. Estimación de Impactos En La Salud Por Contaminación Atmosférica En La Región Centro Del País y Alternativas de Gestión. Cuernavaca, Mexico.
- Domínguez, Judith. 2010. "Integralidad y Transversalidad de La Política Ambiental." In *Los Grandes Problemas de México*, 257–94. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.
- Dominici, Francesca, Roger D. Peng, Michelle L. Bell, Luu Pham, Aidan McDermott, Scott L. Zeger, and Jonathan M. Samet. 2006. "Fine Particulate Air Pollution and Hospital Admission for Cardiovascular and Respiratory Diseases." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 295 (10): 1127–34.
- Dong, Ruiqiang. 2017. "Special Heat Provision Season: Strictest Order Came to Jing-Jin-Ji." *Economic Observer*, November 18. [www.eeo.com.cn/2017/1118/317117.shtml](http://www.eeo.com.cn/2017/1118/317117.shtml).
- Drzen, Allan, and Marcela Eslava. 2010. "Electoral Manipulation via Voter-Friendly Spending: Theory and Evidence." *Journal of Development Economics* 92 (1): 39–52.
- Eaton, Sarah, and Genia Kostka. 2014. "Authoritarian Environmentalism Undermined? Local Leaders' Time Horizons and Environmental Policy Implementation in China." *The China Quarterly* 218: 359–80.
- Economy, Elizabeth C. 2004. *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- European Chamber. 2016. "Overcapacity in China: An Impediment to the Party's Reform Agenda." Beijing. [www.eurochamber.com.cn/en/publications-overcapacity-in-china](http://www.eurochamber.com.cn/en/publications-overcapacity-in-china).
- Exner, Mechthild. 1995. "Convergence of Ideology and the Law: The Functions of the Legal Education Campaign in Building a Chinese Legal System." *Issues & Studies* 31 (8): 68–102.
- Fan, Ruohong, and Fran Wang. 2017. "Tangshan's Pollution-Control Measures Fall Victim to Quest for Profits." Caixin Global. [www.caixinglobal.com/2017-02-17/tangshans-pollution-control-measures-fall-victim-to-quest-for-profits-101056414.html](http://www.caixinglobal.com/2017-02-17/tangshans-pollution-control-measures-fall-victim-to-quest-for-profits-101056414.html).
- Feng, Hao. 2018. "China Softens Approach to Home Heating Switch." China Dialogue. December 6. [www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/10964-China-softens-approach-to-home-heating-switch](http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/10964-China-softens-approach-to-home-heating-switch).

- Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2011. "Electoral Accountability and Corruption: Evidence from the Audits of Local Governments." *American Economic Review* 101 (4): 1274–1311.
- Franzese, Robert J. 2002. "Electoral and Partisan Cycles in Economic Policies and Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 369–421.
- Fukumoto, Kentaro, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Shoichiro Tanaka. 2020. "Treated Politicians, Treated Voters: A Natural Experiment on Political Budget Cycles." *Electoral Studies* 67: 102206.
- Gao, Cailing, Huaqiang Yin, Nanshan Ai, and Zhengwen Huang. 2009. "Historical Analysis of SO<sub>2</sub> Pollution Control Policies in China." *Environmental Management* 43 (3): 447–57.
- General Office of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party). 2002. The Regulations of the Selection and Appointment of Party and Government Leading Cadres. [www.itp.cas.cn/djykwwh/llxx/dnfg/202011/t20201124\\_5777779.html](http://www.itp.cas.cn/djykwwh/llxx/dnfg/202011/t20201124_5777779.html).
- General Office of the Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council. 2016. Guidelines on the Pilot Program for the Vertical Management Reform of Environmental Monitoring, Inspection, and Law Enforcement below the Provincial Level. [www.gov.cn/zhengce/2016-09/22/content\\_5110853.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2016-09/22/content_5110853.htm).
- General Office of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council. 2015. Regulation on the Accountability and Liabilities of Communist Party Leaders and Government Officials for Ecological and Environmental Damages (Trial). [www.gov.cn/zhengce/2015-08/17/content\\_2914585.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2015-08/17/content_2914585.htm).
- Ghanem, Dalia, and Junjie Zhang. 2014. "Effortless Perfection?: Do Chinese Cities Manipulate Air Pollution Data?" *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 68 (2): 203–25.
- Gonzalez, Maria. 2002. "Do Changes in Democracy Affect the Political Budget Cycle? Evidence from Mexico." *Review of Development Economics* 6: 204–24.
- Greenpeace East Asia. 2018. "Analysis of Air Quality Trends in 2017." [www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-eastasia-stateless/2019/11/2aad5961-2aad5961-analysis-of-air-quality-trends-in-2017.pdf](http://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-eastasia-stateless/2019/11/2aad5961-2aad5961-analysis-of-air-quality-trends-in-2017.pdf).
- Gu, Baojing, Mark A. Sutton, Scott X. Chang, Ying Ge, and Jie Chang. 2014. "Agricultural Ammonia Emissions Contribute to China's Urban Air Pollution." *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 12 (5): 265–66.
- Guerra, Erick, and Adam Millard-Ball. 2017. "Getting around a License-Plate Ban: Behavioral Responses to Mexico City's Driving Restriction." *Transportation Research Part D: Transport and Environment* 55: 113–26.
- Guo, Gang. 2009. "China's Local Political Budget Cycles." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (3): 621–32.
- Guo, Li, and Kenneth Foster. 2008. "Administrative Campaigns and Environmental Governance in Contemporary China." Working paper no. 2. China Environmental Science & Sustainability (CESS) UBC-Research Group. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.554.2042&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
- Hamman, John R., Roberto A. Weber, and Jonathan Woon. 2011. "An Experimental Investigation of Electoral Delegation and the Provision of Public Goods." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (4): 241–62.
- Han, Rongbin. 2015. "Defending the Authoritarian Regime Online: China's 'Voluntary Fifty-Cent Army.'" *China Quarterly* 224: 1006–25.
- Hart, Austin. 2013. "Can Candidates Activate or Deactivate the Economic Vote? Evidence from Two Mexican Elections." *Journal of Politics* 75 (4): 1051–63.
- Hayek, Friedrich. 1945. "The Use of Knowledge in Society." *American Economic Review* 35 (4): 519–30.

- He, Jie. 2006. "Pollution Haven Hypothesis and Environmental Impacts of Foreign Direct Investment: The Case of Industrial Emission of Sulfur Dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) in Chinese Provinces." *Ecological Economics* 60: 228–45.
- Health Effects Institute. 2018. *State of Global Air 2018*. Boston, MA. [www.stateofglobalair.org/sites/default/files/soga-2018-report.pdf](http://www.stateofglobalair.org/sites/default/files/soga-2018-report.pdf).
- Heft-Neal, Sam, Jennifer Burney, Eran Bendavid, and Marshall Burke. 2018. "Robust Relationship between Air Quality and Infant Mortality in Africa." *Nature* 559 (7713): 254–58.
- Henderson, J. Vernon, Adam Storeygard, and David N. Weil. 2012. "Measuring Economic Growth from Outer Space." *American Economic Review* 102 (2): 994–1028.
- Heyes, Anthony, and Bouwe R. Dijkstra. 2001. "Interest Groups and the Demand for Environmental Policy." In *The International Yearbook of Environmental and Resource Economics 2001/2002*, 150–78. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Hodler, Roland, and Paul A. Raschky. 2014. "Regional Favoritism." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129 (2): 995–1033.
- Holland, Alisha C. 2016. "Forbearance." *American Political Science Review* 110 (2): 232–46.
2017. *Forbearance as Redistribution: The Politics of Informal Welfare in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Howell, Sabrina, Henry Lee, and Adam Heal. 2014. "Leapfrogging or Stalling Out? Electric Vehicles in China." Discussion Paper. Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School. [www.belfercenter.org/publication/leapfrogging-or-stalling-out-electric-vehicles-china](http://www.belfercenter.org/publication/leapfrogging-or-stalling-out-electric-vehicles-china).
- Huang, Echo. 2017. "China's Putting the Brakes on Coal for Heating Millions of Homes This Winter." *Quartz*. Updated December 11. <https://qz.com/1093898/chinas-putting-the-brakes-on-coal-for-heating-millions-of-homes-this-winter/>.
- Huang, Echo, and Tripti Lahiri. 2018. "As China Greens Its Economy, These People, Businesses, and Nations Will Feel the Pinch." *Quartz*. January 5. <https://qz.com/1152575/as-china-greens-its-economy-these-people-businesses-and-nations-will-feel-the-pinch/>.
- Huang, Jing, Xiaochuan Pan, Xinbiao Guo, and Guoxing Li. 2018. "Health Impact of China's Air Pollution Prevention and Control Action Plan: An Analysis of National Air Quality Monitoring and Mortality Data." *The Lancet Planetary Health* 2 (7): e313–23.
- Huang, Yasheng. 1996. *Inflation and Investment Controls in China: The Political Economy of Central-Local Relations during the Reform Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jacobson, Mark Z. 2012. *Air Pollution and Global Warming: History, Science, and Solutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jahiel, Abigail R. 1997. "The Contradictory Impact of Reform on Environmental Protection in China." *The China Quarterly* 149: 81–103.
- Jáuregui Nolen, Elena Catalina, Diana Cristina Tello Medina, and María del Pilar Rivas García. 2012. "Desigualdad y Política Ambiental En México." *Economía Mexicana* 11 (2): 251–75.
- Jia, Ruixue. 2012. "Pollution for Promotion." Unpublished Paper. [http://public2-prod.gsb.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/documents/RuixueJia\\_JMP.pdf](http://public2-prod.gsb.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/documents/RuixueJia_JMP.pdf).
- Kahn, Matthew E., and Siqi Zheng. 2016. *Blue Skies over Beijing: Economic Growth and the Environment in China*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Key, V. O. 1966. *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting 1936–1960*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kirkby, Jasper, Joachim Curtius, João Almeida, Eimear Dunne, Jonathan Duplissy, Sebastian Ehrhart, Alessandro Franchin, et al. 2011. "Role of Sulphuric Acid, Ammonia

- and Galactic Cosmic Rays in Atmospheric Aerosol Nucleation." *Nature* 476 (7361): 429–33.
- Kopas, Jacob, Erin York, Xiaomeng Jin, S. P. Harish, Ryan Kennedy, Shiran Victoria Shen, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2020. "Environmental Justice in India: Incidence of Air Pollution from Coal-Fired Power Plants." *Ecological Economics* 176: 106711.
- Kou, Chien-Wen, and Wen-Hsuan Tsai. 2014. "'Sprinting with Small Steps' Towards Promotion: Solutions for the Age Dilemma in the CCP Cadre Appointment System." *China Journal* 71: 153–71.
- Krotkov, Nickolay A. 2013. "OMI/Aura NO<sub>2</sub> Cloud-Screened Total and Tropospheric Column L<sub>3</sub> Global Gridded 0.25 degree x 0.25 degree V<sub>3</sub>." Goddard Earth Sciences Data and Information Services Center (GES DISC). Accessed September 12, 2019. [https://disc.gsfc.nasa.gov/datasets/OMNO2d\\_003/summary](https://disc.gsfc.nasa.gov/datasets/OMNO2d_003/summary).
- Krotkov, Nickolay A., Can Li, and Peter Leonard. 2015. "OMI/Aura Sulfur Dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) Total Column L<sub>3</sub> 1 day Best Pixel in 0.25 degree x 0.25 degree V<sub>3</sub>." Goddard Earth Sciences Data and Information Services Center (GES DISC). Accessed September 12, 2019. [https://disc.gsfc.nasa.gov/datasets/OMSO2e\\_003/summary](https://disc.gsfc.nasa.gov/datasets/OMSO2e_003/summary).
- Krotkov, Nickolay A., Chris A. McLinden, Can Li, Lok N. Lamsal, Edward A. Celarier, Sergey V. Marchenko, William H. Swartz, et al. 2016. "Aura OMI observations of regional SO<sub>2</sub> and NO<sub>2</sub> pollution changes from 2005 to 2015." *Atmospheric Chemistry and Physics* (16): 4605–29.
- Krueger, Anne. 1974. "The Political Economy of the Rent Seeking Society." *American Economic Review* 64: 291–303.
- Lake, David A., and Matthew A. Baum. 2001. "The Invisible Hand of Democracy: Political Control and the Provision of Public Services." *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (6): 587–621.
- Landry, Pierre. 2008. *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Landry, Pierre, Xiaobo Lü, and Haiyan Duan. 2018. "Does Performance Matter? Evaluating Political Selection along the Chinese Administrative Ladder." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (8): 1074–105.
- Larreguy, Horacio, John Marshall, and James Snyder. 2018. "Leveling the Playing Field: How Campaign Advertising Can Help Non-Dominant Parties." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 16 (6): 1812–49.
- Larssen, Thorjorn, Espen Lydersen, Dagang Tang, Yi He, Jixi Gao, Haiying Liu, Lei Duan, et al. 2006. "Acid Rain in China." *Environmental Science & Technology* 40 (2): 418–25.
- Latinobarómetro. 2018. Latinobarómetro Corporation. [www.latinobarometro.org](http://www.latinobarometro.org).
- Lelieveld, Jos, Andrea Pozzer, Ulrich Pöschl, Mohammed Fnais, Andy Haines, and Thomas Münzel. 2020. "Loss of Life Expectancy from Air Pollution Compared to Other Risk Factors: A Worldwide Perspective." *Cardiovascular Research* 116 (11): 1910–17.
- Li, Bobai, and Andrew Walder. 2001. "Career Advancement as Party Patronage: Sponsored Mobility into the Chinese Administrative Elite, 1949–1996." *American Journal of Sociology* 106 (5): 1371–1408.
- Li, Hongbin, and Li-An Zhou. 2005. "Political Turnover and Economic Performance: The Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China." *Journal of Public Economics* 89 (9–10): 1743–62.
- Li, Jing. 2017. "What Caused the 2017 'Gas Famine'?" China Dialogue. December 22. [www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/ch/10322-What-caused-China-s-squeeze-on-natural-gas-](http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/ch/10322-What-caused-China-s-squeeze-on-natural-gas-)

- Li, Qiwei. 2016. "Release of the National PM<sub>2.5</sub> Inter-Provincial Transport Matrix: 18% in Beijing from Hebei." *Jiemian*. July 11. [www.jiemian.com/article/737776.html](http://www.jiemian.com/article/737776.html).
- Li, Xiao, Yuanbo Qiao, and Lei Shi. 2019. "Has China's War on Pollution Slowed the Growth of Its Manufacturing and by How Much? Evidence from the Clean Air Action." *China Economic Review* 53: 271–89.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2003. *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth, and Michel Oksenberg. 1988. *Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures, and Processes*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lin, Hualiang, Tao Liu, Fang Fang, Jianpeng Xiao, Weilin Zeng, Xing Li, Lingchuan Guo, et al. 2017. "Mortality Benefits of Vigorous Air Quality Improvement Interventions during the Periods of APEC Blue and Parade Blue in Beijing, China." *Environmental Pollution* 220 (January): 222–27.
- Lipsky, Michael. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: The Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- List, John A., and Daniel M. Sturm. 2006. "How Elections Matter: Theory and Evidence from Environmental Policy." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 121 (4): 1249–81.
- Liu, Fei, Steffen Beirle, Qiang Zhang, Ronald J. van der A, Bo Zheng, Dan Tong, and Kebin He. 2017. "NO<sub>x</sub> Emission Trends over Chinese Cities Estimated from OMI Observations during 2005 to 2015." *Atmospheric Chemistry and Physics* 17 (15): 9261–75.
- Liu, Nicole Ning, Carlos Wing-Hung Lo, Xueyong Zhan, and Wei Wang. 2015. "Campaign-Style Enforcement and Regulatory Compliance." *Public Administration Review* 75 (1): 85–95.
- Lott, John R. 1999. "Public Schooling, Indoctrination, and Totalitarianism." *Journal of Political Economy* 107 (S6): S127–57.
- Ma, Xiaoying, and Leonard Ortolano. 2000. *Environmental Regulation in China: Institutions, Enforcement, and Compliance*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Manion, Melanie. 2016. "Taking China's Anticorruption Campaign Seriously." *Economic and Political Studies* 4 (1): 3–18.
1993. *Retirement of Revolutionaries in China: Public Policies, Social Norms, Private Interests*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Matland, Richard E. 1995. "Synthesizing the Implementation Literature: The Ambiguity-Conflict Model of Policy Implementation." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 5 (2): 145–74.
- Mazmanian, Daniel A., and Paul Sabatier. 1981. *Effective Policy Implementation*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- McCann, Erin. 2016. "Life in China, Smothered by Smog." *New York Times*, December 22. [www.nytimes.com/2016/12/22/world/asia/china-smog-toxic.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/22/world/asia/china-smog-toxic.html).
- McCubbins, Mathew D., and Thomas Schwartz. 1984. "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms." *American Journal of Political Science* 28 (1): 165–79.
- McGuire, Martin C., and Mancur Olson. 1996. "The Economics of Autocracy and Majority Rule: The Invisible Hand and the Use of Force." *Journal of Economic Literature* 34 (1): 72–96.
- Mei, Ciqi. 2009. "Brings the Politics Back In: Political Incentive and Policy Distortion in China." PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park.
- Meng, Ran, Feng R. Zhao, Kang Sun, Rui Zhang, Chengquan Huang, and Jianying Yang. 2015. "Analysis of the 2014 'APEC Blue' in Beijing Using More than One Decade of

- Satellite Observations: Lessons Learned from Radical Emission Control Measures.” *Remote Sensing* 7 (11): 15224–43.
- MEP (Ministry of Environmental Protection). 2010. Notice to Further Promote Clean Production in Key Industries. [www.mee.gov.cn/gkml/hbb/bwj/201010/t20101014\\_195526.htm](http://www.mee.gov.cn/gkml/hbb/bwj/201010/t20101014_195526.htm).
2014. Guiding Opinions on Promoting Public Participation in Environmental Protection. [www.gdqy.gov.cn/xxgk/zzjg/zfig/qyssthjj/bmwj/gfxwj/content/post\\_528133.html](http://www.gdqy.gov.cn/xxgk/zzjg/zfig/qyssthjj/bmwj/gfxwj/content/post_528133.html).
2015. Measures for Public Participation in Environmental Protection. [www.mee.gov.cn/gkml/hbb/bl/201507/t20150720\\_306928.htm](http://www.mee.gov.cn/gkml/hbb/bl/201507/t20150720_306928.htm).
- MEP (Ministry of Environmental Protection) and AQSIQ (General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine). 2011. The Emission Standard of Air Pollution for Thermal Power Plants. 3rd ed. [www.mee.gov.cn/ywgz/fgbz/bz/bzwb/dqjhjb/dqgdwrywrpfbz/201109/t20110921\\_217534.shtml](http://www.mee.gov.cn/ywgz/fgbz/bz/bzwb/dqjhjb/dqgdwrywrpfbz/201109/t20110921_217534.shtml).
- Mertha, Andrew C. 2005. “China’s ‘Soft’ Centralization: Shifting Tiao / Kuai Authority Relations since 1998.” *China Quarterly* 184: 791–810.
- Merton, Robert. 1963. “Bureaucratic Structure and Personality.” In *Reader in Bureaucracy*, 3rd ed., 361–71. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Ministry of Finance. 2014. “The Ministry of Finance Allocated 8 Million RMB as Air Pollution Prevention and Control Special Fund.” [http://jjs.mof.gov.cn/zhengwuxinxi/gongzuodongtai/201405/t20140516\\_1080714.html](http://jjs.mof.gov.cn/zhengwuxinxi/gongzuodongtai/201405/t20140516_1080714.html).
- Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Science and Technology, Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, and National Development and Reform Commission. 2014. Notice on Financial Support Policies for the Promotion and Deployment of NEVs during 2016–2020. Ministry of Science and Technology. [www.most.gov.cn/tztg/201412/t20141231\\_117251.htm](http://www.most.gov.cn/tztg/201412/t20141231_117251.htm).
- Molina, Luisa T., and Mario J. Molina. 2004. *La Calidad Del Aire En La Megaciudad de México: Un Enfoque Integral*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Mulligan, Casey B., Ricard Gil, and Xavier Sala-I-Martin. 2004. “Do Democracies Have Different Public Policies than Nondemocracies?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18 (1): 51–74.
- Murillo, M. Victoria, and Giancarlo Visconti. 2017. “Economic Performance and Incumbents’ Support in Latin America.” *Electoral Studies* 45: 180–90.
- Myers, Steven Lee. 2018. “In China’s Coal Country, a Ban Brings Blue Skies and Cold Homes.” *New York Times*, February 10. [www.nytimes.com/2018/02/10/world/asia/china-coal-smog-pollution.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/10/world/asia/china-coal-smog-pollution.html).
- Nathan, Andrew J. 1973. “A Factional Model for CCP Politics.” *The China Quarterly* 53: 34–66.
- National Business Daily. 2017. “Flying Smog and Halting Production Cost Tens of Thousands.” January 18. [www.nbd.com.cn/articles/2017-01-18/1070977.html](http://www.nbd.com.cn/articles/2017-01-18/1070977.html).
- Nie, Huihua, Minjie Jiang, and Xianghong Wang. 2013. “The Impact of Political Cycle: Evidence from Coalmine Accidents in China.” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 41 (4): 995–1011.
- Niskanen, William A. 1997. “Autocratic, Democratic, and Optimal Government.” *Economic Inquiry* 35 (3): 464–79.
- NOAA (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration). 2015. “Version 4 DMSP-OLS Nighttime Lights Time Series.” NOAA. Accessed January 23. <https://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/dmsp/downloadV4composites.html>.
- Noakes, Stephen, and Caylan Ford. 2015. “Managing Political Opposition Groups in China: Explaining the Continuing Anti-Falun Gong Campaign.” *China Quarterly* 223: 658–79.

- Nordhaus, William D. 1975. "The Political Business Cycle." *Review of Economic Studies* 42 (2): 169–90.
- O'Brien, Kevin J., and Lianjiang Li. 1999. "Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China." *Comparative Politics* 31 (2): 167–86.
- Oates, Wallace E., and Paul R. Portney. 2003. "The Political Economy of Environmental Policy." In *Handbook of Environmental Economics*, edited by Karl-Goran Mäler and Jeffrey R. Vincent, 325–54. Amsterdam: North-Holland/Elsevier Science.
- OECD. 2013. *OECD Environmental Performance Reviews: Mexico 2013*. Mexico City. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264180109-en>.
- Oi, Jean C. 1989. *State and Peasant in Contemporary China: The Political Economy of Village Government*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1992. "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China." *World Politics* 45 (1): 99–126.
1999. *Rural China Takes Off: Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Oksenberg, Michel. 1969. "Policy Formulation in Communist China: The Case of the Mass Irrigation Campaign, 1957–1958." PhD diss., Columbia University.
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567–76.
- Paciorek, Christopher J., and Yang Liu. 2009. "Limitations of Remotely Sensed Aerosol as a Spatial Proxy for Fine Particulate Matter." *Environmental Health Perspectives* 117 (6): 904–9. <https://doi.org/10.1289/ehp.0800360>.
- Pailler, Sharon. 2018. "Re-Election Incentives and Deforestation Cycles in the Brazilian Amazon." *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 88: 345–65.
- Pan, Jennifer. 2019. "How Chinese Officials Use the Internet to Construct Their Public Image." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7 (2): 197–213.
- Pang, Xinghuo, Zhonghan Zhu, Fujie Xu, Jiyong Guo, Xiaohong Gong, Donglei Liu, Zejun Liu, Daniel P. Chin, and Daniel R. Feikin. 2003. "Evaluation of Control Measures Implemented in the SARS Outbreak in Beijing, 2003." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 290 (24): 3215–21.
- People's Daily. 2013. "The Central Finance Allocated 5 Billion RMB in Rewards Rather Than Subsidies to Reduce Air Pollution in the Jing-Jin-Ji Area." October 15. People.cn. <http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2013/1015/c1001-23200672.html>.
2017. "Li Keqiang: Reward Heavily Anyone Who Tackles the Causes of Smog Formation." March 10. People.cn. <http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0310/c1001-29135480.html>.
- Perry, Elizabeth. 2007. "Studying Chinese Politics: Farewell to Revolution?" *China Journal* 57: 1–22.
- Persico, Claudia, and Kathryn Johnson. 2020. "Deregulation in a Time of Pandemic: Does Pollution Increase Coronavirus Cases or Deaths?" IZA DP no. 13231. Bonn, Germany. <https://ftp.iza.org/dp13231.pdf>.
- Phillips, Tom. 2018. "Blue-Sky Thinking: How China's Crackdown on Pollution Is Paying Off." *Guardian*, February 22. [www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/22/blue-sky-thinking-how-chinas-crackdown-on-pollution-is-paying-off](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/22/blue-sky-thinking-how-chinas-crackdown-on-pollution-is-paying-off).
- Posner, Richard. 1975. "The Social Costs of Monopoly and Regulation." *Journal of Political Economy* 83: 807–27.
- Pressman, Jeffrey L., and Aaron Wildavsky. 1973. *Implementation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Price, Lynn, Mark D. Levine, Nan Zhou, David Fridley, Nathaniel Aden, Hongyou Lu, Michael McNeil, Nina Zheng, Yining Qin, and Ping Yowargana. 2011. "Assessment of

- China's Energy-Saving and Emission-Reduction Accomplishments and Opportunities during the 11<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan." *Energy Policy* 39 (4): 2165–78.
- Qi, Ye, Yahua Wang, Zongying Wang, Dedan Gu, Liang Wu, Yang Su, Yaqin Song, et al. 2008. *Researches on China's Environmental Governance*. Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Bookstore.
- Ramos García, José María. 2011. "Gestión Estratégica Ambiental Del Aire En La Frontera Mexicali-Imperial." *Estudios Fronterizos* 12 (24): 35–73.
- Reuters. 2014. "China to 'declare War' on Pollution, Premier Says." March 5. www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-pollution/china-to-declare-war-on-pollution-premier-says-idUSBREA2405W20140305.
2016. "China Pushes for Mandatory Integration of Renewable Power." March 28. www.reuters.com/article/us-china-power-renewables/china-pushes-for-mandatory-integration-of-renewable-power-idUSKCN0WU0RF.
- Ringquist, Evan J. 1993. "Does Regulation Matter?: Evaluating the Effects of State Air Pollution Control Programs." *The Journal of Politics* 55 (4): 1022–45.
- Roberts, David. 2015. "Opinion: How the US Embassy Tweeted to Clear Beijing's Air." *WIRED*. March 6. www.wired.com/2015/03/opinion-us-embassy-beijing-tweeted-clear-air/.
- Robles, Gustavo, Beatriz Magaloni, and Gabriela Calderón. 2013. "The Economic Consequences of Drug Trafficking Violence in Mexico." *Poverty and Governance Series*. Stanford, CA: Stanford International Crime and Violence Lab.
- Romero, Vidal, Beatriz Magaloni, and Alberto Díaz-Cayeros. 2016. "Presidential Approval and Public Security in Mexico's War on Crime." *Latin American Politics and Society* 58 (2): 100–123.
- Schmitz, Rob. 2017. "China Shuts Down Tens Of Thousands Of Factories In Unprecedented Pollution Crackdown." National Public Radio. October 23. www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/10/23/55900961/china-shuts-down-tens-of-thousands-of-factories-in-unprecedented-pollution-crack.
- Schreifels, Jeremy, Yale Fu, and Elizabeth Wilson. 2012. "Sulfur Dioxide Control in China: Policy Evolution during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plans and Lessons for the Future." *Energy Policy* 48: 779–89.
- Schwartz, Jonathan. 2003. "The Impact of State Capacity on Enforcement of Environmental Policies: The Case of China." *The Journal of Environment & Development* 12 (1): 50–81.
- Seaton, Anthony, William MacNee, Kenneth Donaldson, and David Godden. 1995. "Particulate Air Pollution and Acute Health Effects." *The Lancet* 345 (8943): 176–78.
- Sempere, Jaime, and Horacio Sobarzo, eds. 1998. *Federalismo Fiscal En México*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Económicos.
- SEPA (State Environmental Protection Administration). 1998. The Acid Rain Control Zone and the Sulfur Dioxide Control Zone Partition Plan. www.mee.gov.cn/gkml/zj/wj/200910/t20091022\_172231.htm.
2006. Interim Measures for Public Participation in Environmental Impact Assessment.
- Shapiro, Judith. 2001. *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shen, Shiran Victoria. 2018. "The Political Pollution Cycle: An Inconvenient Truth and How to Break It." PhD diss., Stanford University. https://purl.stanford.edu/nz069yb9602.
- 2021a. *Accelerating Decarbonization in China and the United States and Promoting Bilateral Collaboration on Climate Change*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Precourt Institute

- for Energy. [https://energy.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbiybj9971f/us-china\\_roundtable\\_report.pdf](https://energy.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbiybj9971f/us-china_roundtable_report.pdf).
- 2021b. "Local Actions Central to Achieving Carbon-Neutrality Goal in China." *Fifteen eightyfour* (blog). October 8. [www.cambridgeblog.org/2021/10/local-actions-central-to-achieving-carbon-neutrality-goal-in-china/](http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2021/10/local-actions-central-to-achieving-carbon-neutrality-goal-in-china/).
- Shen, Shiran Victoria, Bruce E. Cain, and Iris Hui. 2019. "Public Receptivity in China towards Wind Energy Generators: A Survey Experimental Approach." *Energy Policy* 129: 619–27.
- Shih, Victor C. 2008. *Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shih, Victor C., Christopher Adolph, and Mingxing Liu. 2012. "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China." *American Political Science Review* 106 (1): 166–87.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1947. *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization*. New York: Macmillan.
- Singer, Matthew M. 2011. "Who Says 'It's the Economy'? Cross-National and Cross-Individual Variation in the Salience of Economic Performance." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (3): 284–312.
2013. "Economic Voting in an Era of Non-Crisis: The Changing Electoral Agenda in Latin America, 1982–2010." *Comparative Politics* 45 (2).
- Singer, Matthew M., and Ryan E. Carlin. 2013. "Context Counts: The Election Cycle, Development, and the Nature of Economic Voting." *Journal of Politics* 75 (3): 730–42.
- Sinkule, Barbara J., and Leonard Ortolano. 1995. *Implementing Environmental Policy in China*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- South China Morning Post. 2017. "Chinese Chemical Plants Accused of Polluting the Air under Cover of Darkness." May 29. [www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2096047/chinese-chemical-plants-accused-polluting-air-under](http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2096047/chinese-chemical-plants-accused-polluting-air-under).
- Standing Committee of the NPC (National People's Congress). 1979. Environmental Protection Law of the People's Republic of China (for trial implementation). [www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2000-12/10/content\\_5004381.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2000-12/10/content_5004381.htm).
- 2002a. The Clean Production Promotion Law of the People's Republic of China. [www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2012-05/29/content\\_1728285.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2012-05/29/content_1728285.htm).
- 2002b. Environmental Assessment Impact Law of the People's Republic of China. [www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2002-10/29/content\\_5301644.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2002-10/29/content_5301644.htm).
2008. Circular Economy Promotion Law of the People's Republic of China. [www.npc.gov.cn/npc/c12435/201811/cd94d916c06b4d2ab57ed5e97c46318d.shtml](http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/c12435/201811/cd94d916c06b4d2ab57ed5e97c46318d.shtml).
2009. Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on Amending the Renewable Energy Law of the People's Republic of China. [www.gov.cn/flfg/2009-12/26/content\\_1497462.htm](http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2009-12/26/content_1497462.htm).
2012. Decision to Revise the Clean Production Promotion Law. [www.gov.cn/flfg/2012-03/01/content\\_2079732.htm](http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2012-03/01/content_2079732.htm).
2016. Environmental Impact Assessment Impact Law. [https://www.mee.gov.cn/ywgz/fgbz/fl/201901/t20190111\\_689247.shtml](https://www.mee.gov.cn/ywgz/fgbz/fl/201901/t20190111_689247.shtml).
- State Council. 2009. Opinions on the Inhibition of Overcapacity in Some Industries and Redundant Construction and Guide the Healthy Development of the Industry. [www.gov.cn/zw/gk/2009-09/29/content\\_1430087.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zw/gk/2009-09/29/content_1430087.htm).
2012. Notice on the Promulgation of Energy Conservation and New Energy Vehicles Industry Development Plan (2012–2020). [http://www.gov.cn/zw/gk/2012-07/09/content\\_2179032.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zw/gk/2012-07/09/content_2179032.htm).

- 2013a. Air Pollution Prevention and Control Action Plan. [www.gov.cn/zwqk/2013-09/12/content\\_2486773.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zwqk/2013-09/12/content_2486773.htm).
- 2013b. Circular Economy Development Strategies and Short-Term Action Plan. [www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2013/content\\_2339517.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2013/content_2339517.htm).
- 2013c. Guidelines to Resolve Severe Overcapacity Problems. [www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2013/content\\_2514934.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2013/content_2514934.htm).
2014. Instructions on Accelerating the Deployment of New Energy Vehicles. [www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2014-07/21/content\\_8936.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2014-07/21/content_8936.htm).
- 2015a. Made in China 2025. [www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2015-05/19/content\\_9784.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2015-05/19/content_9784.htm).
- 2015b. Suggestions on the Planning for the Thirteenth Five-Year Plan. [www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-11/03/content\\_5004093.htm](http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-11/03/content_5004093.htm).
- Tang, Ling, Jiabao Qu, Zhifu Mi, Xin Bo, Xiangyu Chang, Laura Diaz Anadon, Shouyang Wang, et al. 2019. "Substantial Emission Reductions from Chinese Power Plants after the Introduction of Ultra-Low Emissions Standards." *Nature Energy* 4 (11).
- Tanner, Murray Scot. 2000. "State Coercion and the Balance of Awe: The 1983–1986 'Stern Blows' Anti-Crime Campaign." *China Journal* 44: 93–125.
- Teiwes, Frederick. 1979. *Politics and Purges in China*. White Plains, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
1984. *Leadership, Legitimacy, and Conflict in China: From a Charismatic Mao to the Politics of Succession*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Thrush, Glenn, and Coral Davenport. 2017. "Donald Trump Budget Slashes Funds for E.P.A. and State Department." *New York Times*, March 15. [www.nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/politics/budget-epa-state-department-cuts.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/politics/budget-epa-state-department-cuts.html).
- Tian, Xian-Liang, Qi-Guang Guo, Chao Han, and Najid Ahmad. 2016. "Different Extent of Environmental Information Disclosure across Chinese Cities: Contributing Factors and Correlation with Local Pollution." *Global Environmental Change* 39: 244–57.
- Tian, Yaohua, Hui Liu, Tianlang Liang, Xiao Xiang, Man Li, Juan Juan, Jing Song, et al. 2018. "Ambient Air Pollution and Daily Hospital Admissions: A Nationwide Study in 218 Chinese Cities." *Environmental Pollution* 242: 1042–49.
- Tilt, Bryan. 2007. "The Political Ecology of Pollution Enforcement in China: A Case from Sichuan's Rural Industrial Sector." *China Quarterly* 192: 915–32.
- Tufte, Edward R. 1978. *Political Control of the Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tullock, Gordon. 1967. "The Welfare Costs of Tariffs, Monopolies, and Theft." *Economic Inquiry* 5 (3): 224–232.
- Ugalde, Luis Carlos. 2002. *Rendición de Cuentas y Democracia. El Caso de México*. Mexico City: Instituto Federal Electoral.
- UN (United Nations). 2020. "'Enhance Solidarity' to Fight COVID-19, Chinese President Urges, Also Pledges Carbon Neutrality by 2060." September 22. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/09/1073052>.
- UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme). 2009. *Independent Environmental Assessment: Beijing 2008 Olympic Games*. N.p.: UNEP. [www.uncclean.org/sites/default/files/inventory/unep36.pdf](http://www.uncclean.org/sites/default/files/inventory/unep36.pdf).
- US EPA (Environmental Protection Agency). 2011. *The Benefits and Costs of the Clean Air Act from 1990 to 2020*. Washington, DC: US EPA. [www.epa.gov/sites/production/files/2015-07/documents/fullreport\\_rev\\_a.pdf](http://www.epa.gov/sites/production/files/2015-07/documents/fullreport_rev_a.pdf).
- Vallarta Daily News. 2019. "Guadalajara Beats Mexico City in Poor Air Quality in 2018." January 9. [www.vallartadaily.com/guadalajara-beats-mexico-city-in-poor-air-quality-in-2018/](http://www.vallartadaily.com/guadalajara-beats-mexico-city-in-poor-air-quality-in-2018/).
- van Donkelaar, Aaron, Randall Martin, Chi Li, and Richard Burnett. 2019. "Regional Estimates of Chemical Composition of Fine Particulate Matter Using a Combined

- Geoscience-Statistical Method with Information from Satellites, Models, and Monitors." *Environmental Science & Technology* 53 (5): 2595–611.
- van Donkelaar, Aaron, Randall V. Martin, Michael Brauer, and Brian L. Boys. 2015. "Use of Satellite Observations for Long-Term Exposure Assessment of Global Concentrations of Fine Particulate Matter." *Environmental Health Perspectives* 123 (2): 135–43.
- van Donkelaar, Aaron, Randall V. Martin, Michael Brauer, Ralph Kahn, Robert Levy, Carolyn Verduzco, and Paul J. Villeneuve. 2010. "Global Estimates of Ambient Fine Particulate Matter Concentrations from Satellite-Based Aerosol Optical Depth: Development and Application." *Environmental Health Perspectives* 118 (6): 847–55.
- van Rooij, Benjamin. 2003. "Organization and Procedure in Environmental Law Enforcement: Sichuan in Comparative Perspective." *China Information* 17 (2): 36–64.
2006. *Regulating Land and Pollution in China: Lawmaking, Compliance, and Enforcement; Theory and Cases*. Leiden, Netherlands: Leiden University Press.
2016. "The Campaign Enforcement Style: Chinese Practice in Context and Comparison." In *Comparative Law and Regulation: Understanding the Global Regulatory Process*, edited by Francesca Bignami and David Zaring, 217–37. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- van Rooij, Benjamin, Qiaoqiao Zhu, Li Na, and Wang Qiliang. 2017. "Centralizing Trends and Pollution Law Enforcement in China." *China Quarterly* 231: 583–606.
- Vera, Martín, David Rocha Romero, and Emmanuel Gómez Farías Mata. 2015. "El Programa 'Hoy No Circula' Como Política de Movilidad Sustentable Fallida, Que Puede Provocar Migración. Una Mirada En Retrospectiva de 25 AñosEl Programa 'Hoy No Circula' Como Política de Movilidad Sustentable Fallida, Que Puede Provocar Migración. Una." In *GOBERNANZA AMBIENTAL: ORÍGENES Y ESTUDIOS DE CASO*, edited by María Concepción and Martínez Rodríguez, 81–99. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés Editores.
- Villaseñor, Thamara. 2017. "Aristóteles Cancela Nuevo Plan de Verificación." Informador. December 12. [www.informador.mx/jalisco/Aristoteles-cancela-nuevo-plan-de-verificacion-20171212-0129.html](http://www.informador.mx/jalisco/Aristoteles-cancela-nuevo-plan-de-verificacion-20171212-0129.html).
- Wallace, Jeremy L. 2014. "Juking the Stats? Authoritarian Information Problems in China." *British Journal of Political Science* 46 (1): 11–29.
- Wang, Alex L. 2013. "The Search for Sustainable Legitimacy: Environmental Law and Bureaucracy in China." *Harvard Environmental Law Review* 37 (2): 365–440.
- Wang, Hua, Nlandu Mamingi, Benoit Laplante, and Susmita Dasgupta. 2003. "Incomplete Enforcement of Pollution Regulation: Bargaining Power of Chinese Factories." *Environmental and Resource Economics* 24 (3): 245–62.
- Wang, Yuxuan, Jiming Hao, Michael B. McElroy, J. William Munger, H. Ma, D. Chen, and Chris P. Nielsen. 2009. "Ozone Air Quality during the 2008 Beijing Olympics: Effectiveness of Emission Restrictions." *Atmospheric Chemistry and Physics* 9: 5237–51.
- Wang, Yan, Richard K. Morgan, and Mat Cashmore. 2003. "Environmental Impact Assessment of Projects in the People's Republic of China: New Law, Old Problems." *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 23 (5): 543–79.
- Wang, Yanan. 2018. "Blue Skies in China's Capital Spark Joy, Scepticism." Phys.org. January 12. <https://phys.org/news/2018-01-blue-china-capital-joy-scepticism.html>.
- Wang, Yuhua, and Carl Minzner. 2015. "The Rise of the Chinese Security State." *China Quarterly* 222: 339–59.
- Wang, Yuxuan, Michael B. McElroy, K. Folkert Boersma, Henk J. Eskes, and J. Pepijn Veefkind. 2007. "Traffic Restrictions Associated with the Sino-African Summit: Reductions of NO<sub>x</sub> Detected from Space." *Geophysical Research Letters* 34 (8): L08814.

- Weber, Max. 1946. *From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology*. Edited by Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, Janet, and Mary Tschirhart. 1994. "Public Information Campaigns as Policy Instruments." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 13 (1): 82–119.
- White, Tyrene. 2006. *China's Longest Campaign: Birth Planning in the People's Republic, 1949–2005*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- WHO (World Health Organization). 2004. "Age-Standardized Death Rates per 100,000 by Cause." Link to the excel dataset: [www.who.int/entity/healthinfo/statistics/bodgbddeathdalyestimates.xls](http://www.who.int/entity/healthinfo/statistics/bodgbddeathdalyestimates.xls).
2018. "Health and Sustainable Development." BreatheLife. Originally published on (but now removed) [www.who.int/sustainable-development/news-events/breath-life/en/](http://www.who.int/sustainable-development/news-events/breath-life/en/). See <https://breathelife2030.org>.
- WikiLeaks. 2007. "Fifth Generation Star Li Keqiang Discusses Domestic Challenges, Trade Relations with Ambassador." [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07BEIJING1760\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07BEIJING1760_a.html).
- Wilkinson, Paul. 2006. *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Witte, Jacquelyn C., Mark R. Schoeberl, Anne R. Douglass, James F. Gleason, Nickolay A. Krotkov, John C. Gille, Kenneth E. Pickering, and Nathaniel Livesey. 2009. "Satellite Observations of Changes in Air Quality during the 2008 Beijing Olympics and Paralympics." *Geophysical Research Letters* 36 (17): L17803.
- Wu, Jiansheng, Jie Zhu, Weifeng Li, Duo Xu, and Jianzheng Liu. 2017. "Estimation of the PM<sub>2.5</sub> Health Effects in China During 2000–2011." *Environmental Science and Pollution Research International* 24 (11): 10695–707.
- Wu, Jing, Yongheng Deng, Jun Huang, Randall Morck, and Bernard Yeung. 2013. Incentives and Outcomes: China's Environmental Policy. Nber Working Paper Series. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w18754>.
- Wu, Xiao, Rachel C. Nethery, M. Benjamin Sabath, Danielle Braun, and Francesca Dominici. 2020. "Air Pollution and COVID-19 Mortality in the United States: Strengths and Limitations of an Ecological Regression Analysis." *Science Advances* 6 (45): eabd4049.
- Xing, Meng, Weiguo Liu, Xia Li, Weijian Zhou, Qiyuan Wang, Jie Tian, Xiaofei Li, et al. 2020. "Vapor Isotopic Evidence for the Worsening of Winter Air Quality by Anthropogenic Combustion-Derived Water." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117 (52): 33005–33010.
- Xinhua. 2014. "China Declares War against Pollution." March 5. Posted on March 6 and edited by Tracy Liu. [www.npc.gov.cn/zgrdw/englishnpc/Special\\_12\\_2/2014-03/06/content\\_1839511.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/zgrdw/englishnpc/Special_12_2/2014-03/06/content_1839511.htm).
2015. "China's Xi Vows Reform to Make Environment Watchdog More Independent." Webpage has been removed.
2016. "China to Improve Environmental Impact Assessments." February 25. [www.china.org.cn/environment/2016-02/25/content\\_37867535.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/environment/2016-02/25/content_37867535.htm).
- Xu, Yekun, Shuai Yang, and Wei'an Li. 2017. "Political Promotion, Rent Seeking, and Enterprise Mergers and Acquisitions: Evidence from Rotation of Prefectural Party Secretaries." *Economic Perspectives* 4: 64–76.
- Xu, Yuan. 2011. "Improvements in the Operation of SO<sub>2</sub> Scrubbers in China's Coal Power Plants." *Environmental Science & Technology* 45: 380–85.
- Xue, Wenbo, Fei Fu, Jinnan Wang, Guiqian Tang, Yu Lei, Jintian Yang, and Yuesi Wang. 2014. "Numerical Study on the Characteristics of Regional Transport of PM<sub>2.5</sub> in China." *China Environmental Science* 34 (6): 1361–68.

- Yang, Guobin. 2003. "The Internet and the Rise of a Transnational Chinese Cultural Sphere." *Media, Culture & Society* 25 (4): 469–90.
- Yang, Qijing, and Nan Zheng. 2013. "Is Local Political Promotion a Scaled, Tournament-Style, or Qualifying Race?" *World Economy* 12: 2–28.
- Zhang, Tao, Tuo Zhang, and Yijia Zhan. 2014. "Hebei Suppresses Energy Production: Smash Others' Jobs for Official Posts." Banyuetan. June 6. [www.banyuetan.org/chcontent/sz/jjzs/201466/103236.shtml](http://www.banyuetan.org/chcontent/sz/jjzs/201466/103236.shtml).
- Zhang, Xuehua. 2017. "Implementation of Pollution Control Targets in China: Has a Centralized Enforcement Approach Worked?" *China Quarterly* 231: 749–74.
- Zhao, Dingxin. 2009. "The Mandate of Heaven and Performance Legitimation in Historical and Contemporary China." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53 (3): 416–33.
- Zhao, Suisheng. 1998. "A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31 (3): 287–302.
- Zheng, Siqi, and Matthew E. Kahn. 2013. "Understanding China's Urban Pollution Dynamics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 51 (3): 731–72.
- Zheng, Siqi, Matthew E. Kahn, Weizeng Sun, and Dangling Luo. 2014. "Incentives for China's Urban Mayors to Mitigate Pollution Externalities: The Role of the Central Government and Public Environmentalism." *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 47 (1): 61–71.
- Zhou, Li-An. 2007. "Governing China's Local Officials: An Analysis of Promotion Tournament Model." *Economic Research Journal* 7 (36): 36–50.
- Zhou, Xueguang. 2012. "Mobilizational State: Further Exploration in the Institutional Logic of State Governance in China." *Open Times* 9: 100–120.
- Zhou, Xueguang, and Hong Lian. 2011. "Bargaining in the Chinese Bureaucracy." *Social Science in China* 5: 80–96.
2012. "Modes of Governance in the Chinese Bureaucracy: A 'Control Right' Theory." *Journal of Sociological Research* 5: 69–93.
- Zhou, Xueguang, Hong Lian, Leonard Ortolano, and Yinyu Ye. 2013. "A Behavioral Model of 'Muddling Through' in the Chinese Bureaucracy: The Case of Environmental Protection." *China Journal* 70 (70): 120–47.
- Zhu, Yuchao. 2011. "'Performance Legitimacy' and China's Political Adaptation Strategy." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 16 (2): 123–40.