

# MAGGIE SHUM

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## Appointments

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- 2022 - Present Assistant Professor of Political Science, **Penn State Erie, the Behrend College, PA.**
- 2024 - Present Deputy Coordinator, [Global Research Association of Politics in Hong Kong.](#)
- 2020 - Present Global Participatory Budgeting Research Board Member, [People Powered.](#)
- 2020 - 2022 Research and Program Associate, Global Policy Initiative, Keough School of Global Affairs, **University of Notre Dame, IN.**
- 2018 - 2020 Postdoctoral Research Associate, Keough School of Global Affairs, **University of Notre Dame, IN.**
- 2018 Postdoctoral Teaching Scholar, Department of Political Science, **University of Notre Dame, IN.**

## Education

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- 2018 Ph.D. in Political Science, **University of Notre Dame, IN.**  
Dissertation: “The Politics of Policy Diffusion: Party Organization Versus Individual Motivations in the Diffusion of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil”  
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Committee: Michael Coppedge (chair), Scott Mainwaring, and Ann Mische.
- 2014 M.A. in Political Science, **University of Notre Dame, IN.**  
Comprehensive exams in Comparative Politics and American Politics
- 2012 M.A. in Politics, **New York University, NY.**  
Master Thesis: “Sustainability and Limitations of Participatory Budgeting: Evidence in Brazilian Cities” .  
Advisor: Leonard Wantchekon.
- 2008 B.A. in Political Science, **Michigan State University, MI.**  
B.A. in Communication, **Michigan State University, MI.**

## Research Interests

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Diaspora studies, contentious politics, transnational mobilization, participatory governance, East Asian politics, Latin America politics, Hong Kong, Brazil, Latin America politics.

## Grants and Awards

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- 2024 “**Voice After Exit: Hong Kong Diaspora’ s Transnational Mobilization and Community Building in Six Host Countries**”

- Research/Creative Activities Seed Grant Program (\$8,500), Penn State Erie. Social Science Research institution (SSRI) Mentored Faculty Fellow, Penn State University. (Applied)
- 2023 Lucy Regional Breakthrough Award (\$1,000) (with Jacob Turner), Lucy Family Institute for Data and Society, University of Notre Dame.  
School of Humanities and Social Science Scholarly Funds (\$1,500), Penn State Erie.
- 2022 **“Resistance and Opposition Repertoires under Authoritarianism in East and Southeast Asia”** (Co-PI with Nhu Truong and Elvin Ong)  
Collaborative Grant (\$6,000), American Political Science Association Asia Program.
- 2021 **“Hong Kong Voices in the US” Project** (Co-PI with Victoria Hui)  
Faculty Research Support Program - Initiation Grant (\$10,000), University of Notre Dame.  
Centennial Center Research Grants (\$2,500), American Political Science Association.  
Research Grant (\$4,990), Notre Dame Initiative on Race and Resilience.
- “Trump Factor in Hong Kong and Taiwan” Project** (Co-PI with Hans H. Tung and Victoria Hui)  
Asia Research Collaboration Grant (\$10,000), Notre Dame International.  
Small Research Grant (\$2,500), Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame.  
Faculty Research Grant (\$2,980), Liu Institute of Asia and Asian Studies, University of Notre Dame.
- Travel Grant (\$300), American Political Science Association.
- “How Citizens Meet the State: Origins of Institutional Trust in South Bend, IN” Project** (Co-PI with Jocab Turner)  
Current Research-Themed Grant (\$5,000), Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame.
- 2017 Outstanding TA Award, Kaneb Center, University of Notre Dame.
- 2016 Graduate Research Grant (\$6,900) to conduct field research in Brazil for 5 months, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.  
Summer Research Fund (\$2,200) for language learning In Brazil, Dean’s Advisory Council, University of Notre Dame.  
Dissertation Year Fellowship, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame.
- 2015 Graduate Research Grant (\$5,747) to conduct field research in Brazil for 7 weeks, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.  
Conference Presentation Grant, Graduate Student Union, University of Notre Dame.

## Peer-Reviewed Publications

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Nhu Truong, Elvin Ong & Maggie Shum. 2024 “Agents of resistance: resolve and repertoires against autocratization in Asia” *Democratization* 31(3): 513-530.

Turner, Jacob & Maggie Shum. 2024 “How Citizens Meet the State: Police Contact, Trust, and Civic Engagement.” *Urban Affairs Review* (First view online).

Shum, Maggie. 2024. “PB Adoption Across Ideological Divides: Lessons from Brazil” *Local Development & Society* (First view online).

Shum, Maggie. 2023. “Transnational Activism during Movement Abeyance: Examining the International Front of Hong Kong’s 2019 Anti-Extradition Bill Movement” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 58(1): 144-66.

Shum, Maggie. 2021. “When Voting Turnout Becomes Contentious Repertoire: How Anti-ELAB Protest Overtook the District Council Election in Hong Kong 2019.” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 22(4): 248–67.

Mary Shiraef, Cora Hirst, Mark Weiss et al. 2021. “COVID Border Accountability Project, a hand-coded global database of border closures introduced during 2020.” *Scientific Data* 8, 253.

## Book Review (solicited)

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2021                      Book review of *Democracy at Work: Pathways to Well-Being in Brazil* (Brian Wampler, Natasha Borges Sugiyama, and Michael Touchton. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2020) (*The Developing Economies* 59, 111-114).

## Manuscripts under Review and Working Papers

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“Voice After Exit: How Transnational Ties and Integration Affect Hong Kong Diaspora’s Policy Preference in Five Host Countries”. (with Eddy Yeung, Ka Ming Chan, Sanho Chung, Athena Tong & Sam Yip).

“From Legislative Chamber to Echo Chamber: Evaluating the Change of Hong Kong Legislators’ Floor Performance after the Purge of the Opposition”. (with Stan Hok-Wui Wong & Sanho Chung).

“Resistance from Afar: Evolution of Contentious Repertoires in Hong Kong Diaspora’s Transnational Mobilization during the 2019 Anti-ELAB Movement” .

## Policy Publications

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2024                      “Trump con vía libre” at La Tercera.

2022                      “Featured Q&A: Who Will Brazilians Choose for the Next Four Years?” at the Inter-American Dialogue’s daily Latin America Advisor.  
“Brewing for democracy: digital activism & the #MilkTeaAlliance” at the New Mandala.

- 2021      “One year on, here’ s how China’ s national security law has changed Hong Kong” at the Monkey Cage.  
 “In Hong Kong, dozens of arrests for pro-democracy activities will have a chilling effect” at The Monkey Cage.  
 “Sobering lessons for American democracy and the road ahead” at the Dignity and Development blog (Keough School of Global Affairs).
- 2020      “Hong Kong Voices in American Politics” at The Diplomat. (with Victoria Hui)  
 “Global experts are more likely to be worried about electoral violence in the presidential election than their US counterparts” at LSE-USAPP blog. (with Paul Friesen, Ilana Rothkopf, Luis Schenoni, and Romelia Solano)  
 “Four out of Five Electoral Experts are Concerned about a Peaceful Transfer of Power” at Mischiefs of Faction.(with Paul Friesen, Ilana Rothkopf, Luis Schenoni, and Romelia Solano)  
 “How China’ s new national security law will hobble Hong Kong’ s pro-democracy movement” at The Monkey Cage.  
 “To Crack Down on Dissent in Hong Kong, Beijing is Sidelining Local Democratic Institutions” at Mischiefs of Faction.  
 “Coronavirus may have emptied Hong Kong’ s streets, but the pro-democracy protests continue” at The Monkey Cage.
- 2019      “Hong Kong’ s District Council elections take place on Nov. 24. Or not” at The Monkey Cage.
- 2011      “China’ s Growing Army of Paid Internet Commentators” Freedom at Issue. (with Sarah Cook)  
 China Media Bulletin Issue 32 –42.

## Policy Reports

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- 2025      “Freedom in the World 2025: Hong Kong Report.” Freedom House (Forthcoming).
- 2024      “Freedom in the World 2024: Hong Kong Report.” Freedom House.
- 2023      “Freedom in the World 2023: Hong Kong Report.” Freedom House.
- 2022      “Freedom in the World 2022: Hong Kong Report.” Freedom House.
- 2021      Paul Friesen, Rachel Gagnon, Shadwa Ibrahim, William Kakenmaster and Maggie Shum.“The Presidential Transition Index: Contemporaneous Assessments of the Trump-Biden Transition”, Global Policy Initiative Policy Report, Keough School of Global Affairs.
- 2020      Paul Friesen, Ilana Rothkopf, Luis Schenoni, Maggie Shum, and Romelia Solano. “American Democracy at Risk: A Global Comparative Perspective” , Global Policy Initiative Policy Report, Keough School of Global Affairs.

## Conference Organized

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- 2022 “Resistance and Opposition Repertoires under Authoritarianism in East and Southeast Asia”, American Political Science Association - National University of Singapore (APSA-NUS). (co-organizer).

### Invited Talks & Events

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- 2024 “Reimagine, Restructure, and Reconnect: the Hong Kong Diaspora and its Transnational Engagement”, Global Research Association of Politics in Hong Kong (Nov 15).  
Panel discussion on “Joshua: Teenager vs. Superpower”, Penn State Sustainability (Sep 11).  
“Democracy in Tough Places: How Taiwan’s Young Democracy Mature under the China Factor”, Jefferson Educational Society (Aug 22).  
“Hong Kong Diaspora: Transnational Mobilization and Community Building Abroad”, Franklin & Marshall College (Mar 6).  
“The Impact of Taiwan Election in 2024 and Beyond”, Public Policy Initiative, Penn State Erie (Feb 26).  
Taiwan Election Observation Tour, organized by Friends of Hong Kong and Macau Association (Jan 10-16).
- 2023 “Challenges and Opportunities in Conducting Survey Research on Hongkongers at Home and Aboard”, Global Research Association of Politics in Hong Kong (GRAPH).
- 2022 “Political Transformation in Southeast Asia with Nhu Truong, Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Maggie Shum, and Megan Ryan”, The Channel, International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) (Dec 20).  
“Taiwan-Hong Kong (dis)connection: physical and digital social movements in HK and Taiwan”, Taiwan Studies Programme, University of Nottingham (May 19).  
“Meet the Authors: Global Perspectives on Participatory Budgeting”, Centre for Democratic Futures, University of Southampton (January 25).  
“Pro-democracy Movements in Asia”, V-dem East Asia Regional Center (January 14).
- 2021 “Voice After Exit: How Transnational Ties Shape Hong Kong Americans’ Political Engagement and Voting Behavior”, Hong Kong Studies Initiative, University of British Columbia (December 11).  
“A Global Theory of Change for Participatory Budgeting: What We Know and What’s Next”, People Powered University webinar (November 16).  
“Career in Political Science”, Hong Kong Collaborative Academic Network (HKCAN) (October 23).  
“People’s Power and Resistance in Northeast and Southeast Asia”, 2021 Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS) conference (October 23).  
“Year of Cultures without Borders”, University of Kentucky’s College of Arts & Sciences (October 7).

### Conference Participation

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- 2024 “Voice After Exit: How Transnational Ties and Integration Affect Hong Kong Diaspora’s Policy Preference in Five Host Countries”, American Political Science Association.
- 2023 “Resistance from Afar: Transnational Mobilization of Hong Kong Diaspora during the 2019 Anti-ELAB Movement”, Hong Kong Studies Conference, Princeton University.  
 “Resistance from Afar: Evolution of Contentious Repertoires in Hong Kong Diaspora’s Transnational Mobilization during the 2019 Anti-ELAB Movement”, American Political Science Association.  
 “How Citizens Meet the State: Interaction between Quality of Local Governance and Citizens’ Political Attitudes and Engagement in South Bend, IN”, Midwestern Political Science Association.
- 2022 “Transnational Activism during Movement Abeyance: Examining the International Front of Hong Kong’s 2019 Anti-Extradition Bill Movement”, Annual Conference of the Society for Hong Kong Studies.  
 “Voice After Exit: How Transnational Ties Shape Hong Kong American’s Political Engagement and Voting Behavior”, Midwestern Political Science Association.
- 2021 “A Conjoint Experiment on Hong Kong American Voters’ Turn to Trump in 2020”, American Political Science Association. (virtual).  
 “When Election Becomes Contentious Repertoire: How Anti-ELAB Protest Overtook the District Council Election in Hong Kong 2019”, Midwestern Political Science Association. (virtual).
- 2019 “Party Organization Matters: The Diffusion of Participatory Budgeting under the Workers’ Party in Brazil”, Latin American Studies Association. Boston, MA.
- 2018 “The Tentacles of Participatory Budgeting: Cross-Party Diffusion of PB in Brazil”, & “The Politics of Policy Decline –The Decline of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil”, Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, IL.
- 2017 “The Tentacles of Participatory Budgeting: The Diffusion of PB across Brazilian Parties”, & “The Path to Protest: Institutional vs. Individual Drive for Protest in Latin American” with Omar Coronel, Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, IL.
- 2016 “When Paper Stone is not Enough: Party System Institutionalization and Protests” with Omar Coronel, Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, IL.
- 2015 “Party Building and the Diffusion of Participatory Policy –The Case of Workers’ Party and Participatory Budgeting in Brazil”, American Political Science Association Conference. San Francisco, CA.  
 “When Paper Stone is not Enough: Party System Institutionalization and Protests” with Omar Coronel, Congreso Latinoamericano de Ciencia Politica. Lima, Peru.

“Party Building and the Diffusion of Participatory Policy –The Case of Workers’ Party and Participatory Budgeting in Brazil” , Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, IL.

2014 “The Motivations and Political Implications of Participatory Budgeting – Lessons from Brazil” , Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, IL.

## Panels and Workshops

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2023 “Resistance from Afar: Evolution of Contentious Repertoires in Hong Kong Diaspora’ s Transnational Mobilization during the 2019 Anti-ELAB Movement” , Global Research Association of Politics in Hong Kong (GRAPH).

2021 “Making Hong Kong China” , Liu Institute for Asia and Asian Studies, University of Notre Dame.  
“Hong Kong Voices in American Politics” Survey: Biden’s Confidence Deficit and Other Results” , Liu Institute for Asia and Asian Studies, University of Notre Dame.  
APSA Asia Workshop on “Contentious Politics and its Repercussions in Asia” (virtual).

2020 V-dem East Asia Center Workshop on “Contentious Politics and Democracy in Asia” (virtual).  
“Episode 5: Ongoing Protests in Hong Kong” , Peace in the Time of a Pandemic: Video Shorts, Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame.

2019 “Hong Kong in Crisis” , Keough School of Global Affairs and Liu Institute for Asia and Asian Studies, University of Notre Dame.

2016 “What’ s the Matter of Brazil” , Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame.  
“The Politics of Participatory Policies: Explaining Diffusion and Decline of Participatory Budgeting in the Brazilian Context” , University of Illinois/University of Notre Dame Graduate Student Exchange.  
“Party Building and the Diffusion of Participatory Policy –The Case of Workers’ Party and Participatory Budgeting in Brazil” , Thirtieth Anniversary of Brazil’ s Democracy: A Celebratory Workshop, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame.

2015 “Protest in Hong Kong 2014” , Liu Institute for Asia and Asian Studies, University of Notre Dame.

## Media Appearance

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2024 Radio Taiwan International “美國大選 / 白宮新主人將揭曉在美港人憂移民政策” .  
Deutsche Welle “What Next for Hong Kong’s Pro-democracy Movement?” .

2023 Voice of America (VOA) “Hong Kong To Hold ‘Patriots Only’ Election Amid Efforts To Tighten Control” .

- Deutsche Welle “Have China’s security laws changed Hong Kong forever?” .
- 2022 Deutsche Welle “Why is Hong Kong imprisoning more activists?” .  
Deutsche Welle “How has Beijing’s crackdown on civil society changed Hong Kong?” .
- 2021 Extramuros “O caos visto de longe” .
- 2020 America Magazine “Despite imprisonment, Hong Kong democracy activists urge continued resistance” .  
La Tercera “Hong Kong: Bajo el riesgo del fin de ” un país, dos sistemas” ” .  
The Guardian “’Their stories should be told right’: how museums are documenting the protests” .  
La Tercera “China: una nueva guerra fría con EE.UU. por Hong Kong” .
- 2019 Crux “Experts: Protests reflect world frustration with inequality, corruption” .  
ABC57 “Michiana Woman Describes Experience Protesting in Pro-democracy Protests in Hong Kong” .

## Teaching Experiences

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### *Instructor (Penn State Erie)*

PLSC 1: American Politics: Principles, Processes and Powers  
 PLSC 197: Special Topic: Social Movement and Political Resistance  
 PLSC 197: Special Topic: People Powered - The Participatory Dimension of Democracy  
 PLSC 456: Latin American Politics  
 PLSC 458: Government and Politics in East Asia  
 GLIS 102N: Global Pathways

### *Instructor (University of Notre Dame)*

Contentious Politics, Parties and Change  
 Youth and Civic Engagement in Comparative Perspectives

### *Teaching Assistant (University of Notre Dame)*

How to Change the World  
 Introduction to Global Affairs  
 Migration and Refugee Policy  
 Introduction to Political Economy  
 Introduction to Modern African Politics  
 Irish Politics  
 Introduction to World Politics  
 Introduction to Political Theory  
 Political Economy and Globalization



## Services

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Reviewer for the Asian Survey, British Journal of Political Science (BJPS), The China Journal, Comparative Political Studies (CPS), Comparative Politics, East Asian Forum, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Governance, Humanities and Social Sciences Communications (HSSC), Journal of Asian and African Studies (JAAS), Journal of Contemporary Asia, Journal of Current Chinese Affairs (JCCA), Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (JEPOP), Japanese Journal of Political Science (JJPS), Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (JREP), Latin American Politics and Society (LAPS), Latin American Research Review (LARR), Perspective on Politics, Political Behavior, Political Studies, Social Movement Studies, Urban Studies, World Politics Kellogg Graduate Research Grants at the University of Notre Dame.  
Varieties of Democracy (V-dem) country expert on Hong Kong.

## Software Proficiency

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R,  $\LaTeX$ , Qualtrics, STATA, GIS

## Languages

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Cantonese (native); English (advanced reading, writing, and speaking); Mandarin (advanced reading, writing, and speaking); Portuguese (intermediate); Spanish (intermediate).

## Academic Membership

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American Political Science Association (APSA)  
Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA)  
Latin American Studies Association (LASA)  
Liu Institute for Asia and Asian Studies  
Society for Hong Kong Studies (SHKS)

## References

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