

SUSAN H. WHITING

Department of Political Science
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FACULTY APPOINTMENTS

Associate Professor
Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 2000-present
Adjunct Associate Professor
School of Law, 2007-present
Jackson School of International Studies, 2000-present
Assistant Professor
Dept. of Political Science/Jackson Sch. of International Studies, University of Washington, 1994-2000

EDUCATION

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Ph.D., Political Science, 1995
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
B.A., East Asian Studies, 1986

WORK IN PROGRESS

Monograph in process:

When Does Law Matter? Law and Norms in China's Second Land Revolution

Articles in process:

"Productive Forces, Property Rights, and Land Law," presented at conference in honor of Margaret Levi, University of Washington, October 10, 2014.

"Land Taking and Vote Buying"
(with Xiao Ma and Tan Zhao)

"What's Law Got to Do with It? Competition among Legal, Political, and Social Norms in the Generation and Resolution of Rural Land Disputes" *EAI Fellows Program Working Paper #25*

PUBLICATIONS (MONOGRAPHS)

Power and Wealth in Rural China: The Political Economy of Institutional Change
(Cambridge University Press, 2001)

白素珊, 乡村中国的权力与财富: 制度变迁的政治经济学, 译者: 郎友兴, 方小平
(浙江人民出版社, 2009) (Chinese edition, translated by Lang Youxing and Fang Xiaoping,
published by Zhejiang University Press, 2009)

PUBLICATIONS (ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS) (*anonymous peer-reviewed)

*"Authoritarian 'Rule of Law' and Regime Legitimacy," *Comparative Political Studies*, forthcoming.

*"Changing Property Rights Regimes: A Study of Rural Land Tenure in China," (with Loren Brandt, Linxiu Zhang, and Tonglong Zhang), *China Quarterly*, forthcoming.

"The Rural Economy," (with Dan Wang), *Sage Handbook on Contemporary China*, Weiping Wu and Mark Frazier, editors.

*"Courts and Political Stability," (with Shao Hua) in Hualing Fu and John Gillespie, eds., *Exploring the Limits of Law: Resolving Land Disputes in East Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

"大调解与我国基层法院的功能:以湖南两个县的土地纠纷调查为例 (Comprehensive Mediation and the Function of Local Courts: An Investigation of Land Disputes in Two Hunan Counties)," (co-authored with Shao Hua) 政法论丛 (*Journal of Political Science and Law*) 2012 No. 2.

*"Values in Land: Fiscal Pressures, Land Disputes, and Justice Claims in Rural and Peri-Urban China," *Urban Studies* (February 2011)

*"Law and Its Substitutes: Contracting and Dispute Resolution among Chinese Firms," in Tse-Kang Leng and Yun-han Chu, eds., *Dynamics of Local Governance in China during the Reform Era* (Lexington-Rowman & Littlefield, 2010)

- “Fiscal Reform and Land Public Finance: Zouping County in National Context,” in Joyce Man and Yu-Hung Hong, eds., *China’s Local Public Finance in Transition* (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2010)
- *“The Role of Law in China’s Economic Development,” (co-authored with Donald Clarke and Peter Murrell), in Thomas Rawski and Loren Brandt, eds., *China’s Great Economic Transformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- “Central-Local Fiscal Relations in China,” *China Policy Series*, No. XXII (April 2007).
- *“The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grassroots: The Paradox of Party Rule,” in Barry Naughton and Dali Yang, eds., *Holding China Together* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- *“The Regional Evolution of Ownership Forms: Shareholding Cooperatives and Rural Industry in Shanghai and Wenzhou,” in Andrew Walder and Jean Oi, eds., *Property Rights and Economic Reform in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 171-200.
- *“The Mobilization of Private Investment as a Problem of Trust in Local Governance Structures,” in Valerie Braithwaite and Margaret Levi, eds., *Trust and Governance* (New York: Russell Sage Books, 1998), 167-193.
- *“Market Discipline and Rural Enterprise in China,” in John McMillan and Barry Naughton, eds., *Reforming Asian Socialism: The Growth of Market Institutions* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 63-110.
- *“自主权: 乡镇企业走向市场的前提,” (Autonomy: A Prerequisite for Township Enterprises to Move towards the Market),” *Shanghai Jiaoxian Gongye (Shanghai Suburban Industry)*, Number 3, June 1992.
- *“The Politics of NGO Development in China,” *Voluntas*, Volume 2, Number 2, Fall 1991, pp. 16-48.

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

- PI, “Explaining Diverse Property Rights Regimes in China’s Rural Land,” Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, 2013-15, extended to 2016
- PI, “Conference on Contending Perspectives on the Rule of Law in China,” Henry M. Jackson Foundation and National Committee on US-China Relations Public Intellectuals Program, November 15, 2013
- Co-PI with Loren Brandt, International Fellowship, China Program, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Boston, Massachusetts, 2009-11
- Fellow, Program on Peace, Governance, and Development in East Asia, East Asia Institute, Seoul, South Korea, 2009-10
- PI, “New Perspectives on Chinese Culture and Society” Workshop Grant, American Council of Learned Societies, 2010
- Co-PI with Veronica Taylor, “Empowering Rural China: Legal Aid and the Rule of Law in Rural China,” U.S. Department of State, 2007-10
- Fellow, Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 2005-07
- Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies Research Grant, University of Washington, Summer 2004
- Royalty Research Fund Grant, “The Rule of Law and Dispute Resolution in China”
University of Washington, 2002-03, extended 2003-04 due to SARS
- Senior Research Fellowship, Johns Hopkins University, Hopkins-Nanjing Institute for International Research
Nanjing University, Autumn 2002-Spring 2003
- China Studies Program Faculty Research Grant,
University of Washington, Summer 1996, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015
- East Asia Center Course Development Award: “Law, Development, and Transition in East Asia”
University of Washington, Summer 2002
- New Research Development, Taylor Institute, Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington, 1999-2000
- Post-doctoral Fellowship, Center for Chinese Studies,
University of California, Berkeley, 1998-99
- Boeing Faculty Assistance Research Grant,
University of Washington, Summer 1995
- Rackham Dissertation Fellowship, Rackham School of Graduate Studies,
University of Michigan, Spring/Summer 1994
- Teaching Award, Department of Political Science,
University of Michigan, 1993-1994
- Rackham Predoctoral Fellowship, Rackham School of Graduate Studies,
University of Michigan, 1992-1993
- Graduate Fellowship, National Program for Advanced Study and Research in China,

Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China,
National Academy of Sciences, 1991-1992
Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Dissertation Research Fellowship,
American Council of Learned Societies, 1991-1992
Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Fellowship,
Institute for International Education, 1991-1992, declined

CONFERENCE PAPERS

- “A Long View of Sustainable Development in the Chengdu Plain,” (with Dan Abramson and Stevan Harrell), presented at the Association for Asian Studies, Seattle, Washington, April 2, 2016
- “Productive Forces, Property Rights, and Land Law,” *Festschrift for Margaret Levi*, University of Washington, October 10, 2014
- “Institutional Mechanisms Governing Changes in Property Rights,” (co-authored with Loren Brandt), Conference on “Institutionalism, Credibility, and Modes of Production: Land, Labor, and Capital in China,” Beijing, China, January 16-17, 2014
- “Law, Land Rights, and Revenue,” Conference on “Land Grabbing in China,” Fairbank Center, Harvard University, March 8, 2014
- “Legal Consciousness and Legal Mobilization,” International Conference on Social Change and the Constitution,” Free University of Berlin, Germany, June 15-17, 2012
- “Fiscalization of Land in Comparative Perspective: The Unintended Consequences of Fiscal Constraints and Political Incentives on Local Governments in China and the U.S.,” presented at the Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu Hawaii, April 1, 2011.
- “Rural Land Rights, Dispute Resolution Mechanisms, and the Role of the Courts (with Hua Shao),” presented at the ACLS Workshop on “Sending ‘Rule of Law’ to the Countryside: Development Theories and Chinese Realities,” University of Washington, May 5-8, 2010
- “How Fiscal Pressures Drive Land Disputes and Shape Dispute Resolution Mechanisms in Rural and Peri-Urban China,” presented at the Workshop on the Rule of Law, Yale University, April 24-25, 2009.
- “Fiscal Reform and ‘Land Public Finance’,” presented at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, MA, May 12, 2008.
- “Public Finance and Land Disputes in Rural China,” presented at Chinese Justice Workshop, Fairbank Center, Harvard University, October 12-13, 2007.
- “Villagers Against the State: The Politics of Land Disputes,” co-authored with Christopher Heurlin, presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30, 2007.
- “Triangulating among Sources and Methods: Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in to Explain the Privatization Process in China,” presented at the Workshop on Sources and Methods in Chinese Politics, University of Michigan, November 3-4, 2006.
- “Assessing the Value of Law in China’s Economy (co-authored with Donald Clarke and Peter Murrell),” presented at the Conference on “China’s Economic Transition: Origins, Mechanisms, and Consequences,” University of Pittsburgh, November 5-7, 2004.
- “Law and Its Substitutes: Contracting and Dispute Resolution among Chinese Firms,” presented at the International Conference on “Grassroots Democracy and Local Governance in China During the Reform Era,” Chinese Association of Political Science and National Chengchi University, Taiwan, November 2-3, 2004.
- “Enterprise Reform and the Generation and Resolution of Labor Disputes in China,” presented at the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, April 5, 2002.
- “The Institutionalization of Fiscal Reform in China: The Problem of Extra-budgetary Funds,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, March 11-14, 1999.
- “Government Sources and Uses of Funds at Sub-National Levels,” co-authored with Loraine West, prepared for the Ministry of Finance, PRC, under the auspices of Asian Development Bank Technical Assistance No. 2743-PRC, “A Study of Extrabudgetary Revenues and Expenditures,” April 1998.
- “The Financing of Urban Infrastructure and Services,” prepared for the Ministry of Finance, PRC, under the auspices of Asian Development Bank Technical Assistance No. 2743-PRC, “A Study of Extrabudgetary Revenues and Expenditures,” April 1998.
- “Stasis and Change: Evolving Institutions for Revenue Extraction in Rural China,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 31- September 3, 1995.
- “Incentives, Endowments, and Property Rights in Rural China,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, March 24-27, 1994.

- “The Comfort of the Collective: The Political Economy of Rural Enterprise in Shanghai, Wuxi, and Wenzhou,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Los Angeles, March 25-28, 1993.
- “Who Pays? A Rational Choice Approach to Revenue Extraction in Reform China,” presented at the National Science Foundation Workshop on the Politics of Economic Reform in the Former Communist-Bloc States, University of California, Los Angeles, February 26-27, 1993.
- “Power and Wealth in the Chinese Township: The Political Economy of the Local Entrepreneur,” presented at the National Science Foundation Workshop on the Politics of Economic Reform in the Former Communist-Bloc States, University of California, Los Angeles, January 17-18, 1992.
- “The Non-Governmental Sector in China: A Preliminary Report,” The Ford Foundation, Beijing, Working Paper, July 1989.

REVIEWS

- Review of Yongshun Cai, *States and Agents in China: Disciplining Government Officials* (Stanford University Press, 2015) in *The China Journal* No. 77.
- Review of Jeremy Wallace, *Cities and Stability* (Oxford University Press, 2014) and World Bank, *Urban China* in *The China Journal* No. 75 (January 2016), pp. 206-209.
- Review of Calvin Chen, *Some Assembly Required: Work, Community, and Politics in China's Rural Enterprises* (Harvard University Press, 2008) in *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 82, No. 4 (Winter 2010).
- Review of Dali Yang, *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since the Great Leap Famine* (Stanford University Press, 1996) and Marc Blecher and Vivienne Shue, *Tethered Deer: Government and Economy in a Chinese County* (Stanford University Press, 1996) in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 6 (December 1997), pp. 756-764.
- Review of Minxin Pei, *From Reform to Revolution: The Demise of Communism in China and the Soviet Union* (Harvard University Press, 1994) in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (June 1996), pp. 413-419.

COMMENTARY

- “The Party Rules: What Lies behind the Chinese Communist Party Elites’ Foregrounding of the ‘Rule of Law?’” (with Xiao Ma) www.openDemocracy.net, November 2, 2014

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

- “Chinese Politics: State of the Field,” China Colloquium, University of Washington, March 13, 2014
- “Rural Land Rights in China,” Workshop on the New Socialist Countryside, University of Washington, March 18-19, 2013
- “Legal Consciousness and Legal Mobilization in Rural China: A Field Experiment,” University of Toronto, March 8, 2013
- “Land and Rural Development: Successes and Failures,” InDepth Conference, University of Toronto, March 9, 2013
- “Legal Consciousness and Legal Mobilization in Rural China: A Field Experiment,” presented at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 8, 2012.
- “A Field Experiment in Legal Consciousness and Access to Justice: Evaluating Legal Technical Assistance in Rural China,” presented at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 22, 2010.
- “The Role of Courts in Enforcing Contracts in a Transition Economy,” School of Law, Shandong University, March 15, 2010.
- “Rural Land Disputes and Farmer Responses” Worldwide Universities Network Contemporary China Virtual Seminar Series, March 5, 2009.
- “The Role of the Courts in Guaranteeing Property Rights and Contracts in a Transition Economy,” presented to the State Council Development Research Foundation, July 22, 2008.
- “State Interests and the Role of the Courts in China: Land Contracts vs. Sales and Purchase Contracts,” presented at the East Asia Workshop, University of Chicago, May 13, 2008.
- “Public Finance and Land Disputes in Rural and Peri-Urban China,” presented at the Workshop on the Rule of Law, Yale University, March 28-29, 2008.
- “Law, Order, and Justice: Dispute Resolution in China’s Transitional Political Economy,” William Catron Jones Lecture, Washington University School of Law, November 14, 2007.
- “Law and Development in Asia,” Conference on Law, Development, and Transition: New Questions and Directions, School of Law, University of Washington, March 16-18, 2006.

- “When the Deal Goes Sour: Contracting and Dispute Resolution among Chinese Firms,” presented at Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University, January 10, 2005.
- “Contracting and Dispute Resolution among Chinese Firms: Cultural and Institutional Factors presented at the Department of Government, Cornell University, November 30, 2004.
- “The State of the China Field in the 1980s and 90s,” Symposium in Honor of Michel Oksenberg, Stanford University, October 7, 2000.
- “A Capitalist *Tail*: Explaining Institutional Change in China,” Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, February 16, 2000.
- “A Capitalist *Tail*: Explaining Institutional Change in China,” Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, February 2, 2000.
- “Worker Rights and Labor Standards in China,” Lecture Series on Worker Rights, Labor Standards, and the World Trade Organization, Labor Studies Center, University of Washington, December 2, 1999.
- “Labor Standards and Women’s Labor in the Developing World: The Perspective from China,” Workshop on the World Trade Organization and Women’s Issues, Taylor Institute for Transnational Studies and Center for Women and Democracy, University of Washington, November 19, 1999.
- “Constraining the Local State: Institutionalizing Fiscal Reform in China,” Berkeley China Seminar, University of California, Berkeley, May 5, 1999.
- “Power and Wealth in Rural China: The Political Economy of Institutional Change,” Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, April 15, 1999.
- “Fiscal Aspects of China’s Unfinished Economic Revolution,” China Colloquium, Stanford University, January 12, 1999.
- “Fiscal Aspects of China’s Unfinished Economic Revolution,” presented at the “Conference on the Asian Economic Crisis,” University of Washington, Seattle, October 30-31, 1998.
- “The Mobilization of Private Investment in China: Exploring the Concept of Trust,” East Asia Workshop, University of Chicago, June 2, 1998.
- “Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Russia and the Role of Off-Budget Finance: Comparisons with China,” Workshop on Extrabudgetary Revenues and Expenditures, Asian Development Bank and Ministry of Finance, Beijing, PRC, July 16, 1997.
- “The Relevance of the Chinese Reform Experience for Russia,” Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences, Moscow, Russia, May 16, 1997.
- “The Reform of Extractive Institutions: Insights from China,” Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia, May 19, 1997.
- “The Development of Local Extractive Institutions: Comparing Shanghai, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang,” China Colloquium, University of California, Berkeley, April 19, 1996.
- “Evolving Property Rights in China’s Rural Industrial Sector,” Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, Palo Alto, February 13, 1996.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Courses

- University of Washington, Department of Political Science and Jackson School of International Studies
- Introduction to Comparative Politics (POL S 204)
 - Honors Seminar: Law and Rights in Authoritarian Regimes (POL S 398)
 - Government and Politics of China (POL S 442/SISEA 449)
 - State and Industry: Late Industrialization in East Asia (SIS 455)
 - State-Society Relations in the Third World (SIS 456/POL S 450)
 - Law and Rights in Authoritarian Regimes (POL S/LSJ/JSIS 469)
 - Theories of the State and Development (SIS 490/POL S 447)
 - Graduate Core Seminar in Qualitative Research Methods (POL S 502)
 - Graduate Core Seminar in Comparative Politics Theory (POL S 505)
 - Interdisciplinary Seminar on the Study of China (SISEA 521-522)
 - The Chinese Political System (POL S 532/SISEA 532)
 - Research Seminar on Contemporary Chinese Politics (POL S 533)
 - Empirical Methods in Socio-Legal Research (LAW 573)
- Seoul National University, International Summer Institute (2009, 2010)
- Politics and Economy in Contemporary China

Doctoral Committees

- University of Washington
Chair

Kimberley Manning, Ph.D. 2003, Assoc. Prof., Concordia University
 Lin Ying, Ph.D. 2007, Asst. Prof., Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
 Christopher Heurlin, Ph.D. 2011, Asst. Prof, Bowdoin College
 Changdong Zhang, Ph.D. 2012 Asst. Prof., Peking University
 Will Murg, Ph.D. 2015, Asst. Prof., Seattle Pacific University
 Yuting Li, Ph.D. 2016
 Anne Greenleaf
 Xiao Ma
 Tan Zhao

National and International Service

Member, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, Public Intellectuals Program, Advisory Committee
 China Advisor, Washington Women's Foundation
 Panel Chair and Discussant, "Party Adaptation in China," Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 23, 2013
 Panel Chair and Discussant, "Rights and Responsibilities of a Rising China," American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011.
 Elected Council Member, China and Inner Asia Council (CIAC) of the Association for Asian Studies, 2004-07
 Panel Chair and Discussant, "Governance at the Grassroots: Political Participation and Contention in China," American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30-September 2, 2007.
 Invited Discussant, Workshop on Korean Studies in Social Science, Stanford University, November 5, 2005.
 Invited Member, US Scholars Election Observation Delegation to the Republic of China, Taipei, March 15-21, 2004.
 Panel Chair, "Contending Social Movements: Theories in the Asian Context," Western Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Seattle, WA, September 30-October 2, 2004.
 Panel Chair and Discussant, "A New Federalism in China: The Impact of Central State-Building on Regulation and Local Public Goods Provision," American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.
 Panel Organizer and Presenter, "Enterprise Reform and the Rule of Law in China," Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, April 2002.
 Discussant, "Conference on Materializing Modernity," University of Washington, October 28, 2000.
 Discussant, "The State, Institutions, and Economic Reforms in China," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 30-September 3, 2000.
 Panel Chair, "Colonial Refractions in Republican China," Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, March 9-12, 2000.
 Discussant, "Natural Resources, Networks and Nightclubs: The Role of Local Elites in Deepening Reforms," Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, March 9-12, 2000.
 Discussant, "Strategies of State Legitimation in Contemporary China," Shorenstein Seminars on Contemporary East Asia, University of California, Berkeley, May 8-9, 1999.
 Panel Chair, Organizer and Presenter, "The Institutionalization of Fiscal Reform in China," Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, March 11-14, 1999.
 Member, Luebbert Award Committee (for best article published in the discipline in the past two years), American Political Science Association, 1996-97
 Peer Reviewer, National Program for Advanced Study and Research in China, Committee on Scholarly Communication with China, National Academy of Sciences, 1995-96

Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association, 1990 - present
 Association for Asian Studies, 1990 - present
 National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 2001-present
 Yale-China Association, 1982 - present