

SUSAN H. WHITING
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FACULTY APPOINTMENTS

Professor

Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 2021-present

Associate Professor

Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 2000-2021

Adjunct appointments

School of Law, University of Washington, Seattle, 2007-present

Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, 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

Dissertation: "The Micro-Foundations of Institutional Change in Reform China:
Property Rights and Revenue Extraction in the Rural Industrial Sector"

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

B.A., East Asian Studies, 1986

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,
Zhejiang University Press, 2009)

WORK IN PROGRESS (MONOGRAPH)

Illiberal Law and Development: Property Rights and Conflict over Land in China (Cambridge University Press contract)

PUBLICATIONS (ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS)

"Validating Vignette Designs with Real-World Data: A Study of Legal Mobilization in Response to Land Grievances in Rural China," (with Xiao Ma), *China Quarterly*, Vol. 246 (June 2021).

"A Long View of Sustainable Development in the Chengdu Plain," (with Stevan Harrell, Dan Abramson, and Yuan Shang), *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (May 2019).

"The Rural Economy," (with Dan Wang), in Weiping Wu and Mark Frazier, eds., *Sage Handbook on Contemporary China* (Sage Publications, 2018).

"Authoritarian 'Rule of Law' and Regime Legitimacy," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 14 (December 2017).

"Changing Property Rights Regimes: A Study of Rural Land Tenure in China," (with Loren Brandt, Linxiu Zhang, and Tonglong Zhang), *China Quarterly*, Vol. 232 (December 2017).

"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)," (with Shao Hua) 政法论丛 (*Journal of Political Science and Law*) No.2 (2012).

"Values in Land: Fiscal Pressures, Land Disputes, and Justice Claims in Rural and Peri-Urban China," *Urban Studies* Vol. 48, No. 3 (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* (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2010).

- “The Role of Law in China’s Economic Development,” (with Donald Clarke and Peter Murrell), in Thomas Rawski and Loren Brandt, eds., *China’s Great Economic Transformation* (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* (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 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* (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* (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)*, No. 3, June 1992.
- “The Politics of NGO Development in China,” *Voluntas*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 1991, pp. 16-48.

Other writing:

- “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

WORK IN PROGRESS (ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS)

- “The Nature of State Power and Legal Mobilization in Land Disputes: A Survey Experiment in China (with Zhaowen Guo),” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, October 2021.
- “Land Rights, Industrialization, and Urbanization: China in Comparative Context (Review Essay),” Under review, September 2021.
- “Land Law as a Last Gasp of the Planned Economy,” China’s Legal Construction Program at 40 Years,” University of Michigan, October 11-13, 2019.
- “Vote Buying and Land Sales in China’s Village Elections (with Xiao Ma and Tan Zhao),” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 2017. (Under review)
- “Productive Forces, Property Rights, and Land Law,” Conference in honor of Margaret Levi, University of Washington, October 10, 2014.
- “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* 2010.

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS (2000-present)

- PI, “Rural-Urban Development Field Training Initiative,” UW Global Innovation Fund, 2020-21, extended to 2022
- PI, “Explaining Diverse Property Rights Regimes in China’s Rural Land,” Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, 2013-15, extended to 2016
- East Asia Center, US Department of Education Travel Grant, 2018
- East Asia Center, US Department of Education Travel Grant, 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, China Program International Fellowship, 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
- 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

CONFERENCE PAPERS (2000-present)

- “Land Law as a Last Gasp of the Planned Economy,” China’s Legal Construction Program at 40 Years,” University of Michigan, October 11-13, 2019.

- “The China Model and Conventional Theory: The North Hypothesis,” Roundtable on Opportunities and Challenges in Studying China’s Political Economy, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, September 1, 2019.
- “‘Burning Questions’ (with Susan Shirk, et al.),” State of the Field in Chinese Politics Conference, Stanford University, December 14-15, 2018.
- “Validating Descriptive and Causal Inferences in Survey Experiments with Real-World Data (with Xiao Ma),” Presented at the Conference on Advancing Chinese Social Science Studies with Diversified Research Methods, Peking University, June 8-10, 2018.
- “Memo on Political Economy,” Workshop on Chinese Politics in Comparative Perspective,” Harvard University, December 15, 2017.
- “Vote Buying and Land Sales in China’s Village Elections (with Xiao Ma and Tan Zhao),” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 2017
- “A Long View of Sustainable Development in the Chengdu Plain,” (with Dan Abramson and Stevan Harrell), 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,” (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.,” Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu Hawaii, April 1, 2011.
- “Rural Land Rights, Dispute Resolution Mechanisms, and the Role of the Courts (with Hua Shao),” 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,” Workshop on the Rule of Law, Yale University, April 24-25, 2009.
- “Fiscal Reform and ‘Land Public Finance’,” Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, MA, May 12, 2008.
- “Public Finance and Land Disputes in Rural China,” Chinese Justice Workshop, Fairbank Center, Harvard University, October 12-13, 2007.
- “Villagers Against the State: The Politics of Land Disputes,” with Christopher Heurlin, 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 Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, April 5, 2002.

BOOK REVIEWS

- Yue Hou, *The Private Sector in Public Office: Selective Property Rights in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2019) in *China Quarterly* No. 244 (December 2020), pp. 1176-1177.
- Chun Peng, *Rural Land Takings Law in Modern China: Origin and Evolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2018) in *China Quarterly* No. 237 (March 2019), pp. 263-264.
- Yi Wu, *Negotiating Rural Land Ownership* (University of Hawaii Press, 2016) in *The China Journal* No. 79 (January 2018), pp. 151-153.
- Yongshun Cai, *States and Agents in China: Disciplining Government Officials* (Stanford University Press, 2015) in *The China Journal* No. 77 (January 2017), pp. 172-174.

- Jeremy Wallace, *Cities and Stability* (Oxford University Press, 2014) and World Bank, *Urban China* (World Bank 2014) in *The China Journal* No. 75 (January 2016), pp. 206-9.
- 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).
- 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.
- 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.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS (2000-present)

- "Illiberal Law and Development: Land Rights in Contemporary China," University of California, San Diego, November 14, 2019.
- "Property Rights and Economic Development in China," Penn Center for the Study of Contemporary China Podcast, Episode 15, March 19, 2019. <https://cscs.sas.upenn.edu/podcasts/2019/03/19/ep-15-property-rights-and-economic-development-china-susan-whiting>
- "Productive Forces, Property Rights, and Land Law," University of Pennsylvania, March 15, 2018.
- "Vote Buying and Land Sales in China's Village Elections," Stanford University, March 8, 2018.
- "Land Reform and Economic Development in China," Washington State China Relations Council, February 15, 2018.
- "Vote Buying and Land Sales in China's Village Elections (征地和村委会选举中的贿选)," South China Agricultural University, Guangzhou, China, December 8, 2017.
- "Legal Consciousness and Legal Mobilization in Rural China: A Field Experiment," University of Toronto, March 8, 2013.
- "Legal Consciousness and Legal Mobilization in Rural China: A Field Experiment," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 8, 2012.
- "Legal Consciousness of the Rural Population in China," Conference on "Social Change and the Chinese Constitution," Free University of Berlin, June 15-17, 2012.
- "A Field Experiment in Legal Consciousness and Access to Justice: Evaluating Legal Technical Assistance in Rural China," University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 22, 2010.
- "The Role of Courts in Enforcing Contracts in a Transition Economy," Shandong University, March 15, 2010.
- "The Role of the Courts in Guaranteeing Property Rights and Contracts in a Transition Economy," State Council Development Research Foundation, Beijing, July 22, 2008.
- "State Interests and the Role of the Courts in China: Land Contracts vs. Sales and Purchase Contracts," East Asia Workshop, University of Chicago, May 13, 2008.
- "Public Finance and Land Disputes in Rural and Peri-Urban China," 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, St. Louis, November 14, 2007.
- "When the Deal Goes Sour: Contracting and Dispute Resolution among Chinese Firms," Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University, January 10, 2005.
- "Contracting and Dispute Resolution among Chinese Firms: Cultural and Institutional Factors," Department of Government, Cornell University, November 30, 2004.

DOCTORAL COMMITTEES CHAIRED

University of Washington

- Tan Zhao, Ph.D. 2021, Asst. Prof., Renmin University
- Xiao Ma, Ph.D. 2017, Asst. Prof., Peking University
- Yuting Li, Ph.D. 2016, Henry Luce Foundation
- Bradley Willem Murg, Ph.D. 2015, Asst. Prof., Seattle Pacific University
- Changdong Zhang, Ph.D. 2012 Assoc. Prof., Peking University
- Christopher Heurlin, Ph.D. 2011, Assoc. Prof, Bowdoin College
- Ying Lin, Ph.D. 2007, Asst. Dir, Chinese University of Hong Kong Press;
Asst. Prof., Hong Kong University of Science & Technology, 2007-10
- Kimberley Manning, Ph.D. 2003, Assoc. Prof., Concordia University, Montreal

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SERVICE (2000-present)

Outstanding Reviewer, *Political Research Quarterly*, 2019
 Editorial Board Member, *Political Research Quarterly*
 Reviewer, *Comparative Political Studies*, *World Politics*, *American Political Science Review*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Law & Social Inquiry*, *China Journal*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, *Land Use Planning, Development and Change*
 Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, National Science Foundation,
 Planning Committee Member, Chinese Politics Mini-Conference, 2021 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2020-21
 Chinese Language Fellowship Program Advisory Council, National Bureau of Asian Research with funding from Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2018-present
 Advisory Committee Member, Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on US-China Relations with funding from Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2013-18
 Fellow, Public Intellectuals Program, 1st Cohort, National Committee on US-China Relations with funding from Henry Luce Foundation and the Starr Foundation, 2005-07
 China Advisor, Washington Women's Foundation, 2011-12
 Invited Discussant, Joint International Conference of the Research Network "Governance in China" and the Association for Social Science Research on China, University of Würzburg, Germany, November 26-28, 2010
 Elected Council Member, China and Inner Asia Council (CIAC) of the Association for Asian Studies, 2004-07
 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, March 15–21, 2004

UNIVERSITY SERVICE (2000-present)

Graduate School Grievance Hearing Panelist, 2019-20
 FLAS Fellowship Committee, 2018-19, 2014-15
 Yencheng Scholar Nomination Committee, 2018-19
 International Academic Service Contracts Committee, 2018-20
 Royalty Research Fund review, 2017
 Fritz Boeing Fellowship Committee 2013-14, 2012-13
 Conference organizer and PI, "Contending Perspectives on the Rule of Law in China," UW, November 15, 2013
 Faculty Senate, 2007-08, 2006-07
 Series organizer, "Law, Transition, and Globalization," 15-speaker series funded by JSIS East Asia Center, International Studies Center, and Institute for Transnational Studies, and LAW Asian Law Center, February-June, 2002

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE (2000-present)

Political Science

Search Committees, 2020-21 (Co-chair), 2008-09, 2007-08, 2000-01
 Severyns Ravenholt Lectureship and Seminar in Comparative Politics, Chair 2000-2012; Co-Chair 2012-
 Department Honors Program Director, 2020-21
 PhD Admissions Committee, 2020, 2018, 2017, 2009, 2008, 2006, 2005, 2004
 Tenure Review, Wibbels 2003, Cichowski 2006, Menaldo 2012, Long 2017
 Comparative Politics field coordinator, 2020-21 2019-20, 2019-18, 2018-17, 2017-16, 2008-09
 Political Economy field coordinator, 2015-16
 Graduate Program Committee, 2015-16; 2014-15; 2012-13; 2011-12; 2010-11, 2001-02, 2000-01
 Undergraduate Program Committee, 2006-07
 Political Science Department Public Panels, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017

Jackson School of International Studies (2000-present)

China Studies Graduate Admissions 2008-09, 2005-06, 2004-05; 2003-04
 China Fellowships Committee 2015-16; 2005-06; 2004-05; 2003-04
 China Studies Program Public Panels, 2020, 2014
 China Studies Colloquium Chair 2011-12, 2008-09, 2007-08
 China Studies Program Review Committee, 2002-03 (updated bylaws)
 Jackson School Journal, Advisor, 2014-15, 2012-13
 East Asian Studies Conference Funding Award Committee, 2003-04
 East Asian Studies Center Course Development Awards Committee, 2002-03
 JSIS Curriculum/Executive Committee, 2001-02
 JSIS IPE Colloquium Coordinator, 2001-02

