

Gallagher, August 2019

MARY E. GALLAGHER

Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Lowenstein Chair of Democracy, Democratization, and Human Rights,
Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2018-
Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2016-
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan,
2008-2016
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan,
2000-2007
Faculty Associate, Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies, University of
Michigan, 2000-present
Faculty Associate, Center for Comparative Political Studies, Institute of Social
Research, University of Michigan, 2004-present
Visiting Professor, Koguan School of Law, Shanghai Jiaotong University,
Shanghai, China, 2012-2013
Visiting Professor, East China University of Politics and Law, Shanghai, China,
2003-2004

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

Director, Kenneth G. Lieberthal and Richard H. Rogel Center for Chinese
Studies, University of Michigan, 2008-present
Special Counsel to the Provost on China, 2012-2013
UM President's Advisory Committee on Labor Standards and Human Rights,
2002-2003, 2005-2007

EDUCATION

Princeton University

Department of Politics, Ph.D., January 2001
Department of Politics, M.A., May 1996

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Smith College

B.A., May 1991, Cum Laude, Departmental Highest Honors

Major: Government

Minor: East Asian Studies

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Authoritarian Legality in China: Law, Workers, and the State, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

From Iron-rice Bowl to Informalization: Markets, State and Workers in a Changing China. Co-editor with Sarosh Kuruvilla and Ching Kwan Lee. Cornell University Press, 2011.

Chinese Justice: Civil Dispute Resolution in Contemporary China. Co-editor with Margaret Woo. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies. Co-editor with Allen Carlson, Melanie Manion, Kenneth Lieberthal. Cambridge University Press, 2010. Also published in Chinese translation as 当代中国政治研究, Chinese Academy of Social Science Publishing House, 2014.

Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China. Princeton University Press, 2005. Also published in Chinese translation as 全球化与中国劳工政治, Zhejiang People's Press, 2010.

Peer-Reviewed Articles and Book Chapters

"Top-Down Urbanization and China's Changing Development Model." Chapter in book on *China's Possible Futures*, Jean Oi and Tom Fingar. Stanford University Press, forthcoming.

"Mobilization without Movement." With Patricia Chen. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. February 2018.

- "Moving In and Moving Up: Labor Conditions and China's Changing Developmental Model." With Yujeong Yang. *Public Administration and Development*, August 2017 (37:2), pp. 160-175.
- "Getting Schooled: Legal Mobilization as an Educative Experience." With Yujeong Yang. *Law and Social Inquiry*, Winter 2017 (42:1), pp. 163-194.
- "Transformation without Transition: China's Maoist Legacies in Comparative Perspective," in *Working through the Past: Labor and Authoritarian Legacies in Comparative Perspective*, Teri Caraway, Stephen Crowley and Maria Cook, eds. Cornell University Press, 2015.
- "The Selectorate Theory for Autocracies," with Jonathan K. Hanson, Syracuse University. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2015. 18:23.
- "China's 2008 Labor Contract Law: Implementation and Implications for China's Workers," with John Giles, Albert Park, and Meiyang Wang. In *Human Relations*, 68(2), 197-236, 2015.
- "Urban Social Insurance Provision: Regional and Ownership Variations," with Juan Chen. In *Chinese Social Policy in Transition*, Douglas Besharov and Karen Baehler, eds. Oxford University Press, 2013.
- "Meaning and Measurement: Uses of and Strategies for Effective Interviewing in Political Science Research." In *Interview Research in Political Science*, Layna Mosley, editor. Cornell University Press, 2013.
- "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Resilient Autocracy and the Selectorate Theory," with Jonathan K. Hanson, Syracuse University). In *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Resilience in Asia and Europe*, Martin Dimitrov, editor. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- "Legislating Harmony: Labor Law Reform in Contemporary China," with Dong Baohua. In *From Iron-Rice Bowl to Informalization: Markets, State and Workers in a Changing China*. Co-editor with Sarosh Kuruvilla and Ching Kwan Lee. Cornell University Press, 2011.
- "Remote Control: How the Media Sustains Authoritarian Rule in China," with Daniela Stockmann. *Comparative Political Studies*, April 2011.

- "FDI and Corporate Restructuring in China: Is the Medicine Worse than the Disease?" with Ma Yue. *System Restructuring in East Asia*, edited by Jean Oi et al. Stanford University Press, 2011.
- "Users and Non-Users: Legal Experience and its Effect on Legal Consciousness," with Yuhua Wang. In *Chinese Justice*. Co-editor with Margaret Woo. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- "China's Older Workers: Between Law and Policy, Between Laid Off and Unemployed." *Laid Off and Unemployed Workers in China*, Tom Gold, ed. Palgrave/MacMillan Press, 2009.
- "Hope for Protection and Hopeless Choices: Labor Legal Aid in China." In *Grassroots Political Reform in China*, Merle Goldman and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 196-227.
- "Mobilizing the Law in China: 'Informed Disenchantment' and the Development of Legal Consciousness," *Law and Society Review*, December 2006, pp. 783-816.
- "Use the Law as Your Weapon!" Institutional Change and Legal Mobilization in China," in *Engaging Chinese Law*, Neil Diamant, Stanley Lubman, Kevin O'Brien, eds. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, pp. 54-83.
- "The Limits of Civil Society in a Late Leninist State," in *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia*, Muthiah Alagappa, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, pp. 419-454.
- "China in 2004: Stability Above All," *Asian Survey* 45:1 (January 2005): 21-32.
- "Introduction: The State of Labor in the People's Republic of China," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39:2 (Summer 2004), pp. 3-10
- "Time is Money, Efficiency is Life: The Transformation of Labor Relations in China," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (Summer 2004), 11-44.

"Reform and Openness: Why Chinese Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy," *World Politics*. (April 2002), pp. 338-372.

Editor-Reviewed Articles and Book Chapters

"The Social Relations of China's State Capitalism," in *Regulating the Visible Hand? The Institutional Implications of Chinese State Capitalism*, Benjamin Liebman and Curtis Milhaupt, eds. Oxford University Press, 2016.

"China's Labor Movement and the End of the Rapid Growth Era," *Daedalus*, May 2014.

"The Rise of Civil Society." A comment on Wang Ming. In *China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives*, Kenneth Lieberthal, Cheng Li, and Yu Keping, editors. Brookings Institution, 2014. Published first in Chinese as 中国治理评论, 2012.

"Changes in the World's Workshop: The Demographic, Social, and Political Factors Behind China's Labor Movement." In *Dragon vs. Eagle: The Chinese Economy and US-China Relations*, Wei-Chiao Chung and Huizhong Zhou, editors. W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 2012.

"Coalitions, Carrots, and Sticks: Economic Inequality and Authoritarian States," with Jonathan K. Hanson. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Volume 42, Issue 04, October 2009, pp 667-672.

"Reform and Openness," in *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*, Patrick O'Neil and Ronald Rogowski, eds. W.W. Norton Press, 2004. This is an abbreviated version of the *World Politics* article.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

"Who Not What: The Logic of China's Information Control Strategy." With Blake Miller. Under Review.

"The Strength of Weak Institutions: Communist Party Committees in Private Firms in China." With Zhongwei Sun.

"Labor Moves: How the Free Movement of Labor Affects Welfare State Construction and Decline, the EU and China." With Yujeong Yang. Paper prepared for workshop on Varieties of Backlash: The Rise of Populism and the Return of Workplace Politics. December 1, 2017. The University of Michigan.

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Labor Law Compliance and Local Government Capacity: Explaining Subnational Variation in China's Labor Conditions. 2015 Faculty Research Grant, Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies, (\$11,000)

University of Michigan, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, LSA Excellence in Education Award, 2010

Selected as 2005-2007 Public Intellectual, National Committee on US-China Relations

Roy Pierce Scholars' Fund Award 2006, Comparative Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, for work with a graduate student on the research project, *The Rule of Law in China: If They Build It, Who Will Come* (\$5,000)

American Council of Learned Societies/Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation, New Perspectives on Chinese Society Grant for the workshop, *Sources and Methods in Chinese Politics*, held November 2006 (\$15,465)

2005 Faculty Recognition Award for Outstanding Research Mentorship, Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program, University of Michigan

US-China Legal Cooperation Fund, Co-Principal Investigator, "Local Law, Global Pressures: Chinese Labor Law and Labor Standards in Cross-Regional Perspective." May 2004 (\$15,000)

National Science Foundation, Law and Social Science Division, Principal Investigator, "The Rule of Law in China: If They Build It, Who Will Come?" January 2004, (\$328,000)

Fulbright Research Scholar, East China University of Politics and Law, Shanghai, 2003-2004.

Nominated for the APSA Gabriel Almond Award for the Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics, 2001-2002

Center of International Studies, Princeton University, MacArthur Predoctoral Fellow, 1999-2000

MacArthur Foundation Dissertation Research Grant, 1996-1997

Blumenthal Fellow, Princeton University, 1993-1996

Highest Honors in Government, Smith College, 1991

Dawes Prize for Best Work in Political Science, Smith College, 1991

RECENT INVITED PRESENTATIONS

Invited Speaker, Comparative Politics Workshop, Yale University, Department of Political Science, April 2018.

Invited Speaker, "Authoritarian Legality in China: Law, Workers, and the State. National Committee on US-China Relations, New York, December 12, 2017.

Invited Speaker, "Authoritarian Legality in China: Law, Workers, and the State." East Asian Legal Studies, Harvard Law School, October 20, 2017.

Invited Speaker, "The Progression of Repression: When Does Online Censorship Move Toward Real World Repression?" Critical Issues in Asia, Asia Center, Harvard University, September 27, 2017.

Invited Speaker, China's Possible Futures Conference, Stanford University, May 2017.

Invited Speaker, University of Toronto, Asian Institute, February 2017

Invited Speaker, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, January 2017.

Invited Speaker, China's Economic Management Amid Slowing Growth, US Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, September 2016.

Invited Speaker, Cambridge University, Department of Politics and International Studies, March 2016, "Moving In and Moving Up? Labor Conditions and China's Changing Development Model."

Invited Speaker, SAIS, John Hopkins University, February 2016. International Political Economy Series, "China's Authoritarian Legality"

Invited Speaker, University of Pennsylvania, Center for East Asian Studies, February 2016. "China's Authoritarian Legality."

Invited Speaker, Renmin University Law School Conference, "Challenges and Response in Labor Law: Under the New Normal Economy, October

2015. Conference Presentation, "High Standards, Self Enforcement: China's Instrumental Legality and Inclusive, Sustainable Urbanization."
Invited Speaker, Middlebury College, China Town Hall, October 2015, Invited Speaker. "Rising and Slowing: China's New Normal and US-China Relations."
- Invited Speaker, Georgetown University, Comparative Politics Speaker Series, April 2015
- Invited Speaker, Law and the Legal Profession in China, The University of Pittsburgh School of Law, February 27-29, 2015
- Invited Speaker, Conference on Collective Labor Relations, Collective Bargaining and Collective Consultation, Beijing Capital University of Economics and Business, Beijing, China, December 13-14, 2014.
- Invited Speaker, Cornell-Renmin Joint Workshop on Collective Bargaining in China, December 15, 2014
- Invited Speaker, School of Industrial Relations and Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, "Can Worker Mobilization Improve Labor Law Compliance in China? A Preliminary Argument," November 17, 2014
- Invited Speaker, Building State Capacity in China and Beyond, Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies Annual Conference, University of Michigan, October 17-18, 2014.
- Invited Speaker, Department of Political Science, McGill University, April 4, 2014
- Invited Speaker, 2013 Pyle Center Conference on Contending Perspectives on the Rule of Law in China, University of Washington and the National Bureau of Asian Research, November 15, 2013.
- Invited Speaker, International Conference on the Rise of Public Opinion in China, The University of Iowa, October 18-19, 2013.
- Invited Speaker, International Conference on Social Development and Social Policy: International Experiences and China's Reforms, Institute for Public Policy, South China Institute of Technology, Guangzhou, China, August 19-23, 2013.
- Invited Speaker, Conference on Urban Citizenship of Migrant Workers, Institute of Population and Labor Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing, August 16, 2013.

Invited Speaker, Stanford Center, Peking University, Beijing, China, April 2013.
"Mediated Harmony: Labor Conflict and Rule of Law in China," Hong Kong
University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong, March 2013
"China's Labor Movement: Scope, Context, and Limitations," China World
Forum, Shanghai, China, March 2013
"China's Labor Movement: Scope, Context, and Limitations," Apple
Corporation, Academic Advisory Committee Meeting, January 2013.
Just Supply Chains Workshop, Sloan School of Management, MIT, December
2012.
Invited Speaker, School of Economics, Fudan University, November 2012
Invited Speaker, East China University of Politics and Law, Shanghai, China,
November 2012.
Invited Speaker, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China, November
2012.
"China's Labor Movement: Scope, Context, Limitations," Hopkins China Forum,
Shanghai, China, October 30, 2012.
Research Workshop on Labor Relations in Greater China, Hong Kong Baptist
University, October 25-26, 2012.
Workshop on Chinese Law, Columbia University, Center for Chinese Legal
Studies, May 2012
Workshop on Comparative Industrial Relations, School of Industrial and Labor
Relations, Cornell University, March 2012
Year of China, Speaker, Brown University, March 2012
Keynote Speaker, "The Viability of the China Model," Keio University
Symposium, Tokyo, Japan, December 2011
Keynote Speaker, "Political Regimes, Growth Politics and Conflict in Asia,
Stockholm University, November 2011
IWER Seminar, Sloan School of Management, MIT, October 2011
Lauder Speaker, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, October
2011
Western Michigan University, February 2011
Yale University, School of Law, December 2010
University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, October 2010
University of California, Berkeley, Department of Political Science, October
2010
Brookings Institution and Central Bureau of Translation, Joint Conference on
Political Reform in China, Beijing, China, October 2010.

University of Wisconsin, School of Law, *Laws Locations: The Textures of Legality in Developing and Transitional Societies*, April 2010
Columbia University, School of Law, April 2010
Harvard University, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, *Chinese Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics Speaker Series*, March 2010
Duke University, Center for International Studies, January 2010
Colby College, Goldberg Fellow Lecture, March 2009
Labor Rights as Human Rights Workshop, Columbia University School of Law, February 2009
University of Texas, Austin, Center for East Asian Studies, February 2009
Stanford University, *Thirty Years of Chinese Reform*, Invited Speaker, Stanford University, January 2009
Duke University, International Relations Speaker Series, Spring 2008
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Spring 2008
Princeton University, Democracy and Development Speaker Series, February 2008
University of Southern California, US-China Institute, January 2008

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

At the University of Michigan

Regularly Taught Classes:

PS 140 Introduction to Comparative Politics (last enrollment 240)
PS 339 Introduction to Chinese Politics. (enrollment 75)
PS 381 Junior Honors Seminar. Seminar on political science methods and research design (enrollment 40)

Occasionally Taught Classes:

PS 497 Seminar in Comparative Government: Authoritarian Resilience?
CCS 501/PS 501, Interdisciplinary Seminar in Chinese Studies: The Social Sciences
PS 688, Authoritarian Politics, Graduate seminar on authoritarianism
PS 656, Graduate Seminar in Chinese Politics
PS 389 Labor Rights in the Global Economy
PS 741B Socialist Transformations

DISSERTATION ADVISING (listed chronologically)

Co-chair: Chin-en Wu, political science, (Academic Sinica)
Member: Zhengxu Wang, political science and education, (University of Nottingham)
Member: Isabel Ng, psychology, (Fudan University)
Member: Tomoko Okagaki, political science, (Meiji University)
Member: Juan Chen, political science and social work, (Hong Kong Polytechnic University)
Member: Daniela Stockman, political science, (Hertie School of Governance, Berlin)
Member: Shijian Li, political science and social work (Stony Brook)
Chair: Yuhua Wang, political science (Harvard University)
Member: Kharis Templeman, political science (Stanford University, Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law)
Co-chair: Jia'an Zhang, political science and social work (Fudan University)
Member: Jonson Porter, political science (Hosei University)
Member: Ya-wen Lei, sociology (Harvard University)
Member: Qing Lai, sociology (Florida International University)
Member: Kristin King Sznajder, School of Public Health (Penn State)
Chair: Huong Trieu, political science (Massachusetts Health Policy Commission)
Chair: Qingjie Zeng, political science (Fudan University)
Member: Patricia Chen, sociology (Barger Leadership Institute)
Chair: Yujeong Yang, political science, (SUNY-Cortland)
Chair: Blake Miller, political science, (Dartmouth University)
Co-chair: Ariel Tang, political science, candidate
Member: Laura Seago, political science and public policy, candidate
Co-Chair: Adrienne Lagman, anthropology, candidate
Co-Chair: Nicole Wu, political science
Co-Chair: Yilang Feng, political science
Member: Sasha Vogel, political science
Co-chair: Yuequan Guo, political science

DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES/SERVICE

Faculty Executive Committee, 2016-2018
Graduate Admissions, Director, 2013-2016
China Social Science Search Committee, Chair, 2016
China Search Committee, Chair, 2010
Omnibus Search Committee, 2008
Faculty Executive Committee, 2005

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Graduate Admissions Committee, 2000-2003, 2005, 2010
Honors Program Coordinator, 2001-2003, 2005, 2012-13

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Director, Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies, February 2008-present
Organizer and Chair, UM-Fudan University Initiative in the Social Sciences,
2013-2016

Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies, Postdoctoral Fellowship Selection
Committee, 2014-2016

University of Michigan Press, Executive Committee, 2014-
Special Counsel to the Provost on China, 2012- 2013

China Strategy Group, 2010 - 2013

China Task Force, 2008-2009

Department of Sociology, China Search Committee, Fall 2008

Accreditation Working Group on Internationalization, Office of the Provost,
2008-2009

President's Advisory Committee on Labor Standards and Human Rights, 2002-
2003, 2005-2007,

Center for Chinese Studies, Executive Committee, 2001-2003

PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Invited Speaker, China's Economic Management Amid Slowing Growth Bureau of
Intelligence and Research, US Department of State, September 2016.

Public Testimony, Hearing on "Working Conditions and Workers Rights in China:
Recent Developments," Congressional Executive Committee on China, July 31, 2012

National Committee on US-China Relations, Public Intellectual Program, 2005-2007

World Politics, Editorial Board, 2007

Law and Society Review, Editorial Advisory Board, 2007

British Journal of Industrial Relations, Editorial Board, 2009-

Asian Journal of Law and Society, Editorial Board, 2012-

Business and Human Rights Journal, Editorial Board, 2014-

Chinese Law and Society Review, Associate Editor, 2015-

Referee for: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*,
American Sociological Review, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Canadian Journal
of Political Science*, *China Quarterly*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative
Politics, Governance*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *ILR Review*, *Journal of East Asian
Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Law and Society Review*, *Political*

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and Legal Anthropology Review, Regulation and Governance, World Politics, Perspectives on Politics, American Journal of Comparative Law, Law and Social Inquiry.

CONSULTING

World Bank, Project on New Drivers of Growth, external consultant, 2017

World Bank, Project on Inclusive Urbanization and Rural-Urban Integration, external consultant, summer 2013

Apple Corporation, Academic Advisory Board, Member, 2012-2017

Department of State, Office of the Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2011

Congressional Executive Commission on China, Consultant for Annual Report, 2009

Department of Labor, US-China Joint Project on Labor Cooperation, 2003-2004.

National Committee on US-China Relations, Project on Labor Inspection, 2003-2004.

Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 2005.

LANGUAGES

Mandarin Chinese (fluent)

Japanese (fair speaking and reading)

References available upon request