

MARY E. GALLAGHER

1010Q Jenkins Nanovic Halls
Keough School of Global Affairs
The University of Notre Dame
mgalla33@nd.edu

EDUCATION

2001 Doctor of Philosophy in Politics, Princeton University
1996 Masters of Arts in Politics, Princeton University
1991 Bachelor of Arts in Government and East Asian Studies, Smith College

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

Marilyn Keough Dean, The Keough School of Global Affairs, The University of Notre Dame, July 2024-
Director, The International Institute, The University of Michigan, 2020-2024.
Director, Kenneth G. Lieberthal and Richard H. Rogel Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2008-2020.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Professor of Global Affairs, Keough School of Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame, 2024-
Amy and Alan Lowenstein Chair of Democracy, Democratization, and Human Rights,
Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2018-2024.
Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2016-2024.
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2008-2016.
Visiting Professor, Koguan School of Law, Shanghai Jiaotong University, Shanghai, China, 2012-2013.
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2000-2007.
Faculty Associate, Center for Comparative Political Studies, Institute of Social Research,
University of Michigan, 2004-2024.
Visiting Professor, East China University of Politics and Law, Shanghai, China, 2003-2004

PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Nonresident Senior Fellow, The John Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution,
Washington, D.C., May 2024-
Columnist, *World Politics Review*, 2023-
National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine (NASEM), Committee Member, Study
of Confucius Institutes in the United States, 2021-2023.
Invited speaker, “China’s Internal Politics,” United Kingdom Foreign, Commonwealth, and
Development Office, December 13, 2021.
Testimony to the Senate Finance Subcommittee on Fiscal Responsibility and Economic Growth,
July 14, 2021.

National Intelligence Council, Project on the Future of the Chinese Communist Party, Summer 2020.
National Committee on US-China Relations, Board Member, 2020-.
Invited Speaker, National Intelligence Council, June 2020, August 2020.
University Forum, Cambridge, MA, Board Member, 2020-.
National Committee US-China Relations, Public Intellectuals Program, Selection Committee, 2019-2020.
National Bureau of Asian Research, Chinese Language Fellowship Committee, Advisory Council, 2018-.
World Bank, Project on New Drivers of Growth, external consultant, 2017.
Invited Speaker, China's Economic Management Amid Slowing Growth Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Department of State, September 2016.
World Bank, Project on Inclusive Urbanization and Rural-Urban Integration, external consultant, summer 2013.
Apple Corporation, Academic Advisory Board, Member, 2012-2017.
Public Testimony, Hearing on "Working Conditions and Workers Rights in China: Recent Developments," Congressional Executive Committee on China, July 31, 2012.
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.
National Committee on US-China Relations, Public Intellectual Program, 2005-2007

RESEARCH

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.

Articles and Book Chapters

“Mass Attitudes toward China and their Impact on U.S.-China Scholarly Collaboration.” In *U.S.-China Scholarly Recoupling: Advancing Mutual Understanding in an Era of Strategic Competition*, Scott Kennedy, ed. Center for Strategic and International Studies, forthcoming 2024.

“China’s Struggle for Common Prosperity,” *China Leadership Monitor*, March 2023.

“The Debate over the 2008 Labor Contract Law,” in *Proletarian China: A Century of Chinese Labor*, Ivan Franceschini and Christian Sorace, eds. Verso Press, 2022.

“Do Confucius Institutes belong on American Campuses?” in *The China Questions: Critical Insights into a Rising Power*, 2nd edition, Jennifer Rudolph and Michael Szonyi, eds. Harvard University Press, 2022.

“Who Not What: The Logic of China’s Information Control Strategy.” With Blake Miller. *The China Quarterly*, June 2021.

“Can China Achieve Inclusive Urbanization?” in *Fateful Decisions: Choices that will Shape China’s Future*, Jean Oi and Tom Fingar, eds. Stanford University Press, Stanford University Press, 2020.

“Corporatist Organization in a Pluralist Setting: The Challenges of Educational Collaboration and Exchange with the PRC,” PENN Project on the Future of US-China Relations, Working Paper, 2020.

“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.

“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.

“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.

“China’s Labor Movement and the End of the Rapid Growth Era,” *Daedalus*, May 2014.

“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.

“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.

“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.

“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.

“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,” 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.

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

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

International Activities Advisory Committee, 2020-
Council on Global Engagement, 2020-
Director, International Institute, July 2020-
Director, Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies, February 2008-2020
Organizer and Chair, UM-Fudan University Initiative in the Social Sciences, 2013-2016
LRCCS Postdoctoral Fellowship Selection Committee, 2014-2020
University of Michigan Press, Executive Committee, 2014-2020
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

DEPARTMENT SERVICE

Korean Politics Search Committee Co-Chair, 2021
Comparative Politics Subfield Coordinator, 2019-2023
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
Graduate Admissions Committee, 2000-2003, 2005, 2010
Honors Program Coordinator, 2001-2003, 2005, 2012-13

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Society for the Social Science Study of China, Principal Investigator, 2023 Luce Foundation Grant, \$250,000

Fulbright Global Scholar Award, 2023-2024. “Disaggregating the China Shock: Understanding China’s Impact on Attitudes toward Globalization.” A multi-country research project that examines public opinion toward China in advanced industrialized democracies.

2022 Metrick Family Creativity and Collaboration in Curriculum Award, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan.

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)

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

Public Intellectual Program, 2005-2007, 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

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

RECENT INVITED PRESENTATIONS (Selected)

“US-China Rivalry and the Subnational Response,” National University of Singapore, May 12, 2023.

“US-China Relations: Now What?” Flaherty Annual Lecture, Dickinson College, April 26, 2023.

“China’s Struggle for Common Prosperity,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, April 2023.

“China’s Struggle for Common Prosperity,” Varieties of Communism Conference, the University of Florida, February 24, 2023.

“US-China Relations: Now What?” World Affairs Council of Western Michigan, Grand Rapids, MI, February 13, 2023.

Young Scholars Conference 2022 — New Directions in Survey Research, UCSD, July 5-6, 2022.

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, June 2020

University of Pennsylvania Center for the Study of Contemporary China, October and June 2020.

National University of Singapore, School of Law, December 2019.

Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, June 2019

Oxford University, Centre for China Studies, June 2019

London School of Economics, June 2019

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 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.

TEACHING AND ADVISING

Regularly Taught Classes:

PS 140 Introduction to Comparative Politics (last enrollment 240)

PS 339 Introduction to Chinese Politics. (usual enrollment 125)

PS 497 Seminar in Comparative Government: Authoritarian Resilience?

CCS 580, Graduate Seminar in Chinese Politics and Society

PS 688, Authoritarian Politics, graduate seminar on authoritarianism

PS 656, Graduate Seminar in Chinese Politics

DISSERTATION ADVISING AND PLACEMENT (listed chronologically)

Co-chair: Chin-en Wu, political science, (Academic Sinica, Taiwan)

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, sociology (Penn State University, School of Public Health)
Chair: Huong Trieu, political science (Massachusetts Health Policy Commission)
Chair: Qingjie Zeng, political science (Fudan University)
Member: Patricia Chen, sociology (Rice University)
Chair: Yujeong Yang, political science, (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)
Chair: Blake Miller, political science, (London School of Economics)
Co-Chair: Nicole Wu, political science (Princeton University, Niehaus Fellowship)
Co-Chair: Yilang Feng, political science (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)
Member: NuanNuan Xiang, political science (Columbia University School of Public Health)
Member: Sasha Vogel, political science (NYU)
Chair: Mike Thompson, political science (UCSD)
Co-chair: Yuequan Guo, political science (WZB, Berlin)
Member: Hojung Joo, political science (accepted position 2024, Harvard)
Co-Chair: Guoer Liu, political science (accepted position 2024, UCSD)

EDITORIAL POSITIONS

Series Co-editor, *China Understandings Today (CUT)*, University of Michigan Press, 2014-
Series Co-editor, *Contemporary China Series*, Princeton University Press, 2018-
Editorial Board Member, *The China Quarterly*, 2022-
Associate Editor, *Chinese Law and Society Review*, 2015-
Editorial Board member, *Business and Human Rights Journal*, , 2014-2018
Editorial Board member, *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 2012-
International Advisory Board, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 2009-
Editorial Board member, *World Politics*, 2007
Editorial Board member, *Law and Society Review*, 2007

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

LANGUAGES

Mandarin Chinese (fluent)
Japanese (fair speaking and reading)

References available upon request.