

# Xiao Ma

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## Employment

Assistant Professor of Political Science, School of Government, Peking University (2017-)  
Faculty Associate, Peking University Research Center for Contemporary China (2017-)  
Faculty Associate, Research Center for Chinese Politics, Peking University (2017-)  
Research Fellow, Institute for Public Governance, Peking University (2020-)  
Research Fellow, Institute for State Governance Studies, Peking University (2018-)  
Research Fellow, Institute of Politics and Economics, Shanghai Jiao Tong University (2022-)

## Education

Ph.D. Political Science, University of Washington, August 2017  
Field: Comparative Politics, Political Economy, and Research Methods  
M.A. East Asian Studies, Yale University, 2012  
B.A. Japanese Studies, Zhejiang University, 2011

## Research Interests

Chinese Politics, Elite Politics, State-Society Relations, Development

## Research

### Book:

2022. *Localized Bargaining: The Political Economy of China's High-Speed Railways Program*. New York: Oxford University Press.  
Reviews: *Asian Review of Political Economy*, *China Review*, *China Journal*, *China Perspectives*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *Governance*

### Peer Reviewed Journal Articles in English:

2022. "Vote Buying as Rent Seeking: Land Sales in China's Village Elections" (with Susan H. Whiting, Tonglong Zhang, and Tan Zhao) *Studies in Comparative International Development* 57(3): 337-360.  
2022. "Riding on the Power of the Masses? How Different Modes of Mass Mobilization Shape Local Elite Bargaining in China"(with Yanhua Deng and Zhenjie Yang) *Journal of Chinese Governance* 7(4): 559-582.  
2021. "Validating Vignette Designs with Real-World Data: A Study of Legal Mobilization in Response to Land Grievances in Rural China" (with Susan H. Whiting) *The China Quarterly* 246: 586-601.  
2021. "Making Reform Work: Evidence from a Quasi-Natural Experiment in Rural China" (with Fang Wang and Shuo Chen) *China: An International Journal* 19(2): 25-46.  
2020. "Partnering with the State: Historical Legacies, the Local State Sector, and Foreign Direct Investment in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 29(123): 369-386.  
2019. "Is Any Publicity Good Publicity? Media Coverage, Party Institutions, and Authoritarian Power-Sharing." (with Fengming Lu) *Political Communication* 36(1): 64-82.  
2019. "Consent to Contend: The Power of the Masses in China's Local Elite Bargain." *The China Review* 19(1): 1-29.  
2018. "Popular Threats and Nationalistic Propaganda: Political Logic of China's Patriotic Campaign." (with Chuyu Liu) *Security Studies* 27(4): 633-664.

2016. "Term Limits and Authoritarian Power Sharing: Theory and Evidence from China." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16(1): 61-85.

#### Publications in Chinese:

2023. "Why Citizens Comply: Values and Social Norms in Policy Implementation" (with Jiale Ma and Jie Yan), *Expanding Horizons*, (3):121-128.
2022. "Enriching Meanings in Fieldwork: Evidence from a Study on Intergovernmental Policy Bargaining", *China Public Administration Review*, (3):198-205.
2022. "Developmental Politics in Development", *Open Times*, (3):172-184.
2021. "The Phantom of Bureaucratic Incentive Structure: Types and Causes of Policy Implementation Distortion in Grassroots Governance" (with Jiale Ma), *PKU Political Science Review*, (3): 146-164.
2020. "Rule of Law" (with Zemin Wu) in Keping Yu eds. *The Peking University Critical Dictionary of Politics* (Volume 1), pp. 423-465, Beijing: Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.
2019. "Property Rights Institutions in the Chinese Context and Their Academic Implications", *PKU Political Science Review*, (1):58-72.
2018. "History-based Causal Inference in Political Science Research", *China Public Administration Review*, (2):3-12.

#### Working Papers and Ongoing Projects:

- The Limits of Political Meritocracy in China* (under advance contract with Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Elements Series in Chinese Economy and Governance)
- "Revolutionaries for Railways: How Moral Authority Shapes Intergovernmental Lobbying in China" (with Chengyuan Ji)
- "China's Entrepreneurial Provincialization" (with Warren Wenzhi Lu)
- "The Domestic Consequences of International Events" (with Jiale Ma)
- "Taxation without Representation?" (with Yifan Zhang)
- "Who Wins Approval?: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment of Chinese Officials" (with Fengming Lu and Xufeng Zhu)

#### Data:

2014. A Complete Biographical Dataset of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Members: From 1<sup>st</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress (with Fengming Lu).

#### Other Publications:

2021. "Book Review: Delegation and Development: Local Government in China's Market Transition." *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 26.
2016. "Book Review: Information for Autocrats: Representation in Chinese Local Congress." *The China Review*, 16(3).
2013. "Book Review: Capital, Coercion, and Post-Communist States." *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(5).

#### Selected Conference Presentations and Invited Talks

- Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, January 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> 2024 (scheduled)
- APSA Annual Meeting Los Angeles (presenter & discussant), August 31<sup>st</sup>-September 4<sup>th</sup> 2023 (scheduled)
- Zhejiang University, August 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> 2023 (scheduled)
- National University of Singapore, May 22<sup>nd</sup> 2023
- Chinese University of Hong Kong (Shenzhen), April 20<sup>th</sup> 2023
- Shandong University, April 15<sup>th</sup> 2023
- Hong Kong Baptist University, February 23<sup>rd</sup> 2023
- Georgetown University, February 4<sup>th</sup> 2023
- Research Seminar on Political Selection, National School of Development, Peking University, October 10<sup>th</sup> 2022

University of Macau, September 22<sup>nd</sup> 2022  
 APSA Annual Meeting Montreal (presenter), September 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> 2022  
 Political Selection Workshop, National School of Development, Peking University, August 22<sup>nd</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> 2022  
 Wilson Center China Environment Forum, August 10<sup>th</sup> 2022  
 Shanghai Jiao Tong University, May 25<sup>th</sup> 2022  
 S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2022  
 APSA Annual Meeting Seattle (presenter), September 30<sup>th</sup>-Oct 3<sup>rd</sup> 2021  
 Harvard-Yenching Institute, Conference on Chinese Bureaucratic Politics (co-organizer and presenter),  
 May 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>th</sup>, 2021  
 Tsinghua University, May 15<sup>th</sup> 2021  
 Peking University, May 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> 2021  
 Tsinghua University, April 29<sup>th</sup> 2021  
 Fudan University, April 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> 2021  
 Chinese University of Hong Kong, Department of Government and Public Administration online research  
 seminar (presenter), March 10<sup>th</sup> 2021  
 APSA Annual Meeting San Francisco (panel chair), September 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> 2020  
 AAS Annual Meeting Boston (presenter), March 19<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup> 2020 (cancelled due to COVID-19)  
 University of Washington, March 2<sup>nd</sup> 2020 (cancelled due to COVID-19)  
 New York University, February 28<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> 2020 (cancelled due to COVID-19)  
 Tsinghua University, November 30<sup>th</sup> 2019  
 University of Washington, October 3<sup>rd</sup> 2019  
 Sun Yat-sen University, September 21<sup>st</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup> 2019  
 APSA Annual Meeting Washington DC (presenter), August 29<sup>th</sup>-September 1<sup>st</sup> 2019  
 Sun Yat-sen University, June 22<sup>nd</sup> 2019  
 Shanghai Jiao Tong University, June 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> 2019  
 Peking University, May 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> 2019  
 Fudan University, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2019  
 Chinese University of Hong Kong, GSOC (discussant), January 9<sup>th</sup> 2019  
 Tsinghua University, December 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> 2018  
 Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, October 12<sup>th</sup> 2018  
 APSA Annual Meeting Boston (presenter), September 2018  
 Fudan University, August 25<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> 2018  
 Shanghai Jiao Tong University, July 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> 2018  
 Fudan University, May 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> 2018  
 Yunan University, January 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> 2018  
 Sun Yat-sen University, November 26<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> 2017  
 Tsinghua University, November 25<sup>th</sup> 2017  
 Peking University, November 3<sup>rd</sup> 2017  
 APSA Annual Meeting (presenter), September 2017  
 University of California, San Diego. May 19-20<sup>th</sup> 2017  
 MPSA Annual Meeting (presenter), April 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> 2017  
 University of Washington China and Inter-Area Workshop Inaugural Talk, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017  
 APSA Annual Meeting (presenter), September 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> 2016  
 University of Washington Severyns-Ravenholt Seminar in Comparative Politics, May 20<sup>th</sup> 2016  
 MPSA Annual Meeting (presenter), April 7-10<sup>th</sup> 2016  
 APSA Annual Meeting (presenter), September 3<sup>rd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> 2015  
 Fudan University, July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2015  
 MPSA Annual Meeting (presenter), April 16-19<sup>th</sup> 2015  
 University of California, San Diego, February 6-7<sup>th</sup> 2015  
 Chinese University of Hong Kong, GSOC (presenter), January 5-13<sup>th</sup> 2015

## Selected Fellowship, Grants and Awards

Best Undergraduate Thesis Advisor Prize, 2022, Beijing Municipal Education Bureau  
 1st Prize in Teaching Achievement, 2022, Beijing Municipal Government

1st Prize in Teaching Achievement, 2022, Peking University  
 Outstanding Young Scholars Fellowship, 2021-2024, Beijing Social Science Fund Project  
 Outstanding Faculty Mentor Prize, 2020, Peking University  
 Young Scientists Fund, 2020-2023, National Natural Science Foundation of China  
 Annual Best Undergraduate Teaching Award, 2020, Peking University  
 NG Teng Fong/ Sino Scholarship for Outstanding Young Scholars, 2019, Peking University  
 2nd Prize, Junior Faculty Teaching Competition, 2019, Peking University  
 MOE Project of Key Research Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences at Universities, 2017-2020, Ministry of Education, People's Republic of China  
 Nominee for Presidential Dissertation Fellowship, 2017, University of Washington  
 Best Teaching Assistant Award, 2017, University of Washington Department of Political Science  
 China Times Young Scholar Award, 2016, China Times Cultural Foundation  
 China Studies Program Dissertation Writing Fellowship, 2016, University of Washington Jackson School  
 Taraknath Das Prize for Best Graduate Paper in Comparative Politics, 2015, University of Washington Department of Political Science  
 Chester Fritz Fellowship for International Research & Study, 2015, University of Washington  
 Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship, 2015, Social Science Research Council  
 Mellon Research Grant in Developing World, 2015, University of Washington Jackson School  
 Clifford C. Clogg Scholarship, 2014, American Political Science Association  
 China Recruitment Fellowship, 2012-2015, University of Washington Jackson School  
 University Fellowship, 2011-2012, Yale University  
 Best Undergraduate Thesis Prize, 2011, Zhejiang University  
 JASSO Fellowship, 2009-2010, Japan Student Service Organization  
 Asahi Kasei Scholarship, 2009, Asahi Kasei Foundation  
 Outstanding Undergraduate Student Prize, 2008, Zhejiang University

## Reviewer

*American Journal of Political Science, Asian Review of Political Economy, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Contemporary Asia, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, The China Journal, The China Quarterly, The China Review, Journal of Chinese Governance, Journal of Chinese Political Science, Chinese Political Science Review, Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, Government and Opposition, Perspectives on Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Security Studies, Studies in Comparative International Development, Urban Affairs Review, World Development, Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences, Bristol University Press, Oxford University Press, 《北大政治学评论》、《政治学研究》、《公共管理评论》、《经济社会体制比较》、《社会学评论》、《广西师范大学学报（人文社科版）》*

## Teaching

Principles of Politics (undergraduate, since 2018)  
 Politics of Development (graduate, since 2018)  
 Key Theories of Political Science (graduate, since 2023)  
 State Governance and the China Model (Professional, in English, cotaught, since 2019)  
 China's Governance and its Experience (Professional, cotaught, since 2018)  
 Introduction to Politics (undergraduate, cotaught, since 2021)  
 Frontiers in Political Science (undergraduate, cotaught, since 2023)  
 International Political Economy (Professional, cotaught, since 2021)  
 Thesis Writing and Academic Research (undergraduate, 2018)  
 Institutions and Intuitionism (graduate, 2018)  
 China's International Strategy and Diplomacy (Professional, cotaught, 2018)

## Professional Membership

American Political Science Association

Midwest Political Science Association  
Association for Asian Studies

## References

Available upon request

Updated: August 30, 2023