

## KATE XIAO ZHOU

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### Academic Degrees

- 2000      **Certificate** in International Entrepreneurship, College of Business Administration, University of Hawaii.  
1994      **Ph.D** in Politics, Princeton University  
1992      **M.A.** in Politics, Princeton University  
1989      **M.S.** in Sociology, Texas A&M University  
1984      **Teaching Certificate** in English, University of Foreign Studies, Beijing, China  
1982      **B.A.** in English, Wuhan University, China

### Teaching and Research Fields

American Politics; Asian American Politics; Chinese Politics; Nonprofit Organization Management; Comparative Politics; International Political Economy; Politics of Globalization; Political Economy of East Asia; Developmental Politics; International Entrepreneurship; International Relations; US-China Relations; Women and Development; American Constitution; the Rule of Law in American society

### Publications:

#### Books

Democratization in China, Korea and Southeast Asia? (2014, **Routledge**)  
with Lynn White and Shelley Riggs

*China's Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Moderization* (July 2009, Transaction Publishers, Rutgers - The State University of New Jersey University Press).

*How The Farmers Changed China: Power of the People* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

El poder del Pueblo. Biblioteca de China Contemporánea, (Barcelona, 1998) in Spanish

### Articles in International refereed journals

1. "Why China Won and Russia Lost: A Surprising Answer," Policy Review, October-November, 2009, (with Paul Gregory).

2. "Entrepreneurs and Politics in the Chinese Transitional Economy: Political Connections and Rent-seeking," *The China Review* Vol.1, No. 1, Fall, 2001, pp.111-135 (50% with Eun Kyong Choi).
3. "Power of the Strong? Rural Resistance and Reform in China and Vietnam," *China Information*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 2001, pp.1-29 (30% with Chad Raymond and Mark Selden).
4. "The Problems of Intellectual Property Debates in Contemporary China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Fall, 1999, pp. 56-68 in Chinese (with Jie Zhuang).
5. "The Question of Sex in Contemporary China," *The Family Journal*, Taiwan, (in Chinese), Fall 1999. pp.253-256.
6. "Women Divided: The Blessing and the Curse of China's Transitional Economy," *The Harvard International Review*, Winter, 1997/1998, pp. 24-28.
7. "Quiet Politics and Rural Enterprise in Reform China," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, (July, 1995), Vol. 29, pp. 461-490, (with Lynn White III).
8. "Chinese Farmers and Economic Reforms," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Fall 1994, [Chinese version], No. 4, pp. 29-43.
9. "Virginity and Premarital Sex in Contemporary China," *Feminist Studies*, Summer 1989,

### **Chapters in books**

1. "China's African Burden: a Leader of Two Revolutions," in Sujian Guo, ed. *China's Foreign Policy after the 17th Party Congress*, Colorado, Rowman & Littlefield, 2010. (60% with Eric Kiss)
2. "Zhao Ziyang and the Evolution of Grass Root Liberal Movements in China," in Guoguang Wu, ed., *Zhao Ziyang and China's Political Future*, London: Routledge Press, 2008.
3. "Improving Land Use Rights and Establishing Land-Based Lending Institutions in China," in Qiu Feng, ed., *Hayek's Theory and Practice in China*, Shanghai People's Press (in Chinese), translated by Jia Diqing, (70% with Peter Hsu), 2007.
4. "Chinese intellectuals Fighting on the Idea Front in Global Context" in Mitsuyuki Kagami, ed., *The World and China at a Time of Drastic Changes—Towards the Construction of a New and Modern Sinology*, published by Aichi University Press, Spring, 2006.

5. "Shunkouliu: Popular Satirical Sayings and Popular Thought," (50% with Perry Link) in Perry Link, Richard P. Madsen, and Paul G. Pickwicz, eds., *Popular China: Unofficial Culture in a Globalizing Society*, (Lanham, Maryland: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, INC. 2002), pp.89-109.
6. "From Political Society to Economic Society: The Evolution of Civil Rights in China," in *China's Future: Constructive Partner or Emerging Threat?* Ted Galen Carpenter and James A. Dorn, (Washington D. C: Cato Institute, 2000) pp. 29-47.
7. "Rural Women's Role in China's Market Economy," in *China's Market Development*, Dun Ren Zhou ed. (Sichuan People Press, fall 1999), pp.370-393.
8. "Market Development and the Civil Rights Movement in China," in *World Bank Business Briefing: World Urban Economic Development*, Fall 1999 (80% with Thomas David Burns)
9. "Market Development and the Rural Women's Revolution in Contemporary China," in *China in a New Millennium: Market Reforms and Social Developments*, Jim Dorn ed., (Washington D. C: Cato Institute, 1998), pp.277-298.
10. "Political Economy of Japanese Presence and Consumer Revolution in China" in *Japan and Asia in Transition* Akio Igarashi ed., (Tokyo: Seori Shuppansha, Seori Publishing House, 1998), in Japanese, pp.183-210.
11. "Family Revolutions in Contemporary China: 1979-1995," in *The Family in Global Transition* Gordon L. Anderson, ed., (St. Paul Minnesota: Paragon House Publishers, 1997) pp.179-208 (with Marion J. Levy, Jr.).

#### **Review articles in refereed journals**

1. "A Review of Revolution, Resistance and Reform in Village China, by Friedman, Pickowicz and Selden, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (vol. 67.3) (August 2008).
2. "Across the Taiwan Strait," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (Vol. 60:3) pp. 858-860 (with Yoshi Amai), 2001.
3. "A Review Essay of Edward Friedman, *The Politics of Democratization: Generalizing East Asian Experiences*" *China Review International* (Spring, 1997) Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 131-133.
4. "Chinese Reforms: A review Essay of Susan L. Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*," *Advances in Austrian Economics*, (1996), Vol. 3, pp. 169-181 (with T. David Burns).
5. "A Review of Fei Xiaotong, *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society*"

*Social Forces*, (March, 1995), Vol. 73, pp. 156-7.

### **Articles in other periodicals**

1. "China's Grassroots Movement Toward Greater Freedom," *Economic Reform Feature Service*, online journal of The Center for International Private Enterprise. August 2008.  
<http://www.cipe.org/publications/fs/index.php>

2. "What should President Bush tell President Hu?" *National Review Online*,  
[www.nationalreview.com](http://www.nationalreview.com), April 20, 2006.

3. "China's Break from Serfdom, A Review of Friedrich A. Hayek," *Grassroots Institute*,  
March/10, 2004.  
<http://www.hawaiireporter.com/story.aspx?080decf1-6027-445a-a343-fbbcdad901ef>

### **Internal Reports**

"The Successful Story of An Internet Infrastructure Builder: Digital Island," Working paper, No. 00-11, 2000, Pacific Management Institution, College of Business Administration, University of Hawaii (50% with Lili Liu).

### **A member of a documentary film team for GULAG**

Prof. Paul Gregory and Marianna Yarovskaya  
<https://vimeo.com/37215947> <<https://vimeo.com/37215947>>

### **Review Essays**

"A Review of *Memories of Life in Lhasa Under Chinese Rule* by Tubten Khetsun." *China Review International*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 2008.

"A Review of Minjian fengsu zhi (Folklore records in China). *China Review International*, Volume 7, Number 2, Fall 2000, pp. 446-448.

"A Review Essay of Yuan Xinbang et al., *Hunyan, xnbie, yu xin (Marriage, Gender, and Sex)* *China Review International* ( Spring, 1999).

"A Review Essay of Tamara Jacka, *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in An Era of Reform*," *The Journal of Developing Areas* (Winter, 1998) Vol. 32, No. 2, pp.271-272.

"A Review of The Cultural Foundations of Economic Development: Urban Female Entrepreneurship in Ghana (Emily Chamlee-Wright) *Cato Journal* Vol. 18, No. 2, 1998.

"A Review Essay of Edward Friedman, *The Politics of Democratization: Generalizing*

*East Asian Experiences*” *China Review International* (Spring, 1997) Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 131-133.

### **Unpublished Work**

1. *Letters from China: Grassroots Soft-power Diplomacy* (completed in 2005 and under review by Zhejiang University Press)
2. *Dandai Mingyao, (Popular Satirical Sayings)* in Chinese (underground publication in 2003).

### **Papers Presented:**

Hayek’s Spontaneous Order and Chinese Internet Civil Society, Annual conference on Hayek’s Theory to be held at Renmin University Sept. 5-Sept. 7 in Beijing, 2012.

***Unorganized Resistance and the Emergence of Civil Society in China***  
Association for Asian Studies (AAS), March 16-18, Toronto, *Canada, 2012.*

Panel Chair for *Preliminary Program for the Conference on **Democracy in China and Southeast Asia? Local and National Perspectives**, March 15, 2012, in Princeton University.*

The Rise of the Party-State Interest Groups and Constraining Growth in China (abstract) "China's Peaceful Rise" panel at the 2011 Academic Conference of Political Science and International Relation to be held between July 8 to July 9, 2011, at Qinghua University, Beijing, China.

Panel chair, “The New Chinese Political and Cultural Identity: Harmonious in the Nation or the Globe? “, Association for Asian Studies (AAS) joint conference with the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) in Honolulu, March 31–April 3, 2011.

"China’s Overseas Investment in Times of Global Recession." At the 2010 APSA (Annual Meeting of Political Science Association) to be held between Sept.2 to 5<sup>st</sup> in Washington D.C. (UH Research Foundation)

“Civil Society in China,” International Democracy Conference at Center for Civic Education, September 10, 2011, *Los Angeles.*

““Why China Won and Russia Lost: A Surprising Answer,” Workshop for Russian and Chinese Studies, Stanford University, July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010.

“Grass-roots Civil Societies in China,” Liberty Forum on Chinese Political Economy, Hong Kong, Nov. 12-15, 2009.

“The Rise of the Global Chinese Dingdan Revolution and Challenges of Rule of Law-based Global Market Economy” at the Symposium on Corporate Governance in China and India to be held on October 24-25, 2008, in Virginia Beach, Virginia, USA.

“Product Order Form (*Dingdan*) Revolution and Its Impact on the Political Economy of Sino-US Textile Trade,” in Boston, 2008 APSA Annual Meeting August 28-31, 2008.

“Grassroots Land Reform in China,” International Liberty Forum, Washington D.C., June 26, 2008, (funded by the Altas Economic Research Foundation).

“Liberalization and Authoritarianism in Contemporary China: From the Growth of Grassroots Liberty to Nationalist Furor over Tibet,” International Democracy Forum, May 15, 2008, Washington D.C., (funded by the National Endowment for Democracy).

“China’s Grassroots Social Movements,” invited speaker, June 17, 2008, University of Central Florida (funded by the UCF Global Perspectives Office, UCF Political Science Department and the Global Connections Foundation).

“China's Information Revolution,” invited speaker, UCLA, Nov. 8, 2007, (funded by the UCLA Center for Chinese Studies).

“Improving Land Use Rights and Land Bank Potential in Rural China,” International Conference on Economic Transition, Regional Growth, and Sustainable Development,” Changsha, China, July 28-30, 2007.

“Keep Farmers Safe from the Market: How the Chinese Local Governments Deprived Rural People Land Use Rights and Market Benefits,” Third Chinese Hayek Society Meeting, Shenzhen, July 31-1, 2006.

“The Escape from Poverty,” conference on: Prospects for Liberty in Asia, June 22, 2006, San Francisco (funded by the Atlas Foundation).

“Empowering Rural Women Through Small Business Loans,” 2006 Templton Freedom Awards Conference, March 31, 2006. Colorado Springs, CO.

“Political Barriers to East Asian Economic Integration,” Conference on East Asian Security, Oct. 28-30, 2005, Washington D.C.

“Engendering Global Identity in Shanghai,” International Conference on Economic Development in China held at TongJi University, Shanghai, August 18-20, 2006.

“Political Barriers to East Asian Economic Integration,” Conference on East Asian Security, Oct. 28-30, 2005, Washington D.C.

“Building Economic Institution for the Rural Poor,” International Conference on Chinese Social Change and Political Studies, June 25-26, 2005, Guangzhou, China.

“In Pursuit of Liberties in China,” International Conference on “Challenges For A Free Society In The 21 Century” June 2-3, 2005, Santiago, Chile, (funded by the Atlas Foundation).

“City of Women: Gender and Development of Capitalism in Shenzhen,” The 36th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology, Beijing, China, July 7-9, 2004.

“US-China Relations since 9/11,” 15th New Zealand Asian Studies Society International Conference on Asia: Images, Ideas, Identities, Auckland, New Zealand, Nov. 21-24, 2003.

“ Civil Society and Informal Politics in China,” Conference on Emerging Economic and Social Transformations,” New Orleans, Louisiana, April 23-24, 2003.

"National Security and Foreign Direct Investment in China," US-China Relations, Texas A&M University, Nov. 5-8, 2003.

"New Left and New Liberals in Contemporary China," International Conference on China's Transition, Aichi University, Japan, Oct. 30-Nov. 2, 2003.

"Chinese View of Americans," Keynote Speaker at the 17th Annual Frank Church Conference on Public Affairs, Boise State University, Oct.12, 2002.

"Civil Society Building in China," Chinese American Association, Los Angeles, June 23, 2002.

"Culture of Political Economy and New Generation of Chinese Elite," International Conference on Political Science and China in Transition, Beijing, China, July 15-19, 2002.

"The Politics of Entrepreneurship in China," City College of San Francisco, Invited Speaker, City College of San Francisco, Oct. 6, 2001.

"Political Economy of Chinese Global Companies," International Conference on Growth and Equity in Chinese Economic Development, Beijing, China, July 5-6, 2001.

"Entrepreneurship and Rural Development in China," Harvard Project on Asian and International Relations, Beijing, August 26-31, 2000.

"Popular Saying and Political Humor in China," Conference on Popular Culture in China, Princeton University, Oct 5-7, 1999.

"Chinese Women Entrepreneurs in South China," Conference on Change and Continuity

in South China, Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 1-3, 1999.

“Generational Conflicts Among Women in China’s Transitional Economy,” Conference on Women and Economic Development in China, Fairbank Center, Harvard University, Boston, March 9-11, 1999.

“Taiwan’s Democratization and Problems of China’s Unification,” 51st Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, March 11-14, 1999.

“Rural Industrial Revolution and the Growth of an Export-Oriented Economy in China,” Keynote Speaker at The 15th Annual Frank Church Conference on Public Affairs, Boise State University, Nov. 12, 1998.

"The Chinese and Hongkongese View of the Economic Crisis in Asia" Conference on Asian Perspectives on the Economic Crisis, Sponsored by the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.

"Politics of Famine in Communist States: China, the Former Soviet Union, Cambodia, and North Korea," Conference on Food Security and Political Stability in the Asia-Pacific Region, Sponsored by the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, Sept. 11, 1998.

"Japanese Communitarianism and the Elimination of Poverty" (with Yasumasa Kuroda and Naoto Yoshikawa); Annual Meeting of Political Science Association, Boston, Sept. 3-6, 1998.

"Rural Resistance and Reforms in Vietnam and China," International Conference on Vietnamese Studies, Hanoi, Vietnam, July 14-17, 1998.

"The Rise of Consumer Society and Social Change in China," International Convention of Asia Scholars, Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands, June 25-28, 1998.

“Women’s Role in China’s Market Transition,” International Conference on China’s Economic Reform, June 22-25, 1997, Shanghai, China.

“Japanese Influence and Political Economy of Chinese Consumer Revolution,” 49th Annual Meeting of the Association For Asian Studies, Chicago, March 13-16, 1997.

“Political Economy of Farmers and Moral Economy of Urban Workers,” Annual Meeting of Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29-Sept. 1, 1996.

“Women And Market Development in Rural China” 48th Annual Meeting of the Association For Asian Studies, Honolulu, April 11-14, 1996.

“Rural Resistance to the One-child Family Policy in China” 47th Annual Meeting of the



Association For Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., April 6-9, 1995.

“Rural Industrialization and The Transformation of Local Politics,” Conference on Reforming Socialist States, Wuhan, China, Dec. 23-25, 1994.

“A Feminist Critique of Theory of Moral Economy,” Engendering China Conference, Harvard University, Cambridge, Feb. 17-19, 1992.

“Student Movements in China,” Annual Meeting of the American Sociology Association, Chicago, July 1987.

“Chinese Women’s Dilemma in Economic Reforms,” Southwest Conference of Asian History, Waco, Texas, Oct. 1986.

### **Awards and Scholarships:**

2013, F. Hilary Conroy Award in AAS panel “New Media in Asian Politics”

2008 Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, National Endowment for Democracy

2006, Templeton Freedom Award for Social Entrepreneurship

2006 Atlas Economic Research Foundation's top prize (\$10,000) for Social Entrepreneurship.

1993-1994 Mellon Dissertation Fellowship

1989-1993 Princeton University Doctoral Fellowship

### **Grants:**

2008, \$4000 CIBER Grant, Business School, (Political Economy of Product Order Form (Dingdan) System); UHM Co-investigator: Rosita P. Chang, Ph.D., CFA, CFP, Professor of Finance & Director.

1999 \$10,000 University of Hawaii University Research Council Seed Money Grant. ("Comparative Northeast Asian Consumer Revolutions: A Political Economic Inquiry ") UHM Co-investigator: Lonny E. Carlile (Asian Studies).

### **Institution Memberships:**

American Political Science Association

Association for Asian Scholars

Association of Chinese Political Scientist (US)

Chinese Writers Association of Hawaii

American Sociological Association

Chinese Women Association (US)

Pacific and Asian Affairs Council

Chinese Hayek Society (China)

### **Publication Referees:**

Routledge (UK)

M.E. Sharpe (US)

*Zhongguo Nüxin* (Chinese Women) (China)

*Journal of Post-Communism* (US)

*Journal of Developing Areas* (US)

*Journal of Asian Studies* (US)

*Journal of Contemporary China* (US)

*Journal of Chinese Political Science* (US)

**Nonprofit Leadership Experience:**

Founder: Education Advancement Fund International (US-China 2002)

Founder: US-Asian Entrepreneurs Association (US 2001)

Cofounder: Rural Minority Women Practical Technology Training School (Jishou, China 2004)

Cofounder: Minority Studies Research Center, Jishou Teachers' College (Jishou, Hunan, 2005)

Cofounder: Xinyi Global Alliances for Minority Handicrafts (Yunnan, China 2005)

Cofounder: Qiao Tou School (Baojing, rural Hunan, China 2003)

Cofounder: Huanren-Hawaii English and Art School (rural Huanren, Liaoning 2007)

Cofounder: Sanjiang Miao Women's Craft Center (Fenghuang, Hunan, China 2004)

Cofounder: Xiangxi Minority Region Human Resource Information Center (Jishou, Hunan, China )

**Languages:**

**Chinese:** Native proficiency in Speaking, Reading and Writing.

**English:** Fluent in Speaking, Reading, and Writing.

**Japanese:** Fair in Reading