

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

A. Books

Ahlers, Anna L., Damien Krichewsky, Evelyn Moser, and Rudolf Stichweh. Forthcoming. *Democratic and Authoritarian Political Systems in 21st Century World Society. Vol. I: Differentiation, Inclusion, Responsiveness*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Ahlers, Anna L., Mette Halskov Hansen and Rune Svarverud. Forthcoming. *The Great Smog of China: A Short History of Air Pollution*. Ann Arbor: AAS Asia Shorts.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2014. *Rural Policy Implementation in Contemporary China: New Socialist Countryside*. London: Routledge. 2nd printing, paperback 2017.

Schubert, Gunter and Anna L. Ahlers. 2012. *Participation and Empowerment at the Grassroots: Chinese Village Elections in Perspective*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

B. Articles (peer-reviewed)

Anna L. Ahlers and Rudolf Stichweh. 2019. The Bipolarity of Democracy and Authoritarianism: Value Patterns, Inclusion Roles and Forms of Internal Differentiation of Political Systems. *Sociologia & Antropologia* 9(3), 819-846. [revised version of Ahlers and Stichweh 2017]

Ahlers, Anna L. 2019. Political Inclusion in Contemporary China. *Journal of Chinese Governance* 4(3), 201-206. [as guest editor of special issue]

Sagild, Rebekka Åsnes and Anna L. Ahlers. 2019. Honorary Intermediaries? The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Theory and Practice. *China Perspectives/Perspectives Chinoises* 2, 9-16.

Sagild, Rebekka Åsnes and Anna L. Ahlers. 2019. Working for Harmony and Innovation? Political Inclusion of Diversified Elites via the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. *FIW Working Paper* 10, University of Bonn.

Shen, Yongdong and Anna L. Ahlers. 2019. Blue Sky Fabrication in China: Science-Policy Integration in Air Pollution Regulation Campaigns for Mega-Events. *Environmental Science and Policy* 94, 135-142.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2018. Introduction: Chinese Governance in the Era of "Top-level Design". *Journal of Chinese Governance* 3(3), 263-267. [as guest editor of special issue]

Ahlers, Anna L. and Shen Yongdong. 2018. Local Environmental Governance Innovation in China: Staging 'Triangular Dialogues' for Industrial Air Pollution Control. *Journal of Chinese Governance* 3(3), 351-369.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Shen Yongdong. 2018. Breathe Easy? Local Nuances of Authoritarian Environmentalism in China's Battle Against Air Pollution. *The China Quarterly* 234, 299-319.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Rudolf Stichweh. 2017. The Bipolarity of Democracy and Authoritarianism: Value Patterns, Inclusion Roles and Forms of Internal Differentiation of Political Systems. *FIW Working Paper* 9, University of Bonn.

Ahlers, Anna L., Thomas Heberer and Gunter Schubert. 2016. Whither Local Governance in Contemporary China? Reconfiguration for More Effective Policy Implementation. *Journal of Chinese Governance* 1(1), 55-77.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2015. Weaving the Chinese Dream on the Ground? Local Government Approaches to “New-Typed” Rural Urbanization. *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 20(2), 121-142.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Gunter Schubert. 2015. Effective Policy Implementation in China’s Local State. *Modern China* 41(4), 372- 405.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Gunter Schubert. 2013. Strategic Modelling: “Building of a New Socialist Countryside” in Three Chinese Counties. *The China Quarterly* 216, 831-849.

Schubert, Gunter and Anna L. Ahlers. 2012. County and Township Cadres as a Strategic Group: “Building a New Socialist Countryside” in Three Provinces. *The China Journal* 67, 67-86.

Schubert, Gunter and Anna L. Ahlers. 2011. “Constructing a New Socialist Countryside” and Beyond: An Analytical Framework for Studying Policy Implementation and Political Stability in Contemporary China. *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 16(1), 19-46.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Gunter Schubert. 2009. Building a New Socialist Countryside – Only a Political Slogan? *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 38(4), 35-62.

C. Book chapters (peer-reviewed)

Schubert, Gunter and Anna L. Ahlers (forthcoming). Elections and Post-election Governance in China’s Villages and Townships. In: Heather Xiaoquan Zhang, and Qian Forrest Zhang (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Rural China*. London: Routledge.

Ahlers, Anna L., Thomas Heberer and Gunter Schubert. 2019. The Critical Role of Local Governance in China’s Political System. In: Yu Jianxing and Guo Sujian (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Local Governance in Contemporary China*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 73-93. [Revised version of Ahlers, Heberer and Schubert, 2016]

Ahlers, Anna L. and Gunter Schubert. 2018. Local Cadre Elites and Policy Implementation in Contemporary China. In: Guo Yingjie (ed.), *Local Elites in Post-Mao China*, London: Routledge, 17-38.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2018. 让蓝天重新绽放:德国鲁尔区的空气污染与治理 (Let a blue sky shine again: Air pollution governance in the German Ruhr area). In: Liu Zhaohui and Mette Halskov Hansen (eds), 仰望窗外的天空——中外科学家对话空气环境与治理 (*A Window on the Sky: Chinese and Foreign Scholars Discuss the Atmospheric Environment and Its Governance*). Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, 133-145.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Shen Yongdong. 2018. 中国城市大气污染治理的政策与行动 (Policies and actions for air pollution control in Chinese cities). In: Liu Zhaohui and Mette Halskov Hansen (eds), 仰望窗外的天空——中外科学家对话空气环境与治理 (*A Window on the Sky: Chinese and Foreign Scholars Discuss the Atmospheric Environment and Its Governance*). Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, 145-154.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Mette Halskov Hansen. 2017. Air Pollution: How Will China Win its Self-Declared War Against it? In: Eva Sternfeld (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Environmental Policy in China*. London: Routledge, 83-96.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2014. Lokales Regieren und administrative Interessenvermittlung in China (Local governance and administrative interest mediation in China). In: Hubert Heinelt (ed.), *Modernes Regieren in China* (Modern government in China). Baden-Baden: Nomos, 89-115.

Schubert, Gunter and Anna L. Ahlers. 2013. 作为战略性群体的县乡干部。基于三个县推进社会主义新农村建设的分析 (County and township cadres as a strategic group: An analysis of three counties’ implementation of the construction of a new socialist countryside). In: Thomas Heberer,

Gunter Schubert and Yang Xuedong (eds), “主动”的地方政治 (“Active” local politics). Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press, 171-193. [Translation of a revised version of Schubert and Ahlers, 2012, *The China Journal*].

Ahlers, Anna L. and Gunter Schubert. 2011. “Adaptive Authoritarianism” in Contemporary China: Identifying Zones of Legitimacy Building. In: Deng Zhenglai and Guo Sujian (eds), *Reviving Legitimacy: Lessons for and from China*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 61-81.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Gunter Schubert. 2010. 新农村建设的政策实施绩效。对浙江省庆元县的印象 (The Consequences of implementing the policy of constructing a new socialist countryside. Impressions from Qingyuan County in Zhejiang Province). In: Chen Shengyong (ed.), 后金融危机的政府与市场 (Government and market in the era after the global financial crisis). Beijing: China Social Science Press, 261-279.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2006. Environmental Mediation. In: Suwit Laohasiriwong and Ang Ming-Chee (eds), *Natural Resources Related Conflict Management in Southeast Asia*. Khon Kaen: Siriphan Press, 223-239.

D. Reviews

Ahlers, Anna L. 2019. Commissioned book review: Sebastian Heilman, *Red Swan: How Unorthodox Policy-Making Facilitated China's Rise*. *The China Review* 19(2), 177-179.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2017. Commissioned book review: Ma Jun, *The Economics of Air Pollution in China: Achieving Better and Cleaner Growth*. *The China Quarterly* 231, 814-815.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2012. Björn Alpermann (ed.), *Politics and Markets in Rural China*. *ASIEN. The German Journal on Contemporary Asia* 123, 147-149.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2011. Swee-Hock, Saw and John Wong (eds), *Regional Economic Development in China*. *ASIEN. The German Journal on Contemporary Asia* 121, 110-112.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2011. Khai Leong Ho (ed.), *Connecting and Distancing: Southeast Asia and China*. *ASIEN. The German Journal on Contemporary Asia* 119, 99-100.

E. News, blog articles, and other media contributions and public dissemination activities

Ahlers, Anna L., Martin Immanuel-Bittner, Nausikaä El-Mecky, Anuscheh Farahat, and Fabian Schmidt. 2018/19. *Sechs Minuten für die Wissenschaftsfreiheit/Six Minutes for Academic Freedom*. Short Film Project of Die Junge Akademie at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the German National Academy of Sciences Leopoldina; <https://www.diejungeakademie.de/en/activities/projects/academic-freedom/>.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Lena Henningsen. 2018. Was liest China; was schreibt China? (What is China reading; what is China writing?) In: Peters, Jonas, Ulrike Endesfelder, and Miriam Akkermann (eds), *Ich frag' ja nur - Grenzen unseres Wissens. Kalender 2019*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2017. (Interview). Something's in the Air as Environment Becomes New Battleground for China's Cadres. *South China Morning Post*. December 3; online: <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2122612/somethings-air-environment-becomes-new-battleground>.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2017. (Interview). Kina rangerer borgere i nytt overvåkningssystem. (China ranks citizens with new surveillance system). *Vårt Land*. December; 28 online: <https://www.vl.no/nyhet/kina-rangerer-borgere-i-nytt-overvakningssystem-1.1076908?paywall=true>.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Yu Jianxing. 2016. Comment on “What Does Xi Jinping’s Top-Down Leadership Mean for Innovation in China?” In: Asia Society (ed.) *ChinaFile Conversation*, October 26, New York; online: <http://www.chinafile.com/conversation/what-does-xi-jinpings-top-down-leadership-mean-innovation-china>.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Mette Halskov Hansen. 2016. Kinas Luftforurensning – Kimen til sosial og politisk forandring? (China’s air pollution: Seed of social and political change?) In Norsk Klimastiftelse (Norwegian Climate Foundation) (ed.), *Kinas Grønne Revolusjon* (China’s green revolution). Report no. 4, 23-26; online: <http://klimastiftelsen.no/kinas-gronne-revolusjon/>.

Ahlers, Anna L. and Matthias Stepan. 2016. Local Politics in Times of Political Centralisation: Top-level Design and Local-level Paralysis. In Sebastian Heilmann und Matthias Stepan (eds), *China's Core Executive: Policies, Structures and Processes Under Xi Jinping*. Berlin: MERICS Paper on China 1, 34-39.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2015. 鲁尔区《变回蓝天》对北京的启示 (How the sky over the Ruhr became blue again: A vision for Beijing). 小康 (*Insight China*) 23, November 8; online: <http://news.hexun.com/2015-11-08/180421063.html>.

Ahlers, Anna L. (Interview). 2014. Beijing strammer grepet (Beijing tightens its grip). *Dagsavisen* (Norwegian newspaper). September 30; online: <http://www.dagsavisen.no/verden/beijing-strammer-grepet-1.289344>.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2014. Kommunalpolitik in China. Warum wir chinesische Politik erst verstehen, wenn wir auch die lokale Ebene in den Blick nehmen (Local affairs in China: Why we have to take into account the local level in order to understand Chinese politics). *MERICS China Monitor* 10; online: https://www.merics.org/sites/default/files/2017-09/China_Monitor_10_Kommunalpolitik_DE.pdf.

Ahlers, Anna L. (Interview) 2014. Krever å få møte Kinas statsminister. I et hav av paraplyer ble det i dag servert et nytt krav fra demonstrantene i Hongkong: Samtaler med Li Keqiang (Asking to meet China’s prime minister. From an ocean of umbrellas protesters in Hong Kong today delivered a new request: A talk with Li Keqiang). *NRK* (Norwegian broadcasting corporation). October 28; online: <https://www.nrk.no/urix/krever-a-fa-mote-kinas-statsminister-1.12010340>.

Ahlers, Anna L. 2014. Staat – Gesellschaft – Markt in China: Plädoyer für Analysen im kommunalen Raum (State – society – market: Making a case for analyses at the local level). *Zweites Deutsch-Chinesisches Akademisches Forum 2014 – Tagungsband*, 32-33; online: <http://bit.ly/2cKO5Mb>.

Ahlers, Anna L., Mirjam Meissner and Yi Zhu. 2013. 3. ZK Plenum der KPCh: Was bewirkt der chinesische Reformbeschluss 2013? (3rd Plenum of the CCP: What will be the effect of the Chinese reform plan 2013?) *MERICS China Monitor* 3; online: https://www.merics.org/sites/default/files/2018-01/China%20Monitor_3_Reformbeschluss-2013_gesamt.pdf.

Ahlers, Anna, Roland Feicht and Mirko Zürker. 2007. VI. Deutsch-Chinesischer Sicherheitsdialog “Sicherheitspolitik Chinas und der EU: Vergleich und Kooperationsperspektiven” (VI. Sino-German Security Dialogue). *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*; online: http://www.fes.de/aktuell/focus_europa/7/Docs/FES_Bericht_Sicherheitspolitik_Peking.pdf.

Ahlers, Anna and Viktoria König. 2006. Widerstand und Loyalität im ländlichen China (Voice and loyalty in rural China). *Greater China Occasional Paper* 4; online: <https://bit.ly/2Lw7eg3>.

F. In preparation

Ahlers, Anna L., Shen Yongdong, Thea Valler and Yang Xi (in preparation). Through the Rear-View Mirror: Risk Management and Retrospective Legitimation of Driving Restriction Policies in China [journal article].

Shen Yongdong, Anna L. Ahlers and Zhu Zihang (in preparation). China Blue: The Evolution of Air Quality Engineering for Mega-Events in China [journal article].