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Ten important publications are marked with *.

A. Books

- *Ahlers, A. L., Krichewsky, D., Moser, E., & Stichweh, R. (2021). *Democratic and Authoritarian Political Systems in 21st Century World Society. Vol. I.: Differentiation, Inclusion, Responsiveness*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- *Ahlers, A. L., Hansen, M. H. &, Svarverud, R. (2020). *The Great Smog of China: A Short History of Air Pollution*. Ann Arbor/New York: AAS Asia Shorts/Columbia University Press.
- *Ahlers, A. L. (2014). *Rural Policy Implementation in Contemporary China: New Socialist Countryside*. London: Routledge. 2nd printing, paperback 2017.
- Schubert, G., & Ahlers, A. L. (2012). *Participation and Empowerment at the Grassroots: Chinese Village Elections in Perspective*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

B. Special issues

- Ahlers, A. L. (Guest editor). (2019). Political Inclusion in Contemporary China (+ Introduction). *Journal of Chinese Governance*, 4(3), 201-206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23812346.2019.1636604>
- Ahlers, A. L. (Guest editor). (2018). Chinese Governance in the Era of "Top-level Design" (+ Introduction). *Journal of Chinese Governance*, 3(3), 263-267. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23812346.2018.1487738>

C. Articles (peer reviewed)

- Ahlers, A. L. (2024). The Communist Party's Steering of China's Science, Technology, and Innovation System: Aspirations and Reality. *University of California IGCC and MERICS Policy Brief*, April 5. <https://ucigcc.org/publication/the-communist-partys-steering-of-chinas-science-technology-and-innovation-system-aspirations-and-reality/>
- *Ahlers, A. L., & Christmann-Budian, S. (2023). The Politics of University Rankings in China. *Higher Education*, 86, 751-770. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-023-01014-y>
- Heberer, T., & Ahlers, A. L. (2022). Wissenschaftskooperation mit der Volksrepublik China zwischen Moralisierung und Idealisierung (Academic cooperation with the People's Republic of China between moralization and idealization). *Forschung*, 15(3/4), 87-93.
- Ahlers, A. L., & Stichweh, R. (2022). Die Bipolarität von Demokratie und Autoritarismus und ihre gesellschaftlichen Ursprünge (The bipolarity of democracy and authoritarianism and its societal origins). *Soziale Systeme*, 25, 377-417. <https://doi.org/10.1515/sosys-2020-0021>
- Ahlers, A. L., & Schubert, G. (2022). Nothing New under 'Top-Level Design'? A Review of the Conceptual Literature on Local Policy-Making in China. *Issues & Studies - A Social Science Quarterly on China, Taiwan, and East Asian Affairs*, 58(1). <https://doi.org/10.1142/S101325112150017X>

- Ahlers, A. L., & Heberer, T. (2021). Rekalibrierung der deutschen und europäischen Wissenschaftskooperation mit China: Mehr Augenhöhe und Austausch wagen (Recalibrating German and European science collaboration with China: Daring more eye level and exchange). *Berliner China-Hefte – Chinese History and Society*, 53, 56–68.
- *Ahlers, A. L., & Stichweh, R. (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. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2238-38752019v935> [revised version of Ahlers and Stichweh 2017]
- *Shen, Y., & Ahlers, A. L. (2019). Blue Sky Fabrication in China: Science-Policy Integration in Air Pollution Regulation Campaigns for Mega-Events. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 94, 135-142. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2018.12.005>
- Sagild, R. Å., & Ahlers, A. L. (2019). Honorary Intermediaries? The Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference in Theory and Practice. *China Perspectives/Perspectives Chinoises*, 2, 9-16. <https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.9016>
- Shen, Y., & Ahlers, A. L. (2018). Local Environmental Governance Innovation in China: Staging ‘Triangular Dialogues’ for Industrial Air Pollution Control. *Journal of Chinese Governance*, 3(3), 351-369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23812346.2018.1486347>
- *Ahlers, A. L., & Shen, Y. (2018). Breathe Easy? Local Nuances of Authoritarian Environmentalism in China’s Battle Against Air Pollution. *The China Quarterly*, 234, 299-319. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741017001370>
- Ahlers, A. L., Heberer, T., & Schubert, G. (2016). Whither Local Governance in Contemporary China? Reconfiguration for More Effective Policy Implementation. *Journal of Chinese Governance*, 1(1), 55-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23812346.2016.1138700>
- Ahlers, A. 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. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-015-9342-6>
- *Ahlers, A. L., & Schubert, G. (2015). Effective Policy Implementation in China’s Local State. *Modern China*, 41(4), 372- 405. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700413519563>
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- Ahlers, A. L., & Schubert, G. (2009). Building a New Socialist Countryside – Only a Political Slogan? *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 38(4), 35-62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810260903800403>

D. Book chapters

- Ahlers, A. L. (2024). Three Proposals for Broadening the Focus of Agnotology Studies – A Comment on Naomi Oreskes’ “Four Obstacles to the Embrace of Agnotology in History of Science”. In L. Verburgt (Ed.), *Debating New Approaches to the History of Science* (pp. 335-341). London: Bloomsbury.
- *Ahlers, A. L. (2023). Technocracy on the Ground: Cadre Competence, Expert Involvement, and Scientific Advice in China’s Local Governance. In D. Goodman, & C. Ergenc (Eds.), *Handbook on Local Governance in China: Structures, Variations, and Innovations* (pp. 152-176). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800883246.00018>

- Schubert, G., & Ahlers, A. L. (2021, forthcoming). Elections and Post-election Governance in China's Villages and Townships. In H. X. Zhang, & Q. F. Zhang (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Rural China*. London: Routledge.
- Ahlers, A. L., Heberer, T., & Schubert, G. (2019). The Critical Role of Local Governance in China's Political System. In J. Yu, & S. Guo (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Local Governance in Contemporary China* (pp. 73-93). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-2799-5_4 [Revised version of Ahlers, Heberer and Schubert, 2016]
- Ahlers, A. 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 Z. Liu, & Hansen, M.H. (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)* (pp. 133-145). Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press.
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- Ahlers, A. L., & Shen, Y. (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 Z. Liu, & Hansen, M.H. (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)* (pp. 145-154). Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press.
- Ahlers, A. L., & Hansen, M. H. (2017). Air Pollution: How Will China Win its Self-Declared War Against it? In Eva Sternfeld (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Environmental Policy in China* (pp. 83-96). London: Routledge.
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- Schubert, G., & Ahlers, A. L. (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 T. Heberer, G. Schubert, & X. Yang (Eds.), “主动”的地方政治 (“Active” local politics) (pp. 171-193). Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press. [Translation of a revised version of Schubert and Ahlers, 2012, *The China Journal*].
- Ahlers, A. L., & Schubert, G. (2011). “Adaptive Authoritarianism” in Contemporary China: Identifying Zones of Legitimacy Building. In Z. Deng, & S. Guo (Eds.), *Reviving Legitimacy: Lessons for and from China* (pp. 61-81). Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Ahlers, A. L., & Schubert, G. (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 S. Chen (Ed.), *后金融危机的政府与市场 (Government and market in the era after the global financial crisis)* (pp. 261-279). Beijing: China Social Science Press.
- Ahlers, A. L. (2006). Environmental Mediation. In S. Laohasiriwong, & M.C. Ang Ming-Chee (Eds.), *Natural Resources Related Conflict Management in Southeast Asia* (pp. 223-239). Khon Kaen: Siriphan Press.

E. Policy papers, working papers, and other grey literature

- Ahlers, A. L., Hennings, J., & Schmidt, F. (2023). Internationalisierung im Fokus: Innenansichten aus dem deutschen Wissenschaftssystem (Focus on internationalization: Inside views from the German science system). *Junge Akademie: Debattenbeitrag*. <https://www.diejungeakademie.de/de/publikationen/internationalisierung-im-fokus>

- Ahlers, A. L., Schimank, U., & Schreiterer, U. (2023). Gefährdungen der Wissenschaftsfreiheit aus internationalen Verflechtungen – Institutionalisiertes Monitoring erforderlich (Threats to academic freedom via international interdependencies - Institutionalized monitoring is required). *Denkanstöße – Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 14. file:///Users/alahlers/Downloads/BBAW_Denkanstoesse_14_2023.pdf
- Ahlers, A. L. (2022). The Future of Global Science Relations (Letter). *Issues in Science and Technology*, 39(1). <https://issues.org/scientific-collaboration-china-zhang-forum/>
- Ahlers, A. L. (2022). Contextualizing and Conceptualizing Debates about Academic Freedom in Europe. *TraFo Blog for Transregional Research: Academic Freedom*, April 28. <https://trafo.hypotheses.org/36096>
- Braun Střelcová, A., Christmann-Budian, S., & Ahlers, A. L. (2022). The End of “Learning from the West”? Trends in China’s Contemporary Science Policy. *Observations: Short Papers on Science and Society in China and the World*, 6. <https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/observations/end-learning-west-trends-chinas-contemporary-science-policy>
- Ahlers, A. L. (2022). Cosmic Time – On Breaks and Continuities. The melancholic fate of early modern Chinese science. In Junge Akademie (Ed.), *One Day, One Day at a Time: Essay-Calendar* (pp. 382-385). Berlin: K. Verlag.
- Ahlers, A. L., & Heberer, T. (2021). Auf Augenhöhe? Wissenschaftskooperationen mit der VR China. *Forschung & Lehre*, 9, 740-742. <https://www.forschung-und-lehre.de/politik/kooperation-auf-augenhoehe-4031>
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- Ahlers, A. L., & Yu, J. (2016). “What Does Xi Jinping’s Top-Down Leadership Mean for Innovation in China?” In Asia Society – New York (Ed.), *ChinaFile Conversation*, October 26. <http://www.chinafile.com/conversation/what-does-xi-jinpings-top-down-leadership-mean-innovation-china>
- Ahlers, A. 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. https://www.merics.org/sites/default/files/2017-09/China_Monitor_10_Kommunalpolitik_DE.pdf
- Ahlers, A. L., Meissner, M., & Zhu, Y. (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. https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_3239740/component/file_3240434/content

F. Commissioned book reviews and book reviews

- Ahlers, A. L. (2022). Commissioned book review: Yifei Li and Judith Shapiro, *China Goes Green: Coercive Environmentalism for a Troubled Planet*. *The China Quarterly*, 252, 1312-1313.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741022001412>
- Ahlers, A. L. (2022). Commissioned book review: Joshua Hill, *Voting as a Rite. A History of Elections in Modern China*. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 57(1), 187-189.
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G. Varia: media appearances, reports, and other public dissemination activities

- (Interview) Hoferichter, A. (2024). Ethische Diskussionen, von denen man hier kaum etwas mitbekommt (Ethical discussions that you hardly ever hear about here). *MIT Technology Review*, 1, 32-35.
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- Hood, S., Braun, V., & Ahlers, A. L. (2020). (Podcast) China on the Rise. *Science Social. Conversations on History, Science, and Society*. Berlin: MPIWG. <https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/podcast/science-social-conversations-history-science-and-society>
- Ahlers, A. L., Hansen, M. H., & Svarverud, R. (2020). ASIA SHORTS: The Great Smog of China: An Interview with Anna L. Ahlers, Mette Halskov Hansen, and Rune Svarverud. *Education About Asia*, 25(2).
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- Ahlers, A. L., Bittner, M.-I., El-Mecky, N., Farahat, A., & Schmidt, F. (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, A. L., & Henningsen, L. (2018). Was liest China; was schreibt China? (What is China reading; what is China writing?) In J. Peters, U. Endesfelder, & M. Akkermann (Eds.), *Ich frag' ja nur - Grenzen unseres Wissens. Kalender 2019*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.
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