

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

January 2025

Google Scholar profile:

<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=fKwKMBwAAAAJ&hl=de>

1424 citations, h-index 18

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>
- Ahlers, A.L., & Schubert, G. (2013). Strategic Modelling: "Building of a New Socialist Countryside" in Three Chinese Counties. *The China Quarterly*, 216, 831-849. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741013001045>
- Schubert, G., & Ahlers, A.L. (2012). County and Township Cadres as a Strategic Group: "Building a New Socialist Countryside" in Three Provinces. *The China Journal*, 67, 67-86. <https://doi.org/10.1086/665740>
- Schubert, G., & Ahlers, A.L. (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. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-010-9139-6>
- 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.
- Ahlers, A.L., & Schubert, G. (2018). Local Cadre Elites and Policy Implementation in Contemporary China. In Y. Guo (Ed.), *Local Elites in Post-Mao China* (pp. 17-38). London: Routledge.
- 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.
- Ahlers, A.L. (2014). Lokales Regieren und administrative Interessenvermittlung in China (Local governance and administrative interest mediation in China). In H. Heinelt (Ed.), *Modernes Regieren in China* (Modern government in China) (pp. 89-115). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- 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>
- Ahlers, A.L., & Heberer, T. (2021). More Exchange at Eye-Level: European Research Cooperation with the People’s Republic of China. *Global Cooperation Research. A Quarterly Magazine*, 2, 19-23.
- Sagild, R.Å., & Ahlers, A.L. (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. <https://www.fiw.uni-bonn.de/medien/publikationen/pdf/working-paper/fiw-working-paper-no-10.pdf>
- Ahlers, A.L., & Stichweh, R. (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. <https://www.fiw.uni-bonn.de/medien/publikationen/pdf/working-paper/fiw-working-paper-no-9.pdf>
- Ahlers, A.L., & Stepan, M. (2016). Local Politics in Times of Political Centralisation: Top-level Design and Local-level Paralysis. In S. Heilmann, & M. Stepan (Eds.), *China's Core Executive: Policies, Structures and Processes Under Xi Jinping* (34-39). Berlin: MERICS Paper on China 1. https://merics.org/sites/default/files/2020-04/MPOC_ChinasCoreExecutive_web.pdf
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220094221084149e>

- Ahlers, A.L. (2019). Commissioned book review: Sebastian Heilman, Red Swan: How Unorthodox Policy-Making Facilitated China's Rise. *The China Review*, 19(2), 177-179. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26639662>
- Ahlers, A.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. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741017001138>
- Ahlers, A.L. (2012). Book review: Björn Alpermann (ed.), Politics and Markets in Rural China. *ASIEN. The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, 123, 147-149. <https://doi.org/10.11588/asien.2012.123.18174>
- Ahlers, A.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, A.L. (2011). Khai Leong Ho (ed.), Connecting and Distancing: Southeast Asia and China. *ASIEN. The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, 119, 99-100.

G. Varia: media appearances, reports, and other public dissemination activities

- (Interview) Matthews, D. (2024) "How European academics can set up safe research collaborations with China", together with Andrea Braun Střelcová and Stephanie Christmann-Budian. *Science Business*, 18 June. <https://sciencebusiness.net/news/r-d-funding/how-european-academics-can-set-safe-research-collaborations-china>
- (Quoted) Crow, J.M. (2024). China's big-science bet. *Nature*, June 5. <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-024-01597-1>
- (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. <https://www.heise.de/select/tr/2024/1/233070855525077173>
- (Quoted) Nuwer, R. (2023). Chinese Students Stay Local as Favour Falls with Study Abroad. *Nature*, 620, 11-13. <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-023-02162-y#correction-0>
- (Quoted) Mallapaty, S. (2023). Disgraced CRISPR-baby scientists' "publicity stunt" frustrates researchers. *Nature*, 614, 599-600. <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-023-00382-w#correction-0>
- Ahlers, A.L., & Heberer, T. (2021). Wissenschaftsaustausch auf Augenhöhe bleibt unabdingbar. *Brennpunkt Tibet*, 2, 16.
- (Quoted) Spinney, L. (2020). Can We Trust Chinese Covid-19 Science? *The Observer*. October 11. <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2020/oct/11/china-coronavirus-covid-19-medical-research>
- 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). <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/asia-shorts-the-great-smog-of-china-an-interview-with-anna-l-ahlers-mette-halskov-hansen-and-rune-svarverud/>
- (Interview and research profile) Thiel, T. (2020). Chinas Wissenschaft: Der diskrete Charme der Technokratie (China's science: the discreet charm of technocracy). *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. August 26. <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/karriere-hochschule/hoersaal/chinas-wissenschaft-der-diskrete-charme-der-technokratie-16919771.html>
- 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.

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

(Quoted) Vaaland, M.C.O. (2017). Kina rangerer borgere i nytt overvåkningssystem. (China ranks citizens with new surveillance system). *Vårt Land*. December 28. <https://www.vl.no/nyhet/kina-rangerer-borgere-i-nytt-overvakningssystem-1.1076908?paywall=true>

Ahlers, A.L., & Hansen, M.H. (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) (pp. 23-26). Report no. 4. <https://www.energiogklima.no/meninger-og-analyse/kommentar/kinas-luftforurensning-kimen-til-sosial-og-politisk-forandring>

Ahlers, A.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. <https://tinyurl.com/ysrvx6b7>

(Quoted) Vestheim, T.M. (2014). Beijing strammer grepet (Beijing tightens its grip). *Dagsavisen* (Norwegian newspaper). September 30. <http://www.dagsavisen.no/verden/beijing-strammer-grepet-1.289344>

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

H. Under review/In preparation

Books [working titles]

China in Global Science

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Elements – Global China series
Contract signed, submission planned for August 2025

Science and Political Regimes in the 21st Century

Co-edited with Rudolf Stichweh; based on the "Merton Workshop", LMRG/MPIWG, March 11-13, 2024
Transcript
Forthcoming 2025

The Unlikely Science Superpower: China in the 21st Century

Princeton University Press

Commissioned proposal, in preparation

Democratic and Authoritarian Political Systems in 21st Century World Society. Vol. II.: Studying Empirical Cases in Different World Regions

Co-authored with Damien Krichewsky, Evelyn Moser and Rudolf Stichweh

Transcript

In preparation

Special issue

Scientific Knowledge Production and China's Foreign Affairs

Co-edited With Trym Eiterjord and Fiona Bewley

Minerva

Proposal accepted by the editorial board (2022), articles currently under revision after first round of review