

Prof. Dr. Gunter Schubert

List of publications

(April 2026)

A. Books:

Monographs

1. **Little History of Taiwan** (Kleine Geschichte Taiwans), München: C.H.Beck, 2024.
2. **Weapons of the Rich: Strategic Action of Private Entrepreneurs in Contemporary China**, Singapore: World Scientific, 2021 (co-authored by Thomas Heberer).
3. **Participation and Empowerment at the Grassroots – Chinese Village Elections in Perspective**, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012 (co-authored by Anna L. Ahlers).
4. **Die Politik** (Politics), Marburg: Metropolis, 2009 (co-authored by Alexander Ular).
5. **Politische Partizipation und Regimelegitimität in der VR China. Band II: Der ländliche Raum** (Political Participation and Regime Legitimacy in the PRC. Vol. II: Rural China), Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009 (co-authored by Thomas Heberer).
6. **从群众到公民 – 中国的政治参与** (*From Masses to Citizens. Political Participation in China*), Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2009 (Chinese Translation of Political Participation and Regime Legitimacy in the PRC. Vol I: Urban China, co-authored by Thomas Heberer).
7. **Politische Partizipation und Regimelegitimität in der VR China. Band I: Der urbane Raum** (Political Participation and Regime Legitimacy in the PRC. Vol I: Urban China), Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008 (co-authored by Thomas Heberer).
8. **Chinas Kampf um die Nation – Dimensionen nationalistischen Denkens in der VR China, Taiwan und Hongkong an der Jahrtausendwende** (China's Struggle for the Nation – Dimensions of Nationalist Thought in the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hongkong at the Turn to the 21st Century), Hamburg: Institute for Asian Studies Special Series No. 357, 2002.
9. **Taiwan – die chinesische Alternative. Demokratisierung in einem ostasiatischen Schwellenland, 1986-1993** (Taiwan - The Chinese Alternative. Democratization in an East Asian Newly Industrializing Country, 1986-1993), Hamburg: Institute of Asian Studies Special Series No. 237, 1994.

Edited Volumes

1. **Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan.** Second Edition. Abingdon-New York 2025
2. **Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung** (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs and Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023.
1. **Taiwan During the First Administration of Tsai Ing-Wen: Navigating Stormy Waters** (co-edited by Lee Chun-Yi), Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2022.
2. **Immigration Governance in East Asia. Norm Diffusion, Politics of Identity, Citizenship** (co-edited by Franziska Plümmer und Anastasiya Bayok), Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2021.
3. **Assessing the Presidency of Ma Ying-jiu in Taiwan. Hopeful Beginning, Hopeless End?**, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2018 (co-edited by André Beckershoff).
4. **The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan**, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2016.
5. **Taiwan and the ‘China Impact’. Challenges and Opportunities**, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2016.
6. **主动的地方政治 – 作为战略群体的县乡干部 (Proactive Local Politics: County and Township Cadres as Strategic Group)**, Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2013 (co-edited by Thomas Heberer and Yang Xuedong).
7. **台商研究 (Taishang Studies)**, Taipei: Wunan, 2012 (co-edited by Keng Shu and Lin Rui-hwa).
8. **Taiwanese Identity in the 21st Century. Domestic, regional and global perspectives**, London-New York: Routledge, 2011 (co-edited by Jens Damm).
9. **Regime Legitimacy in Contemporary China. Institutional Change and Stability**, London-New York: Routledge, 2009 (co-edited by Thomas Heberer).
10. **Asian European Relations: building blocks for global governance?**, London-New York: Routledge, 2008 (co-edited by Jürgen Rüland, Cornelia Storz and Günter Schucher).
11. **城乡公民参与和政治合法性** (*engl.: Civil Participation and Political Legitimacy in Contemporary China*), Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2007 (co-edited by He Zengke and Thomas Heberer).
12. **Navigieren in der Weltgesellschaft** (Navigating in Global Society). *Festschrift* to Rainer Tetzlaff, Münster: LIT, 2005 (co-edited by Cord Jakobeit, Ulf Engel and Andreas Mehler).

13. **China: Konturen einer Übergangsgesellschaft auf dem Weg in das 21. Jahrhundert** (China: A Transitional Society Stepping into the 21st Century), Hamburg: Institute of Asian Studies Special Series No. 344, 2001.
14. **Menschenrechte in Ostasien** (Human Rights in East Asia), Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck 1999.
15. **Blockierte Demokratien in der Dritten Welt** (Defunct Democracies in the Third World), Opladen (Leske+Budrich) 1998 (co-edited by Rainer Tetzlaff).
16. **Taiwan an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. Gesellschaftlicher Wandel, Probleme und Perspektiven eines ostasiatischen Schwellenlandes** (Taiwan at the Doorstep of the 21st Century. Problems and Perspectives of an Asian NIC), Hamburg: Institute of Asian Studies Special Series No. 270, 1996 (co-edited by Axel Schneider).
17. **Politischer Wandel und Demokratisierung. Theorie und Anwendung des Konzeptes der strategischen und konfliktfähigen Gruppen** (Political Change and Democratization. Theory and Application of the Concept of Strategic and Conflictive Groups, Münster: LIT 1994 (co-edited by Rainer Tetzlaff und Werner Vennwald).

B. Guesteditor of Journals:

1. **Taiwan under KMT Rule: Recent Trends in Domestic Politics and Cross-Strait Relations**, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2012.
2. **Cross-strait Integration as a New Research Focus in the China and Taiwan Studies Field**, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2010.
3. **Taiwanese Identity from Domestic, Regional and Global Perspectives**, *Chinese History and Society*, No. 32, 2007 (co-edited by Jens Damm).
4. **Security Threats in East Asia**, *Journal of International Peace and Organization*, Vol. 81, No. 3-4, 2006.
5. **The State of Political Reform in Contemporary China**, *ASIEN*, No. 99, April 2006 (co-edited by Thomas Heberer).

C. Book chapters

1. **Introduction**, in: Gunter Schubert (ed), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, Abingdon-New York 2025, 1-3.
2. **Taiwan's Mainland Entrepreneurs (Taishang)**, in: Gunter Schubert (ed), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, Abingdon-New York 2025, 205-220.
1. **The Chinese Communist Party's Unfulfilled 'Taiwan Dream'**, in: Jérôme Doyon and Chloé Froissart (eds), *The Chinese Communist Party. A 100-Year Trajectory*, Australian National University Press, 2024, 429-454.

2. **Einleitung** (Introduction) (with Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), in: *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung* (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023, 1-4.
3. **Grundlagen der Sozialwissenschaftlichen Komparatistik in den Regionalwissenschaften** (Area Studies) (Foundations of Social Science Comparativism in Area Studies) (with Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer) in: *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung* (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023, 5-44.
4. **Das politische System Hongkongs** (The Political System of Hong Kong), in: *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung* (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023, 199-232.
5. **Das politische System Macaos** (The Political System of Macau) in: *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung* (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023, 233-255.
6. **Das politische System Taiwans** (The Political System of Taiwan), in: *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung* (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023, 257-302.
7. **Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens im Vergleich** (Comparing the Political Systems in East Asia) (with Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer) in *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung* (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction) (co-edited by Claudia Derichs und Thomas Heberer), Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023, 535-545.
8. **Introduction** (with Chun-Yi Lee), in: Gunter Schubert and Chun-Yi Lee (eds.), *Taiwan During the First Administration of Tsai Ing-Wen: Navigating Stormy Waters*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2022, 2-15.
9. **Liang'an vs. kua'an: The Two Relations of China-Taiwan Relations During the First Tsai Administration** (with Lin Ruihua and Tseng Yu-chen), in: Gunter Schubert and Chun-Yi Lee (eds.), *Taiwan During the First Administration of Tsai Ing-Wen: Navigating Stormy Waters*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2022, 70-97.
10. **Introduction: Migration Governance in East Asia: Towards An Analytical Framework**, in: Gunter Schubert, Franziska Plümmer and Anastasiya Bayok (eds.), *Immigration Governance in East Asia. Norm Diffusion, Politics of Identity, Citizenship*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2021, 1-15.
11. **The Politics of Mainlander Immigration in Post-Colonial Hong Kong**, in: Gunter Schubert, Franziska Plümmer and Anastasiya Bayok (eds.), *Immigration Governance in East Asia. Norm Diffusion, Politics of Identity, Citizenship*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2021, 225-254.

12. **Prekäre Autonomie, zunehmende „Lokalisierung“: Die Sonderverwaltungszone Hongkong und ihr schwieriges Verhältnis zur VR China** (Precarious Autonomy, Increasing ‘Localization’: the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and her Difficult Relationship to the PRC, in: Rudolph Hrbek, Martin Große-Hüttmann and Carmen Thamm (eds.), *Autonomieforderungen und Sezessionsbestrebungen in Europa und der Welt (Demands for Autonomy and Attempt to Secession in Europe and the World)*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2021, 158-172.
13. **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*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 73-93 (co-authored by Anna L. Ahlers and Thomas Heberer).
14. **Local Cadre Elites and Policy Implementation in Contemporary China**, in: Guo Yingjie (ed.), *Local Elites in Post-Mao China*, London-New York: Routledge, 2018, 17-38 (co-authored by Anna L. Ahlers).
15. **Introduction: Mapping the Ma Ying-jiu Era**, in: André Beckershoff and Gunter Schubert (eds.), *Assessing the Presidency of Ma Ying-jiu in Taiwan. Hopeful Beginning, Hopeless End?*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2018, 1-14 (co-authored by André Beckershoff).
16. **The DPP’s China Policy Before and During the Ma Ying-jiu Era**, in: André Beckershoff and Gunter Schubert (eds.), *Assessing the Presidency of Ma Ying-jiu in Taiwan. Hopeful Beginning, Hopeless End?*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2018, 37-58.
17. **Taiwan’s Contribution to China’s Economic Rise and Its Implications for Cross-Strait Integration**, in: Steve Tsang (ed.), *Taiwan’s Impact on China. Why Soft Power Matters More Than Economic or Political Inputs*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 95-123 (co-authored by Shelley Rigger).
18. **Taiwan’s Mainland Entrepreneurs**, in: Gunter Schubert (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Taiwan*, Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2016, 218-232.
19. **Die Volksrepublik China – ein föderaler Einheitsstaat? (The People’s Republic of China: A Federal Unitary State?)**, in: Rudolf Hrbek/Martin Große Hüttmann (eds.), *Föderalismus – das Problem oder die Lösung? (Federalism: Problem or Solution?)*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2016, 172-188.
20. **Facing the Dragon and Riding the Tiger: assessing the mainland Taishang as an ‘impact factor’ in cross-Strait relations**, in: Gunter Schubert (ed.), *Taiwan and the ‘China Impact’: Challenges and Opportunities*, London-New York, Routledge, 2016, 91-109.
21. **发展主义与中国地方政府的战略行为体：近期嗲演的初步发现 (Developmentalism and Strategic Agency in China’s Local State: Preliminary Findings from Recent Research)**, in: Yu Keping (俞可平)/Thomas Heberer (托马斯 海贝勒)/Björn Alpermann (安晓波) (eds.), *中共的治理与适应。比较的事业 (Governance and Adaptation of the Chinese Communist Party: A Comparative*

Perspective), Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2015, 144-181 (co-authored by Thomas Heberer).

22. **Taiwan: Geschichte, politisches System und das Verhältnis zu China (Taiwan: History, Political System and the Relationship to China)**, in: Doris Fischer/Christoph Müller-Hofstede (eds.), *Länderbericht China (Country Report: China)*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2014, 355-392.
23. **Das politische System Taiwan (The Political System of Taiwan)**, in: Claudia Derichs/Thomas Heberer (eds.), *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction)*, Wiesbaden: Springer, 3rd edition, 2014, 505-549.
24. **Das politische System Hongkongs (The Political System of Hong Kong)**, in: Claudia Derichs/Thomas Heberer (eds.), *Die politischen Systeme Ostasiens. Eine Einführung (The Political Systems of East Asia. An Introduction)*, Wiesbaden: Springer, 3rd edition, 2014, 233-253.
25. **Potenziale und Grenzen politischer Interessenvermittlung im ländlichen und peri-urbanen Raum: Dorf- und Gemeindewahlen in der VR China (Scope and Limits of Political Interest Mediation in Rural and Peri-urban China)**, in: Hubert Heinelt (ed.), *Modernes Regieren in China (Modern Governance in China)*, 2014, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 63-88.
26. **Taiwan and globalization: reflections on the trajectory of Taishang studies**, in: Chiu Kuei-fen, Dafydd Fell and Lin Ping (eds.), *Migration to and from Taiwan*, Routledge-New York, 2014, 25-41 (co-authored by Keng Shu and Lin Rui-hua).
27. **地方政治的能动者视角 (Agent Perspective of Local Politics)**, in: 托马斯·海贝勒, 舒耕德, 杨雪冬 主编, *主动的地方政治 – 作为战略群体的县乡干部 (Proactive Local Politics: County and Township Cadres as Strategic Group)*, Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2013, 1-23 (co-authored by Thomas Heberer and Yang Xuedong).
28. **作为战略性群体的县乡干部 (County and Township Cadres as a Strategic Group)**, in: 托马斯·海贝勒, 舒耕德, 杨雪冬 主编, *主动的地方政治 – 作为战略群体的县乡干部 (Proactive Local Politics: County and Township Cadres as Strategic Group)*, Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2013, 27-64 (co-authored by Thomas Heberer and Yang Xuedong).
29. **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 – Pushing the Construction of a New Socialist Countryside in Three Counties)**, in: 托马斯·海贝勒, 舒耕德, 杨雪冬 主编, *主动的地方政治 – 作为战略群体的县乡干部 (Proactive Local Politics: County and Township Cadres as Strategic Group)*, Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2013, 27-64 (co-authored by Anna L. Ahlers).
30. **Bringing the People In: ‘Linkage Communities’ as a Shaping Factor of Taiwan’s Domestic Politics: The Case of the Taishang**, in: Steve Tsang (ed.),

The *Vitality of Taiwan*, Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 139-163 (co-authored by Keng Shu).

31. 台商研究的起源、發展與核心議題 (**Origin, Development and Core Issues in the Study of Taiwanese Businesspeople**), in: Keng Shu, Gunter Schubert & Ruihua Lin (eds.), 台商研究 (Taishang Studies), Taipei: Wunan, 2012, 3-51 (co-authored by Keng Shu and Lin Rui-hwa).
32. 大陸臺商的政治思維：田野初探 (**The Political Mind of the Mainland Taishang: Preliminary Field Explorations**), in: Keng Shu, Gunter Schubert & Ruihua Lin (eds.), 台商研究 (Taishang Studies), Taipei: Wunan, 2012, S. 119-150.
33. **Taiwan's Political Evolution from Authoritarianism to Democracy and the Development of Cross-Strait Relations**, in: Jens Damm & Paul Lim (eds.), *European Perspectives on Taiwan*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, 2012, 66-83.
34. **Democracy under One-Party Rule? On Village and Canton Elections in China**, in: Mireille Delmas-Marty and Pierre Etienne Will (eds.), *China, Democracy and Law. A Historical and Contemporary Approach*, Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012, 741-762.
35. **"Adaptive Authoritarianism" in Contemporary China: Identifying Zones of Legitimacy Building**, in: Deng Zhenglai & Guo Sujian (eds.), *Reviving Legitimacy*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011, 61-81 (co-authored by Anna L. Ahlers).
36. **How to face an embracing China? The DPP's identity politics and cross-strait relations during and after the Chen Shui-bian era**, in: Gunter Schubert & Jens Damm (eds.), *Taiwanese Identity in the 21st Century. Domestic, regional and global perspectives*, London-New York: Routledge, 2011, 72-94 (co-authored by Stefan Braig).
37. 新农村建设的政策实施绩效。对浙江省庆元县新农村建设的印象 (**The Consequences of Implementing the Policy of Constructing a New Socialist Countryside. Impressions from Qingyuan County in Zhejiang Province**), in: Chen Shengyong (陈剩勇), 后金融危机时代的政府与市场 (Government and Market in the Era After the Financial Crisis), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2010, 261-279 (co-authored by Anna L. Ahlers).
38. **Studying 'Democratic' Governance in Contemporary China: Looking at the Village is Not Enough**, in: Kevin J. O'Brien & Suisheng Zhao (Hrsg.), *Grassroots Elections in China*, New York: Routledge, 2010, S. 26-31.
39. **Village Elections, Citizenship and Regime Legitimacy in Contemporary Rural China**, in: Thomas Heberer & Gunter Schubert (eds.), *Regime Legitimacy in Contemporary China. Institutional Change and Stability*, London-New York: Routledge, 2009, 55-78.
40. 回望長路：臺灣民族主義與民族認同之爭辯 (**At the End of a Long Journey: Assessing the Debate on Taiwanese Nationalism and National Identity**), in: Kuan Hsin-chi & Hsiung Ching-ming (eds.), 世紀初的中國 (*China am Beginn des Jahrhunderts*), Hongkong: Chinese University Press, 2009, 81-98.

41. **Taiwan's Evolving National Identity since the DPP Takeover: from civic to ethnic?**, in: Steven M. Goldstein & Julian Chang (eds.), *Presidential Politics in Taiwan. The Administration of Chen Shui-bian*, Norwalk: East Bridge, 2008, 85-113.
42. **Main findings and conclusion: assessing the surplus value of Asia Europe interregionalism**, in: Jürgen Rüland, Gunter Schubert, Cornelia Storz & Günter Schucher (eds.), *Asian European Relations. Building blocks for global governance?*, London-New York: Routledge, 2008, 273-286.
43. **Das politische System Taiwans** (The Political System of Taiwan), in: Claudia Derichs & Thomas Heberer (eds.), *The Political Systems of East Asia*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008, 2nd Edition, 417-454.
44. **Das politische System Hongkongs** (The Political System of Hongkong), in: Claudia Derichs & Thomas Heberer (eds.), *The Political Systems of East Asia*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008, 2nd Edition, 179-195.
45. **Taiwan**, in: Brunhild Staiger, Stefan Friedrich & Hans-Wilm Schütte (eds.), *Das Grosse China-Lexikon (The Great China Lexicon)*, Institute of Asian Studies Hamburg, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008, 578-581, 739-744.
46. **La Démocratie peut-elle coexister avec le parti unique? Pour une appréciation nuance des élections villageoises** (Can democracy co-exist with one-party rule? In favour of a nuanced appreciation of village elections), in: Mireille Delmas-Marty & Pierre-Etienne Will (eds.), *La Chine et la démocratie*, Paris: Arthème Fayard, 2007, 713-733.
47. **Taiwans langer Weg zur konsolidierten Demokratie** (Taiwan's Long Way to Consolidated Democracy), in: Doris Fischer & Michael Lackner (eds.), *Länderbericht China (Country Report China)*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2007, 198-223.
48. **当代中国的村选: 政权合法性生产空间?** (Village Elections in Contemporary China: new spaces for political legitimacy?), in: He Zengke, Thomas Heberer & Gunter Schubert (eds.), *城乡公民参与和政治合法性 (engl.: Civil Participation and Political Legitimacy in Contemporary China)*, Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2007, 3-39.
49. **Chinas Traum von einer anderen Moderne** (China's Dream of a Different Modernity), in: Andreas Boeckh & Rafael Sevilla (eds.), *Kultur und Entwicklung. Vier Weltregionen im Vergleich (Culture and Development. Four World Regions in Comparative Perspective)*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007, 141-164.
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51. **China, Volksrepublik** (China, People's Republic), in: Mario Petri, Ulrich Schnier & Jürgen Bellers (eds.), *Handbuch der transitorischen Systeme, Diktaturen und autoritären Regime der Gegenwart (Handbook of Transition Systems, Dictatorships and Authoritarian Regimes)*, Münster: LIT, 2006, 191-210.

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53. **Closing the Gap. An Alternative Reading of National Identity and Cross-Strait Relations in Taiwan's Party Politics**, in: Günter Schucher & Margot Schüller (eds.), *Perspectives on Cross-Strait Relations: views from Europe*, Hamburg: Institute for Asian Studies, 2005, 55-72.
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55. **Strategische und konfliktfähige Gruppen *revisited*** (Strategic and conflictive groups *revisited*), in: Cord Jakobeit, Ulf Engel, Andreas Mehler & Gunter Schubert (eds.), *Navigieren in der Weltgesellschaft* (Navigating in Global Society), Festschrift to Rainer Tetzlaff, Münster: LIT, 2005, 350-367.
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& Ulrich Ratsch (eds.), Friedensgutachten 2001 (Peace Report 2001), Münster: LIT, 153-153.

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