Björn Bremer CV updated August 2021

CONTACT Information Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies Paulstr. 3 | 50676 Cologne | Germany

Telephone: +49 2212767-154

E-mail: bremer@mpfig.de

Website www.bjoern-bremer.com

Twitter: @bjoern\_bremer

RESEARCH INTERESTS Political economy: macroeconomic policy, social policy, economic crises, European integration Comparative politics: political parties, public opinion, political behavior, economic voting

CURRENT POSITION

Senior Researcher in Comparative and International Political Economy, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIfG), Cologne

EDUCATION

European University Institute (EUI), Florence

- PhD in Social and Political Sciences, March 2019
  - Dissertation topic: "Austerity from the Left? Explaining the Fiscal Policies of Social Democratic Parties in Response to the Great Recession"
  - Committee members: Hanspeter Kriesi (supervisor), Dorothee Bohle, Herbert Kitschelt, and Jonas Pontusson
  - Awarded the Linz-Rokkan Prize in Political Sociology, 2020
- Master of Research in Political and Social Sciences, 2015

Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington

- Master of Arts in International Relations and International Economics, 2014
  - $\circ\,$  Concentrations: European Studies and International Economics
  - GPA: 3.94 (graduated with Honours)

University of Oxford, St Edmund Hall, Oxford

- Bachelor of Arts in Politics, Philosophy, and Economics (PPE), 2012
  - o Graduated with a First Class Honours Degree

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

European University Institute (EUI), Florence

- Doctoral Researcher, POLCON Project, September 2014 February 2019
- $\bullet$  PhD Researcher, SPS Department, September 2014 March 2019

Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

- Visiting Fellow, Jacques Delors Institute, January March 2019
- $\bullet\,$  Visiting PhD Student, October December 2018

University of Lucerne, Lucerne

• Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science, January - July 2018

London School of Economics and Political Science, London

• Visiting PhD Student, European Institute, September - December 2016

WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Berlin

• Visiting Researcher, Research Unit "Democracy and Democratization", June - Sept. 2016

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

Articles (peer-review):

Lucio Baccaro, Björn Bremer, and Erik Neimanns. 2021. "Till austerity do us part? A survey experiment on support for the euro in Italy." European Union Politics. Online first. https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165211004772

Abel Bojar, Björn Bremer, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Chendi Wang. 2021. "The effect of austerity packages on government popularity during the Great Recession." *British Journal of Political Science*. Online first. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123420000472

Björn Bremer, Swen Hutter, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2020. "Dynamics of protest and electoral politics in the Great Recession." *European Journal of Political Research* 59(4):842-866. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12375

Björn Bremer, Philipp Genschel, and Markus Jachtenfuchs. 2020. "Juncker's curse? Identity, interest and public support for the integration of core state powers." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58(1):56-75. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12980

Björn Bremer and Sean McDaniel. 2020. "The ideational foundations of social democratic austerity in the context of the Great Recession." Socio-Economic Review 18(2):439-463. https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwz001

Björn Bremer. 2020. "The political economy of the SPD reconsidered: Evidence from the Great Recession." German Politics 29(3):441-463. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008. 2018.1555817

Björn Bremer. 2018. "The missing left? Economic crisis and the programmatic response of social democratic parties in Europe." *Party Politics* 24(1):23-38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068817740745

## Book chapters (peer-review):

Björn Bremer. Forthcoming. "Public preferences towards social investment: Comparing patterns of support across three continents." In Julian Garritzmann, Silja Häusermann, and Bruno Palier (eds.), The World Politics of Social Investment (Volume I): The Welfare State in the Century of Knowledge. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Björn Bremer, Swen Hutter, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2020. "Electoral punishment and protest politics in times of crisis." In Hanspeter Kriesi, Jasmine Lorenzini, Bruno Wüest, and Silja Häusermann (eds.), Contention in Times of Crises: Comparing Political Protest in 30 European Countries, 2000-2015. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Björn Bremer and Julia Schulte-Cloos. 2019. "The restructuring of British and German party politics in times of crisis." In Swen Hutter and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), European Party Politics in Times of Crisis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Björn Bremer and Guillem Vidal. 2018. "From boom to bust: A comparative analysis of Greece and Spain." In Doxis Doxiadis and Aimee Placas (eds.), *Living under Austerity: Greek Society in Crisis*. New York: Berghahn Books.

# Policy papers:

Guido Baldi, Björn Bremer, and Thore Schlaack. 2017. "International investments and current account imbalances: The importance of valuation changes". *DIW Roundup* 117, pp. 1-8.

Guido Baldi and Björn Bremer. 2015. "The evolution of Germany's net foreign asset position."  $DIW\ Economic\ Bulletin,\ 22+23/2015,\ pp.\ 303-309.$ 

Stefan Bach, Guido Baldi, Kerstin Bernoth, Björn Bremer, Beatrice Farkas, Ferdinand Fichtner, Marcel Fratzscher, and Martin Gornig. 2013. "More growth through higher investment." DIW Economic Bulletin, 08/2013, pp. 5-16.

# Book reviews:

Björn Bremer. 2019. The Clientelistic Turn in Welfare State Policy-Making: Party Politics in Times of Austerity, Evelyne Hübscher, London, ECPR Press / Rowman & Littlefield International Ltd. (2018). Swiss Political Science Review. 25(3):330-333. https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12368

#### Other:

Björn Bremer, Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, and Francesco Nicoli. 2020. "The EU can improve the political sustainability of Next Generation EU by making it a long-term structure." November 4, *VoxEU.org*.

Björn Bremer and Philipp Genschel. 2020. "Corona solidarity." May 7, EUIdeas Bloq.

Nils Redeker and Björn Bremer. 2020. "Geduldig am Abgrund." April 24, Jacques Delors Institut Berlin, Policy Position.

Lucio Baccaro, Björn Bremer, and Erik Neimanns. 2020. "Everyone thinks that Germans oppose 'coronabonds'. Our research shows how they're wrong." April 20, *Monkey Cage*, Washington Post.

Björn Bremer and Leon Wansleben. 2020. "Now is the moment to revive the fiscal contract." April 4, *Radix*.

Björn Bremer and Matthias Matthijs. 2020. "The coronavirus is reducing Merkel's EU legacy to ashes." March 17, Foreign Policy.

Björn Bremer and Philipp Genschel. 2019. "Sind die Wähler schuld an mangelnder europäischer Solidarität?" November 18, *DVPW Blog*.

Björn Bremer. 2019. "Germany's growth model under attack?" June 11, AICGS Blog.

Björn Bremer. 2019. "Why Germany and the US should embark on a large-scale investment program now." April 3,  $AICGS\ Blog$ .

Björn Bremer. 2017. "The crisis of the SPD: Where now for Germany's social democrats?" September 28, LSE EUROPP Blog.

Björn Bremer. 2017. "Hope for Europe's social democrats? Why Martin Schulz might reinvigorate the SPD but struggle to become chancellor." February 10, WZB Democracy Blog.

# WORK IN PROGRESS

# Book manuscript:

Austerity from the left: Social democratic parties in the shadow of the Great Recession

#### Under review:

"Fiscal policy preferences, trade-offs, and support for social investment" (with Marius Buse-meyer)

"Public opinion on welfare state recalibration in times of austerity: Evidence from survey experiments" (with Reto Bürgisser)

"Do citizens care about government debt? Evidence from survey experiments on budgetary trade-offs and priorities" (with Reto Bürgisser)

"The constrained politics of local public investments under cooperative federalism" (with Donato di Carlo and Leon Wansleben)

"Who still likes social democracy? The support base of social democratic parties reconsidered" (with Line Rennwald)

"Getting closer by moving apart? Strategic interdependence and preferences for debt mutualization in the eurozone" (with Lucio Baccaro and Erik Neimanns)

"Viral solidarity? Support for European fiscal integration in the COVID-19 crisis" (with Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, and Francesco Nicoli)

# Working papers:

"Public opinion towards growth strategies: Evidence from a new survey" (with Lucio Baccaro, Kostas Gemenis, and Erik Neimanns).

"Party cues and support for Eurobonds: A survey experiment in five countries" (with Maurits Meijers, Theresa Kuhn, and Francesco Nicoli).

"Covid Keynesianism and its trade-offs: Evidence from a survey experiment" (with Lucio Baccaro).

"Better off vs. left behind? Patterns of support for the euro in Italy and Germany" (with Lucio Baccaro and Erik Neimanns).

"The distributive preferences of green voters in times of electoral realignment" (with Hanna Schwander)

#### Ongoing projects (selected):

"The impact of unconventional monetary policies on public opinion: A natural experiment on the ECB's PEPP announcement" (with Lucio Baccaro)

"What should we do about debt? Understanding how people reason about fiscal stress and debt sustainability" (with Charlotte Cavaille, Catherine de Vries, and Lisanne de Block)

"When central banking becomes costly: The politics of unconventional monetary policies and its trade-offs" (with Jeffrey Chwieroth)

"Is the low tax doctrine rooted in public opinion? Evidence from four European countries" (with Reto Bürgisser)

"Party favoritism and local public investment: Quasi-experimental evidence from Germany"

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Cologne, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, Cologne

- "Political and Economic Inequality", Fall 2021 (Seminar, MA level)
- "Democratic Theory and Practice", Spring 2021 (Lecture, MA level)
- "The Politics of Macroeconomic Policies", Spring 2020 (Seminar, BA level)

University of Lucerne, Political Science Department, Lucerne

• "Comparative Political Economy: An Introduction", Spring 2018 (Seminar, MA level)

Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC

• "Comparative National Systems", Spring 2014 (Tutorials, MA level)

Noonkodin Secondary School, Monduli, Tanzania

• Politics and History Teacher, 2010

#### EXTRA TRAINING

EUI Teacher Training Course, June 2017

Second Lucerne Master Class, September/October 2015 (Wolfgang Streeck)

Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis:

- Analysing Big Data, July/August 2015 (Chris P. Fariss)
- Mathematics for Social Scientists, July/August 2015 (Christopher Saker, Dan Brawn)

Lifewhat Summer School, July 2015

Other workshops:

- Machine Learning, May 2017 (Slava Mikhaylov)
- Introduction to Multi-Level Modeling, April 2016 (Héctor Cebolla Boado)
- Visualizing Data and Statistical Models, March 2016 (Richard Traunmüller)
- Introduction to Panel Data Analysis, May 2015 (Martin Ehlert)
- Structural Equation Models, April 2015 (Tenko Raykov)
- Innovations in Quantitative Content Analysis, February 2015 (Swen Hutter, Wouter van Attefeldt, Peter Makarov)
- Categorical Data Analysis, January March 2015 (Hannes Kröger)

# AWARDS, GRANTS, AND SCHOLARSHIPS

Bocconi University (with Catherine de Vries, Charlotte Cavaille, and Lisanne de Block): 9,195 EUR (2020)

Amsterdam Centre for European Studies (ACES) grant, University of Amsterdam (with Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, Francesco Nicoli): 35,000 EUR (2020)

Amsterdam Centre for Inequality Studies (AMCIS) grant, University of Amsterdam (with Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, Francesco Nicoli): 7,000 EUR (2020)

Linz-Rokkan Prize in Political Sociology, European University Institute (2020)

Research Infrastructure Investment Fund (RIFF), LSE Department of International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science (with Jeffrey M. Chwieroth): 7,000 GBP (2020)

Peter Mair Memorial Award, European Politics & Society Section, APSA (2016)

Doctoral Scholarship of the German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD (2014-17)

Phi Betta Kappa, Johns Hopkins University (2014)

Graduate Scholarship of the German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD (2012-14)

SAIS Fellowship: Grant towards tuition fees (2012-14)

Scholarship of the German National Academic Foundation (2010-2014)

Open Scholarship, St Edmund Hall: Prize awarded for academic performance (2011/12)

Open Exhibition, St Edmund Hall: Prize awarded for academic performance (2010/11)

Scholarship of the Hans-Rudolf-Stiftung (2009-12)

Scholarship of the German Foundation UWC to attend UWC Atlantic College (2007-09)

Scholarship of the Anglo-German Club Hamburg (2007-09)

# Workshop Presentations / Invited Talks

"Better off vs. left behind? Patterns of support for the euro in Italy and Germany" (with Lucio Baccaro and Erik Neimanns), Workshop on The Causes and Modes of EU Disintegration, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, June 2021.

"Fiscal federalism and the constrained partisanship of public investment" (with Donato di Carlo and Leon Wansleben), Workshop on The Politics of Macroeconomic Policies, MPIfG, January 2021.

"Public opinion towards growth strategies: Evidence from a new survey", Workshop on Trajectories of British and European Capitalisms, Manchester Metropolitan University, December 2020.

"Reassessing the "democratic constraint": Strategic interdependence and preferences about the Euro in Italy and Germany" (with Lucio Baccaro and Erik Neimanns), European Politics Online Workshop (EuroPOW), September 2020.

"The electoral effects of social democratic austerity during the Great Recession", Workshop on Social Democratic Parties in the 21st Century, Amsterdam Centre for European Studies, Amsterdam, November 2019.

"Are voters austerians? Evidence from survey experiments on budgetary trade-offs and priorities", Workshop on Social Inequality and Value Polarization, Laboratory for Comparative Social Research, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, September 2019.

"Austerity from the left? The economic response of the social democratic parties to the Great Recession", European Governance Colloquium at the Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, February 2019.

"Austerity from the left? The economic response of the social democratic parties to the Great Recession", Workshop on Social Democracy, Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin, November 2019.

"The ideational foundations of social democratic austerity in the context of the Great Recession", Summer School on Economics and Society, EUI, Florence, July 2018.

"Attitudes towards austerity: Explaining the public's debt aversion in times of crisis", Comparative Politics and Public Policy Research Colloquium by Professor Ellen Immergut and Professor Anton Hemerijck, EUI, Florence, February 2018.

"Attitudes towards austerity: Analysing the public's debt aversion during the Eurozone crisis", Working group of Professor Marius Busemeyer, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, January 2018.

"Two worlds of dissatisfaction? Electoral punishment and protest politics in the Great Recession", Workshop of the Political Behaviour Group in Berlin and Brandenburg, Berlin, November 2017.

"Austerity from the left: The fiscal policies of the SPD in response to the Great Recession", Workshop on Rethinking Germany's Political Economy, San Francisco, August 2017.

"Public preferences towards social investment: A multi-level analysis", World Politics of Social Investment (WoPSI) Conference, Sciences Po, Paris, 9-11 March 2017.

"Income, asset ownership, and preferences for redistribution: A comprehensive model", LSE Political Economy Seminar, LSE, London, November 2016.

#### Conference Presentations

 $APSA\ Annual\ Meeting:\ 2016,\ 2017,\ 2019,\ 2021$ 

CES Conference: 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021

Dreiländertagung: 2019

DVPW General Conference: 2021 ECPR General Conference: 2018

ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops: 2017, 2020

EPSA Conference: 2016, 2021 IMEBESS Meeting: 2018 MPSA Conference: 2018 SASE Conference: 2020, 2021

# ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE

Co-organizer, Max Planck Online Workshop in Comparative Political Economy 2021 (MAX CPE), Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies

Co-organizer, The Politics of Macroeconomic Policies workshop (January 2021), Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies

Participant, A German-American Dialogue of the Next Generation: Global Responsibility, Joint Engagement (2018-2019), American Institute for Contemporary German Studies

Co-organizer, Comparative Political Economy Working Group (2015-2016), Department of Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute

Co-organizer, Master Class on Time Series Analysis (2016), Department of Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute

Co-organizer, Distinguished Speaker Series on Europe and the Arab Spring (2013), School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

# Peer Reviewer

American Journal of Political Research, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative European Politics, Comparative Political Studies, European Journal of Political Research, European Sociological Review, Journal of Commom Market Studies, Journal of European Public Policy, Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy, New Political Economy, Political Studies, Party Politics, Socio-Economic Review, Swiss Political Science Review

# OTHER SKILLS

Computer Software: R, Python, Stata, MPlus, EViews, LaTex, Microsoft Office, Mac OS X Languages: German (native), English (fluent), French (basic), Italian (basic), Vietnamese (elementary)

# Professional Affiliations

American Political Science Association European Political Science Association Council for European Studies German Political Science Association