Björn Bremer CV updated April 2025

Contact Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, E-mail: bremerb@ceu.edu Information bbremer@fas.harvard.edu Harvard University 27 Kirkland Street Cambridge, MA 02138, USA Website: www.bjoern-bremer.com Telephone: +1-617-998-5412BlueSky: @bjoernbremer.bsky.social Current Central European University, Department of Political Science, Vienna Positions • Assistant Professor since 2023Harvard University, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Cambridge, MA • John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellow 2024 - 2025 **Previous** Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne Positions • Senior Researcher in Comparative and International Political Economy 2019 - 2023 University of Cologne, Cologne • Teaching Associate, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics 2020 - 2023 European University Institute, Florence • Doctoral Researcher, POLCON Project 2014 - 2019 Hertie School of Governance, Berlin • Visiting Fellow, Jacques Delors Institute 2018 - 2019 University of Lucerne, Lucerne 2018 • Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science London School of Economics and Political Science, London • Visiting PhD Student, European Institute 2016 WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Berlin • Visiting Researcher 2016 **EDUCATION** European University Institute, Florence • PhD in Political and Social Sciences 2019 o 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, DC • Master of Arts in International Relations and International Economics 2014 • Graduated with Honors (GPA: 3.94) 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 UWC Atlantic College, Llantwit Major • International Baccalaureate (IB) 2009 **PUBLICATIONS** Monograph (peer-reviewed):

Björn Bremer. 2023. Austerity from the Left: Social Democratic Parties in the Shadow of the Great Recession. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Articles (peer-reviewed):

Maurits Meijers, **Björn Bremer**, Theresa Kuhn, and Francesco Nicoli. 2025. "Partisan cueing and preferences for contentious European integration steps." West European Politics, forthcoming. SocArXiv Preprint: https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/bmf5e

Lucio Baccaro, **Björn Bremer**, and Erik Neimanns. 2025. "Preferences for growth strategies in advanced democracies: A new 'representation gap'?" European Journal of Political Research, 64(1):156-180. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12686

**Björn Bremer** and Reto Bürgisser. 2024. "Lower taxes at all costs? Evidence from a survey experiment in four European countries." *Journal of European Public Policy*, online first. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2333856

Francesco Nicoli, David van der Duin, Roel Beetsma, **Björn Bremer**, Brian Burgoon, Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, and Anniek de Ruijter. 2024. "Closer during crises? European identity during the COVID-19 pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(10):3066-3092. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2319346.

**Björn Bremer**, Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, and Francesco Nicoli. 2024. "In this together? Support for European fiscal integration in the COVID-19 crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 31(9):2582-2610. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2220357

Lucio Baccaro, **Björn Bremer**, and Erik Neimanns. 2023. "Strategic interdependence and preferences for debt mutualization in the Eurozone." *Review of International Political Economy* 30(4):1459-1485. https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2022.2107043

**Björn Bremer** and Line Rennwald. 2023. "Who still likes social democracy? The support base of social democratic parties reconsidered." *Party Politics* 29(4):741-754. https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221093770

**Björn Bremer**, Donato di Carlo, and Leon Wansleben. 2023. "The constrained politics of local public investments under cooperative federalism." *Socio-Economic Review* 21(2):1007-1034. https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwac026

**Björn Bremer** and Reto Bürgisser. 2023. "Public opinion on welfare state recalibration in times of austerity: Evidence from survey experiments." *Political Science Research and Methods* 11(1):34-52. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2021.78

**Björn Bremer** and Reto Bürgisser. 2023. "Do citizens care about government debt? Evidence from survey experiments on budgetary trade-offs and priorities." *European Journal of Political Research* 62(1):239-263. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12505

**Björn Bremer** and Marius Busemeyer. 2022. "Fiscal policy preferences, trade-offs, and support for social investment." *Journal of Public Policy* 42(4):684-704. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X22000095

Abel Bojar, **Björn Bremer**, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Chendi Wang. 2022. "The effect of austerity packages on government popularity during the Great Recession." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(1):181-199. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123420000472

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* 22(3):401-423. https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165211004772

**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-reviewed):

**Björn Bremer**. 2024. "The electoral consequences of centrist policies: Fiscal consolidations and the fate of social democratic parties." In Silja Häusermann and Herbert Kitschelt (eds.), Beyond Social Democracy: The Transformation of the Left in Emerging Knowledge Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Björn Bremer**. 2023. "Social democracy." In Neil Carter, Dan Keith, Gyda Sindre, and Sofia Vasilopoulou (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*. London: Routledge.

**Björn Bremer**. 2022. "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:

**Björn Bremer**, Jane Gingrich, and Hanna Schwander. 2024. "Introduction: The political viability of climate policies". *PPRNet Research Brief*.

**Björn Bremer**. 2024. "Why social democratic parties do not benefit from orthodox fiscal policies." *PPRNet Research Brief*.

Hanna Schwander and **Björn Bremer**. 2024. "Why the rise of the Greens does not threaten the welfare state." *PPRNet Research Brief*.

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 (2018). *Swiss Political Science Review* 25(3):330-333. https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12368

# Other:

**Björn Bremer**, Jane Gingrich, and Hanna Schwander. 2024. "Despite 2024's 'greenlash', the fight against climate breakdown can still be won. Here's how." December 6, *The Guardian*.

**Björn Bremer** and Line Rennwald. 2023. "Waar zijn de sociaaldemocratische kiezers gebleven?" Samenleving & Politiek 30(2):34-39.

Lucio Baccaro, **Björn Bremer**, and Erik Neimanns. 2022. "Threats and solidarity in the Eurozone: How Italian and German citizens respond to information about Italexit." August 17, *LSE EUROPP Blog*.

Lucio Baccaro, **Björn Bremer**, and Erik Neimanns. 2021. "Opposition to austerity outweighs support for the euro in Italy." April 4, *LSE EUROPP Blog*.

**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 Blog.

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

## Under review:

"The local politics of social investment under fiscal constraints: The case of childcare expansion in Germany" (with Erik Neimanns, R&R). SocArXiv Preprint: https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/9yrp2

"How much do citizens care about ethnic wealth gaps? Inequality and support for financial market stabilization in times of crisis" (with Jeffrey Chwieroth and Andrew Walter). SocArXiv Preprint: https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/r75zh

"High sovereign debt and social solidarity in advanced economies?" (with Charlotte Cavaille, Lisanne de Blok, and Catherine de Vries). SocArXiv Preprint: https://osf.io/preprints/osf/jw4v6\_v1

"Do voters constrain or facilitate fiscal consolidation? Evidence from three surveys in Great Britain" (with Charlotte Cavaille, Lisanne de Blok, and Catherine de Vries)

"Taxing uber-polluters: The climate crisis and popular support for wealth taxation" (with Leo Ahrens and Lukas Hakelberg)

"Political alignment and the distribution of investment subsidies: Quasi-experimental evidence from Germany" (with Robin Hetzel)

#### Working papers:

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

Lucio Baccaro and Erik Neimanns)

"Do central bank announcements affect public opinion? Evidence from a natural experiment" (with Lucio Baccaro)

"The politics of unconventional monetary policies and its trade-offs" (with Jeffrey Chwieroth)

"Public opinion on green central banking and its trade-offs: Evidence from a survey experiment?" (with Jeffrey Chwieroth)

"Neither dissenting nor constraining: German public opinion towards European debt mutualization" (with Lucio Baccaro)

## Ongoing projects (selected):

"Whatever it takes but as little as possible? The Eurozone between Stagnation and Prospects for Reform" (book project with Luccio Baccaro)

"Are people willing to pay for the green transition? Media discourse and citizen attitudes towards green industrial policies" (with Fabio Bulfone, Reto Bürgisser, and Timo Seidl)

"The green divide: how occupational risks shape policy preferences and voting across European countries" (with Anil Duman and Elisabetta Mannoni)

"Does the left invest less than the right? Evidence from local governments in Italy"

"Is the left more profligate than the right? Partisanship and public debt revisited"

# TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Central European University, Department of Political Science, Vienna

- "Rational Choice and Collective Action", Spring 2024 (Seminar, BA level)
- "Topics in Statistical Modelling", Winter 2024 (Seminar, PhD level)
- "Economic and Political Inequality", Winter 2024 (Seminar, MA level)
- "Political Economy", Fall 2023 (Seminar, MA level)
- "Basics in Quantitative Research", Fall 2023 (Seminar, MA level)

University of Cologne, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, Cologne

- "Economic and Political 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

CIVICA Research Project (CEU part with Anil Duman and Elisabetta Mannoni): €16,000 (2024)

Research Excellence Fund, Central European University: €20,000 (2024)

John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellowship, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University: \$65,000 (2023/24, deferred to 2024/25)

DAAD Conference Scholarship, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD): €2,200 (2023)

Conference funding, Max Planck Society (with Benjamin Braun): €20,000 (2022)

Best Paper Award, ECPR General Conference, Standing Group on Public Opinion and Political Behaviour (with Maurits Meijers, Theresa Kuhn, and Francesco Nicoli, 2022)

PPE Young Scholars Award, University Witten/Herdecke, PPE Institute for Institutional and Social Change (2022)

Conference funding, Fritz Thyssen Foundation (with Lea Elsässer and Thomas Rixen): €7,800 (2022)

LSE Research Support Fund and Systemic Risk Centre (with Jeffrey Chwieroth and Andrew Walter): €18,000 (2021)

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

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

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

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

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

PhD Grant, European University Institute (2017-2018)

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)

Graduate scholarship of Johns Hopkins University, SAIS (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 a cademic performance (2010/11)

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

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

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

# Workshop Presentations / Invited Talks

Yale University, April 2025

McGill University, April 2025

Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, March 2024

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 2024

Harvard University, Center for European Studies, November 2024

Virtual Seminar of the Political Studies Associations' (PSA) British and Comparative Political Economy Specialist Group (BCPE), June 2024

University of Konstanz, June 2024

NOVA University of Lisbon, June 2024

WU Vienna, May 2024

University of Edinburgh, April 2024

University of Vienna, March 2024

King's College London, February 2024

Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, November 2023

EPG Conference Glasgow, July 2023

European Central Bank, June 2023

European University Institute, May 2023

University Witten/Herdecke, May 2023

University College London, April 2023

Friedrich Ebert Foundation Berlin, March 2023

Leiden University, February 2023

University of Zurich, January 2023

NOVA University Lisbon, June 2022

University of Cologne, January 2023

University of Zurich, September 2022 (online)

University of Cologne, September 2022

"Wissenschaft im Rathaus", Cologne, June 2022

University College London, May 2022

University of Konstanz, International Studies Seminar Series, January 2022 (online)

European Politics Online Workshop (EuroPOW), November 2021

Sciences Po Paris, September 2021

Vrije Universiteit Brussel, June 2021 (online)

Manchester Metropolitan University, December 2020 (online)

European Politics Online Workshop (EuroPOW), September 2020

Amsterdam Centre for European Studies, University of Amsterdam, November 2019

Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, September 2019

European Governance Colloquium, Hertie School of Governance, February 2019

Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin, November 2019

Summer School on Economics and Society, European University Institute, July 2018

University of Konstanz, January 2018

Political Behaviour Group in Berlin & Brandenburg, Humbolt University, November 2017

Workshop on "Rethinking Germany's Political Economy", San Francisco, August 2017

Sciences Po Paris, March 2017

LSE Political Economy Seminar, London School of Economics, November 2016

## Conference Presentations

APSA Annual Meeting: 2016, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2024

CES Conference: 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023

Dreiländertagung: 2019

DVPW General Conference: 2021 ECPR General Conference: 2018

ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops: 2017, 2020

 $EPSA\ Conference:\ 2016,\ 2021,\ 2022,\ 2023$ 

EUSA Conference: 2022 IMEBESS Meeting: 2018 MPSA Conference: 2018

SASE Conference: 2020, 2021, 2022

# ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE

Co-founder and executive board member of the Political Economy Section, Austrian Political

Science Association (2024-)

Co-founder and core team member of the Progressive Politics Research Network (PPRNet) (2023-)

Executive board member of the Political Economy Section, German Political Science Association (DVPW) (2021-)

Co-organizer, Max Planck Summer School for Women in Political Economy (Sept. 2023)

Co-organizer, The Politics of Central Banking, Workshop, MPIfG (May 2023)

Internal Scientific Staff Representative, MPIfG (2022-2023)

Co-organizer, Max Planck Online Workshop in Comparative Political Economy (MAX CPE) (2021-2023)

Co-organizer, The Politics of Macroeconomic Policies, Workshop, MPIfG (Jan. 2021)

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

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

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

Co-organizer, Distinguished Speaker Series on Europe and the Arab Spring, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS (2013)

### PEER REVIEWER

American Journal of Political Research; American Journal of Political Science; British Journal of Political Science; Comparative European Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Empirica; European Journal of Political Research; European Journal of Sociology; European Research Council; European Political Science; European Political Science Review; European Sociological Review; European Union Politics; Government and Opposition; International Organization; Journal of Common Market Studies; Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties; Journal of European Social Policy; Journal of European Public Policy; Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy; Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Policy; Kyklos; New Political Economy; NORFCAE; Oxford University Press; Palgrave MacMillan; Party Politics; Political Behavior; Political Studies; Political Research Quarterly; Politische Vierteljahresschrift; Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences; Review of International Political Economy; Routledge; Socio-Economic Review; Swiss Political Science Review; West European Politics; World Politics

#### 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 Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics