# Björn Bremer

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CURRENT POSITION	<ul><li>Central European University, Department of</li><li>Assistant Professor</li></ul>	Political Science, Vienna	since 2023
Previous Positions	Max Planck Institute for the Study of Socie • Senior Researcher in Comparative and Interna		2019 - 2023
	<ul><li>University of Cologne, Cologne</li><li>Teaching Associate, Cologne Center for Comparison</li></ul>	arative Politics	2020 - 2022
	<ul><li>European University Institute, Florence</li><li>Doctoral Researcher, POLCON Project</li></ul>		2014 - 2019
	<ul><li>Hertie School of Governance, Berlin</li><li>Visiting Fellow, Jacques Delors Institute</li></ul>		2018 - 2019
	<ul><li><b>University of Lucerne</b>, Lucerne</li><li>Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science</li></ul>	nce	2018
	<ul><li>London School of Economics and Political S</li><li>Visiting PhD Student, European Institute</li></ul>	Science, London	2016
	<ul><li>WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Berlin</li><li>Visiting Researcher</li></ul>		2016
Education	<ul> <li>European University Institute, Florence</li> <li>PhD in Political and Social Sciences <ul> <li>Committee members: Hanspeter Kriesi (surface)</li> <li>Herbert Kitschelt, and Jonas Pontusson</li> <li>Awarded the Linz-Rokkan Prize in Political</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	- ,	2019
	Master of Research in Political and Social Scie		2015
	Johns Hopkins University, School of Advan Washington, DC	ced International Studies,	
	<ul> <li>Master of Arts in International Relations and</li> <li>Graduated with Honors (GPA: 3.94)</li> </ul>	International Economics	2014
	<ul> <li>University of Oxford, St Edmund Hall, Oxfo</li> <li>Bachelor of Arts in Politics, Philosophy, and E</li> <li>Graduated with a First Class Honours Department</li> </ul>	Conomics (PPE)	2012
	<ul><li><b>UWC Atlantic College</b>, Llantwit Major</li><li>International Baccalaureate (IB)</li></ul>		2009
PUBLICATIONS	Monograph (peer-reviewed):		<b>YI I 6</b> · <b>I</b>

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

Articles (peer-reviewed):

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

Lucio Baccaro, Björn Bremer, and Erik Neimanns. 2024. "Preferences for growth strategies in advanced democracies: A new 'representation gap'?" *European Journal of Political Research*, forthcoming.

Franceso 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*, online first. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2319346.

Björn Bremer, Theresa Kuhn, Maurits Meijers, and Francesco Nicoli. 2023. "In this together? Support for European fiscal integration in the COVID-19 crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy*. Online first. 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. Forthcoming. "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. 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 threathen 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 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.

#### Under review:

WORK IN

Progress

"Partisan cueing and preferences for international cooperation" (with Maurits Meijers, Theresa Kuhn, and Francesco Nicoli). SocArXiv: https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/bmf5e

"Much ado about debt? Understanding how people reason about debt sustainability and fiscal policy" (with Charlotte Cavaille, Lisanne de Blok, and Catherine de Vries)

### Working papers:

"Party favoritism and local public investment: Quasi-experimental evidence from Germany" (with Robin Hetzel)

"Do citizens care about ethnic wealth gaps? Inequality and support for financial market stabilization in times of crises" (with Jeffrey Chwieroth and Andrew Walter)

"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)

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

"The local politics of social investment under fiscal constraints: The case of childcare expansion in Germany" (with Erik Neimanns)

	Ongoing projects (selected): "Whatever it takes but as little as possible? Political challenges of reforming the euro after	
	Covid-19" (book project with Luccio Baccaro) "Neither dissenting nor constraining: German public opinion towards European debt mutual- ization" (with Lucio Baccaro)	
	"Taxing uber-polluters: The climate crisis and popular support for wealth taxation " (with Leo Arens and Lukas Hakelberg)	
	"Do fiscal consolidations harm public investment? Evidence from a quasi-experiment in Ger- many"	
	"Is the left more profligate than the right? Partisanship and public debt revisited"	
	"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)	
Teaching Experience	Central European University, Department of Political Science, Vienna	
	<ul> <li>"Rational Choice and Collective Action", Spring 2024 (Seminar, BA level)</li> <li>"Topics in Statistical Modelling", Winter 2024 (Seminar, PhD level)</li> <li>"Economic and Political Inequality", Winter 2024 (Seminar, MA level)</li> <li>"Political Economy", Fall 2023 (Seminar, MA level)</li> <li>"Basics in Quantitative Research", Fall 2023 (Seminar, MA level)</li> </ul>	
	University of Cologne, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, Cologne	
	<ul> <li>"Economic and Political Inequality", Fall 2021 (Seminar, MA level)</li> <li>"Democratic Theory and Practice", Spring 2021 (Lecture, MA level)</li> <li>"The Politics of Macroeconomic Policies", Spring 2020 (Seminar, BA level)</li> </ul>	
	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)	
	<ul><li>Noonkodin Secondary School, Monduli, Tanzania</li><li>Politics and History Teacher, 2010</li></ul>	
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:	
	<ul> <li>Analysing Big Data, July/August 2015 (Chris P. Fariss)</li> <li>Mathematics for Social Scientists, July/August 2015 (Christopher Saker, Dan Brawn)</li> <li>Lifewhat Summer School, July 2015</li> </ul>	
	Other workshops:	
	<ul> <li>Machine Learning, May 2017 (Slava Mikhaylov)</li> <li>Introduction to Multi-Level Modeling, April 2016 (Héctor Cebolla Boado)</li> <li>Visualizing Data and Statistical Models, March 2016 (Richard Traunmüller)</li> <li>Introduction to Panel Data Analysis, May 2015 (Martin Ehlert)</li> <li>Structural Equation Models, April 2015 (Tenko Raykov)</li> <li>Innovations in Quantitative Content Analysis, February 2015 (Swen Hutter, Wouter van Attefeldt, Peter Makarov)</li> <li>Categorical Data Analysis, January - March 2015 (Hannes Kröger)</li> </ul>	
Awards, Grants, and Scholarships	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):  $\in 18,000$  (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 academic 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) 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 EPC Conference Glasgow, July 2023 European Central Bank, June 2023 European University Institute, May 2023 University Witten/Herdecke, May 2023 University Collge 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

WORKSHOP

PRESENTATIONS /

INVITED TALKS

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
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Conference Presentations	APSA Annual Meeting: 2016, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2024
I RESENTATIONS	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 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; British Journal of Political Science; Comparative European Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Empirica; European Journal of Political Research; European Journal of Sociology; 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; New Political Economy; Political Behavior; Political Studies; Party Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences; Review of International Political Economy; 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