

# Dr. Max Heermann

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## Research Interests

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European integration, International solidarity, Internet governance, Regulatory politics

## Current Positions

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**Cluster of Excellence The Politics of Inequality, University of Konstanz**  
*Project: CONSOLI - Conditions of International Solidarity* 10/2022 -  
**University of Konstanz**  
*Research Fellow, Chair of Political Science & International Politics* 10/2016 -

## Previous Positions

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**University of Konstanz**  
*Horizon 2020 Project: EU3D - Differentiation, Dominance, Democracy* 10/2020 - 09/2022  
**Rathenau Institute, Den Haag**  
*Trainée, Technology Assessment* 03/2016 - 06/2016  
**Landesvertretung Baden-Württemberg beim Bund, Berlin**  
*Intern* 03/2013 - 08/2013

## Education

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**University of Konstanz**  
*PhD in Political Science (Dr.rer.soc.)* 10/2016 - 03/2024  
**Utrecht University**  
*MSc in European Governance* 09/2015 - 07/2016  
**University of Konstanz**  
*MA in Comparative Politics and Public Policy Analysis* 10/2014 - 09/2016  
**University of Konstanz**  
*BA in Politics and Public Administration* 10/2011 - 09/2014  
**Jagiellonian University Kraków**  
*Visiting student* 09/2013 - 02/2014

## Academic Publications

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### Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles.....

- De Blok, L., Heermann, M., Schuessler, J., De Vries, C. E., & Leuffen, D. (2024).** All on Board? The Role of Institutional Design for Public Support for Differentiated Integration *European Union Politics*, 0(0), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165241246384>
- Heermann, M., Leuffen, D., & Schuessler, J. (2024).** Differentiation, Dominance and Fairness in the European Union: Bringing in the Citizens' Perspective. *European Journal of Political Research*, 0(0), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12672>
- Heermann, M. (2024).** Civil Liberties or Economic Freedom? The Political Space of Internet Policy in the European Parliament, 1999-2014. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(5), 1368-1395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2175019>
- Heermann, M. (2023).** Undermining Lobbying Coalitions: The Interest Group Politics of EU Copyright Reform. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 0(0), 1-29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2249948>
- Heermann, M., Koos, S. & Leuffen, D. (2023).** Who Deserves European Solidarity? How Recipient Characteristics Shape Public Support for International Medical and Financial Aid during COVID-19. *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 629-651. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123422000357>
- Heermann, M., Leuffen, D., Tigges, F. (2023).** Change to Stay the Same? German European Preference Formation During the COVID-19 Crisis. *German Politics*, 0(0), 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2023.2189701>
- Leuffen, D., Mounchid, P., Heermann, M., & Koos, S. (2023).** Mobilizing Domestic Support for International Vaccine Solidarity: Recommendations for Health Crisis Communication. *npj Vaccines*, 8(28). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41541-023-00625-x>
- Schuessler, J., Heermann, M., Leuffen, D., De Blok, L., & De Vries, C. E. (2023).** Mapping Public Support for the Varieties of Differentiated Integration. *European Union Politics*, 24(1), 164-183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165221127633>
- Heermann, M. & Leuffen, D. (2020.)** No Representation without Integration! Why Differentiated Integration Challenges the Composition of the European Parliament. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 58(4): 1016-1033. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13015>
- ### Chapters in Edited Volumes.....
- Heermann, M., & Leuffen, D. (2024).** No Solidarity without Norm Conformity: Democratic Backsliding Reduces Solidarity and Increases the Desire for Punishment amongst EU Citizens. In: Batora, J., & Fossum, J.E. (eds). *Differentiation and Dominance in Europe's Poly-Crises*. London: Routledge. *Forthcoming*.

**Heermann, M., Leuffen, D., Tigges, F., & Mounchid, P. (2022).** Nur wer sich ändert, bleibt sich treu? Die Europapolitik der Regierung Merkel IV. In: Zohlnhöfer, R., Engler, F. (eds.) *Das Ende der Merkel-Jahre*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-38002-1\\_18](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-38002-1_18)

## Work in Progress

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### Working Papers.....

**Steinecke, D., & Heermann, M.** Westlothians in the European Parliament? An Analysis of Voting Behaviour in the Case of Differentiated Secondary Legislation (*R&R at Swiss Political Science Review*)

**Heermann, M.** Of Activists and Platforms: Digital Rights Activism, Business Power and Political Alignments in the Digital Economy

**Heermann, M., Baute, S. & Leuffen, D.** Community Norm Violations, Solidarity and European Integration: Does Democratic Backsliding in Member States Undermine Support for Public Goods Provision in the EU?

### Work in Progress.....

Perceived Interdependence and Public Support for International Solidarity (*with Sharon Baute & Dirk Leuffen - pre-analysis plan available*)

Coming to the Rescue - How Exposure to Climate Change Risk Affects Support for International Cooperation in Europe (*with Lisanne de Blok, Catherine de Vries, Julian Schuessler, & Dirk Leuffen - pre-analysis plan available*)

## Public Writing & Policy Contributions

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**Heermann, M.** The Interest Group Politics of Online Content Regulation. *EUROPP: LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*, 29/08/2023.

**Heermann, M. & Leuffen, D.** To Differentiate or not to Differentiate: Public Opinion on Differentiated Integration in the European Union. *EU3D Policy Brief*, 30/03/2023.

**Baute, S., Heermann, M. & Leuffen, D.** European Solidarity and the Politics of Blame and Reciprocity. *Green European Journal*, 11/10/2022 (*Republished in the 'Progressive Governance Summit 2022' reader*).

**Heermann, M., Koos, S. & Leuffen, D.** Weniger Rechtsstaat - weniger Hilfe: Die Erosion der Demokratie belastet die europäische Solidarität. *In\_Equality Magazine* No. 3, pp. 48-51, 04/2022 (*English version*).

**Heermann, M.** Haftung oder Dezentralisierung? Der Digital Services Act und die Zukunft des Internets. *EURACTIV*, 23/10/2020.

**Heermann, M.** To Strengthen Democratic Legitimacy in a Differentiated EU, Turn to Transnational Lists. *Future of Europe Blog*, 18/09/2020.

## Teaching

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### University of Konstanz.....

**2020:** Market Power Europe: Is the EU a Global Regulator?, *advanced undergraduate seminar*

**2019:** Supranationale Politik im Europäischen Parlament, *advanced undergraduate seminar*

**2017:** Supranationale Politik im Europäischen Parlament, *advanced undergraduate seminar*

**2016:** Das Europäische Parlament, *undergraduate seminar*

### Salem Kolleg.....

**2019:** Internationale Politik, *lecture* (with Thomas Malang)

**2018:** Internationale Politik, *lecture* (with Thomas Malang)

## Professional Activities

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### Organizer.....

**University of Konstanz, since 04/2019:** Co-Organizer of a weekly ‘brown bag’ colloquium for doctoral and postdoctoral researchers

### Peer Reviewing.....

European Journal of Political Research, European Union Politics, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, Publius: The Journal of Federalism.

### Academic Conferences & Workshops.....

ECPR General Conference Dublin, 2024; EPSA Cologne, 2024; ECPR SG EU Conference Lisbon, 2024; CES Conference Reykjavík, 2023; DVPW Sektionstagung IB Friedrichshafen, 2023; EU3D Concluding Conference Kraków, 2023; Digital Democracy Workshop Zürich, 2022; ECPR SG EU Conference Rome, 2022; EUSA Conference Miami, 2022; Digital Sovereignty Workshop Vienna, 2022; ECPR General Conference (virtual), 2021; Digital Democracy Workshop Zürich, 2020; ECPR SG Parliaments Workshop Konstanz, 2019; Politicologenetmaal: Annual Political Science Workshops of the Low Countries Antwerp, 2019

### Additional Training.....

ECPR SG Interest Groups Summer School, 2021

## Languages & Skills

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**Languages:** German (native), English (proficient), French (intermediate, B2)

**Data Science:** R, Stata

## References

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**Dirk Leuffen**

Professor of Political Science/International Politics  
Department of Politics and Public Administration  
University of Konstanz

**Christina Zuber**

Professor of German Politics  
Department of Politics and Public Administration  
University of Konstanz

**Sebastian Koos**

Professor in Sociology with a Focus on Social Movements  
Department of History and Sociology  
University of Konstanz

**John Erik Fossum**

Professor of Political Science  
ARENA Centre for European Studies  
University of Oslo

Last updated: Konstanz, 24 April 2024