

# CURRICULUM VITAE

## SANDRA KRÖGER

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Associate Professor

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### RESEARCH INTERESTS

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European integration theory, EU politics, democratic theory, representation, digital democracy, ethics in politics, Smartphones and wellbeing

### EDUCATION

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2017: Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (UK)

2004-2007: PhD Student, Georg-August University Göttingen. Dissertation topic: 'Does soft governance increase the effectiveness and the legitimacy of European anti-poverty policy? The Open Method of Coordination Inclusion in France and Germany' (defended February 2008, 'magna cum laude'). Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Ilona Ostner and Prof. Dr. Claus Offe

1999-2001: Interdisciplinary France Studies at the France Centre of the Albert-Ludwigs University Freiburg. Subject of Diplom: 'Le rôle de l'axe franco-allemande dans le processus de l'intégration européenne depuis 1989' ('very good')

1995-1996: Paris VIII

1992-1998: Social Sciences, Humboldt University Berlin. Subject of Diplom: 'Partizipation und Assoziation: Zur Einbindung der Franco-Magrebiner in das französische Vereinsleben' ('very good'). Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Claus Offe

1982-1990: Collège Français de Berlin

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

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08/21 – : Associate Professor, University of Exeter

09/18-8/19: Robert Schuman Fellow, European University Institute, Florence

09/16 – : Senior Lecturer, Politics Department, University of Exeter

10/13 – 04/14: Fellow at the Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg Delmenhorst (Germany)

09/13 – 09/16: Lecturer, Politics Department, University of Exeter

09/11 – 08/13: Marie Curie fellow, Politics Department, University of Exeter

08/2010 – Associated researcher at the European Social Observatory (OSE), Brussels

09/2009 – 03/2011: Project partner in the EU-project 'Assessing the effectiveness and the impact of the Social OMC in preparation of the new cycle', VC/2009/0880, coordinated by the Public Policy and Management Institute, Vilnius

04/2009 – 08/2010: Project partner in the Jean Monnet Multilateral Research Group 'European Economic and Social Constitutionalism after the Treaty of Lisbon – an Interdisciplinary

Perspective', European Commission Lifelong Learning Programme, coordinated by Dagmar Schiek, University of Leeds

10/2008 – 8/2011: Lecturer, Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (CEuS), Dept. of political sciences, University of Bremen

05/2008-09/2008: Postdoctoral researcher, Institute for European Integration Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

02/2008-05/2008: Project cooperation with Prof. Dr. Beate Kohler-Koch, working unit 'The political systems of Europe and their integration', Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES)

2006-2008: Teaching fellow in European social policy and European integration theory, Institute of Social Sciences, Humboldt University Berlin

2006: Teaching fellow in European Social Policy, Department of Sociology, Georg-August University Göttingen

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### Monographs

- Bellamy, B., Kröger, S., and Lorimer, M. (2022) *Flexible Europe. Differentiated integration, fairness and democracy*. Bristol Policy Press.
- Kröger, S. (2016) *Europeanised or European? Representation by Civil Society Organizations in EU policy-making*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Kröger, S. (2008) *Soft governance in hard politics. European coordination of anti-poverty policies in France and Germany*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

### Edited Volumes

- Kröger, S. and Patberg, M. (eds.) (2021) *Democratic Challenges of Differentiated (Dis)Integration. Normative Foundations and Implementation*. Special issue with the *Swiss Political Science Review*, 27(3).
- Kröger, S. and Bellamy, R. (eds.) (2016) *National Parliaments and the Politicization of European Integration*. Special issue with *Comparative European Politics* 14(2).
- Kröger, S. (ed.) (2014) *Political Representation in the European Union: Still Democratic in Times of Crisis?* London: Routledge.
- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (eds.) (2013) *Representation and Democracy in the EU: Does one come at the expense of the other?* Special issue with the *Journal of European Integration* 35 (5). (Also appeared as book with Routledge)
- Kröger, S. and Friedrich, D. (eds.) (2013) *The representative turn in EU studies*. Special issue with the *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (2). (Also appeared as book with Routledge)
- Kröger, S. and Friedrich, D. (eds.) (2012) *Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?* Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills.
- Kröger, S. (ed.) (2009) *What we have learnt: Advances, pitfalls and remaining questions of OMC research*. Special issue with *European Integration Online Papers*, special issue 1 (13).
- Fischer, R., Karrass, A. und Kröger, S. (eds.) (2007) *Die Europäische Kommission und die Zukunft der EU: Ideenfabrik zwischen europäischem Auftrag und nationalen Interessen*. Budrich: Opladen.

## Articles

- Bellamy, R., Kröger, S., and Lorimer, M. (2022) Party views on Democratic Backsliding and Differentiated Integration. *East European Politics and Societies*, forthcoming, 10.1177/08883254221096168
- Kröger, S. and Loughran, T. (2022) The risks and benefits of differentiated integration as perceived By academic experts. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(3), 702-720.
- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2022) Differentiated Integration as a Fair Scheme of Cooperation. *Review of Social Economy*, [doi.org/10.1080/00346764.2021.1968477](https://doi.org/10.1080/00346764.2021.1968477).
- Bellamy, R., Kröger, S., and Lorimer, M. (2021) Party Views on Differentiated Integration. *Comparative European Politics*, 19(5), 622-641.
- Hansson, S. and Kröger, S. (2021) How a lack of truthfulness can undermine democratic representation: The case of post-referendum Brexit discourses. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(4), 609-626.
- Kröger, S. and Patberg, M. (2021) Introduction: Democratic Challenges of Differentiated Integration. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 27(3), 539-545.
- Kröger, S., Lorimer, M. and Bellamy, R. (2021) The Democratic Dilemmas of Differentiated Integration: The Views of Political Party Actors. *Swiss Political Science Review* 27(3), 563-581.
- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2021) Countering Democratic Backsliding by EU Member States: Constitutional Pluralism and ‘Value’ Differentiated Integration. *Swiss Political Science Review* 27(3), 619-636.
- Kröger, S. (2019) How limited representativeness weakens throughput legitimacy in the EU: The example of interest groups, *Public Administration*, 97(4), 770-783.
- Kröger, S. (2019) The democratic legitimacy of the British EU membership referendum, *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 15(3), 284-298.
- Kröger, S. (2018) Strategic or principled? The engagement of civil society organisations with the EU, *Journal of Civil Society*, 14(1), 41-57.
- Kröger, S. (2018) The Europeanisation of interest groups: Beyond Access, Fit and Resources, *Journal of European Integration*, 40(1), 17-31.
- Kröger, S. (2018) Realising the potential of EU simulations – Practical guidance for beginners, *European political science*, 17(1), 161-175.
- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2017) A demoi-cratic justification of differentiated integration in a heterogeneous EU, *Journal of European Integration*, 39(5), 625-639.
- Bellamy, B. and Kröger, S. (2016) The politicization of European integration: National Parliaments and the democratic disconnect. *Comparative European Politics*, 14(2), 125-130.
- Kröger, S. and Bellamy, R. (2016) Beyond a Constraining Dissensus: The Role of National Parliaments in domesticating and normalising the politicization of European integration, *Comparative European Politics*, 14(2), 131-153.
- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2014) Domesticating the Democratic Deficit? The Role of National Parliaments and Parties in the EU’s System of Governance, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67(2), 437-457.

- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2013) The Representation Deficits and Surpluses in EU Policy-Making, *Journal of European Integration*, 35(5), 477-497.
- Kröger, S. (2013) Creating a European demos? The representativeness of European umbrella organizations, *Journal of European Integration* 35(5), 583-600.
- Kröger, S. and Friedrich, D. (2013) The representative turn in EU studies, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(2), 155-170.
- Kröger, S. and Friedrich, D. (2013) Democratic representation in the EU: Two kinds of subjectivity, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(2), 171-189.
- Kröger, S. (2010) Die Offene Methode der Koordinierung: Zehn Jahre später und (k)ein bisschen weiser? In: Sesselmeier, W. (Hg.) Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines europäischen Sozialstaats, Sonderheft *Zeitschrift für sozialen Fortschritt*, 59(5), 134-141.
- Kröger, S. (2009) The Open Method of Coordination: Underconceptualisation, overdetermination, depoliticisation and beyond. In: Kröger, S. (ed.) What we have learnt: Advances, pitfalls and remaining questions in OMC research. *European Integration online Papers*, Special issue 1 (13).
- Kröger, S. (2009) The effectiveness of soft governance in the field of European anti-poverty policy: Operationalisation and empirical evidence. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 11(2), 197-211.
- Kröger, S. (2007) The end of democracy as we know it? The legitimacy deficits of bureaucratic social policy governance. *Journal of European Integration*, 29(5), 565-582.
- Kröger, S. (2006) When Learning Hits Politics Or: Social Policy Coordination Left to the Administrations and the NGOs? *European Integration online Papers* 10(3).
- Kröger, S. (2002) Gesellschaftliche Voraussetzungen gelingender Beteiligungsstrategien. *Jugend, Beruf, Gesellschaft*, 53(2-3), 71-77.

#### Book chapters

- Kröger, S. and Bellamy, R. (2017) Beyond a Constraining Dissensus: The Role of National Parliaments in domesticating and normalising the politicization of European integration. In: Bellamy, R. and Lacey, J. (eds.) *Political Theory and the EU*, Oxon: Routledge, 321-346.
- Kröger, S. (2015) Democratic representation as the normative and organizing principle of the EU. In: Piattoni, S. (ed.) *The European Union: Institutional Architectures and Democratic Principles in Times of Crisis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 112-136.
- Kröger, S. (2015) Political Representation and Democracy in Europe. In: Mazey, S. and Richardson, J. (eds.) *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition, London: Routledge, 467-492.
- Kröger, S. (2014) The search for democratic representation in times of crisis. In: Kröger, S. (ed.) *Political Representation in the European Union: Still Democratic in Times of Crisis?* London: Routledge, 1-16.
- Kröger, S. (2014) The involvement of the constituencies of European umbrella organizations in EU affairs. In: Kröger, S. (ed.) *Political Representation in the European Union: Still Democratic in Times of Crisis?* London: Routledge, 143-160.

- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2012) Europe hits home – The domestic deficits of representative democracy in EU affairs. In: Evas, T., Liebert, U. and C. Lord (eds.) *Multilayer Representation in the European. Parliaments, Courts, Civil Society and the Public Sphere*. Nomos: Baden-Baden, 41-58.
- Kröger, S. and Friedrich, D. (2012) Representation in the EU: The second transformation. In: Kröger, S. and D. Friedrich (eds.) *Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?* Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, 3-20.
- Kröger, S. (2012) Democracy promoter or interest defender? How the European Commission influences non-electoral representation by civil society organizations. In: Kröger, S. and D. Friedrich (eds.). *Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?* Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, 226-240.
- Friedrich, D. and Kröger, S. (2012) Transformation as differentiation. The diversity of representation in the European Union. In: Kröger, S. and D. Friedrich (eds.). *Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?* Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, 259-273.
- Kröger, S. (2011) Corporate social responsibility: A means of reconciling economic and social integration in the EU? In: Schiek, D., Liebert, U. and H. Schneider (eds.) *European Economic and Social Constitutionalism after the Treaty of Lisbon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 225-250.
- Kröger, S. (2011) Politische Steuerung durch quantifizierte Ziele und Benchmarking? In: Deutsche Rentenversicherung Bund (Hg.) *Renten in Europa. Die Offene Methode der Koordinierung im Bereich Alterssicherung - Bilanz und Perspektiven*, Internationale Tagung am 6. und 7. Mai 2010 in Berlin, DRV-Schriften: Bd. 92, Sonderausgabe der DRV, 88-96.
- Kröger, S. (2010) Politische Steuerung als Benchmarking? Sinn und Unsinn quantifizierter Ziele. In: *Gesellschaft für Versicherungswissenschaft und –gestaltung e.V. (Hg.) EU-Gesundheitspolitik im nicht-harmonisierten Bereich: Aktuelle Entwicklungen der Offenen Methode der Koordinierung*. Bonn: Nanos, 111-126.
- Kröger, S. (2007) Die Europäische Kommission im Spiegel ihrer Zeit. In: Fischer, R., Karrass, A. und S. Kröger (Hg.), *Die Europäische Kommission und die Zukunft der EU: Ideenfabrik zwischen europäischem Auftrag und nationalen Interessen*. Budrich: Opladen, 327-342.
- Kröger, S. (2007) Mittendrin und doch außen vor? Die Armutspolitik der Europäischen Kommission (1975-2006). In: Fischer, R., Karrass, A. und S. Kröger (Hg.), *Die Europäische Kommission und die Zukunft der EU: Ideenfabrik zwischen europäischem Auftrag und nationalen Interessen*. Budrich: Opladen, 251-273.

### Reports

- Kröger, S. (2022) ‘Current challenges for democracy in the EU’. Expertise commissioned by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany, February 2022, 15 pp.
- Kröger, S. (2019) ‘Financial stability and independence’, in: European Centre of Expertise, 2019. *Strengthening the involvement of civil society in the European Semester*. Summary Report. Brussels: European Commission, pp. 24-28.

## Blogs and Policy Papers

- Kröger, S. and Loughran, T. (2022) The risks and benefits of differentiated integration in the EU as perceived by academic experts, The Loop, ecpr blog, <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/the-benefits-and-risks-for-the-eu-of-differentiated-integration/>, February 2022
- Bellamy, R., Kröger, S., and Lorimer, M. (2022) Flexible Europe, LSE Europe blog, February 2022, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2022/02/11/flexible-europe-differentiated-integration-fairness-and-democracy/>
- Bellamy, R., Kröger, S., and Lorimer, M. (2021) Normative Foundations and Political Party Views of Differentiated Integration. Policy Brief, July 2021.
- Kröger, S., Lorimer, M. and Bellamy, R. (2021) Is differentiated integration democratic? The views of political party actors, LSE Europe blog, May 2021, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2021/05/07/is-differentiated-integration-democratic-taking-stock-of-the-views-of-political-party-actors/>
- Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2021) Countering Democratic Backsliding by EU Member States, LSE Europe blog, April 2021, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2021/04/22/how-the-eu-can-counter-democratic-backsliding-in-its-member-states/>
- Hansson, S. And Kröger, S. (2021), Untruthful Brexit rhetoric has undermined representative democracy in the UK, LSE Brexit blog, 9 February 2021, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2021/02/09/untruthful-brexit-rhetoric-has-undermined-representative-democracy-in-the-uk/>
- Kröger, S. (2019) The legitimacy of the Brexit referendum and what we can learn from it. Social Europe, *Brexit Paper Series*, No. 3, January 2019, 14 p.
- Kröger, S. (2019) Should there be another Brexit-referendum? Risks and opportunities, *Policy Paper*, 18.1.2019, Jacques Delors Institute Berlin, 14 p.
- Kröger, S. (2015) Why national parliaments in the EU should be empowered, E-International Relations:  
<http://www.e-ir.info/2015/06/26/why-national-parliaments-in-the-eu-should-be-empowered/>  
reblogged at:  
<http://britain-europe.com/2015/10/09/why-national-parliaments-in-the-eu-should-be-empowered/>

## **GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS**

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- 2021: Associate Dean of Research Fund, University of Exeter, for the project ‘The UK – a case of democratic backsliding?’ (£2000)
- 2021: European Network Fund, University of Exeter, for the project ‘Regulating Digital Democracy’ (£8500)
- 2021: One research intern, University of Exeter (£745.50)
- 2021: One research assistant, University of Exeter (£600)
- 2020: Two research interns, University of Exeter (£1094.10)
- 2020-2022: H2020 project ‘Differentiation: Clustering Excellence’ (90.000 Euro)
- 2019-2021: H2020 project ‘Integrating Diversity in the European Union’, consortium led by the EUI, Florence, WP1 leader (on ‘Philosophical foundations of legitimate differentiated integration’) (106.000 Euro)

2018-2019: Robert Schuman fellowship at the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute, Florence, 12 months (35.193 Euro)

2016: SSIS Strategic Discretionary Research Fund, University of Exeter, for the project 'Differentiated integration in the European Union: What are actors' views?' (£3300)

2016: Award for Outstanding Research on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe in the category journal article from PADEMIA (Erasmus network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe). The prize was awarded to the article titled 'Beyond a constraining dissensus: The role of national parliaments in domesticating and normalising the politicization of European integration', *Comparative European Politics*, 2016, 14(2), pp.131-153.

2016: Runner-up for the category 'innovative teaching' at the teaching awards of the University of Exeter.

2013/14: Fellowship at the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, 7 months (£19,771).

2011: Conference 'New trends in political representation in the EU – still democratic?', Jean Monnet Action, Life Long Learning Programme, 24-26 May 2012, University of Exeter (39.538 Euro)

2011: Travel grants for conferences (643 Euro by the DAAD, 687 Euro by the University of Bremen)

2011: Marie Curie Fellowship, Department of politics, University of Exeter, England (192.850 Euro), September 2011-August 2013

2010: Workshop 'Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy', Fritz-Thyssen Stiftung (8.000 Euro), jointly with Dawid Friedrich

2008: Workshop 'The OMC within the Lisbon Strategy: Empirical assessments and theoretical implications', Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 28-30 November 2008, Vienna (10.000 Euro)

2004-2007: Fellowship of the German Science Foundation, member of the doctoral programme 'The Future of the European Social Model', Georg-August University Göttingen

2001: Best (M.A.) graduate of the year 2001, France Centre, Albert-Ludwigs University Freiburg

1999-2001: Fellowship of the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst e.V.

1994-1999: Fellowship of the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst e.V.

1989: Fourth at the German youth competition in history. Subject: 'The situation of French war prisoners in Berlin, 1939-1945'.

## **TEACHING**

### **University of Exeter (2014 – )**

BA: Democracy in the European Union, Integration and Disintegration in the European Union, Transformations of Social and Political Realities through Smartphones.

MA: Brexit: Causes, interpretation and implications.

MA + PhD: Qualitative research in social sciences (2014-2017).

### **University of Bremen (2008-2011, BA)**

Research Design, EU-policies of Western member states, Social Models of Western Europe, EU policy-making, Political systems of Western Europe.

**Hochschule Bremen (2009, MA)**

Transformations of the Nation-State: Multi-Level Governance and Democracy (jointly with Dawid Friedrich).

**Technical University Kaliningrad (2010)**

European Social Policy, Europainstitut Klaus Mehnert Kaliningrad.

**Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (2006-2008)**

BA: Poverty in the EU, European integration theory.

MA: New modes of social policy governance in the EU.

**Georg-August Universität Göttingen (2006, MA)**

MA: New trends in European social policy governance.

**ADMINISTRATION AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROFESSION**

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08/21 - : Director, Centre for European Studies (CES/), University of Exeter

08/20 - : Founder and Chair of an ECPR Research Network on Differentiated Integration in the EU

08/19 – 07/21: Postgraduate Teaching Assistant Officer for politics, University of Exeter

09/17-06/18: Organiser of the public policy cluster seminar series at University of Exeter

09/15-08/17: Academic misconduct officer for politics, University of Exeter

03/13-09/19: Convenor of the ECPR Standing Group on Representation

09/12 – 8/17: Creation and administration of a website on representation in Europe:

<http://www.representation-in-europe.net/>

2010-11: Member of the selection committee for a professor in governance and organization, University of Bremen

2010: Member of the selection committee for an assistant professor in political theory, University of Bremen

01/2009-06/2011: Member of the council of the Department of Political Science, University of Bremen

01/2009-08/2011: Member of the exam committee of the program 'European integration studies'

2005: Founder and Coordinator of an international young researcher network on European governance

Reviewer for: American Political Science Review, Comparative European Politics, Democratization, European Integration online Papers, European Journal of Political Research, European Perspectives and Society, European Political Science Review, Governance, International Theory, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Contemporary European Research, Journal of European Integration, Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford University Press, Political Studies, Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Public Administration, Representation, Zeitschrift für Sozialreform, Routledge, Swiss Review of Political Science, the British Federation of Women Graduates, Universitaet der Bundeswehr Hamburg.

May 2022