

ARENA Centre for European Studies Annual Report 2023



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Introduction

ARENA Centre for European Studies is a multidisciplinary research centre at the University of Oslo, studying the direction, dynamics and sustainability of the evolving European political order. ARENA has conducted research on political, economic, legal and social integration, transformation and cooperation in Europe since 1994. This report provides an overview of our projects, publications and events in 2023.

This year, we have concluded four research projects: Trust in Governance and Regulation in Europe (TiGRE), Post-Truth Politics (PTP), EU Foreign Policy Facing New Realities (ENTER) and EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D). In EU3D, researchers from ten partner institutions studied EU differentiation, dominance and democracy. The Horizon 2020 project was coordinated by John Erik Fossum at ARENA and came to an end in July 2023. We are proud to have delivered all promised publications and deliverables and that we received excellent feedback from our reviewers.

We have organised a range of smaller and larger events, and ARENA's researchers have participated in international conferences and outreach events. We have continued inviting scholars from across Europe and elsewhere to speak at our Tuesday seminars. Our traditional ARENA lecture was held in cooperation with the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oslo as part of the Eilert Sundt lecture series. We invited professor G. John Ikenberry to speak about the future of the liberal international order.

We are happy to congratulate Joris Melman, Martin Moland, Jan Pesi and Torbjørg Jevnaker who all successfully defended their PhD theses in 2023.

In spring 2024, the EEA Committee, appointed by the Norwegian government to assess the EEA agreement and Norway's relationship with the EU, finalised their report. ARENA successfully hosted the secretariat supporting the committee, led by Guri Rosén. In 2024, we are looking forward to celebrating ARENA's 30th anniversary, and marking 30 years of the EEA agreement, and 30 years since the last EU referendum in Norway.



Prof. Daniel Naurin

ARENA Director

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Research projects

European integration and national law: Compliance in complex institutional orders (COMPLEX)

COMPLEX studies the effects of international treaties on national law.

About

COMPLEX deals with the problem of European integration in differentiated orders. However, differentiated integration creates problems both for the democratic principle and for the rule of law principle as the recent 'NAV scandal' in Norway attests to. National agencies interpret and practice the EU's secondary laws. These agencies are double hatted: they serve their respective national ministries, and are at the same time part of the multilevel EU administration. COMPLEX investigates how this practice affects national law. In order to reach correct decisions, independent agencies must possess political literacy to heed the administrative values of accuracy, effective performance and fairness.

The project introduces three modes of incorporation: instrumental, advocatory, and conciliatory. They build on different epistemic logics and different administrative rationalities. The models give rise to distinct conjectures to how agencies practice EU law and hence, why they sometimes err. Depending on the mode of incorporation, the effects are expected to be diminutive, selective, or comprehensive, respectively.

COMPLEX will conduct a study that reveals which of the three modes of incorporation are dominant and what the legal effects are in three regulatory areas: social security, market integrity, and environmental protection. COMPLEX studies how agency representatives perceive the relative weight of potentially conflicting concerns by investigating how careful variations in regulatory scenarios are responded to.

Objectives

The primary objective of COMPLEX is to establish the effects of EU law on the practicing of national law. COMPLEX investigates whether there is context sensitive variation in interpreting and practicing EU law. What would a theory of administrative behaviour in complex settings look like?

Activities in 2023

COMPLEX held a workshop on the NAV scandal, in cooperation with RETTS (p.30).

Funding

COMPLEX is funded by the Research Council of Norway's research initiative 'Europe in Transition' (EUROPA) under the UTENRIKS Research Programme on International relations, foreign and security policy



and Norwegian interests.

Project period

1 August 2021 – 31 January 2025

Project coordinator

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

ARENA project members

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Andreas Eriksen, Alicia Nöellie Saes-Louarn, Karin Hjorthen Zelano, Martin Moland, Helene Sjørnsen.

Cooperation

Law Faculty, University of Oslo, Ingunn Ikdal

Institute for Social Research, Aksel Hatland

Law Faculty, University of Bergen, Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen

Reference group

Mads Andenas, Ingunn Ikdahl, Jarle Trondal, Helene Sjørnsen, Aksel Hatland, Eirik Holmøyvik, Lars Inge Terum, Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen.

Enforcing the rule of law: What can the European Union do to prevent rule of law deterioration from within? (ENROL)

ENROL studies what the EU and its member states can do to contain, reverse and prevent democratic backsliding and rule of law regression.

About

Respect for the rule of law and democratic standards have significantly deteriorated in several EU member states, especially in Poland and Hungary. Such a regression damages the functioning of the European Union as a legal system, its legitimacy and stability as a political order, and its trustworthiness as an international partner. EU institutions have been struggling to address this unprecedented predicament in a decisive fashion, while EU partners have signalled concerns. ENROL will engage in an interdisciplinary assessment of the conditions for effective and legitimate EU actions in response to rule of law backsliding and propose solutions to the existing bottlenecks.

Objectives

ENROL will map out the ongoing development of the EU's rule of law enforcement toolkit and chart how EU institutions have used it so far. The project will investigate why EU institutions have chosen to employ some tools, refrained from engaging in others, while continuing to develop new ones. ENROL will identify



(Illustration: Zuma Press/NTB)

existing bottlenecks which stand in the way of more forceful EU action, in the form of political incentives, institutional mechanisms as well as legal and normative concerns about the legitimacy and effectiveness of different available tools.

ENROL will also study the implications of EU action—and inaction—for domestic political resistance against backsliding, with a particular focus on Poland, one of the EU's largest member states where the political struggle over rule of law is ongoing.

Based on its findings, ENROL will set out the legal and normative conditions for an effective and legitimate EU response to rule of law and democratic backsliding.

Activities in 2023

Workshop: 'Theoretical Perspectives on Democratic Backsliding in the EU' (p.38); Guest Lecture with Adam Bodnar: 'How to overcome the rule of law crisis in Poland after the upcoming parliamentary elections?' (p.49), various publications; attendance and presentations by project members at conferences and workshops.

Funding

ENROL is funded through the Norwegian Research Council's Fellesløftet (Large-scale Interdisciplinary Researcher Project) funding initiative. Fellesløftet is a collaboration between the research institutions and the Norwegian Research Council.

Project period

April 2022 – January 2027

Project coordinators

Daniel Naurin (ARENA) and Christophe Hillion (Centre for European Law, University of Oslo)

ARENA project members

Daniel Naurin, Asimina Michailidou, Øyvind Stiansen, Tommaso Pavone, Antoinette Scherz, Mauricio Mandujano, Adriana Riganová.

Cooperation

Centre for European Law, Department for Public and International Law, University of Oslo.

Scientific advisory board

Petra Bárd, Samantha Besson, Adam Bodnar, Carlos Closa, Daniel Kelemen, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Jan-Werner Müller, Kalypso Nicolaidis, Patrycja Rozbicka, Kim Scheppele, Fabio Wolkenstein, Natasha Wunsch

EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D)

EU3D sets out to specify the conditions under which differentiation is politically acceptable, institutionally sustainable, and democratically legitimate in the EU.

About

The starting point for EU3D is an increasingly differentiated European political order. There is more uncertainty about the EU's future development, not only because of Brexit, but also surrounding the EU's ability to undergo necessary reforms after the financial crisis and other recent crises. It is widely recognised that the EU that emerged from the crises is more differentiated, but it is not clear if differentiation is part of the problem or part of the solution. All political systems are differentiated, but the EU is distinct in the way it is structured, and in the way in which the process of integration is structured and conducted.

Objectives

EU3D's main objective is to develop a theory of differentiation that specifies the conditions under which differentiation is politically acceptable, institutionally sustainable and democratically legitimate, and the conditions under which it is not, for example when conditions of dominance prevail. EU3D does that through comprehensive analyses of the EU's multilevel institutional and constitutional make-up across a range of policy areas.

Activities in 2023

Concluding conference (p. 32), policy events (p. 50), Future of Europe event series, summary videos, policy briefs (p. 58) and publications.

Funding

Research and Innovation Action financed by the European Union's Horizon 2020 programme. Societal Challenges 6: Europe in a changing world – Inclusive, innovative and reflective societies.

Project period

1 February 2019-31 July 2023

Project coordinator

John Erik Fossum

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Erik O. Eriksen, Christopher Lord, Agustín José Menéndez, Asimina Michailidou, Espen D. H. Olsen, Jarle Trondal, Guri Rosén, Simona Piattoni,



Resul Umit Yazici, Bent Sofus Tranøy.

Cooperation

Bruegel, Guntram Wolff /Giuseppe Porcaro

Comenius University in Bratislava, Jozef Bátora

ELIAMEP – Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Dia Anagnostou

Jagiellonian University, Zdzislaw Mach

LUISS Guido Carli, Sergio Fabbrini

Sciences Po Grenoble, Sabine Saurugger

University of Copenhagen, Ben Rosamond

University of Konstanz, Dirk Leuffen

University of Oxford, Jan Zielonka

Scientific advisory board

Albena Azmanova, Giuliano Amato, Arthur Benz, Dario Castiglione, Richard Corbett, Andrew Duff, Mikuláš Dzurinda, Michelle Everson, Tanja Fajon, Turkuler Isiksel, Ana Gomes, Marian Harkin, Danuta Hübner, Francis Brendan Jacobs, Ivan Korčok, Yves Mény, Barbara Nowacka, Craig Parsons, Jean-Claude Piris, Sonja Puntischer Riekman, Jo Shaw, Julie Smith, Tomáš Valášek, Jeremy Webber, Wolfgang Wessels, Jonathan White.

More: eu3d.uio.no

A multidisciplinary platform for research on judicial politics in the European Union (IUROPA)

ARENA contributes to a multidisciplinary platform for research on judicial politics in the European Union.

About

The IUROPA Project (ius + Europa) is a multidisciplinary platform for research on judicial politics in the European Union (EU). The project brings together a network of scholars with a background in law and political science. IUROPA studies the conditions for judicial independence and rule of law against the backdrop of ongoing developments with regards to the judicialization of politics (courts making decisions with political implications) and politicization of courts (efforts from political actors to influence courts).

A key feature of IUROPA is the development of a comprehensive database with detailed information on cases and actors of the Court of Justice of the European Union: The CJEU Database. The database includes information on the outcomes, processes and actors involved in the decision-making of the CJEU, compiled into a research-friendly format. The information has been collected from public sources and prepared and analysed by means of automatic and manual coding.

Activities in 2023

Launched database on CJEU, conference with LSE Law School (p.33), workshop on data, concepts and measurements in research on law and courts (p.39).

Funding

IUROPA is financed by the Swedish Research Council (2018-04215), the Norwegian Research Council (223274, PluriCourts), and the European University Institute Research Council (2018-2020).

Project period

2019-2025

Project coordinators

Daniel Naurin (ARENA), Johan Lindholm (Umeå University), Urška Šadl (European University Institute), Anna Wallerman Ghavanini (University of Gothenburg)

ARENA project members

Daniel Naurin, Joshua Fjelstul

Cooperation

Umeå University (Johan Lindholm)

European University Institute (Urška Šadl)

University of Gothenburg (Anna Wallerman Ghavanini)



(Illustration: G. Fessy/ CJEU)

Rule of Law in NAV: Principled Justification (RETTS)

RETTS looks at due process within NAV and examines how decision-makers interpret regulations and justify decisions.

About

Due process is about impartial and predictable application of rules; it is about trustworthy decision-making. When agencies like NAV applies both national and supranational laws, and attends to different goals, issues regarding due process or legal certainty may arise. The point of departure in this project is that due process basically is a question of reason giving that is based on a set of principles. Compliance with these principles informs us about what constitutes quality in case proceedings. They state the conditions under which we can trust that the proceedings are performed correctly. However, we also need to learn from practice. That is how decision-makers actually reason when they interpret and apply rules. By using several methods such as interviews with caseworkers, vignettes and analysis of justifications given in appeal cases, this project aims at developing an operable concept of due process.

Objectives

The purpose of RETTS is to give the concept of due process a broader normative interpretation by linking it to the idea of responsible administration. Well-founded reason giving as well as reasonableness in assessments and decision-making are what create well-founded trust. The goal of RETTS is to develop a non-judicial concept of due process which can also be understood and applied by non-lawyers.

This is achieved first by clarifying which normative requirements the reason giving requirement imposes on caseworkers and decision-makers within NAV. We specify this as competence, openness and impartiality. Secondly, the project examines how decision-makers in NAV interpret regulations and justify decisions. Informal practices, parochial values and interpretative frames may influence decision-making. RETTS investigates these issues by developing three models for administrative behavior, which provide a basis for deriving different types of expectations that can be examined.

Activities in 2023

RETTS held a workshop on the NAV scandal, in cooperation with COMPLEX (p.30).

Funding

RETTS is financed by NAV through their FoU-program.

Project period

October 2022 - June 2025

Project coordinator

Erik O. Eriksen

ARENA project members

Erik O. Eriksen, Andreas Eriksen, Martin Moland, Mads Andenæs, Fredrik Dybfest Hjorten, Karin Hjorten Zelano



(Illustration: Ssu/ Wikimedia Commons)

Shipping Off Labour: Changing Staffing Strategies in Globalised Workplaces (ShipGlobal)

About

ShipGlobal studies the reconfiguration of employers' production and staffing strategies within shipping, a global but regionally concentrated industry from a comparative perspective.

The shipbuilding industry is often portrayed as the archetype of economic globalization. Faced with fierce global competition, especially from Asian producers, shipbuilding in Europe was believed to be a 'sunset industry'. However, the 2004-2007 EU enlargements altered the choices set for shipyard employers, allowing them to both outsource parts of their production and increasingly use (external) posted and agency labour in their 'in house' production.

More recently, rapid technological innovation and stricter emission requirements open up – once again – for new production and staffing strategies that might spur demand for more skilled labour. Yet, so far, we know little about the determinants and interactions between increases in cross-border production and staffing strategies in an enlarged European Single Market.

Knowledge on the interaction between these processes is important because changes in staffing strategies not only change the terms under which workers are employed – be it via temporary agencies, subcontractors or via posted worker contracts – they also inherently destabilise nationally based industrial relations' systems.

Objectives

1. ShipGlobal examines production and staffing strategies in yard companies in Norway, Germany, Italy, Poland and Romania - all central shipbuilding nations.
2. Map the shifting international division of labour between European and Asian shipbuilders.
3. Analyse how management and labour have interacted in reshaping the production and staffing strategies of the selected yards since 2000, in view of the structural adjustments undertaken by the headquarters in the groups' overall strategies, production chains, and staffing policies.
4. Examine how innovative technologies influence employer and labour strategies.
5. Investigate how national sectoral industrial relations systems influence and are influenced by such changes in transnational production and staffing strategies.
6. Trace how recent changes in EU regulations and policies pertaining in particular to the conditions for posted and agency workers (such as the Posting of Workers Directive, the Directive on Temporary Agency Work, the just approved European Labour Authority) impact the relationship between production and staffing strategies in different corners of the Single Market.
7. Compare how these changes are negotiated by the social partners in different parts of the European production chains.
8. Develop a conceptual understanding of how transnational shifts in production and staffing strategies are negotiated by differently situated actors within the EU/EEA Single Market.

Funding

ShipGlobal is funded by the Research Council of Norway.

Project period

October 2020 - October 2024

Project coordinator

Ines Alisa Wagner

Cooperation

Fafo

Warsaw School of Economics

Universität Duisburg-Essen

Università degli Studi di Padova

European Trade Union Institute

Dublin City University

Scuola Normale Superiore

Institutt for Samfunnsforskning

The Politics of European and American Single-Market Governance (SINGLEMARKETS)

SINGLEMARKETS compares political attitudes about internal-market governance in the EU and the US.

About

SINGLEMARKETS offers a first-of-its-kind comparison of political attitudes about internal-market governance in the European Union and the United States. Today, EU and US regulation appear to institutionalize quite different choices about the political trade-offs of single-market governance: political-economic trade-offs about uniform rules versus regulatory experimentation and competition, democratic trade-offs between rights to mobility and openness versus citizens' attachments to autonomy or border control, and federal trade-offs between respect for diverse identities versus values of unity.

SINGLEMARKETS will take the first major steps to investigate the politics behind these major political-economic outcomes, asking: Who endorses or opposes the choices embedded in the US and EU regimes for internal market openness? Why, and so what? SINGLEMARKETS will generate comparable data about attitudes of citizens, business, and officials in surveys and interviews; test a wide range of competing theories to explain responses; and engage observed attitudes with normative debates about political economy, democracy, and federalism.

Objectives

SINGLEMARKETS' primary objective is to understand support and opposition among citizens, business, and public officials for central rules regarding internal-market openness in Europe and the United States. SINGLEMARKETS seeks to:

1. Generate the first comparable data on European and American single-market attitudes;
2. Test competing theories to explain observed attitudes and;

3. Relate attitudes to normative debates in political-economic, democratic, and federal theory, drawing out implications of these attitudes for political and policy debates on both continents. As both polities return to openness and mobility after the pandemic, these steps will foster new knowledge-based debate and policymaking.

Activities in 2023

Fielded public survey to 26,000 Europeans and Americans on single-market governance, team workshops, invited talks, panel and presentations.

Funding

SINGLEMARKETS is funded by the Research Council of Norway.

Project period

October 2021 – September 2025

Project coordinator

Craig Parsons

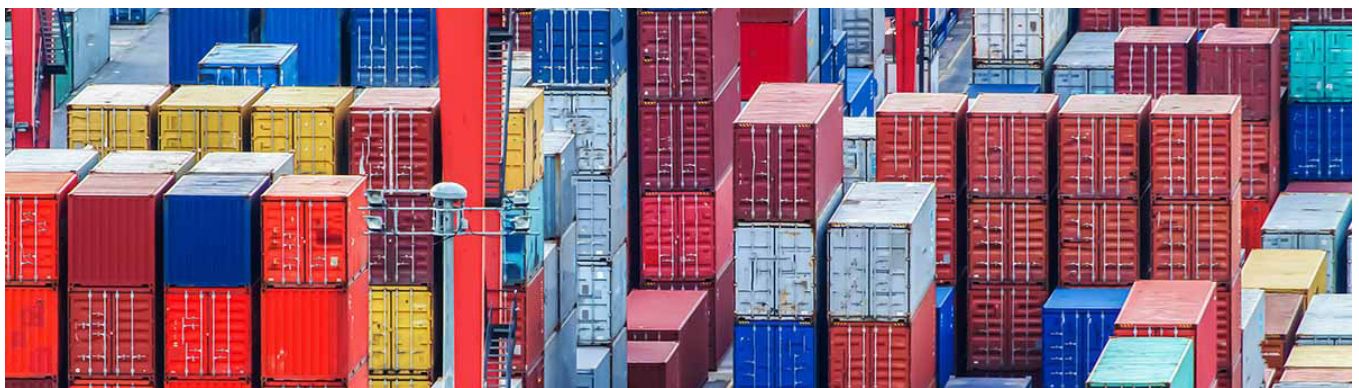
ARENA project members

Craig Parsons, Tobias Bach, Jarle Trondal, Christopher Lord, John Erik Fossum, Martin Moland, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft

Cooperation

Sciences Po Bordeaux

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences



(Illustration: Shutterstock)

Other projects

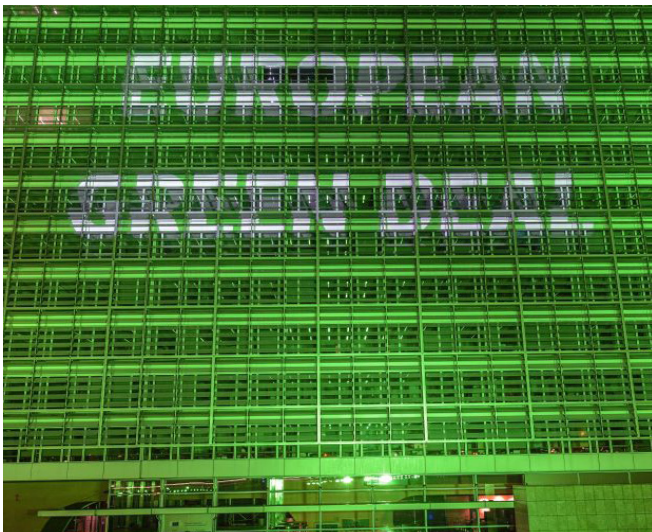
Governing under turbulence: The European Green Deal and implications for Norway (DEAL)

The transition to climate neutrality in society is extraordinary and unavoidable: reaching the world's climate goals requires a transition of a nature, scale and tempo never witnessed before. Introducing the European Green Deal, the European Commission has set a strategy to make Europe the first climate neutral continent in the world.

DEAL assumes that the European Green Deal represents a distinct governance challenge with legitimacy implications. One set of issues pertains to the extraordinary speed, comprehensive and cross-sectoral nature of the Green Deal.

Another set of issues pertains to the forms of governing and political turbulence that such a process entails. Turbulence can, for example, disrupt the balance between political leadership and independent expertise or between electoral representation and interest group involvement. Likewise, it can constrain (or be perceived to constrain) a country's autonomy and sovereignty. DEAL is concerned with how these challenges manifest themselves in the development of the European Green Deal at EU level as well as in the implementation of the Green Deal at national level.

Comparing Norway and Denmark, DEAL is interested in understanding the consequence of the turbulence that the European Green Deal creates for governance and



(Illustration: Lukasz Kobus, European Union)

legitimacy of the climate transition in these countries and whether the extent of challenges is related to EU affiliation.

Project type

DEAL is funded by the Research Council of Norway.

Project period

August 2023 - August 2026

Coordinator

Merethe Dotterud Leiren, CICERO

Arena project members

John Erik Fossum, Jarle Trondal

EU Foreign Policy Facing New Realities (ENTER)

About

The project ENTER aims to improve our understanding of central properties of EU foreign policy in light of these new realities, focusing on perceptions, communication, contestation. In today's world, the success of EU foreign policy depends on the EU's ability to instantaneously respond to stimuli and pressures originating from both the international and the intra-EU levels. A central objective of the project is to derive theoretically informed, policy relevant advice for the EU's strategic approach to its international relations, its communication, and for dealing with the interaction between internal and external challenges.

Project type

ENTER is a research network funded by the European Union's COST Actions.

Project period

October 2018–April 2023

Coordinator

Michele Knodt (Technical University of Darmstadt)

Patrick Mueller (University of the Basque Country)

ARENA project members

Helene Sjørusen, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

Research Centre on the European Dimension of Norwegian Law (EURNOR)

About

The project, or centre, studies challenges in the application of European Economic Area (EEA) law in Norway. It focuses on the implementation of EU law at a national level in general, and the implementation of EEA regulations in Norwegian law in particular. The centre analyses three main challenges to implementing EEA law into Norwegian law:

1. Discovering the EEA dimension in law
2. Interpreting and applying EEA law
3. Addressing potential tensions between EEA law and domestic law.

Project type

EurNor is a research centre funded by the Research Council of Norway.

Project period

June 2023 - 2028

Coordinator

Ole-Andreas Rognstad, Department of Private Law, University of Oslo

ARENA project members

Daniel Naurin, Øyvind Stiansen

Deporting Foreigners: Contested Norms in International Practice (NORMS)

About

Deportation of irregular migrants and rejected asylum seekers is widely known to pit host states against these migrants, but deportation also pits host states against these migrants' origin states. Liberal European host states cannot unilaterally send migrants back to the origin state they come from. They depend on both the origin state's political willingness to readmit these migrants, and on its practical assistance with identification and travel documents. However, origin states have political, economic and cultural reasons not to collaborate. NORMS trail-blazes an exploration of social norms in this field by looking at how state agents from host and origin states alike seek to legitimise or de-legitimise deportation, promoting competing norms in a contested policy field.

Project type

NORMS is funded by the Research Council of Norway under the UTENRIKS Research Programme on International relations, foreign and security policy and Norwegian interests.

Project period

August 2021 – December 2024

Coordinator

Erlend Paasche, Institute for Social Research

ARENA project members

Helene Sjørusen, Nicole Ostrand

Post-truth politics, nationalism and the (de-) legitimization of European integration (PTP)

About

Fake news, disinformation and manipulation of the media are widely perceived to constitute a fundamental challenge to modern liberal-representative democracies. In an era of post-truth politics, digital media has increasingly replaced traditional legacy media as the most important source and venue of political information and communication. This is a fundamental shift since information online is often unverified by gatekeepers at news outlets. Information spreads without professional input from journalists. This proliferation of digital media therefore raises concerns about the quality of democratic discourse, since it can be used for manipulative purposes to spread false and unfiltered information, and potentially affect the electoral decisions of citizens in liberal democracies. This is a particular challenge in terms of the possible impact of disinformation on public support for the European project as such. Especially since the lingering democratic deficit debate in the EU has identified lack of knowledge about the functioning of the European institutions as one of the key problems regarding the democratic legitimization of the EU. If there is a lack of knowledge to begin with, then the possible impact of disinformation is heightened. In addition, the project will address the related topic of why disinformation appears to have such an appeal to nationalist and/or populist actors on the far right and examine whether similar strategies are visible on the left of the political spectrum. These actors often identify the European Union as the root cause of many of the 'evils' that nationalist movements claim to tackle. In this regard, European integration is seen as a fundamental attack on the imagined community of the sovereign nation state.

Project type

Jean Monnet Network co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union.

Project period

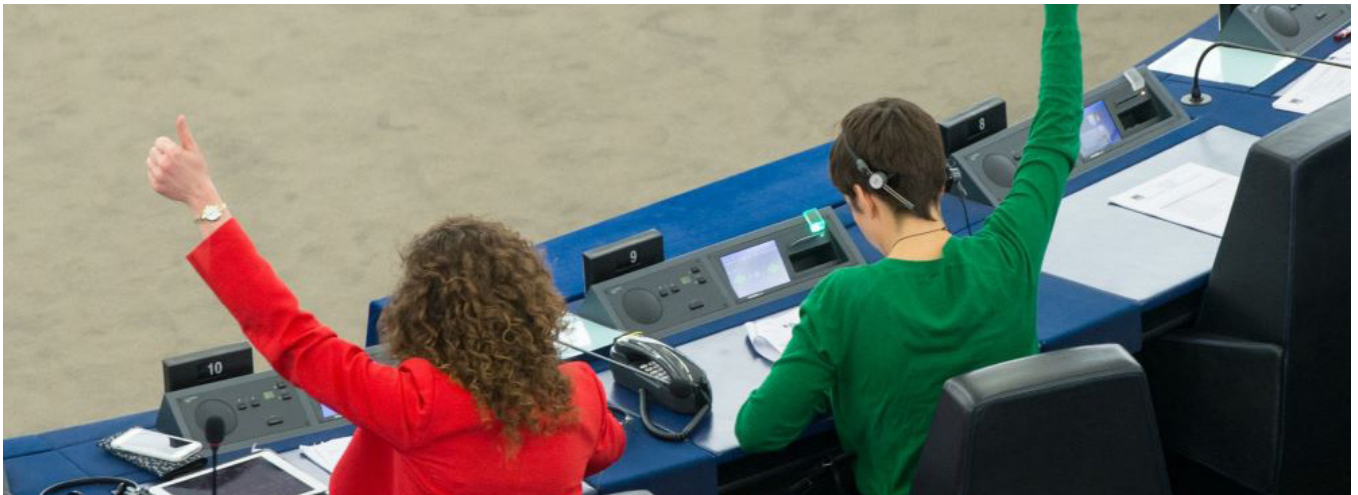
December 2019–June 2023

Coordinator

Maximillian Conrad (University of Iceland)

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Asimina Michailidou



(Illustration: European Parliament)

Reclaiming Liberal Democracy in the Postfactual Age (RECLAIM)

About

RECLAIM takes a multi-disciplinary approach to post-truth politics. The project aims to develop a conceptual definition, as well as operationalisation and empirical indicators for the analysis of information disorder. The project will also spell out the ways in which post-truth politics constitutes an existential threat to liberal democracy, and analyse the state of play as regards various dimensions of post-truth politics in Europe. It will also use its own empirical findings to develop policy recommendations, methods and toolkits as to how best to respond to various expressions of the phenomenon. ARENA coordinates Work Package 4, together with Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence. This Work Package will analyse the supply-demand relationships of journalism in the era of post-truth politics and the ambivalence of the post-truth challenge to journalism and truth, which might undermine trust but also create new demands for truth and thus opportunities for quality professional journalism.

Project type

RECLAIM is funded by Horizon Europe Protecting and nurturing democracies.

Project period

October 2022 – October 2025

Coordinator

Maximilian Conrad (University of Iceland)

ARENA project members

Asimina Michailidou, John Erik Fossum, Martin Moland

More: reclaim.hi.is

The Representative Disconnect: Diagnosis and Strategies for Rectification (REDIRECT)

The main objective of REDIRECT is to enhance our understanding of the current transformations of representative democracy in Europe at national and supranational level, and at the interconnection between different levels of territorial representation.

REDIRECT wishes to assess whether the centre of gravity of democratic representation is shifting away from the traditional forms of political intermediation, such as parties, parliaments, and party-based government, and whether other forms of political representation are taking their place. Although these transformations are by now long seated, they seem to have reached a critical point in the first two decades of the 21st century, fomenting a sense of crisis and uncertainty, and a diffuse malaise in the European democracies.

The crisis of these institutions, as well as the changing attitudes and behaviour of citizens and political elites towards politics, have made the linking of the citizenry to the governing institutions more difficult and haphazard.

Project type

REDIRECT is funded by the EU's Horizon-Europe programme under the call HORIZON-CL2-2022-DEMOCRACY-01 – Democracy in Flux.

Project period

February 2023 - January 2027

Coordinator

Luca Verzichelli, University of Siena

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Asimina Michailidou, Guri Rosen

Rebuilding governance and resilience out of the pandemic (REGORUP)

About

The Covid-19 pandemic has created an opportunity for states and the EU to reevaluate not only their emergency responses but also their existing policy responses to the many challenges and disruptions created or intensified by the pandemic. REGROUP studies governance after the Covid-19 pandemic. The project maps out the socio-political dynamics and consequences of Covid-19 and normatively evaluates the pandemic and the governments' responses to it. Based on this, the project will discern relevant lessons and provide the EU with advice on how to rebuild post-pandemic governance and public policies in an effective and democratic way. ARENA is leader of the work on auditing democracy in times of crisis (work package five). The main objective of this research is to assess the democratic quality of responses to crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic within Europe. The project evaluates both how accessible responses were to different parts of society, and how decision-making processes and measures were in line with different democratic values like transparency, accountability, equality and democratic rights.

Project type

REGROUP is funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 protecting and nurturing democracies.

Project period

September 2022- August 2025

Coordinator

Pier Domenico Tortola (University of Groningen)

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Asimina Michailidou, Martin Moland

More: regroup-horizon.eu

Reconceptualising European Power in an Era of Turmoil: Contestation, Relevance, Sustainability (RENPET)

About

RENPET is an Erasmus+ Jean Monnet Network of ten major universities across Europe and a leading pan-European professional academic association. RENPET builds on the strong cooperation established through the 2014-2017 ANTERO Network and the 2017-2020 NORTIA Network. RENPET fosters cutting edge research, translates that research into innovative teaching and professional development and actively engages in policy debates among our powerful epistemic community.

Project type

Jean Monnet Network funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union.

Project period

November 2020 - March 2024

Coordinator

Niels van Willigen (Leiden University)

ARENA project members

Helene Sjørusen, Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

Trust in Governance and Regulation in Europe (TIGRE)

About

TiGRE provides an encompassing and coherent analytical framework for the study of trust relationships in governance. It studies trust among actors of regulatory regimes, such as regulators, political, administrative and judicial bodies, the regulated industries, service providers and their interest organisations, consumers and other societal interests, as well as citizens at large. ARENA and Principal Investigator Tobias Bach have a special responsibility for designing and carrying out a large-scale survey in collaboration with the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The objective is to empirically assess the overall level and the nature of trust and distrust in regulatory governance from the perspective of stakeholders involved in three regulatory regimes (finance, food safety, communications and data protection) at the EU level, and in the investigated countries Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and Israel.

Project type

TiGRE is funded by Horizon 2020's Governance for the Future programme.

Project period

January 2020 - September 2023

Coordinator

Martino Maggetti, Université de Lausanne

ARENA project members

Tobias Bach, Jarle Trondal

More: tigre-project.eu

Secretariat for the EEA committee

The European Economic Area (EEA) committee will evaluate Norway's experience with the EEA agreement and other agreements between Norway and the EU the past ten years. The Norwegian Ministry of foreign affairs appointed the committee in May. ARENA hosts the secretariat assisting the committee in their work.

Members of the secretariat

Guri Rosén (leader of the secretariat), Elen Botten, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, Silva Malin Hoffmann, Torbjørg Viveke Straand Jevnaker, Olav Haldorsson Slettebø, Silje arie Thorstensen, Frode Veggeland, Siri Venemyr, Anne Mette Ødegård

More: eos-utredningen.no

Publications

Books and special section

Handbook on the European Union and Brexit

John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord (Eds.)

Edward Elgar Publishing, ISBN: 9781839100680

Brexit has irrevocably transformed British politics, yet its effects are not confined to relations between the UK and the EU. Venturing beyond the already vast literature on Brexit, this dynamic Handbook explores the implications of the UK's withdrawal from the EU for the EU itself, single countries within and beyond Europe, and the international system, as well as different social groups, generations, and territories within the UK.

Contributions by ARENA staff

John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord. 'Introduction to the European Union and Brexit' (Chapter 1)

Craig Parsons. 'Brexit and Economic Ideas' (Chapter 6)

Christopher Lord 'The European Parliament and Brexit' (Chapter 10)

John Erik Fossum 'The Norway Model and the UK post-Brexit' (Chapter 21)

Å studere EU

Marianne Riddervold and Jarle Trondal

Fagbokforlaget, ISBN: 9788245038156

Den europeiske union (EU) er en organisasjon som påvirker nesten alle sider av samfunnslivet i de europeiske landene - også i Norge. Hvordan oppstod EU, og hva betyr unionen for hvordan Europa fungerer? Hvordan forholder Norge seg til EU som ikke-medlem?

Denne boken gir en grundig og samtidig lett forståelig introduksjon til EU. Boken viser at dagens union er resultatet av en lang rekke kriser og kompromisser. Den sammenligner EU med andre internasjonale organisasjoner, og tar særlig for seg hva unionen betyr for Norge.

Governing the Contemporary Administrative State

Jarle Trondal

Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 9783031280085

This book examines the transformation of the administrative state, since it was first coined by Dwight Waldo seventy years ago. Empirically, the book assesses how the administrative state is facing endogenous reforms through administrative devolution, as well as exogenous shifts by the rise of multilevel administrative systems and international bureaucracy. Facing dual shifts, the book offers a comprehensive analysis of how the administrative state handles three interconnected challenges: first, a need for innovation and reform, as well as stability and robustness; second, administrative autonomy among regulatory bodies, as well as political leadership and democratic accountability; and third, nation-state sovereignty and international collaboration. It also highlights the robust character of the administrative state by demonstrating profound stability in public governance even during times of profound turbulence. It will appeal to scholars and students of public policy, public administration and global governance, as well as practitioners interested in new developments in public governance.

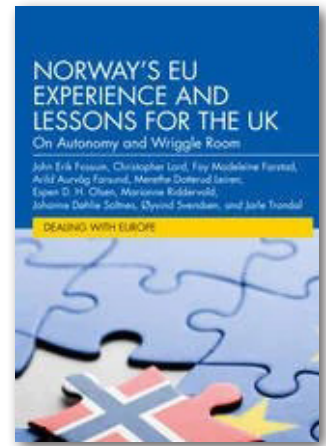
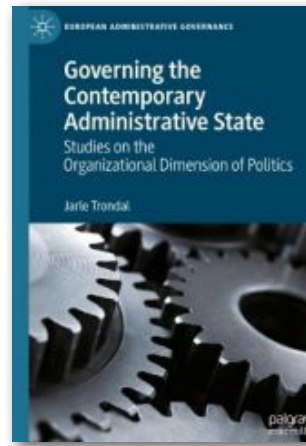
Norway's EU Experience and Lessons for the UK: On Autonomy and Wriggle Room

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Fay Madeleine Farstad, Arild Aurvåg Farsund, Merethe Dotterud Leiren, Espen D. H. Olsen, Marianne Riddervold, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, Øyvind Svendsen and Jarle Trondal

Routledge, ISBN 9781032160672

This book examines Norway's affiliation to the EU and systematically assesses the potential suitability of this arrangement for the UK as a viable EU affiliation post-Brexit.

Framing the book within the framework of the broader European context, the authors ask how much autonomy and room to manoeuvre tightly integrated non-member states have under this arrangement. They present an in-depth assessment of Norway's close EU affiliation and provide insight into what this may reveal to us



about the post-Brexit European political order. The book's analytical framework centred on autonomy under complex interdependence has relevance well beyond the confines of the Norway case. This includes the UK, not least since the EU–UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) leaves considerable uncertainty. It contains transitory elements; there will be implementation reviews, and there may be many more bilateral and multilateral agreements before the trade relationship is fully defined.

This book will be of key interest to scholars and students of European Union politics, Norwegian politics, British politics, European integration, and, more broadly, to European studies and international relations.

Liberal order, the EU and global political justice

Helene Sjursen (Ed.)

International Affairs volume 99, issue 6, 2023

Helene Sjursen edited this Special Section of *International Affairs*. It consists of seven articles, two of which by ARENA staff:

Helene Sjursen, 'Rethinking liberal order: the EU and the quest for global justice'

The liberal order is facing severe challenges. This article introduces a special section, 'Liberal order, the EU and global political justice', which assesses the implications of these challenges for the European Union and for its ability to remain a relevant global actor. To do so, the different contributions inquire into the interconnections between the normative premises of the EU's foreign policy within different issue areas and those of the liberal order. Presenting the core themes, this introductory article suggests that liberal order is not merely a descriptive but also a normative concept. Indicating how a well-ordered international system ought to be organized, the liberal order generates expectations of a contribution to global justice. The article further advances the hypothesis that the troubles of the liberal order are linked to its inability to fulfill

these expectations. As the EU's legitimacy is bound up with that of the liberal script, this hypothesis implies a need to reconsider not only core features of liberal order, but also those of the EU's approach to it. Thus highlighting the relevance of normative factors and their capacity for disruption, the article contributes to filling gaps in scholarly literatures both on the challenges to the liberal order and on the changing role of the EU in an increasingly unsettled world.

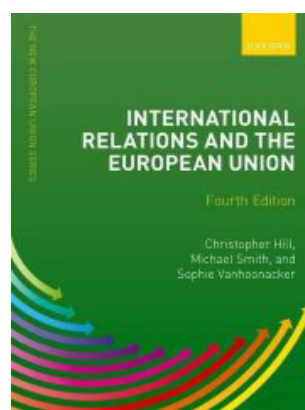
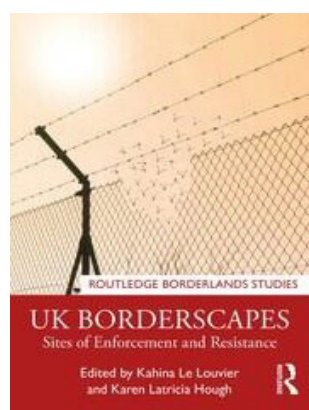
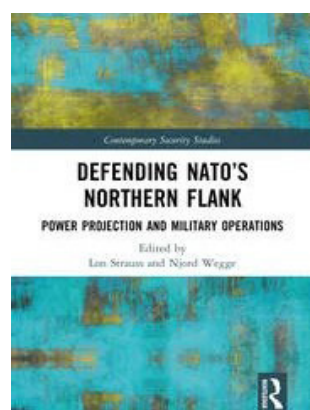
Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, 'Ambiguities in the EU's rights-based approach to liberal order'

The European Union has been characterized as a vanguard of a rights-based liberal international order. A prime example is making all cooperation agreements with third states conditioned on respect for human rights. But the EU's approach is contested on grounds of inconsistency and power imbalance. This article contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between authoritative human rights procedures and contestations of the liberal order. In doing so, the article brings to the fore ambiguities that are often glossed over in the literature related to representation in supranational political arrangements. Through a longitudinal case-study of the centrepiece of the EU's external human rights policy, the human rights clause, the article shows that the EU vacillates between supranational and intergovernmental political arrangements. It insists on a human rights clause that allows for sanctioning of non-compliance, but that also maintains core features of intergovernmental decision-making where executives in the EU and partner governments maintain the authority to initiate and settle disputes on human rights. The result is a half-hearted move towards a rights-based liberal order that neither fully respects nation-states' sovereignty nor fully allows for an impartial settlement of human rights disputes.

Book chapters

See also the list of books on p.18.

- Bucken- Knapp, Gregg, and Karin Hjorthen Zelano, 'Binds and Bridges to Protection in Crisis: The Case of Unaccompanied Refugee Youth from Afghanistan in Sweden' in Lerpold, L., Sjöberg, Ö., Wennberg, K. (eds.), *Migration and Integration in a Post-Pandemic World*. (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham).
- Ekengren, Ann-Marie, Hjorten, Fredrik Dybfest, and Ulrika Möller. 'Why Do States Want a Seat on the UNSC? Expectations between Different Type of States' in Ekengren, Ann-Marie and Ulrika Möller (eds.) *The Quest for Power in the UNSC* (Brill Nijhoff).
- Lord, Christopher. 'Democracy and the Populist Surge.' in Christopher Hill, Michael Smith and Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford University Press).
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- Lord, Christopher. 'Sovereignty in Conflict. Political, Constitutional and Economic Dilemmas in the EU.' in Julia Rone, Nathalie Brack, Ramona Coman and Amandine Crespy (eds.), *Sovereignty in Conflict: Political, Constitutional and Economic Dilemmas in the EU* (Springer International Publishing: Cham).
- Ostrand, Nicole. 'Cracks in the UK borderscape imaginary: opportunism, fluidity, and contradictions in implementing migration controls abroad.' in Kahina Le Louvier and Karen Latricia Hough (eds.), *UK Borderscapes: Sites of Enforcement and Resistance* (Routledge: Abingdon, Oxon).
- Rosen, Guri, 'Trade Policy' in Fauré, Samuel and Lequesne, Christian (Eds.), *Trade policy* (Edward Elgar Publishing).
- Sjursen, Helene. 'Principles in EU foreign policy: How distinctive?' in Christopher Hill, Michael Smith and Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford University Press).
- Trondal, Jarle, and Martin Marcussen. 'The OECD as an international bureaucracy.' in Fabrizio De Francesco and Claudio M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Elgar Companion to the OECD* (Edward Elgar Publishing).
- Väisänen, Arto, and Hanna Ojanen. 'Finnish and Swedish NATO membership: What does it hold for the Arctic?' in Lon Strauss and Njord Wegge (eds.), *Defending NATO's Northern Flank: Power Projection and Military Operations* (Taylor & Francis Unlimited: Milton).



Journal articles

- Arlen, Gordon, Antoinette Scherz and Martin Vestergren. 'New perspectives on the legitimacy of international institutions and power'. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 54(4)
- Boräng, Frida, Daniel Naurin, and Jonathan Polk. 'Making space: citizens, parties and interest groups in two ideological dimensions'. *Journal of European public policy*, ahead-of-print(ahead-of-print), 1-32
- Brekke, Stein Arne, Joshua C. Fjelstul, Silje Synnøve Lyder Hermansen, and Daniel Naurin. 'The CJEU Database Platform: Decisions and Decision-Makers'. *Journal of law and courts*, 11(2), 389-410
- Eriksen, Andreas, and Erik Oddvar Eriksen. 'Rettsikkerhet gjennom begrunnelse: Nav og den offentlige bruken av fornuft'. *Tidsskrift for velferdsforskning*, 26(4), 1-14
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- Fjørtoft, Trym Nohr. 'Inductive Risk and the Legitimacy of Non-Majoritarian Institutions'. *British journal of political science*, 1-16
- Fossum, John Erik, Riva Kastoryano, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero. 'Governing diversity in the multilevel European public space'. *Ethnicities*, 24(1)
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- Lord, Christopher, and Michael Saward. 'A Passionate Clarity': David Beetham on Democracy, Legitimacy and the Democratic Audit'. *Representation (McDougall Trust)*, 59(3), 365-71
- Moland, Martin, and Asimina Michailidou. 'Testing Causal Inference Between Social Media News Reliance and (Dis)trust of EU Institutions With an Instrumental Variable Approach: Lessons From a Null-Hypothesis Case'. *Political studies review*, 22(2)
- Moland, Martin. 'Opting for Opt-outs? National Identities and Support for a Differentiated EU'. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 62(1), 55-73
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- Pinheiro, Romulo, Stefan Gänzle, Tanja Klenk and Jarle Trondal. 'Unpacking strategic alliances in European higher education'. *Tertiary Education and Management* 29(3), 213-228
- Polk, Johnathan and Guri Rosén. 'Trade and the transnational cleavage in European party politics'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2023
- Scherz, Antoinette. 'Applying Different Concepts and Conceptions of Legitimacy to the International Level: Service, Free Group Agents, and Autonomy'. *Moral Philosophy and Politics*, 2023
- Scherz, Antoinette. 'How Should Personal and Political Autonomy Feature in the ECtHR's Margin of Appreciation?'. *Jus Cogens. A Critical Journal of Philosophy of Law and Politics* 2023(5), 149-179
- Sjursen, Helene. 'Rethinking liberal order: the EU and the quest for global justice'. *International Affairs*, 99(6), 2203-20
- Trondal, Jarle and Gjermund Haslerud. 'Bureaucratic bias in integrated administrative systems: A large-scale study of government officials'. *Governance. An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions*, 37(2), 475-495
- Trovik, Johan Andreas. 'A Right to Break the Law? On the Political Function and Moral Grounds of Civil Disobedience'. *Res Publica*, 29(3), 385-403

Publications 2019–2023

	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Monographs	1	4	4	0	3
Edited books	3	1	4	4	1
Special issues of journals	2	2	0	0	0
Book chapters	19	29	36	35	13
Journal articles	23	36	28	31	26
Arena Working Papers	5	3	12	3	4
ARENA Reports	9	5	4	9	12
Publication points (total)	59.4	55.27	58.13	61.64	57.83
Publication points (per academic person-year)	3.2	3.98	6.28	4.45	3.14

ARENA Working Papers

The ARENA Working Paper Series publishes pre-print manuscripts by ARENA researchers or from external researchers presenting their research at ARENA seminars.

18/12

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Systemtillit eller personlig tillit

ARENA Working Paper 4/23

27/11

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Hvordan fatte riktige beslutninger? Tre modeller av forvaltningsatferd

ARENA Working Paper 3/23

13/03

Andreas Eriksen

Identifisering og tolkning av prinsipper: Rammeverk for analyse av begrunnelser i Nav

ARENA Working Paper 2/23

24/01

Morten Egeberg

International Organizations, the European Union and Peace: Bringing Organization Structure In

ARENA Working Paper 1/23

International Organizations, the European Union and Peace:

Bringing Organization Structure In

Morten Egeberg

ARENA Working Paper 1/2023

ARENA Centre for European Studies



EU3D Research Papers

The EU3D Research Papers are pre-print scientific articles on the differentiated European political order. The series is multidisciplinary, with a particular emphasis on the fields of political science, political theory, sociology, economy, and law. The series published three papers in 2023.

The Series editor is John Erik Fossum (ARENA). He works closely with the editorial board, consisting of:

- Dia Anagnostou, ELIAMEP
- Jozef Bátora, Comenius University
- Erik Oddvar Eriksen, ARENA, University of Oslo
- Sergio Fabbrini, LUISS University
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- Dirk Leuffen, University of Konstanz
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EU3D Research Paper no. 31

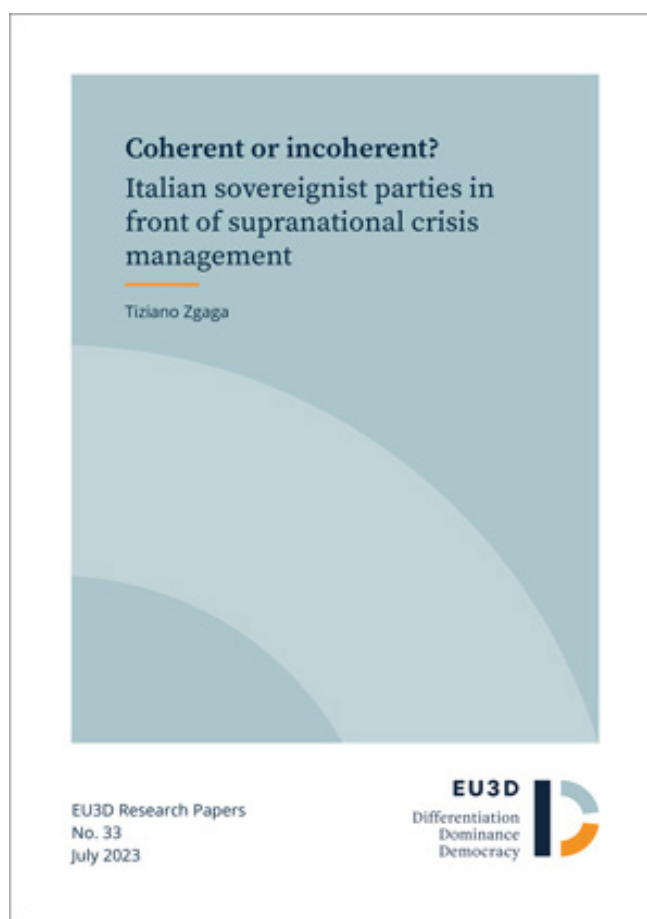
Ian Manners

Achieving European Communion in the Planetary Organic Crisis: How Dominance and Differentiation affects the sharing of Genuine Democracy

EU3D Research Paper no. 32

Ana Carolina Soares

European Administrative Networks in-between audiences: accountability dilemmas in multi-level EU governance



EU3D Research Paper no. 33

Tiziano Zgaga

Coherent or incoherent? Italian sovereignist parties in front of supranational crisis management

ARENA Reports

The ARENA Report Series consists of proceedings from workshops or conferences, project reports, PhD dissertations and Master theses supervised at ARENA.

From Imagination to Reality: An anthropological study of the Norwegian Bio-politics of integration.

ARENA Report 1/23

Mona Marie Frank

In this report, Mona Marie Frank examines the social imaginaries and bio-political goals which informed the creation of Norwegian integration policies and the ways in which street-level bureaucrats implement these policies in day-to-day practices on the ground.

What future for Europe? Political actors' narratives on European integration and democracy in national parliaments (2015–2021).

ARENA Report 2/23, EU3D Report 10

Magdalena Góra, Elodie Thevenin and Katarzyna Zielińska (eds.)

In this report, Magdalena Góra, Elodie Thevenin and Katarzyna Zielińska (eds), together with contributing researchers, examine what political actors say about the future of the European Union.

With contributions from Magdalena Góra, Elodie Thevenin and Katarzyna Zielińska, Dia Anagnostou, Filippa Chatzistavrou, Birthe Einen, Max Heermann, Espen D. H. Olsen, Viliam Ostatnik, Guri Rosén, Max Steuer, Fabian Tigges, Natália Timková, Resul Ümit, Janna van Diepen, and Tiziano Zgaga.

The European Council: Actor and Arena of Dominance?

ARENA Report 3/23, EU3D Report 11

Tiziano Zgaga, Andrea Capati and Dora Hegedus

In this report, Tiziano Zgaga, Andrea Capati and Dora Hegedus examine patterns of dominance surrounding the European Council during three recent crises.

Comparing differentiation in the EU, ASEAN and Mercosur in relation to China's influence: Introduction to the database.

ARENA Report 4/23, EU3D Report 12

Cecile Pelaudeix

In this report, Cecile Pelaudeix introduces a database on differentiation in the EU, ASEAN and Mercosur in relation to Chinese influence.

Imagining the future of Europe. Social and political actors' proposals on European integration.

ARENA Report 5/23, EU3D Report 13

Karolina Czerska-Shaw and Marta Warat (eds.)

This edited report addresses discursive trends, constructed meanings and policy analyses in relation to prevailing constitutional trajectories in the debate on the future of Europe.

With contributions from Karolina Czerska-Shaw, John Erik Fossum, Magdalena Góra, Przemyslaw Tacik, Marta Warat, Jozef Batora, Pavol Babos, Elodie Thevenin, Joanna Orzechowska-Waclawska, Natasza Styczyńska, Katarzyna Zielińska, Kinga Sekerdej, Sergio Fabbrini and Tiziano Zgaga.

Reform Proposals for the future European Union (2015-2022).

ARENA Report 6/23, EU3D Report 14

Magdalena Góra and Tiziano Zgaga (eds.)

This edited report introduces the EU3D database of more than 950 reform proposals and provides in-depth case studies of several key states.

With contributions from Magdalena Góra and Tiziano Zgaga, Raquel Ugarte Díez, Cécile Pelaudeix, Sabine Saurugger, Fabien Terpan, Max Heermann, Kris Inga Mewes, Max Steuer, Silva Hoffmann, Birthe Einen, Kinga Sekerdej, Monica García Quesada, Natasza Styczynska and Marcin Zubek.

Report on differentiation, dominance and democracy.

ARENA Report 07/23, EU3D Report 15

John Erik Fossum and Magdalena Góra (eds.)

The concluding report synthesizes four years of EU3D research on differentiation, dominance and democracy.

With contributions from John Erik Fossum, Magdalena Góra, Rune Møller Stahl, Ben Rosamond, Jozef Bátora, Christopher Lord, Dirk Leuffen, Max Heermann, Asimina Michailidou, Martin Moland, Hans-Jörg Trenz, Resul Umit, Sergio Fabbrini, Tiziano Zgaga.

Differentiated regionalism and China's global agenda: How do resilience and strategic autonomy fit in? EU, ASEAN, Mercosur.

ARENA Report 8/23, EU3D Report 16

Cecile Pelaudeix

This report discusses three regional organisations and argues that they showcase three different versions of differentiated regionalism.

Money talks? EU Sanctions and LGBT-free Zones in Poland.

ARENA Report 9/23

Live Johanna Steinsdatter Øverhaug

In this report, Live Johanna Steinsdatter Øverhaug examines the effect of EU sanctions on adoption and repeal of LGBT-free zones in Poland.

'Our lives are not valued' A critical suicidology perspective on the right to life in British immigration detention centres.

ARENA Report 10/23

Maisie Fitzmaurice

In this report, Maisie Fitzmaurice examines suicide in British immigration detention centres from a critical suicidology perspective.

orders of Technocracy: Expertise, democracy, and the legitimacy of unelected bodies.

ARENA Report 11/23

Trym Nohr Fjørtoft

In this report, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft asks under which conditions the delegation of power to unelected expert bodies is democratically legitimate.

Deeply contested yet taken for granted: The legitimization of the euro between the political and the everyday. An analysis through focus groups.

ARENA Report 12/23

Joris Melman

In this report, Joris Melman uses focus groups in France, Italy and the Netherlands to understand how citizens from different social groups perceived the Euro after the financial crisis.

Other publications

The Institutional Consequences of Emergency Politics at the National and European Levels

Christopher Lord, John Erik Fossum, and Arto Väisänen

REGROUP Research Paper, published in Zenodo, July

Enforcing the Rule of Law in the EU: Effects on Public Opinion

Øyvind Stiansen, Daniel Naurin, Asimina Michailidou, and Adriana Riganova

IGCC working paper, November

Cooperation in the Council of the EU: Explaining network relations among member states

Markus Johansson, Olof Larsson, Rutger Lindahl and Daniel Naurin

Policy analysis published at SIEPS, November

A Democratic Audit for Europe in Times of Emergency

John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord

REGROUP Research Paper, published in Zenodo, December

Journalistic style and trust in news content veracity: A cross-national survey experiment

Martin Moland, Asimina Michailidou, Jacopo Custodi, Hans-Jörg Trezz

Dataset from YouGov survey, part of RECLAIM



Events

Law and orders: The orders of the European Court of Justice as a window in the judicial process and institutional transformations

Authors of a new article in European Law Open presented their findings during a seminar at the Centre for European Law on 27 April.

Professor Urška Sadl at the European University Institute presented the article, that is co-authored with Dr Lucía López Zurita, University of Copenhagen, Stein Arne Brekke, EUI and Daniel Naurin, ARENA.

In the article, the authors investigate how in a quest for efficiency and uniformity, the CJEU delegates judicial tasks to administrative support units. By examining all published orders of the CJEU, the authors argue that this practice blurs the lines between administration and judicial decision-making.

The event was co-organised by ARENA and Centre for European Law.

Workshop: The NAV scandal in a wider perspective

ARENA projects COMPLEX and RETTS held a joint workshop on the 28 April where participants discussed central themes surrounding the NAV scandal and EEA relevance in Norwegian administration.

In the NAV scandal it was revealed that the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration misapplied EEA rules, which lead to people being wrongly accused and convicted of welfare benefit fraud.

Leaning on key results and papers developed within the projects, the workshop aimed at fostering dialogue and discussion about the administrative behaviour within Norwegian public administration and the implementation of EEA regulation, or lack thereof.

Papers presented

‘Three modes of administrative behaviour: differentiated policy implementation and the problem of legal certainty’ by Erik O. Eriksen.

‘Forvaltningen i teori og praksis: NAVs trygdeskandale i forvaltningsteoretisk belysning’ by Erik O. Eriksen.

‘Identifisering og tolkning av prinsipper: Rammeverk for analyse av begrunnelser i NAV’ by Andreas Eriksen.

‘Rettsikkerhet gjennom begrunnelse: Nav og den offentlige bruken av fornuft’ by Andreas Eriksen and Erik O. Eriksen.

‘Fjords of Sovereignty: A case study of uneven application of EU directives in the Norwegian Environmental Agency’ by Alicia Noëllie Saes-Louarn.



Martin Moland (from left), Ingunn Ikdahl, Alicia Noëllie Saes-Louarn, Andreas Eriksen, Fredrik Dybfest Hjorthen, Erik Oddvar Eriksen and Karin Hjorthen Zelano

Public defence: Joris Melman

Joris Melman successfully defended his PhD thesis ‘Deeply contested yet taken for granted - The legitimization of the euro between the political and the everyday’ on 5 May.

Despite rising Euroscepticism and decreasing trust in EU institutions, the euro has remained one of the most widely supported elements of the EU. Why is the euro so widely supported among EU citizens? And what does this support mean for the euro’s legitimacy? These are among the questions Joris Melman asks in his thesis.

Melman conducted focus group research in Italy, France and the Netherlands and finds that citizens see the euro as an everyday object more than as a political entity.

Even if people do have certain political associations with it, these are generally diffuse. As such, it is mostly taken for granted as an accepted part of daily life.

Committee

Professor Jonathan White, the London School of Economics and Political Science

Professor Virginie Van Ingelgom, Université catholique de Louvain

Associate Professor Jonathan William Kuyper, University of Oslo

Supervisors

Professor Christopher James Lord, University of Oslo

Professor John Erik Fossum, University of Oslo

Professor Dirk De Bièvre, University of Antwerp

Trial lecture

‘Does the history of European integration suggest supranational authorities, more than those of the state, can afford to ignore the views of their citizens?’



Jonathan White (left), Virginie Van Ingelgom and Jonathan William Kuyper.

EU3D concluding conference: What future for European democracy? Differentiation, dominance, and possible EU trajectories



Katarzyna Zielińska, Martin Moland, Dirk Leuffen, Max Herrmann, Sergio Fabbrini and Giuseppe Porcaro.

The concluding conference of the ARENA coordinated project EU3D was held in Krakow on 22 and 23 May 2023.

The main purpose of the EU3D concluding conference was to shed new light on EU3D's main research question: under what conditions is differentiation politically acceptable, institutionally sustainable, and democratically legitimate; and under what conditions does differentiation engender dominance? This undertaking was a necessary prerequisite for reaching EU3D's main aim, namely, to come up with a critical theory of political differentiation.

The first day of the concluding conference was devoted to summing up, synthesising and reflecting on main project findings of specific relevance for the development of a critical theory of political differentiation.

On day two, project researchers discussed their findings with external commentators and guests in a form of

panel discussion along the key problems European democracy is facing today.

Klaus Welle, former Secretary General of the European Parliament, Visiting Professor at KU Leuven and Guest Professor in Practice at LSE, started the second day with a keynote speech on challenges to democracy.

John Erik Fossum held a presentation in the opening session, participated in the panel 'Conceptual clarifications. Differentiation and dominance reconsidered' and held the closing remarks.

Christopher Lord chaired the session on 'Conceptual clarifications. Differentiation and dominance reconsidered' and presented his research in the panel 'Internal and external challenges: differentiation and dominance'.

Martin Moland participated in the panel session 'Citizens' views on reforms of democracy in the EU'.

Empirical legal studies in EU law: Foundations, methods, themes

The IUROPA network co-organised a conference on empirical and legal studies in EU law together with LSE Law School in London on 1 June.

Daniel Naurin participated in the session ‘The Emergence of EU Empirical Legal Studies’ and in a session on data.

There is a new empirical turn in scholarship on EU law. It forms part of a broader trend towards methodological self-reflection in the discipline, which has led to a questioning of traditional doctrinal approaches and the embracing of novel research tools. Over the past few decades, but especially during the last ten years, scholars have conducted important quantitative and qualitative studies, thematic networks have emerged, and large-scale empirical projects were successfully conducted.

This conference brought together the main protagonists of the movement – as well as some of its critics – to discuss the objectives, potential, and future of empirical legal research in the EU. It was organised by Dr Jan Zgliniski in co-operation with Professor Urška Šadl (European University Institute) and Professor Daniel Naurin (University of Oslo, ARENA). The conference featured 30 leading legal and political science scholars working in the field of empirical legal studies.

ARENA PhD school on a differentiated Europe

On 12-16 June, ARENA hosted the course ‘A differentiated Europe and its implications’ for the third and last time.

The course offered theoretical and empirical knowledge in the field of EU studies and was structured around the following key themes: Conceptualising and theorising differentiation, EU and differentiation, Implications for Norway and the UK, and the COVID-19 pandemic and EU differentiation. The course built upon the research and network of EU3D and DiCE and the UACES Research Network on Differentiated Integration.

The course was organised by **Jarle Trondal** and **John Erik Fossum**. In addition to the course coordinators, the course included lectures by:

- Dirk Leuffen, Professor of political science and international politics at the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Konstanz
- Benjamin Leruth, Assistant Professor in European Politics and Society, University of Groningen
- Vivien A. Schmidt, Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Professor of International Relations in the Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies; Professor of Political Science at Boston University;
- Sieglinde Gstöhl, Director of the Department of EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies and full-time Professor, College of Europe in Bruges
- Jozef Bátora, Professor at the Department of Political Science, Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia.

ARENA at ECPR

The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference took place at Charles University, Prague, on 4-8 September.

Louisa Boulaziz participated with the paper ‘Beyond the glass ceiling, more housework?’.

John Erik Fossum chaired the section on ‘Turbulent Times: Making Representative Democracy Work (Again)’, the panel ‘Representative Democracy in a Transnational Space and Across Politics’ and participated with the paper ‘Possible trajectories for the EU and the European Economic Area’.

Torbjørn Jevnaker participated with the paper ‘Benchmarking participation in practice against composition of EU agency advisory committees: less diverse in practice than on paper?’.

Soso Makaradze participated with the paper ‘“Nothing is agreed until everything is agreed”: The Emergence of Rule of Law Conditionality in the Council of the EU’.

Asimina Michailidou participated in the panel ‘The Political Sociology of Post-Truth Politics’ and with the papers ‘Journalistic styles, fake news and trust in journalism: Drawing the connections’, ‘Deteriorating quality of deliberation or discursive resilience against democratic backsliding? A news media perspective on the EU-Poland Rule of Law conflict’, (co-authored with Daniel Naurin, Adriana Riganová and Øyvind Stiansen) and ‘Rally around the Rule of Law? How does European Union Rule-of-Law Enforcement Affect Public Opinion in Backsliding Member States?’.

Martin Moland participated with the paper ‘Journalistic styles, fake news and trust in journalism: Drawing the connections’ co-authored with Jacopo Custodi and Asimina Michailidou.

Daniel Naurin co-organised section ‘Core Internal and External Challenges to European Integration’.

Nicole Ostrand participated in the panel ‘Return and Readmission: A Normative Approach’ and the paper ‘Bottom-up relational dynamics in European deportation norms: the relationship between forced return monitors and deportation escort officers’.

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes chaired the panel ‘Classifying Contemporary Authoritarian and Hybrid Regimes: Old Questions, New Data, and Salvaged Concepts’ and participated with the paper ‘Brazil and multilateralism: Sovereignty in disguise?’.

Antoinette Scherz participated with the paper ‘The legitimacy of the UNFCCC: Rethinking the relationship between climate science, non-epistemic values and democracy’.

Karin H. Zelano participated with the paper ‘Role Perceptions of Supreme Courts in the Implementation of EU Law’.

ARENA at UACES

The UACES Annual Conference 2023 was held in Belfast on 3 to 6 September.

Helene Sjursen chaired the panel 'EU-Centrism in World Politics: Critiquing EU External and Diplomatic Relations', and participated in the plenary session '50 years of EU enlargement'.

Arto Väisänen presented 'Learning to Stand on Its Own: Policy Learning in EU Civilian and Military Missions' with Alexander Mesarovich, Ester Sabatino in the panel 'The European Commission as Bricoleur: Promoting EU Security and Defence Policy through Research and Development'.



Public defence: Martin Moland

Martin Moland successfully defended his PhD thesis ‘Differentiated Views on a Differentiated Union? Investigating popular support for a differentiated European Union’ on 11 September.

How is support for European integration differentiated? In his thesis, Moland shows that the attitudes of European citizens towards the EU may be more complex than many political scientists have previously thought. For example, Moland finds that citizens are prone to wish for more integrated EU policies within migration or defence policies, despite these being policy areas many have considered to belong to EU member states.

Committee

Professor Theresa Kuhn, University of Amsterdam

Professor Dirk Leuffen, University of Konstanz

Associate Professor Øyvind Stiansen, University of Oslo

Supervisors

Professor Christopher James Lord, University of Oslo

Professor John Erik Fossum, University of Oslo

Postdoctoral Fellow Peter Egge Langsæther, University of Oslo

Trial lecture

‘Enlargement and External Differentiation Amid the Russian War on Ukraine’



Chris Lord, John Erik Fossum, Øyvind Stiansen, Theresa Kuhn, Martin Moland, Dirk Leuffen and Peter Egge Langsæther

ENROL Workshop: Theoretical Perspectives on Democratic Backsliding in the EU

The research project Enforcing the Rule of Law in the EU (ENROL) held a workshop on 18 and 19 September.

The first panel 'Rule of law and democracy' was chaired by **Antoinette Scherz**. From ARENA, **Vlad Makszimov** also participated. The second panel 'Different RoL Enforcement Tools' was chaired by Christophe Hillion, University of Oslo. From ARENA, Antoinette Scherz and guest researcher Soso Makaradze took part in the panel. On the second day, **Daniel Naurin**, chaired the panel Backsliding and the Way Forward.

IUROPA workshop on data, concepts and measurement in research on law and courts

From 25 to 28 September, the IUROPA project held a workshop on data, concepts, and measurement in research on law and courts.

The aim was to assist early-career researchers with how to measure legal concepts and implement new research tools on a broad scope of research questions related to law and courts. The purpose of the workshop was to understand whether and how quantitative data on courts can advance the collective understanding of judicial behaviour.

The event took place in Professorboligen at the University of Oslo and gathered around 25 participants from universities across Europe and beyond.

The workshop gave participants practical knowledge of software to analyse large quantitative data and included presentations and help in using the software to analyse data on law and courts. Participants also presented their own work during the workshop and was able to receive feedback on their own projects. Furthermore the workshop equipped participants with helpful guidance and different approaches on how to measure concepts in research on law and courts.

During the workshop **Daniel Naurin**, Director, **Louisa Boulaziz**, PhD Research Fellow, and **Øyvind Stiansen**, Associate professor, all from ARENA, presented. External presenters included Michal Ovádek, Associate Professor, University College London, Philipp Schroeder, Postdoctoral Researcher, Department of Political Science at Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Eun Hye Kim, Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Copenhagen, Olof Larsson, Researcher University of Gothenburg, Johan Lindholm, Professor, Umeå University and Lee Epstein, Professor University of Southern California. The programme included both introductions to the practical tools and methods to analyse large datasets, and presentations on how to research the Swedish Supreme Court, The European Court of Human Rights, and the Court of Justice of the EU.



Public defence: Jan Pesl

Jan Pesl successfully defended his PhD thesis on EU legitimacy changes on 17 November.

Jan Pesl studied the changes in EU legitimacy preceding Brexit. Between 2004 and 2016, the EU underwent three crises: the financial crisis, the sovereign debt crisis and the refugee crisis. These impacted two of EU's central arrangements, the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the Schengen area of unrestricted movement.

How did these three crises change how EU legitimacy was constructed in the UK public sphere? Pesl answered this question by using computer-assisted quantitative text analysis (supervised machine-learning) and qualitative discourse analysis.

His findings suggest that the EU's institutional design has led to recurrent legitimation problems and a legitimation crisis. However, it is unlikely that the EU has experienced a severe legitimacy crisis in the period.

Committee

Research Associate Professor Virginie van Ingelgom, Faculty of Economy, Social and Political Sciences and Communication, UCLouvain, Belgium

Professor Hajo Boogaarden, Department of Communication, University of Vienna

Professor Bjørn Schiermer Andersen, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, UiO

Supervisors

Senior Researcher Asimina Michailidou, ARENA, UiO

Professor Cathrine Holst, Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas, UiO

Trial lecture

'The relevance and challenges of computational text analysis approaches for EU studies/social sciences'



Bjørn Schiermer Andersen, Virginie Van Ingelgom, Jan Pesl, Asimina Michailidou, Cathrine Holst and Hajo Boogaarden

ARENA Tuesday seminars

At the ARENA Tuesday seminars, external scholars as well as ARENA's own staff are invited to present and defend their work in an inspiring and rewarding academic environment.

17 January

Contested Competences in the European Union: How Politics and Law Shape What the EU Can('t) Do

Michal Ovádek, University College London.

31 January

European Administrative Networks: fragile or resilient institutions? Analyzing network interactions in times of crises

Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen, University of Copenhagen

14 February

Poland and Germany in the System of European Differentiated Integration - Revisiting Cleavage Perspective

Rafał Riedel, Opole University

14 March

Circumstantial Liberals: Ethnic Minorities, Political Competition, and Democracy

Jan Rovny, Sciences Po, Paris

28 March

From the Blind Men and the Octopus: Dynamics in the European Union's Federal Design and Practices

Eva Heidbreder, Otto von Guericke, University of Magdeburg

11 April

Leveling and Spotlighting: How International Courts Refract Private Litigation to Build Institutional Legitimacy

Silje Synnøve Lyder Hermansen, University of Copenhagen

25 April

A Fair Deal: Gains, Losses, and Individual Attitudes towards Trade Agreements

Andreas Dür, University of Salzburg and the Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies

9 May

Research Centre on the European dimension of Norwegian Law (EurNorLaw)

Ole-Andreas Rognstad, University of Oslo

23 May

Distributive Justice and the Legitimacy of International Organizations

Lisa Dellmuth, Stockholm University

6 June

E pluribus unum? On the Legitimacy of Differentiation Integration in the European Union

Thomas Mehlhausen, Leipzig University



Lydia Tiede

29 August

Some differences, many similarities: Comparing Europe's responses to the 1973 oil crisis and the 2022 gas crisis

Lucas Schramm, Ludwigs-Maximilians-Universität München

12 September

When a line becomes a wall. The effect of intra-EU border closures on European identity during the COVID-19 pandemic

Theresa Kuhn, University of Amsterdam

19 September

“Speaking to Europe” – Euro-Atlantic Integration as a Strategic Narrative under Zelensky

Geir Flikke, University of Oslo

17 October

Negotiating European Integration: Council Responsiveness to Public Opinion

Nikoleta Yordanova, Leiden University

31 October

Multilateralism in EU foreign policy-making

Helene Sjursen, ARENA Centre of European Studies. Federica Bicchì, London School of Economics. Marianna Lovato, Brussels School of Governance

14 November

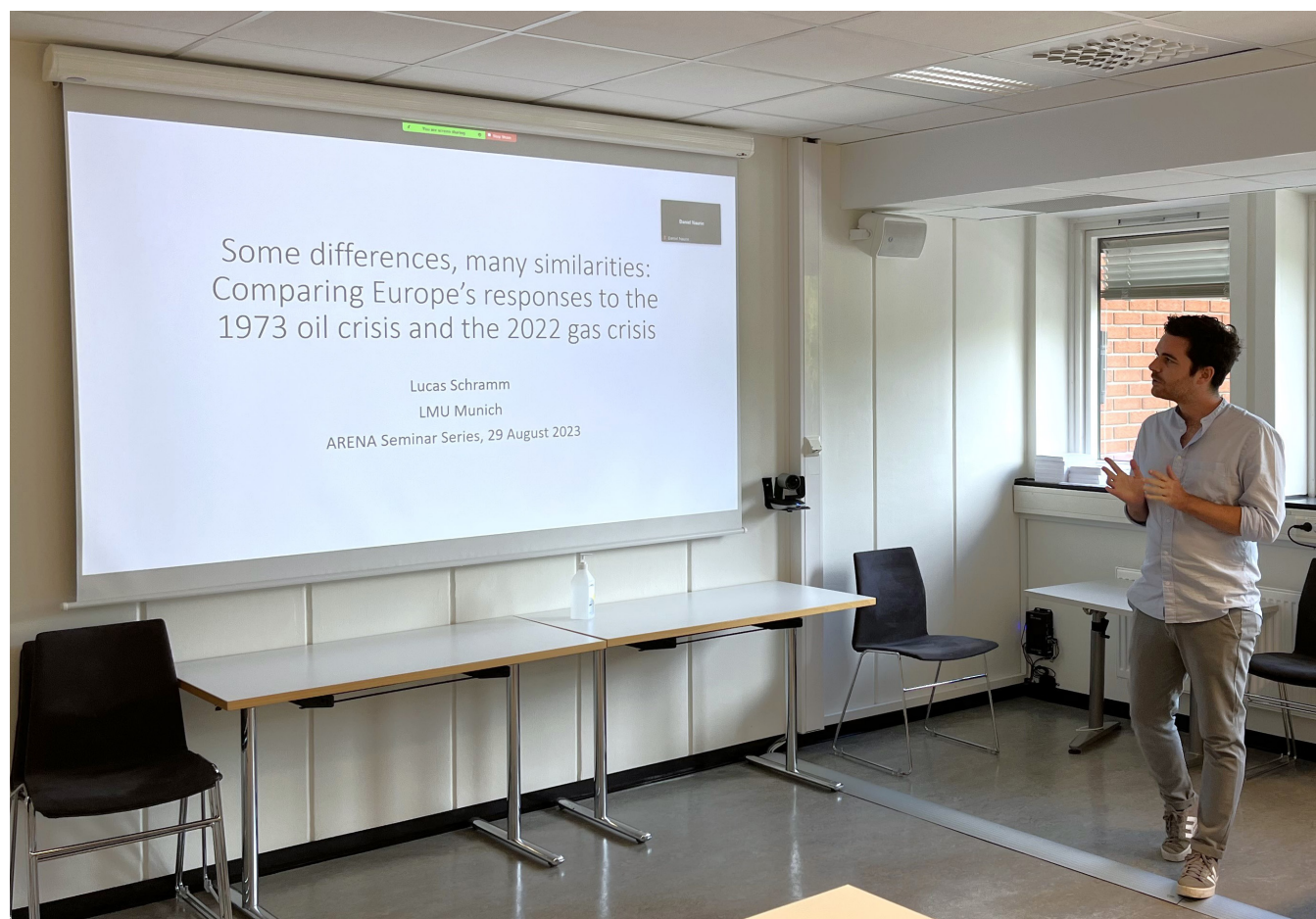
On the Rise of Authoritarian Populism

Michael Zürn, WZB Berlin Social Science Center and Free University Berlin

5 December

Rule of Law Promotion in Times of De-Democratization

Lydia Tiede, University of Houston



Lucas Schramm

Other conferences and events

ARENA's staff organised and chaired panels and workshops as part of international academic conferences, in addition to giving invited lectures and academic papers at events organised by a range of research projects, networks and academic institutions.

Øyvind Stiansen, 'Comparative Institutions and Regime', workshop, University of Oslo, 13 January

SINGLEMARKETS Workshop 6-7 February

Craig Parsons, invited talk, Center for European Law, UiO, 'The Law and Politics of Single Market Governance in the EU and the US', 9 February

Helene Sjursen, lecture on 'The EU and the liberal international order', The Centre for European Governance, University of Hull, 14 February

Daniel Naurin, **Øyvind Stiansen**, **Asimina Michailidou** and **Adriana Riganova** participated in the workshop 'The multi-level politics of countering democratic backsliding' Center for Advanced Studies (CAS), LMU Munich, 27-28 February

Helene Sjursen, organisation of panel 'Global justice and foreign policy: reconsidering the European Union's commitment to the liberal world order', International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention, 15-18 mars

Christopher Lord, Research in progress, REGROUP event, Jaques Delors Institute, 23-24 March

Nicole Ostrand, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Leuphana University Lüneburg, 26 to 27 March 2024: 'EU Return and Readmission Policy: Going Beyond the Rationalist Paradigm'

Helene Sjursen, lecture and panel debate on 'Democracy and Foreign Policy', PhD school on Democracy in Europe, University of Bologna, 12-15 April

Asimina Michailidou, panellist, 'Post-truth Politics and the Future of Democracy in Europe', CEPS, 28 April

Craig Parsons, paper presentation, 'Why Did Europe Build More 'Single' Market Rules than the U.S.?' European Union Studies Association Conference, Pittsburgh, PA, USA, 4-6 May

Louisa Boulaziz paper presentation, 'Towards a theory of judicial agency: Government input and litigant success in the European Court of Justice' co-authored with Silje Synnøve Lyder Hermansen and

Tommaso Pavone, European Union Studies Association Conference, Pittsburg USA, 4-6 May

Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, 'The Empirical-Normative Dissonance in Technical Legitimacy' The Norwegian Institute in Rome, 10 May

John Erik Fossum, presentation about Norway in a changing Europe, Østlandssamarbeidets Europakonferanse, 12 May

Daniel Naurin, presentation 'Sosio-politiske årsaker til feil anvendelse av EU/EØS-rett', EURNOR opening workshop, 12 June

Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez, presentation of draft paper 'The Politics of Ideas and the Rule of Law Crisis', Nuffield Early Career Workshop in Socio-legal Studies, Oxford, 16 June

Øyvind Stiansen, 'Democratic backsliding and the EU's democratic deficit', Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association 24 June



Trym Nohr Fjørtoft at the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Oslo's 60-year anniversary (Photo: Amund Aasbrenn/ UiO)

Daniel Naurin, ‘Rally around the Rule of Law? How does European Union (in)action affect public opinion in backsliding member states?’, paper presented at The Twenty-Ninth International Conference of Europeanists (CES), Reykjavik, Iceland, 27-29 June

SINGLEMARKETS Project panel at Council for European Studies conference, ‘Governing ‘Single Markets’ in the EU and the US: Sectors, Practices and Legitimations’, Reykjavik, 27-29 June

Øyvind Stiansen, ‘Backlash against Liberal Norm’, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1 September

Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, ‘Inductive Risk and the Legitimacy of Non-Majoritarian Institutions’, SciDem Research Seminar, University of Oslo, 15 September

SINGLEMARKETS, invited presentation to Swedish Board of Trade, Stockholm, “The SINGLEMARKETS Project: Market Openness in the EU and the US,” 18 September

Torbjørn Jevnaker, public defence of thesis ‘With a Little help from My Friends? Organising the External Relations of European Union Agencies’, 28 September

Louisa Boulaziz presented the paper ‘Gender and judging revisited: Attitudes or strategic behavior?’, 2nd Joint Global Politics of Law & Courts Workshop, Oslo, 29-30 September

Jarle Trondal, The Centre on the Europeanization of Norwegian Law (CENTENOL) opening conference, 4 October

Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez, presentation of draft paper ‘Follow the Leader: The European Commission, the European Court of Justice, and the EU’s Rule of Law Revolution’, ENROL Advisory Board Meeting, Oslo, 6 October

Helene Sjursen, panel discussion about Russia’s War on Ukraine at the Centre of European Governance, University of Hull, 10 October

Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, ‘Technical Legitimacy’, GOODPOL research seminar, Oslo, 12 October

Nicole Ostrand, ‘The legitimising role of fundamental rights and forced return monitoring in deportations?’, seminar at Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex, 19 October

Ines Wagner, invited lecture, ‘Negotiating Algorithms’, Fletcher School of Business, Tufts University, 19 October

Ines Wagner, invited lecture, ‘EU Pay Transparency’, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 26 October

Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, presentation of ongoing research, Faculty of Social Science at the University of Oslo’s 60-year anniversary, 3 November

Ines Wagner, invited lecture, ‘Dual Mobility in the Pan-European Labour Market’, Boston University, 16 November

Jarle Trondal and John Erik Fossum, ‘National Coordination and the European Union’, Villa Vigoni, 4-6 December

Helene Sjursen, ‘European Security Redefined: Ukraine’s Potential Accession Amidst Russia’s Full-Scale War’, panel discussion during First International Expert Forum on Ukraine organised by Universität Hamburg and Hamburg Institute for Advanced Study (HIAS), 20 December



Chris Lord at the REGROUP research in progress event (Photo: Solena Lefevre).

Outreach

Scenario conference: Different scenarios for the EU and EEA

On 28 February, ARENA organised a scenario conference at Tøyen Hovedgård, Oslo.

Around 40 researchers, civil servants/ bureaucrats, civil society actors and other stakeholder participated in the full day event.

The topic of the event was different future scenarios for the EU, and how each possible situation would affect Norway. Researchers also applied these scenarios to discuss different policy areas in more detail.

The aim was both that researchers could share their findings and research with the participants, and also to have open discussions with stakeholders and practitioners on these scenarios, in a Chatham House setting.

John Erik Fossum held an introduction presenting three scenarios for the European Union: 1) disintegration and a more intergovernmental EU; 2) more complexity and differentiation and 3) a more integrated EU. This was followed by two parallel sessions: Security and defence policy, led by Marianne Riddervold, and Trade, led by Arne Melchior. The next set of parallel sessions were: Primary sector, led by Arild Aurvåg Farsund, and

Climate and energy policy, led by Merethe Dotterud Leiren.

The event was held in the framework of DiCE Forsterk, funded by the Norwegian Research Council, and based on the scenario marathon events by the Horizon 2020 project Differentiation: Clustering Excellence (DiCE).



Book presentation: Conflict Transformation: Essays on European Law and Policy

Christian Joerges, Professor Emeritus of Law and Society at the Hertie School in Berlin, presented his book *Conflict and Transformation: Essays on European Law and Policy*.

The presentation was followed by comments by Inger Johanne Sand, Institute of Public and International Law, UiO, and **John Erik Fossum**, ARENA.

In the book, Joerges reflects on his previous writings in the context of current challenges the European project is facing. He identifies three flaws in the current European ideology. Firstly, he points to the intellectual limitations of the “integration through law” ideology. Secondly, the book sets out the systematic neglect of “the economic” and its political dynamics. Finally, it addresses the complacency with respect to Europe’s darker legacies. This is an important critical (and candid) assessment of Europe at its half century.

The presentation took place in Professorboligen on 6 March.

Allan Rosas on the CJEU and the 255 Committee and The Court of Justice of the EU and its working methods

Allan Rosas, former CJEU judge and current president of the 255 Committee, presented during a European Law Lunch at the Centre for European Law at University of Oslo on 4 May.

The Judges and Advocates General at the Court of Justice and the General Court of the European Union are appointed by mutual agreement of the Governments of the Member States, after consulting the committee established under TFEU article 255. This committee – colloquially referred to as the 255 Committee – was of the Lisbon Treaty’s innovations. It is tasked with giving opinions “on candidates’ suitability to perform the duties” of Judge and Advocate-General of the Court of Justice and the General Court.

Allan Rosas, president of the 255 Committee and former CJEU judge, discussed the work of the committee and its wider significance.

On the same day, Allan Rosas also held a guest lecture at the Faculty of Law where he gave an insider’s view of the Court of Justice and its working methods. He shared some of his extensive knowledge of the Court of Justice and its working methods, drawing on his more than 17 years of experience on the bench and three years’ experience as member and president of the 255 Committee.

Both events were co-organised by ARENA and Centre for European Law at University of Oslo.

Guest lecture: How to overcome the rule of law crisis in Poland after the upcoming parliamentary elections?

This public lecture was held by Professor Adam Bodnar, professor of law and Dean of the Law Faculty of the SWPS University in Warsaw.

Bodnar spoke about democracy and rule of law in Poland, and about how the elections in the autumn of 2023 could bring about important change.

The lecture took place at the Law Faculty at University of Oslo on 1 June, and was organised in the framework of the research project Enforcing the Rule of Law in the EU (ENROL), coordinated by ARENA.

EU3D policy events

The EU3D project held a number of policy events in the summer.

On 4 July, partner in the EU3D project Bruegel, hosted a [policy dialogue](#) in Brussels. The event was about Democratic Resilience in light of the 2024 EU elections, and had two sessions. **John Erik Fossum**, ARENA, chaired the first panel session, 'Setting the scene: parliamentary debates'. He was joined by Sergio Fabbrini, LUISS, Magdalena Góra, Jagiellonian University and **Christopher Lord**, ARENA. The second session was a discussion with political parties, and had the following panelists: Thanasis Bakolas, Secretary General, The European People's Party; Giacomo Filibeck, Executive Secretary General, Party of European Socialists; Benedetta De Marte, Secretary General, European Green Party; and Didrik de Schaetzen, Secretary General ad interim, ALDE Party. It was chaired by Heather Grabbe, Bruegel.

On 5 July, ARENA cooperated with member of the EU3D Advisory Board professor Julie Smith, Baroness Smith of Newnham on a policy event. The event took

place in House of Lords in London on 5 July. During the event, members of the House of Lords and academics discussed the book 'Handbook on the European Union and Brexit'. Editors John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord, presented the book, and had invited other authors of chapters in the handbook to present their findings: Professor Sandra Lavenex, University of Geneva; Professor Nanette Neuwahl, Professor emerita of Law, University of Montreal; Professor James Dennison, European University Institute; Dr. Birgit Bujard, University of Cologne.

EU3D partners also organised national policy dialogues in Poland and in France. The event 'Differentiation, democracy and dominance: the divergent visions on the future of the European Union' was organised by Jagiellonian University in May, and Sciences Po Grenoble hosted the dialogue 'A Europe for today and for tomorrow' in July.



Sandra Lavenex, Chris Lord, John Erik Fossum, Julie Smith, Birgit Bujard, Nanette Neuwahl.

Research comics, storytelling and forced migration

Karin Hjorthen Zelano chaired this event, co-organised by ARENA and Domus Bibliotheca on 28 September. This event was a conversation between Professor Maja Janmyr, Department of Criminology and Sociology of Law, University of Oslo, and Professor Gregg Bucken-Knapp, School of Public Administration, University of Gothenburg. They discussed research comics on topics related to forced migration, and the advantages and challenges of research comics as a method.



Maja Janmyr and Karin Hjorthen Zelano.

Eilert Sundt Lecture: Does the Liberal International Order have a Future?



Professor G. John Ikenberry, Princeton University, held this year's annual Eilert Sundt lecture.

The lecture was jointly organised by UiO's Faculty of Social Sciences and ARENA on 2 November.

Ikenberry looked back at the 20th century to explain the world we live in today – and the possibility of a liberal world order in the future.

He talked about how the liberal world order protects democracy, and about how the US, which is seen as the leader of the liberal world order, have made many mistakes in their foreign policies.

After Ikenberry's lecture, **Helene Sjursen**, commented and reflected on the lecture. She argued for a nuanced analysis of the challenges the liberal world order faces, and to also include perspectives from the Global South. Sjursen also raised the question whether we should think differently around the state centered liberal order to meet the climate challenge.



Helene Sjursen and John Ikenberry (Photos: Amund Aasbrenn, UiO).

Presentation to the Delegation of the European Union to Norway

On 15 November, **Trym Nohr Fjørtoft** held a presentation for trainees from the European embassies to Norway, invited by the Delegation of the European Union to Norway. Fjørtoft talked about the history of EU-Norway relations, EU referendums and the EEA agreement. He also presented the SINGLEMARKETS project.



Book presentation and discussion: A new perspective on Norway's wriggle room within the EEA agreement

On 20 November, ARENA invited to a book presentation and panel discussion on 'A new perspective on Norway's wriggle room in the EEA agreement'.

The event centred around the topics of the book 'Norway's EU Experience and Lessons for the UK. On Autonomy and Wriggle Room', co-authored by ARENA researchers in cooperation with researchers from other institutions (see also page 18).

Daniel Naurin held the opening remarks, and **John Erik Fossum** held an introduction to the first panel. In the first panel, researchers Merethe Dotterud Leiren, CICERO, Marianne Riddervold, NUPI and Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, and Arild Aurvåg Farsund, University of Bergen discussed wriggle room and autonomy. They presented research on the policy areas climate and energy, security and defence and trade and the primary sector. Journalist Christina Kullmann Five, Altinet, led the debate.

The second panel discussed democracy and individual versus state autonomy. **Jarle Trondal**, John Erik Fossum and Anne Elizabeth Stie, University of Agder, participated.



John Erik Fossum, Anne Elizabeth Stie and Jarle Trondal.

Chatham House: The European Union's role in a changing world

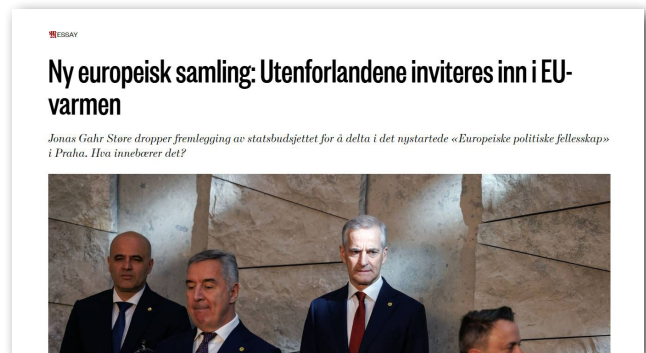
On 28 November, Helene Sjursen, was a panelist at Chatham House in London.

The background for the event was an issue of International Affairs, in which Sjursen edited a special titled 'Liberal order, the EU and global political justice' (p.19). The panellists, in addition to Sjursen, were Shada Islam and Hans Kundnani. Richard G. Whitman chaired the event.

The panel discussed the biggest challenges facing the EU today, how the EU might adapt and evolve to these challenges to remain a relevant global actor and what role the EU plays in the international order.

Media contributions

As a centre for research on issues directly affecting European citizens, ARENA aims to reach out beyond the research community. The staff contributes to the public debate in print and broadcast media, commenting upon topical issues with research-based knowledge.



Op-eds

Byråkraten slåss hela tiden för – och mot – sina ideal, Karin Hjorthen Zelano, Dagens Nyheter, 19 May

Hvem er «vi-et» som skal handle for oss?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Altinget, 17 July

Hvem er «vi»? , Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen, 7 August

Verden brenner, Nei til EU består, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen, 11 August

Tilliten til politikerne henger i en tynn tråd, Louisa Boulaziz (with Victoria Skeie), NRK Ytring, 19 October

Hvorfor er noen verdig tillit?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Samtiden, 29 November

Demokrati og overnasjonalitet – det er på tide med nyorientering, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Altinget, 19 December

Interviews, news commentaries and expert opinions

EU vil jevne ut strømprisene, Torbjørn Jevnaker, Klassekampen, 25 January

Ukraina-krigen: – Verden blir ikke den samme, sier forsker Janne Haaland Matlary, Helene Sjørnsen, Forskning.no, 3 June

Norske politikarar vegrar seg for å snakke om EU, John Erik Fossum, University of Oslo website and Forskning.no, 18 July

Europaekspert med EU-advarsel: – Fort en debatt om for eller mot, John Erik Fossum, Nationen, 21 July

Grekere er sinte på myndighetene. «De etterlot oss til å brenne.», Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten, 28 July

Utenforlandene inviteres inn i varmen, Helene Sjørnsen, Morgenbladet, 23 September

I høst har over 1000 russiske biler kommet inn i Norge over denne grensen, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, TV2, 29 September

– Verken staten eller demokratiet hadde fungert utan eit velfungerande byråkrati, Jarle Trondal, University of Agder website and Forskning.no, 24 October

Fire om EØS-avtalen, Helene Sjørnsen, NTB, 27 December



(Photos: Screengrabs of Altinget, Morgenbladet and NRK)

Other outreach activities

The European Union and global development, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, In Pursuit of Development podcast, 29 March

‘How can the EU fairly evaluate the job performance of its judges?’, Joshua Fjelstul, LSE Blog, 10 May

SINGLEMARKETS research in “Schumpeter” column for *The Economist*, “America’s Culture Wars Threaten Its Single Market,” May 18, 2023.

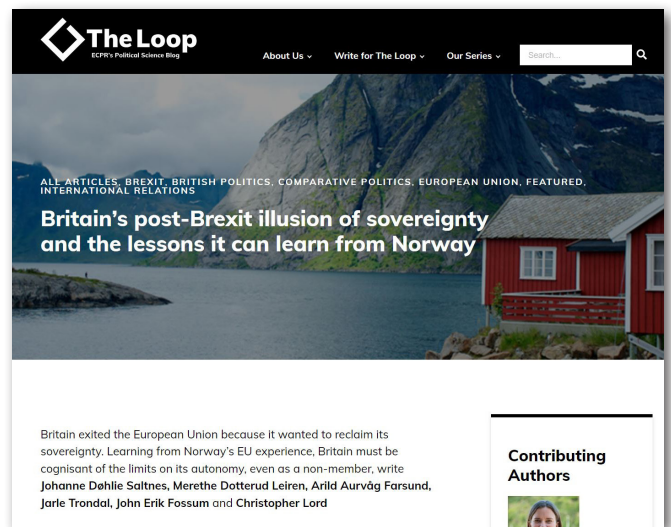
‘Hjemmekontor og beslutningsgrunnlag’. Morten Egeberg and dag Ingvar Jacobsen, Stat & styring, 12 June

‘Cracks in the UK imaginary of the strong and effective overseas border: disconnect, opportunism and flexibility in implementation’, Nicole Ostrand, Faculty of Law Blogs, University of Oxford, 5 July

‘Covid-19 and Multi-Level Emergency Governance in Europe’, Christopher Lord and John Erik Fossum REGROUP Blog, 26 July

‘Norges handlingsrom under EØS-avtalen’, panel at Arendalsuka, organised by University of Agder, Jarle Trondal and John Erik Fossum, 16 August

‘Britain’s post-Brexit illusion of sovereignty and the lessons it can learn from Norway’, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, Jarle Trondal, John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord, The Loop, 17 October



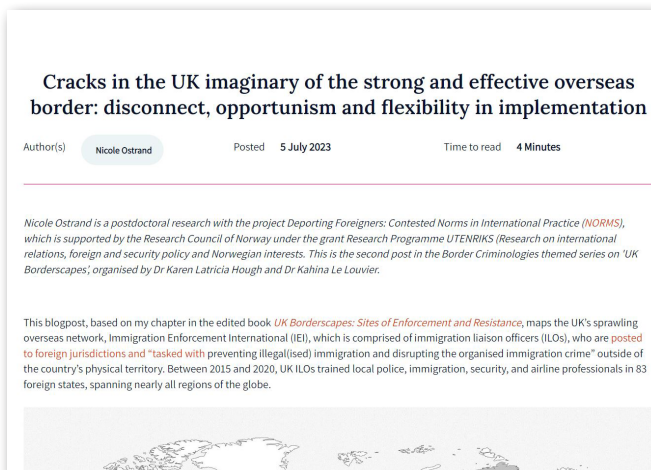
‘Tre modeller av forvaltningsatferd: Hvordan fatte riktige beslutninger?’, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Stat & styring, 18 October

‘Et EU i flere lag?’, Det Europeiske kvarter podcast, Martin Moland, 14 November

‘Books on Brexit’, UK in a changing Europe podcast, Christopher Lord and John Erik Fossum, 20 December

‘7 key challenges facing the European Union – reassessing the EU’s role in the international order’, Helene Sjørusen and Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, contributing authors, International Affairs blog, 14 December

‘It’s time for the EU to step up efforts to revamp the liberal international order’, Helene Sjørusen and Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, contributing authors. The Loop-ECPRs Political Science Blog, 19 December



(Photos: Screenshot of The Loop and University of Oxford)

EU3D outreach

Policy briefs

The EU3D policy briefs were written by project members and edited in cooperation with Bruegel.

To differentiate or not to differentiate: Public opinion on differentiated integration in the European Union

A federal union for dealing with the Russian war

Exit as legitimacy? The paradox of a right of exit from the European Union

What's the story? Media narratives in a polity in the making

What political actors say about the future of the European Union: The views from national and European parliaments

Thought communities and their implications for polity formation in the EU

Future of Europe event series

Partners in the ARENA coordinated project 'EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy' (EU3D) have held a number of public events in 2023.

28 March

Future of Europe Debate in Brussels: 'What's the story? Narratives of EU reforms in parliaments and the media'

24 April

Future of Europe Lecture in Konstanz: Sonja Grimm and Karina Shyrokykh, 'Tracing the Evolution of EU Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood and Beyond.'

16 May

Future of Europe Lecture in Paris: Jan Zielonka, 'The Renaissance of Nation-States, Democracy and the Future of European Multi-Level Governance'

24 May

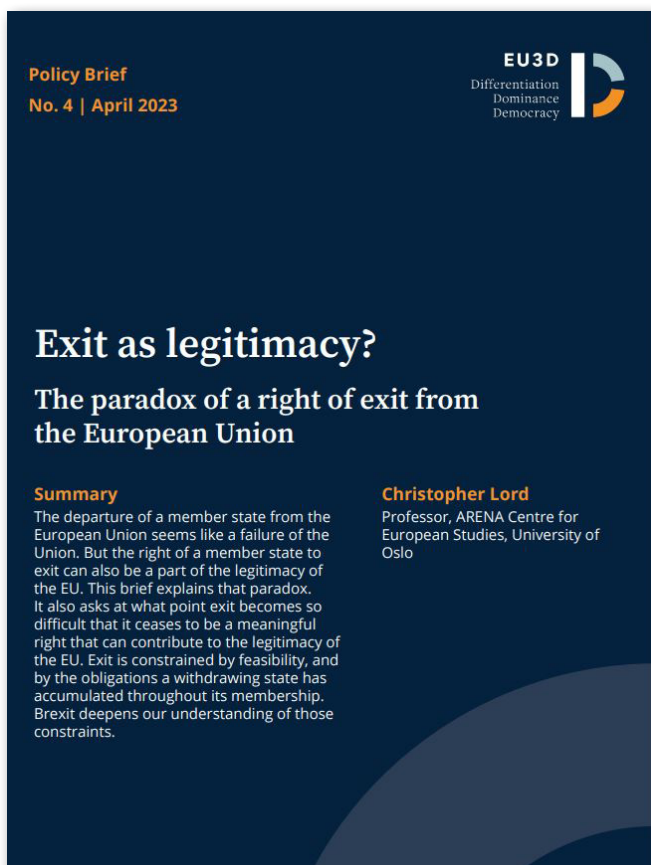
Future of Europe Lecture in Krakow: Jonathan White, 'Emergency Europe: Patterns and Prospects'

27 May

Future of Europe Debate and Student Debate in Athens: 'European Elections 2024 countdown: What's on stake for the EU and How to foster Youth participation'

17 June

Future of Europe Lecture, Debate and Student Debate in Bratislava: Jozef Bátora, 'Krízy a politické usporiadanie EÚ: Kam smerujeme?' ('Crises and the EU's political order: Where are we heading?'), 'Je EÚ po krízach demokratická?' ('Is the EU democratic after its crises?') and 'Čo nám EÚ prináša? A je naša?' ('What does the EU bring to us? And is it ours?')





Martin Moland and Giuseppe Porcaro (Photo: Still from video on media narratives and European reforms).

Videos

EU3D published a series of videos summarising the project, produced in cooperation with Jagiellonian University, Krakow.

EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy

Constitutional models for the future European Union

Media narratives and European reforms

Political actors' views on the future of the European Union

Public opinion on differentiated integration and the future of the EU

Future of Europe Blog

The Future of Europe blog is an academic blog run by EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D) and hosted on UACES' Ideas on Europe. The aim is to debate the EU's current and future challenges and to enhance the understanding of the democratic potentials and the dominance pitfalls of differentiation in today's EU. The editorial team is Resul Ümit (editor), John Erik Fossum and Raquel Ugarte Díez.

Hoffmann, Silva, 'Sovereignty under the EEA is a Norwegian illusion', 10 January

Jonathan White, 'Constitutionalising the EU in an age of emergencies', 13 June

Pernille Rieker and Mathilde Tomine Eriksdatter Giske, 'EU(ropean) Actorness in a Shifting Geopolitical Order: Strategic Autonomy through Differentiated Integration', 14 August

Insights

EU3D Insights conveys insiders' insights and ideas on important questions facing the EU and affiliated states.

Andrew Duff, 'The before and after of Brexit: Britain and the Schuman plan', March

Stein Reegård, 'Brexit from a Nordic perspective: Labour market and social organisation', June



EU3D Insights

June 2023

Brexit from a Nordic perspective: Labour market and social organisation

Stein Reegård

This paper is dealing with important aspects of Brexit and the Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) in a Nordic context. We summarise the main findings in a report from the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions (LO)¹ presented in May 2022. In this insight we concentrate on possible relevance for the Norwegian debate on European Economic Area (EEA), of which Norway has been a member since 1993.

The LO congress, taking place every fourth year, has over time been an important scene for the compromise in Norway: being part of the internal market; with the exception of the customs union, agriculture and fisheries.² This has provided open access to the European market without joining European Union (EU) as a member state.

In our analysis we take the perspective that the labour market stands out as the most important one to our societies among the four 'market freedoms' for: goods, services, capital and labour. In the literature on variety of market economies, labour market organisation is often focused on as the most obvious division, grouping Nordic societies as the 'coordinated economies'. They are regarded as significantly different from the other two main types of market economies: the liberal market economies and the more mixed ones in Continental Europe.³



Stein Reegård is a consultant on European Economic Area (EEA) issues. He is former Chief Economist in The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) and State secretary (1986-91) in two of Gro Harlem Brundtlands governments.

In advanced economies around two thirds of net value added are paid as labour costs. This demonstrates work organisation as vital for the national economy in terms of jobs and living standards and as decisive in whether countries succeed economically or not.

According to the EEA agreement organising the labour market should primarily be a national responsibility. The supranational mechanisms come into play through minimum standards aiming to prevent a race to the bottom and by coordinating cross-border issues related to the open flow of services and workers. Here, tension between the consideration of national governance and the consideration of 'free movement' easily arise, as is the case for several EU/EEA rules in general.

EU3D Insights

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Organisation and staff

Personnel and economy

As a research centre based at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oslo, the main part of ARENA's budget is financed by external funding sources. In 2023, the centre's main sources of external funding were the Research Council of Norway and the EU's Horizon 2020 programme/ Horizon Europe.

Key figures 2023

Professors including research professors (work years)	5.73
Senior researchers and postdoctoral fellows (work years)	6.65
PhD fellows (work years)	6
MA students	2
Administrative staff (work years)	4.5
Research assistants (work years)	2.8
Total budget (NOK million)	35
External financing (per cent)	69

The ARENA Board

2020-2023

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TIK Centre for Technology, Innovation and Culture, University of Oslo

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Doctoral research fellow Martin Moland

ARENA Centre for European Studies

Deputy member: Doctoral research fellow Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, ARENA

Adviser Tyra Kristiansen Stave

ARENA Centre for European Studies

Deputy member: Senior Executive Officer Janna van Diepen

ARENA Management



ARENA Director Prof. Daniel Naurin

Naurin is Professor of Political Science and Director of ARENA. He is affiliated with the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg.

Naurin has held positions and visiting fellowships at the European University Institute (Florence), Emory University (Atlanta), Monash European Centre (Melbourne), Sussex European Institute (Brighton), and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Stockholm).

Naurin has worked with a broad range of research themes during his academic career, including judicial politics, lobbying, transparency and international negotiations. Much of his empirical work has focused on the politics of the European Union.



Administrative Director Ida Hjelmæsæth

Hjelmæsæth has worked in ARENA's research administration since 2008 and been Administrative Director since September 2015.

Academic staff

All ARENA staff and affiliated researchers during 2023.



Tobias Bach

Senior Researcher

Research: Public Policy and Administration, Organisation Theory, Comparative Public Administration



Morten Egeberg

Professor Emeritus

Research: Organisational factors in political-administrative life, European Commission, EU agencies, national executives



Andreas Eriksen

Researcher

Research: Legitimacy, political philosophy



Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Professor

Research: Political theory, public policy and European integration



Joshua Fjelstul

Researcher

Research: Politics of compliance with international law and EU law and the politics of international courts and the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU)



Trym Nohr Fjørtoft

Postdoctoral Fellow

Research: Single-market governance, democracy, the legitimacy of unelected bodies, and border control and migration.



John Erik Fossum

Professor

Research: Political theory, democracy, constitutionalism in the EU and Canada, as well as Europeanisation and transformation of the nation state



Fredrik Dybfest Hjorthen

Researcher

Research: Due process in the context of the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV), normative political theory, international justice.



Christopher Lord

Professor

Research: Democracy, legitimacy, political parties in the EU, the history of Britain and Europe, the political economy of the monetary union



Asimina Michailidou

Senior Researcher

Research: Public sphere theory, political and public communication, globalisation and political activism, online media and impact on EU politics



Martin Moland

PhD Fellow/ Postdoctoral Fellow

Research: The effects of media use on political behavior, contestation of European integration, public opinion in the EU countries.



Espen D. H. Olsen

Researcher

Research: European citizenship, EU integration, citizen deliberation, deliberative democracy, the Eurocrisis



Johan P. Olsen

Professor Emeritus

Research: Organisational decisionmaking, New Institutionalism, democracy, power and the Scandinavian model, the changing political organisation of Europe



Nicole Ostrand

Postdoctoral Fellow

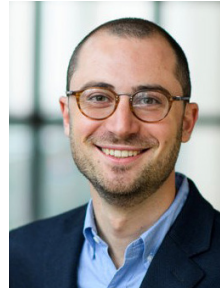
Research: Immigration and asylum policy, transnational migration governance and inter-state cooperation, and migration-related detention and deportation.



Craig Parsons

Senior Researcher

Research: Comparisons between the European Union and American federalism, how divisive issues affect political parties and democratic representation.



Tommaso Pavone

Researcher

Research: politics through which judges and lawyers shape political development and advance social change, as well as the politics of rule of law (non-)enforcement in the EU.



Antoinette Scherz

Senior Researcher

Research: international political theory at the intersection of political philosophy, international legal theory and international relations theory.



Helene Sjørusen

Research Professor

Research: The EU as an international actor, the EU's foreign and security policy, EU enlargement, democratic aspects of foreign and security policy.



Øyvind Stiansen

Researcher

Research: Judicial politics, appointment of judges, judicial impact and compliance with judicial decisions, international courts and tribunals, the rule of law.



Jarle Trondal

Professor

Research: European public administration, administrative behaviour, administrative reform, and organisational studies



Ines Alisa Wagner

Research Professor

Research: Labor mobility in the EU, gender and work and the future of work.



Karin Hjorthen Zelano

Postdoctoral Fellow

Research: Role perceptions and problem definitions in the implementation of EU law among representatives of national agencies and courts.

PhD Fellows



Louisa Boulaziz

PhD project: How ‘repeat lawyers’ affect judicial behavior and influence decision-making in the European Court of Justice



Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

PhD project: ‘Differentiated Integration in European Security and Defence Cooperation’



Vlagyiszlav Makszimov

PhD project: The relationship between the European Court of Justice (CJEU), legal elites and the wider public.



Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez

PhD project: Violations of EU law and core principles of EU membership, Court of Justice of the EU.



Adriana Purzycka

PhD project: Mobilisation of civil society actors around the rule of law in democratic backsliding contexts.



Alicia Noëllie Saes-Louarn

PhD project: The factors leading executive officers in Norwegian national agencies to misinterpret EU secondary laws.



Arto Väisänen

PhD project: How the European security governance constitutes a political network and how this shapes the influence and power of small European states in shaping said security governance.

EEA secretariat



Guri Rosén

Leader of the secretariat supporting the EEA Commission in their work (more information on page 16).



Elen Botten

*Research assistant
(Photo: Espen Sturlason / Sturlason AS Polyfoto)*



Torbjørg Jevnaker

Researcher



Olav Haldorsson Slettebø

Senior Adviser



Frode Veggeland

Researcher



Siri Kildahl Venemyr

Researcher



Anne Mette Ødegård

*Researcher
(Photo: Fafo)*

Administration



Vilija Duleviciute
Senior Adviser



Tyra Kristiansen Stave
Adviser



Silje Marie Thorstensen
Senior Executive Officer



Janna van Diepen
Senior Executive Officer

Guest researchers



Anna Simstich

Hertie School

Research: Differentiated implementation and bureaucratic politics in the EU.



Unai Gómez-Hernández

University of Edinburgh and KU Leuven

Research: Radical right populist parties, EU's external action and EU-China relations.



Eva Krick

Research: expertise and knowledge in the policy context, citizen participation and democratic legitimacy as well as consensus-building and collective decision-making.



Soso Makaradze

University of Salzburg

Research: Rule of law and democratic backsliding in the EU.



Agustín José Menéndez

Universidad de León

Research: Democracy, fundamental rights and legitimacy, relationship between national and EU law.



Markus Ojala

University of Helsinki

Research: Political communication, political economy, international relations and journalism.



Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

University of Brasilia

Research: Contestation of international norms, EU development policy, global justice, human rights sanctions.



Lucas Schramm

LMU Munich

Research: European integration theory and history, EU crisis politics, France-Germany in Europe.



Bent Sofus Tranøy

Kristiania University College, Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences

Research: Political economy, globalisation, financial regulation, public policy, Europeanisation.



Lydia Brashear Tiede

University of Houston

Research: Comparative study of the rule of law, judicial backsliding, and judicial reform.

Research Assistants



Milla Elisabeth Blegen



Raquel Ugarte Díez



Birthe Einen



Silva Malin Hoffmann



Siri Katrine Helland Stai

MA students



Maisie Florence Fitzmaurice

Student

Thesis: “Our lives are not valued’
A critical suicidology perspective
on the right to life in British
immigration detention centres’

*Supervisors: Nicole Ostrand and
Katja Franko*



**Live Johanna Steinsdatter
Øverhaug**

Student

Thesis: ‘Money Talks? EU
Sanctions and LGBT-free Zones
in Poland’

Supervisor: Daniel Naurin

Annual report 2023

ARENA Centre for European Studies

University of Oslo

P.O.Box 1143 Blindern

0318 Oslo

Phone: +47 22 85 87 00

arena@arena.uio.no

www.arena.uio.no

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Graphic design: ARENA

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