

ARENA Centre for European Studies Annual Report 2022



**UNIVERSITY
OF OSLO**

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 a comprehensive overview of our projects, publications and events in 2022.

Researchers have travelled to workshops and conferences, and we have invited researchers and speakers to our own events. In November ARENA held its traditional ARENA lecture, where Minister of Climate and Environment Espen Barth Eide spoke about the EU's climate and environment policies and their implications for Norway.

ARENA was granted the task of hosting the secretariat supporting the work of the EEA Committee, constituted by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in May. The secretariat is led by Guri Rosén at ARENA.

In 2022, two new research projects coordinated by ARENA began: Rule of Law in NAV: Principled Justification (RETTs), funded by NAV, and Enforcing the rule of law: What can the European Union do to prevent rule of law deterioration from within? (ENROL), funded by the Norwegian Research Council.

ARENA joined two new large EU projects, Reclaiming Liberal Democracy in the Postfactual Age (RECLAIM) and Rebuilding Governance and Resilience out of the Pandemic (REGROUP). In addition, ARENA received funding to participate in the Norwegian Research Council project Governing under turbulence: The European Green Deal and implications for Norway (DEAL), coordinated by CICERO, and to participate in the Horizon Europe project The Representative Disconnect: Diagnosis and Strategies for Rectification (REDIRECT).

In 2022, two projects came to an end: Differentiation: Clustering Excellence (DiCE) which established a large research network designed to support policy decisions on EU differentiation, and Negotiating Diversity in Expanded European Public Spaces (PLURISPACE) which provided new insights into the relationship between citizens' engagement and multilevel European public spaces.

We are happy to congratulate Claire Godet, Anke Stefanie Schwarzkopf and Trym Nohr Fjørtoft for successfully defending their doctoral theses this year.

In 2023, we are looking forward to continuing and starting up new projects, seeing more PhD Fellows defend their theses, publish research and hosting events.



Prof. Daniel Naurin

ARENA Director

Contents

Introduction	2
Research projects	6
EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D)	7
Enforcing the rule of law: What can the European Union do to prevent rule of law deterioration from within? (ENROL)	9
European integration and national law: Compliance in complex institutional orders (COMPLEX)	11
A multidisciplinary platform for research on judicial politics in the European Union (IUROPA)	12
Rule of Law in NAV: Principled Justification (RETTS)	13
The Politics of European and American Single-Market Governance (SINGLEMARKETS)	14
Other projects, networks and engagements	15
Publications	19
New books	20
Journal articles	23
Book chapters	25
Publications 2018–2022	26
ARENA Working Papers	27
ARENA Reports	28
EU3D Research Papers	30
Events	31
EU3D Jean Monnet seminar series: Democracy in Tomorrow's Europe	32
Public defence: Claire Godet	33
EU3D conference on multilevel governance and the COVID-19 pandemic	34
Public defence: Anke Stefanie Schwarzkopf	35
PLURISPACE workshop on migrant integration	36
ARENA at ECPR	36
Second ARENA PhD school on a differentiated Europe	37
IUROPA workshop: Working with large databases on Courts	37

ARENA at ECPR General Conference	38
NORMS workshop: Return and Readmission: A Normative Approach	38
Public defence: Trym Nohr Fjørtoft	39
ARENA Tuesday seminars	40
Other conferences and events	42

Outreach 44

Democracy and expertise: How are experts held accountable?	45
The EU as a security actor	46
PLATO Book launch: The politics of legitimisation in the EU: legitimacy recovered?	47
ARENA lecture 2022: Espen Barth Eide	48
EU3D Future of Europe event series	49
The EU3D Future of Europe blog	50
Other outreach activities	50
Media contributions	51

Organisation and staff 53

Personnel and economy	54
The ARENA Board	54
ARENA Management	55
Academic staff	56
Guest researchers	59
Research assistants and interns	60
Administration	61
MA students	62

Research projects



(Illustration: Colourbox)

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 2022

Three years since the start of the project, EU3D produced numerous [publications](#) based on findings in 2022. Researchers on the EU3D project have published a book, books chapters, a special issue and journal articles in addition to the project's report series and research paper series (p. 30).

In 2022, the EU3D partners held a number of [Future](#)

[of Europe lectures, debates and student debates](#) across Europe. In Oslo, ARENA co-hosted two public events on the future of European democracy and on the EU development in light of the war in Ukraine (p. 49).

Student debates as well as public debates have also been held in France, Poland and Belgium and a lecture in Greece.

Additionally, EU3D partners organised workshops and conferences in Italy, Slovakia and Poland and Greece (on External differentiation and EU enlargement in the Western Balkans). EU3D was invited to present its findings to EU officials at a Jean Monnet Seminar on Democracy in Tomorrow's Europe (p. 32) - and more.

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 Oddvar 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, 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 Riekmann, Jo Shaw, Julie Smith, Tomáš Valášek, Jeremy Webber, Wolfgang Wessels, Jonathan White.

More: eu3d.uio.no

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 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 2022

ENROL started up in April 2022. Since then, two new PhD fellows joined ENROL. Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez's PhD research focuses on the interaction between the Court of Justice of the European Union



(Illustration: Zuma Press/NTB)

(CJEU) and the European Commission in relation to violations of the rule of law and the core principles of EU membership. Adriana Riganová's PhD project explores mobilisation of civil society actors around the rule of law in democratic backsliding contexts. ENROL organised two workshops in Oslo in 2022. Daniel Naurin and Tommaso Pavone also organised the Section on Law and Courts at the ECPR Standing Group on the EU Conference in Rome in 2022 (p. 36).

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 coordinator(s)

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 (Central European University), Samantha Besson (University of Fribourg and Collège de France), Adam Bodnar (SWPS University Warsaw and Former Polish Commissioner for Human Rights), Carlos Closa (European University Institute and Spanish National Research Council), Daniel Kelemen (Rutgers University), Carl Henrik Knutsen (University of Oslo), Jan-Werner Müller (Princeton University), Kalypso Nicolaidis (University of Oxford and European University Institute), Patrycja Rozbicka (Aston University), Kim Scheppele (Princeton University), Fabio Wolkenstein (Aarhus University), Natasha Wunsch (Sciences Po, Paris).

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, advocacy, 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 2022

Three journal articles tied to the COMPLEX project were published in 2022. Andreas Eriksen wrote about 'Expert networking and international governance: Questions of democracy' in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of*

Communication, Erik Oddvar Eriksen wrote the article 'Justifying the Imperfect: Differentiated Integration and the Problem of the Second Best' in *Ratio Juris* and 'Three modes of administrative behaviour: differentiated policy implementation and the problem of legal certainty' in *Journal of European Public Policy*.

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 Sjursen.

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 Sjursen, Aksel Hatland, Eirik Holmøyvik, Lars Inge Terum, Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen.

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 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 2022

The IUROPA network, in collaboration with ARENA, EUI and PluriCourts, held a workshop on working with large databases on courts. The workshop took place

on 10 to 14 October in Florence (p. 37). During the workshop, a preliminary version of the CJEU database, created by the IUROPA network, was introduced.

Funding

IUROPA is financed by the Swedish Research Council, the Norwegian Research Council, and the European University Institute Research Council.

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.

Funding

RETTS is financed by NAV through their FoU-program.

Project period

October 2022 - June 2025

Project coordinator

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

ARENA project members

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Andreas Eriksen, Martin Moland, Fredrik Dybfest Hjorthen, Karin Hjorthen Zelano



(Illustration: Ssu/ Wikimedia Commons)



(Illustration: Shutterstock)

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 2022

SINGLEMARKETS held three workshops in Oslo in 2022, in June, September and October. The project received its first findings from interviews with construction firms in Europe and the US. Craig Parsons presented these findings on the Conference on the 30th anniversary of the single market on 7 December. The project published two articles in 2022, 'Single Market Power: How Europe Surpassed America in the Quest for Economic Integration' by Matthias Matthijs and Craig Parsons published in *Foreign Affairs* and 'The "completeness" of the EU single market in comparison to the United States', a Single Market Economy Paper by Craig Parsons and Andy Smith.

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 Fjortoft

Cooperation

Sciences Po Bordeaux

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

Other projects, networks and engagements

In addition to projects coordinated by ARENA, the centre's researchers participate in a number of other international projects and networks.

Deporting Foreigners: Contested Norms in International Practice (NORMS)

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 Sjursen, Nicole Ostrand

European integration. The project brings together the coordinators of three successful Horizon 2020 projects on differentiation (EU3D, EU IDEA and InDivEU) and thus creates an unique cluster of excellence.

DiCE will: (a) create a network of experts on differentiation within and beyond Europe in an open and inclusive manner; (b) undertake a comprehensive stock-taking and synthesis of research including the production of a differentiation manual and portal; (c) map, synthesize and develop future scenarios on differentiation and test them at a scenario marathon; (d) improve the sustainability through a series of measures, including working on concrete proposals for a fully-fledged think tank on differentiation.

Project type

DiCE is a research network funded by the Coordination and Support Action financed by the European Union's Horizon 2020 programme. Societal Challenges 6: Governance for the future.

Project period

January 2020- December 2022

Coordinator

Brigid Laffan, European University Institute

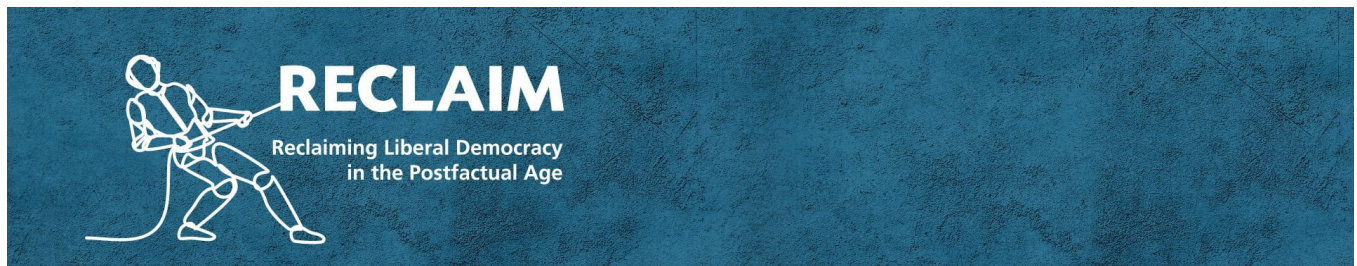
ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Resul Umit Yazici

Differentiation: Clustering Excellence (DiCE)

DiCE establishes a large research network designed to support policy decisions on EU differentiation. DiCE's overarching objective is to ensure that state-of-the-art research on differentiation is properly translated into policy-relevant advice and made readily accessible to policy-makers at European, national and regional levels of governance and society, better preparing the EU for future differentiation scenarios. The open and inclusive network will become the 'Who's Who' of researchers working on differentiation and the dynamics of





EU Foreign Policy Facing New Realities (ENTER)

The project ENTER aims to improve our understanding of central properties of EU foreign policy in light of new realities, focusing on perceptions, communication and 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–October 2022

Coordinator

Michele Knodt, Technical University of Darmstadt
Patrick Mueller, University of the Basque Country

ARENA project members

Helene Sjørusen, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

Negotiating diversity in Expanded European Public Spaces (PLURISPACE)

The project aims to provide new insights into the relationship between citizens' engagement and multilevel European public spaces. An important issue pertains to the settlement of post-immigrant ethno-religious groups, along with the expression and organisation of collective identities; claims for participation and recognition; religion's role in public space; and the influence of diaspora and transnational politics. The point of departure is that these questions cannot be properly addressed without taking into account the multilevel character of the European public space they unfold within, the multiple characters of the groups and the multiple modes of integration. Within such a complex European space, we identify four approaches to diversity management and understanding of public space: multiculturalism, interculturalism, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism.

Project type

PLURISPACE is funded by HERA – Humanities in the European Research Area.

Project period

May 2019 – April 2022

Coordinator

Riva Kastoryano, Sciences Po Paris

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Espen D. H. Olsen

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

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.



(Illustration: Eric Vidal/ EU)

Project type

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

Project period

December 2019–August 2022

Coordinator

Maximilian Conrad, University of Iceland

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Asimina Michailidou

Reclaiming Liberal Democracy in the Postfactual Age (RECLAIM)

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

Rebuilding governance and resilience out of the pandemic (REGORUP)

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. REGORUP 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 (working 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

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

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 Sjørnsen, Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

Trust in Governance and Regulation in Europe (TIGRE)

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 Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and Israel.

Project type

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



The EEA committee with Minister of Foreign Affairs Anniken Huitfeldt. (Photo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

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), Frode Veggeland, Torbjørge Jevnaker, Trym Nohr Fjortoft.

Publications

New books

Europe in the Age of Post-Truth Politics: Populism, Disinformation and the Public Sphere

Maximilian Conrad, Asimina Michailidou, Niko Pyrhönen, Guðmundur Hálfðanarson and Charlotte Galpin (Eds.)

Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 978-3-031-13694-8

This open access book is the product of three years of academic research that has been carried out in the EU-funded Jean Monnet Network on “Post-Truth Politics, Nationalism and the Delegitimation of European Integration” since 2019. Drawing on the multidisciplinary expertise of the network’s members, the book explores the impact of the phenomenon of post-truth politics on European integration and the European Union. It places particular emphasis on how post-truth politics has played out in the public sphere and asks what impact the phenomenon has had on public deliberation, but reflects also on its implications for democracy in a wider sense. This book is primarily written for audiences with an interest in politics and policy making, including academics, policy makers and civil-society actors. Thanks to its accessible style, the book should however also be an asset to wider audiences.

Contributions by ARENA Staff

John Erik Fossum. ‘The Context of Fake News, Disinformation and Manipulation’ (Chapter 3)

Asimina Michailidou, Elisabeth Eike, and Hans-Jörg Trenz. ‘Journalism, Truth and the Restoration of Trust in Democracy: Tracing the EU “Fake News” Strategy’ (Chapter 4)

The Routledge Handbook of Differentiation in the European Union

Benjamin Leruth, Stefan Gänzle and Jarle Trondal (Eds.)

Routledge, ISBN 9780367149659

The Routledge Handbook of Differentiation in the European Union offers an essential collection of ground-breaking chapters reflecting on the causes and consequences of this complex phenomenon. With contributions from key experts in this subfield of European Studies, it will become a key volume used for those interested in learning the nuts and bolts of differentiation as a mechanism of (dis)integration in the European Union, especially in the light of Brexit. Organised around five key themes, it offers an authoritative “encyclopaedia” of differentiation. This handbook is essential reading and an authoritative reference for scholars, students, researchers and practitioners involved in, and actively concerned about, research in the study of European integration. As European differentiation is multifaceted and involves a wide range of actors and policies, it will be of further interest to those working on countries and/or in policy areas where differentiation is an increasingly relevant feature.

Contributions by ARENA Staff

Benjamin Leruth, Stefan Gänzle and Jarle Trondal. ‘Introduction’ (Introduction)

Erik Oddvar Eriksen. ‘On the legitimacy of differentiated integration’ (Chapter 3)

John Erik Fossum. ‘Constitutive differentiation’ (Chapter 6)

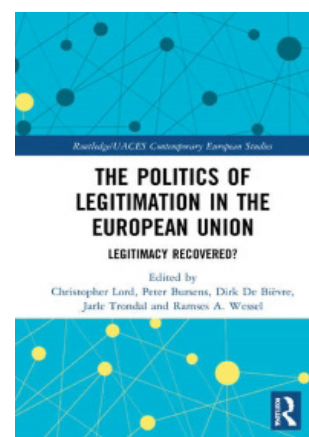
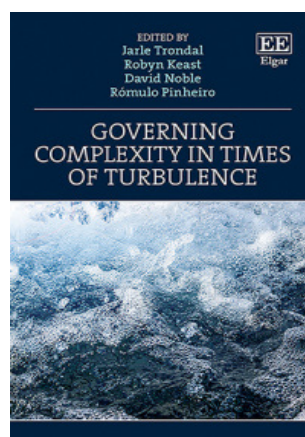
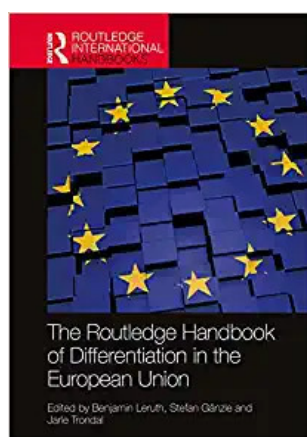
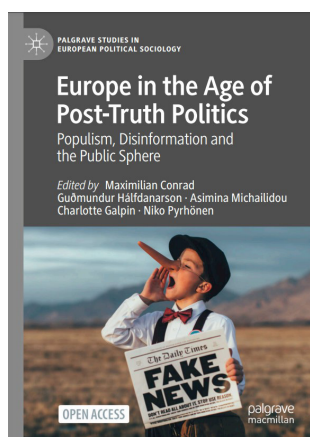
Josef Batora and John Erik Fossum. ‘Differentiation and segmentation’ (Chapter 9)

Guri Rosén. ‘Differentiation in the European Parliament: United about diversity?’ (Chapter 12)

Benjamin Leruth and Jarle Trondal. ‘The Nordic Countries as pioneers of differentiation’ (Chapter 27)

Benjamin Leruth, Stefan Gänzle and Jarle Trondal. ‘Conclusion’ (Chapter 43)

Marianne Riddervold, Akasemi Newsome and Jarle Trondal. ‘Epilogue: Polycrisis and Resilience in the European Union: Covid-19 and avenues for future studies’ (Epilogue)



Governing Complexity in times of turbulence

Jarle Trondal, Robyn Keast, David Noble and Rómulo Pinheiro (Eds.)

Edward Elgar Publishing, ISBN 9781800889644

This book provides an understanding of how public organizations adapt to and manage situations characterized by fluidity, ambiguity, complexity and unclear technologies, thus exploring public governance in times of turbulence. An impressive selection of scholars present their research on governance in turbulent times and explore how public organizations adapt flexibly in turbulent situations. The editors introduce a diverse analytical toolkit contributing not only to an understanding of the role of complexity in public governance, but also suggesting how organizational formats may serve as usable design tools available to decision-makers in the pursuit of sustainable and responsible governance. Chapters explore a variety of topics and cases including artificial intelligence, antimicrobial resistance and sexuality education. Providing a broad coverage of empirical cases and a global outlook, this book will be an excellent read for scholars and practitioners in the political science and public administration, as well as policy makers with interests in governance, leadership and citizen engagement.

Contributions by ARENA Staff

Jarle Trondal, Rómulo Pinheiro, Robyn Keast and David Noble. 'Governing complexity in times of turbulence' (Chapter 1)

Jarle Trondal, Rómulo Pinheiro, Robyn Keast and David Noble. 'Complexity, resilience and public governance in times of turbulence' (Chapter 2)

Frans af Malmborg and Jarle Trondal. 'Transformative ideas, sturdy organizations: varieties of artificial intelligence policy in the Nordics' (Chapter 3)

Jarle Trondal. 'Policy innovation and organizational design: connecting theory and practice' (Chapter 5)

Robyn Keast, Christine Flynn, David Noble, Jarle Trondal and Rómulo Pinheiro. 'Towards a research and policy agenda for governing complexity' (Chapter 13)

The Politics of Legitimation in the European Union: Legitimacy Recovered?

Christopher Lord, Peter Bursens, Dirk De Bièvre, Jarle Trondal and Ramses A. Wessel (Eds.)

Routledge, ISBN 9781032101408

This book examines and investigates the legitimacy of the European Union by acknowledging the importance of variation across actors, institutions, audiences, and context. It is a key outcome of the ARENA-coordinated MSCA Innovative Training Network Post-Crisis Legitimacy of the European Union (PLATO). It is edited by the project's scientific coordinator Christopher Lord in cooperation with supervisors Peter Bursens, Dirk De Bièvre, Jarle Trondal and Ramses A. Wessel. Case studies reveal how different actors have contributed to the politics of (re)legitimizing the European Union in response to multiple recent problems in European integration. The case studies look specifically at stakeholder interests, social groups, officials, judges, the media and other actors external to the Union. With this, the book develops a better understanding of how the politics of legitimating the Union are actor-dependent, context-dependent and problem-dependent. This book will be of key interest to scholars and students of European integration, as well as those interested in legitimacy and democracy beyond the state from a point of view of political science, political sociology and the social sciences more broadly.

Contributions by ARENA staff

Christopher Lord, Peter Bursens, Dirk De Bièvre, Jarle Trondal and Ramses A. Wessel. 'Introduction' (Chapter 1)

Clair Godet and Bastiaan Redert. 'Conflating policy, democracy and legitimacy: The case of stakeholder involvement' (Chapter 2)

Joris Melman. 'Beyond support: Public opinion and EU legitimacy' (Chapter 5)

Jarle Trondal, Marianne Riddervold and Akasemi Newsome. 'Polycrisis and Resilience in the EU: Covid-19 and avenues for future studies' (Chapter 13)

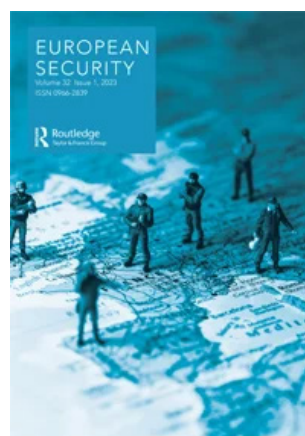
Christopher Lord. 'The many actors of direct and

indirect legitimacy' (Chapter 14)

Christopher Lord, Peter Bursens, Dirk De Bièvre,
Jarle Trondal and Ramses A. Wessel. 'Concluding
Implications for EU Policy, Law and Institutions'
(Chapter 15)

Journal articles

- Bach, Tobias, Trondal, Jarle, Aars, Jacob, Skogedal Lindén, Tord, Martinussen, Pål E., and Marte Slagsvold Winsvold. 'Hvorfor trenger vi en ny infrastruktur for norsk forvaltningsforskning?' [Why do we need a new infrastructure for public administration research in Norway?]. *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*, 38(4), 137-157.
- Bach, Tobias, Trondal, Jarle, and Jacob Aars. 'Hele livet i staten' [The whole life in the state]. *Stat og Styling*, 32(1), 46-48.
- Birkeland, Terese, and Jarle Trondal. 'The rift between executive contraction and executive detraction: The case of European Commission battery policy-making'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-23.
- Brekke, Stein Arne, Naurin, Daniel, Šadl, Urška and Lucía López-Zurita. 'That's an Order! How the Quest for Efficiency Is Transforming Judicial Cooperation in Europe'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(1), 58-75.
- Brøgger, Tine E. 'Beyond the "lowest common denominator"? Mutually binding commitments in European security and defence cooperation: The case of the Nordic states'. *European Security*, 32(1), 42-61.
- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar. 'Three modes of administrative behaviour: differentiated policy implementation and the problem of legal certainty'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-20.
- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar. 'Demokratisk overskudd I Europa – hva med Norge?' *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*. 39(3), 187-200.
- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar. 'Justifying the Imperfect: Differentiated Integration and the Problem of the Second Best'. *Ratio Juris*, 35(2), 123-138.
- Fjølseth, Joshua C., Gabel, Matthew, and Clifford J. Carrubba. 'The timely administration of justice: using computational simulations to evaluate institutional reforms at the CJEU'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-22.
- Fjølseth, Trym Nohr. 'Symmetry in the Delegation of Power as a Legitimacy Criterion'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1-17.
- Fossum, John Erik. 'The EU and Third Countries: Consequences for Democracy and the Political Order'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1-17.
- Kwasi Tiekou, Thomas, Trondal, Jarle, and Stefan Gänzle. 'The behavioural logics of international public servants: the case of African Union Commission staff'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 35(2), 116-136.
- Krick, Eva. 'Participatory Governance Practices at the Democracy-Knowledge-Nexus'. *Minerva*, 60, 467-487.
- Krick, Eva, and Taina Meriluoto. 'The advent of the citizen expert: Democratising or pushing the boundaries of expertise?' *Current Sociology*, 70(7), 967-973.
- Lindholm, Johan, Mattias Derlén, and Daniel Naurin. 'The Ideal Justice: Who Are Selected to Serve and What Does It Say about Swedish High Courts?' *Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap*, 135(4), 397-431.
- Matthijs, Matthias and Craig Alexander Parsons. 'Single Market Power: How Europe Surpassed America in the Quest for Economic Integration'. *Foreign Affairs*, 101(3), 165-176.
- Moland, Martin. 'Constraining dissensus and permissive consensus: variations in support for core state powers'. *West European Politics*, 45(2), 409-430.
- Ostrand, Nicole and Paul Statham. 'Liaison officers as influential "immigration risk" brokers in visa policy implementation: intermediaries across institutional and national borders'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(17), 3985-4009.
- Parsons, Craig and Andy Smith. 'The "completeness" of the EU single market in comparison to the United States'. *Single Market Economy Papers*.
- Šadl, Urška, López Zurita, Lucía, Brekke, Stein Arne and Daniel Naurin. 'Law and orders: the orders of the European Court of Justice as a window in the judicial process and institutional transformations'. *European Law Open*, 1(3), 549-575.
- Saltnes, Johanne Døhlie. 'Understanding the EU's Response to LGBTI Rights Violations: Inter-Institutional Differences and Social Sanctions'. *Politics and Governance*, 10(1), 79-89.



Schaffer, Lena Maria and Umit Resul. 'Wind turbines, Public acceptance, and Electoral Outcomes'. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 28(4), 712-727.

Scherz, Antoinette. 'You can't tell me what to do! Why should states comply with international institutions?' *Journal of Social Philosophy*.

Seibicke, Helena and Asimina Michailidou. 'The Challenges of Reconstructing Citizen-Driven EU Contestation in the Digital Media Sphere'. *Politics and Governance*, 10(1), 97-107.

Teigen, Dag Ole and Jarle Trondal. 'Sub-nasjonale styringsnivåer i et fler-nivå-administrativt system'. *Norsk Administrativ Tidsskrift*, 99(1), 1-23.

Trondal, Jarle. 'Flernivåstaten og krisehåndtering – en kommentar'. *Nordisk Administrativ Tidsskrift*, 99(2), 1-22.

Trondal, Jarle. 'An organizational approach to meta-governance: Structuring reforms through organizational (re)engineering', *Policy and Politics*, 50(2), 139-159.

Trondal, Jarle. "'Let's organize": The organizational basis for stable public governance'. *Public Administration*, special issue.

Trondal, Jarle, Tiekku, Thomas and Stefan Gänzle. 'The organisational dimension of executive authority in the Global South: Insights from the AU and ECOWAS commissions'. *Global Policy*.

Trondal, Jarle, Gänzle, Stefan and Benjamin Leruth. 'Differentiation in the European Union in Post-Brexit and Pandemic Times: Macro-Level Developments with Meso-Level Consequences'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(1), 26-37.

Umit, Resul and Lena Maria Schaffer. 'Public support for national vs. International climate change obligations'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30(3), 537-573.

Book chapters

- af Malmborg, Frans and Jarle Trondal. 'Transformative ideas, sturdy organizations: varieties of artificial intelligence policy in the Nordics'. In J. Trondal, R. Keast, D. Noble and R. Pinheiro (Eds.), *Governing Complexity in Times of Turbulence* (pp. 205-226). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Bach, Tobias. 'Bureaucratic politics'. In P.R. Graziano and J. Tosun (Eds.), *Elgar Encyclopedia of European Union Public Policy* (pp. 11-20). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Christensen, Ingrid, Fossum, John Erik, and Bent-Sofus Tranøy. 'From American Dream to Nordic Realities'. In R. C. Hauart & M. Sardoč (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on the American Dream: Volume 2* (pp. 114-126). New York, NY: Routledge.
- de Fine Licht, Jenny and Daniel Naurin. 'Transparency'. In Ansell, Christopher and Torfing, Jacob (Eds.) *The Handbook on Theories of Governance*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Egeberg, Morten, Gornitzka, Åse and Jarle Trondal. 'Organization theory'. In C. Ansell & J. Torfing (Eds.), *The Handbook on Theories of Governance* (pp. 151-165). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Egeberg, Morten. 'Supranationalization of government and governance. . In P.R. Graziano and J. Tosun (Eds.), *Elgar Encyclopedia of European Union Public Policy*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Egeberg, Morten. 'The European Commission'. In M. Cini & N. Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (Eds.), *European Union Politics* (7th ed., pp. 101-114). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fossum, John Erik and Espen D. H. Olsen. 'Cosmopolitanism: Moral universalism and the politics of migration'. In R. Zapata Barrero, D. Jacobs and R. Kastoryano (Eds.), *Contested Concepts in Migration Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Trondal, Jarle. 'The multilevel administrative state'. In P. R. Graziano J. Tosun (Eds.), *Elgar Encyclopedia of European Union Public Policy*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Publications 2018–2022

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Monographs	4	1	4	4	0
Edited books	2	3	1	4	4
Special issues of journals	1	2	2	0	0
Book chapters	24	19	29	36	35
Journal articles	35	23	36	28	31
Arena Working Papers	7	5	3	12	3
ARENA Reports	2	9	5	4	9
Publication points (total)	77.6	59.4	55.27	58.13	61.64
Publication points (per academic person-year)	4.1	3.2	3.98	6.28	4.45

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.

22/01

John Erik Fossum

The political future of the European Economic Area
(EU3D Research Paper no. 23)

22/02

Asimina Michailidou, Hans-Jörg Trenz and Resul Umit

A Cross-Country Analysis of News Reports on
Differentiation in the European Union
(EU3D Research Paper no. 25)

22/03

Tobias Bach

Regulatory Agencies and Networks in Europe

Regulatory Agencies and Networks in Europe

Tobias Bach

ARENA Working Paper 3/2022

ARENA Centre for European Studies



ARENA Reports

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

Constrained partisanship: A comparative study of policy choices and party discourses in the British and Spanish crisis experiences (2008-2014)

ARENA Report 1/22 (PLATO Report 3)

Jose Piquer Martinez

This report explores the role of partisanship in shaping the policy choices and legitimising discourses of governments during the global financial crisis. To do this, it uses comparative case studies, examining the experiences of left- and right-wing governments in both the UK and Spain between 2008 and 2014. The study combines analytical narratives with content-discourse analysis, drawing on an original corpus of political speeches.

The uncertain world of the Court of Justice of the European Union: A multidisciplinary approach of the legitimacy of the EU judiciary in the 21st century

ARENA Report 2/22 (PLATO Report 4)

Julien Bois

This report examines the legitimacy of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) and advocates the recoupling of normative and sociological legitimacy to fully understand the CJEU's 'right to rule'. The report claims that the CJEU is not suffering a legitimacy crisis in the 21st century. Rather, the legitimacy deficits that characterise its activities are progressively addressed or remain minor, and do not outweigh the support that judges built with the legal profession over decades. The report nonetheless identifies several institutional and behavioural shortcomings and includes a series of recommendations that address legitimacy problems faced by the Court today.

New understanding of EU legitimacy and anti-corruption: The role of the representative democracies

ARENA Report 3/22 (PLATO Report 5)

Emilija Tudzarovska Gjorgjievska

This report investigates the causal linkages between the EU democratic legitimacy and the crises of representative democracies in the field of anticorruption. It argues that national parliaments, political parties, and elected members of parliaments can play essential roles in pursuing effective anti-corruption strategies and, as such, can provide for indirect democratic legitimization, both on a national and an EU level.

Harmonised asylum policies in the European Union? The role of street-level bureaucrats in the implementation of the Common European Asylum System

ARENA Report 4/22 (PLATO Report 6)

Radu-Mihai Triculescu

This report examines the topic of asylum harmonisation from a legal and public administration perspective and attempts to bridge some of the gap that exists between research on the management of asylum applications and the real-world context in which these decisions take place. The evaluation shows that the opportunities of street-level bureaucrats to influence policy is more dependent on national administrative structures than on the EU's legislative measures.

Is the grass greener on the other side of the Channel? How Swiss news media presented Brexit as a 'benchmark' for Switzerland

ARENA Report 5/22 (EU3D Report 5)

Simon Dominic Zemp

This report analyses how Swiss newspapers have referred to Brexit as a benchmark when evaluating recent attempts of the Swiss government to (re-)negotiate its bilateral relations with the EU. The results show that Brexit

references were important in the public debate about the Swiss EU relationship and were often referred to as a ‘role model’, which contrasts with evidence indicating ‘deterrent effects’ of Brexit. Overall, the evidence from Switzerland suggests that the Brexit experience matters for public discussion and opinion formation on European (dis-)integration beyond the UK and emphasises a hitherto neglected influence of news media in framing Brexit as a benchmark for Europeans.

Women’s Mobilisation in the Digital Era: Lobbying and Advocating for European Women’s Rights

ARENA Report 6/22 (EU3D Report 6)

Emilie Faarup Storvik

This report examines the role of social media in the lobbying and advocacy strategies of the European Women’s Lobby and Young Feminist Europe. This report asks whether online activity is a part of their lobbying strategies towards the European Union or not. The report draws upon existing conceptual frameworks of lobbying strategies to analyse whether and, if so, how the two women’s rights organisations use social media as a part of their lobbying towards the European Union. The report examines whether social media is a ‘weapon of the weak’ and if it can replace traditional lobbying strategies.

Multi-level governance in Europe: The case of covid-19 pandemics

ARENA Report 7/22 (EU3D Report 7)

Jan Zielonka (ed.)

This report contains the proceedings of the conference ‘Multi-level Governance in Europe: the case of Covid-19 pandemics.’ The conference gathered the leading international scholars in the field of European and urban politics with the aim to theoretically and empirically address issues of formal and de facto (i.e., informal) public authority across different levels of governance during and after the health crisis. The conference was organised by Stefano Soriani (University of Venice-Ca’ Foscari), Jan Zielonka (University of Venice-Ca’ Foscari and University of Oxford) and John Erik Fossum (ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo) in Venice on 9–10 May 2022.

Regional Presence in the EU: A Qualitative Study of Regional Offices’ Activity in Brussels

ARENA Report 8/22 (EU3D Report 8)

Marte Christophersen Haugen

This report investigates the Norwegian and Swedish regional offices in Brussels based on two overall perspectives on European integration: State-Centric versus Multi-Level Governance. The report asks the question of how membership and remoteness affect how regional offices work and interact at the European level. The empirical analysis demonstrates that regional advocacy in Brussels varies greatly. The informal route to the EU still gives room for regions to operate autonomously at an EU level despite the states’ affiliation forms. Furthermore, the report finds that the EU clearly has a multi-level structure and that the Centre-Periphery dimension is therefore not necessarily relevant for studying regional activity in Brussels.

To join or not to join? An analysis of the enhanced cooperation to establish the European Public Prosecutor’s Office

ARENA Report 9/22 (EU3D Report 9)

Raquel Ugarte Díez

This report examines the European Public Prosecutor’s Office as a case of enhanced cooperation. Specifically, the author asks why some member states choose to participate in the enhanced cooperation to establish the EPPO while others chose not to participate. This report tests the explanatory power of differentiated integration (DI) theories when it comes to the case of the EPPO establishment, in which 22 member states participate to date. The study concludes that understanding the motivations of member states for deciding to join differentiated integration projects or not is complex and thus, requires causality to be understood as multiple and conjunctural.

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 nine papers in 2022.

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
- Magdalena Góra, Jagiellonian University
- Dirk Leuffen, University of Konstanz
- Chris Lord, ARENA, University of Oslo
- Ben Rosamond, University of Copenhagen
- Sabine Saurugger, SciencesPo Grenoble
- Hans-Jörg Trenz, University of Copenhagen
- Guntram Wolff, Bruegel
- Jan Zielonka, University of Oxford

EU3D Research Paper no. 22

Sergio Fabbrini and Tiziano Zgaga

Sovereignism and its implication: The differentiated disintegration of the European Union.

EU3D Research Paper no. 23

John Erik Fossum

The political future of the European Economic Area.

EU3D Research Paper no. 24

Fabian Terpan and Sabine Saurugger

Escaping the Court: Supranational adjudication and the EU/UK relationship.

EU3D Research Paper no. 25

Resul Umit, Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz

A cross-country analysis of news reports on differentiation in the European Union.

EU3D Research Paper no. 26

Karolina Czerska-Shaw, Magdalena Góra, Kinga Sekerdej, Natasza Styczyńska, Marta Warat and Katarzyna Zielińska

Who's dominating whom? The perception of (EU) dominance in the debate on the Future of Europe.

EU3D Research Paper no. 27

Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, Henrik Müller, Giuseppe Porcaro and Tobias Schmidt

You'll never talk alone: What media narratives on European reforms reveal about a polity in the making.

EU3D Research Paper no. 28

Jozef Bátora and Pavol Baboš

Thought communities and pre-conditions for polity formation in the European Union: Evidence from six EU member states.

EU3D Research Paper no. 29

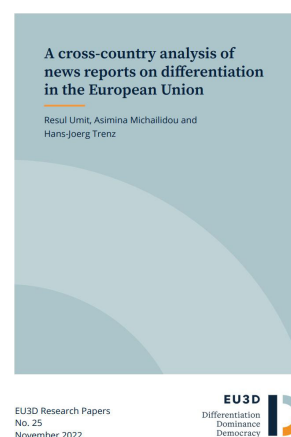
Dia Anagnostou

Countering dominance, enhancing legitimacy? The role of civil society in EU accession in Serbia and the Western Balkans.

EU3D Research Paper no. 30

Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen, Ellen Mastenbroek, Reini Schrama and Ana Carolina Soares

European Administrative Networks and Differentiated Implementation.



Events

EU3D Jean Monnet seminar series: Democracy in Tomorrow's Europe

On 1 April, EU3D was invited to organise the seminar 'Democracy in Tomorrow's Europe: Institutional debates, action and tools in the context of the Conference on the Future of Europe' at the Jean Monnet House outside Paris.

The event was organised in cooperation with the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS) and the European Parliament's DG Communication.

The purpose of the seminar was to situate the Conference on the Future of Europe within the broader context of the debate on the future of Europe well beyond the work of the Conference. The seminar participants discussed how the work of the Conference fit on the one hand with what EU3D researchers are uncovering from a varied range of examinations of how Europe's future is debated and, on the other hand, in relation to a range of EU constitutional models or possible trajectories.

The undertaking was intended not only to increase the understanding of the work and future prospects or effects of the Conference on the Future of Europe but at the same time also to situate this event in the broader context of debates on the future of Europe in other forums and other sites; in citizens' perceptions of integration, fairness and solidarity, and in relation to the work that EU3D is currently undertaking with regard to building a database on future of Europe proposals

from a wide range of different sources. Among the questions that were addressed were: How to cope with different types of differentiation in the future? How to strengthen European – and member state – democracy and solidarity?

John Erik Fossum, EU3D Scientific Coordinator, held the introduction to the first session 'Taking stock of the Conference on the Future of Europe', and participated in the session 'Which polity? EU constitutional models from a long-term perspective'. **Guri Rosén** spoke about parliamentary debates across Europe in the session 'Contextualising the Conference on the Future of Europe in broader democratic debates'.



Photo 1: John Erik Fossum.

Photo 2: Magdalena Góra (left), Guri Rosén and Elodie Thevenin.
(Both photos: Jean Monnet House/ European Parliament 2022/ [YouTube](#))

Public defence: Claire Godet

Claire Godet successfully defended her PhD thesis ‘Understanding the Legitimation of Controversial Institutions: Stakeholder Critique and Legitimation of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS)’ on 22 April.

How can institutions that fail to meet the normative criteria of legitimacy and that are broadly criticised remain legitimised?

[In her PhD thesis](#), Godet investigates different degrees of legitimacy problems and how stakeholders critique and legitimise the ETS.

Godet employs a sociological approach to legitimation research to explore the ‘legitimacy relationship’ between stakeholders and the ETS without presupposing what the former expects from the latter.

Godet concludes that while the ETS is legitimised, it is not legitimate. As long as it remains a technocratic issue, its legitimacy will not be challenged.

Committee

Associate Professor Katja Biedenkopf, KU Leuven, Belgium

Associate Professor Lisa Dellmuth, Stockholm University, Sweden

Supervisors

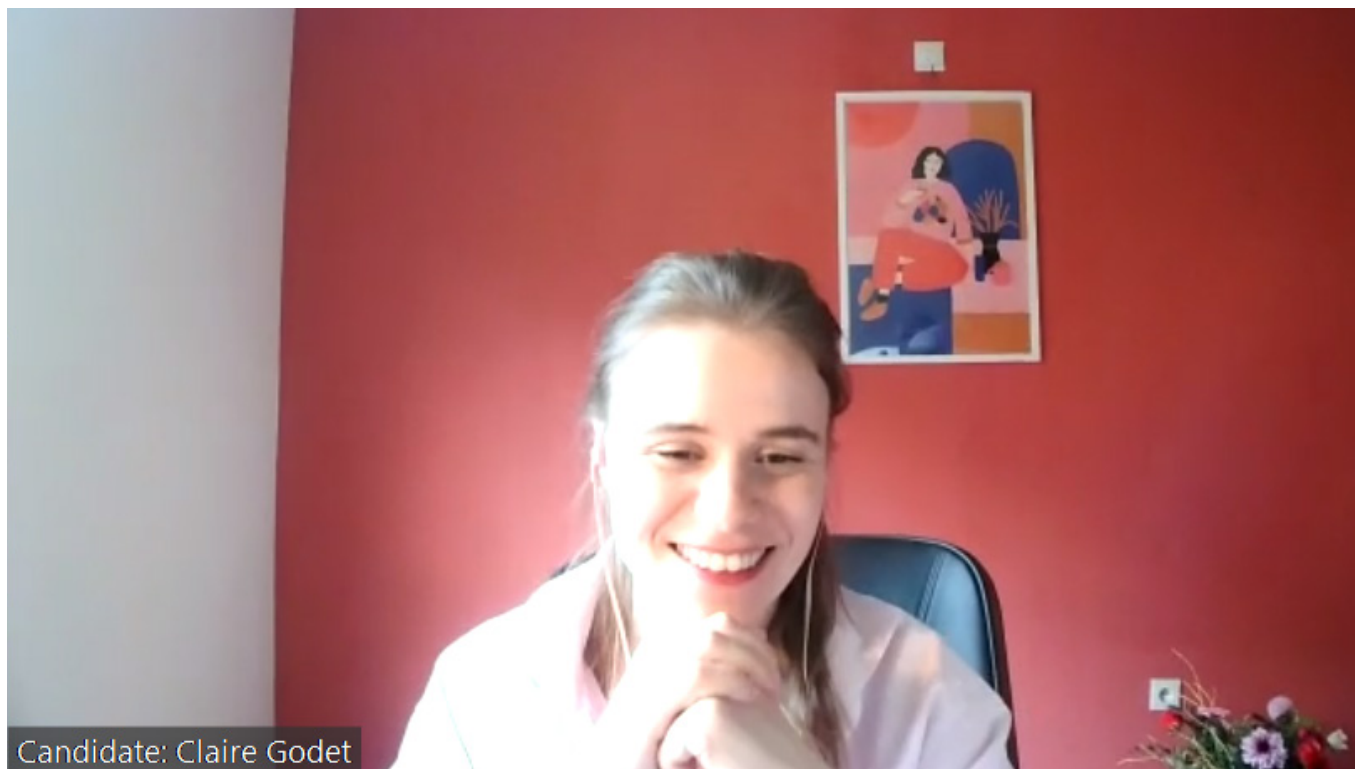
Christopher Lord, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo

Peter Bursens, University of Antwerp

Espen D. H. Olsen, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo

Trial lecture

‘Stakeholder democracy and legitimacy in European Union governance’



EU3D conference on multilevel governance and the COVID-19 pandemic

The conference was organised by ARENA, University of Venice, Ca Foscari and the University of Oxford in the framework of the EU3D project on 9-10 May.

The COVID-19 pandemic is said to underline the primacy of nation-states in Europe. Power has been reclaimed by national capitals from the EU, regions and cities, national borders have been reinstated and reinforced, huge national infrastructure projects have been launched, and the national health service has been rehabilitated.

However, the reality on the ground displaces a much more complex European governance system. States have indeed raised their voice, but their ability to control the spread of the virus and economic fallouts of the pandemics proved modest at best. The pandemic has indeed showed the need for public authority, but this authority was partly at the state level, partly at the local level and partly at the international one. In many cases, states have proved to be the weakest link in this complex network of governance and have acted in selfish, crude and clumsy ways.

Political actors heralding the return of the state cannot even agree on the most desired role of the states. For right-wing politicians in Hungary, Poland or Italy the state is about regaining sovereignty from Brussels. For left-wing politicians in Germany or France the state is chiefly a vehicle for protecting the welfare system from globalisation and neoliberal recklessness. For politicians in Latvia or Cyprus the state is a shield against a powerful neighbour. States claim to be the only sites of viable democracy, but during the pandemic some basic freedoms have been restricted, parliaments have been side-lined, and citizens were bombarded by numerous arbitrary decrees with no public consultation and deliberation.

Transnational and local actors proved not only needed to combat the pandemics, but they often managed to offer more innovative and participatory solutions to the health crisis than was the case with states. In short, the multi-level governance in Europe has not fell victim of COVID-19; in fact, the pandemic has underlined its importance and vitality.

The speakers in this conference analysed how the pandemics has affected the European system of governance, with a special emphasis on the role of Europe's cities in combatting the health crisis and its

economic, social and democratic side effects.

On the first day of the conference, **John Erik Fossum**, EU3D coordinator presented theories and concepts of differentiated integration and **Simona Piattoni** spoke about theories and concepts of multi-level governance.

On the second day, Simona Piattoni chaired a session on territorial restructuring and political change, **Janna van Diepen** chaired the session on transnational urban networks and John Erik Fossum chaired the concluding session.

Public defence: Anke Stefanie Schwarzkopf

On 12 May, Anke Stefanie Schwarzkopf defended her PhD thesis ‘Values versus interests? The EU’s approach to multilateral negotiations at the United Nations’.

What characterises the EU’s negotiation approach in multilateral negotiations at the UNGA?

In her PhD thesis, Schwarzkopf aims to identify characteristics of the EU’s negotiation approach in multilateral negotiation processes at the UN General Assembly.

Schwarzkopf uses three case studies to examine multilateral negotiation processes and draws upon the theoretical frameworks of rational choice theory and procedural justice to shed light on the research question.

Schwarzkopf concludes that the EU’s inherently different nature is not always reflected in the EU’s behaviour in multilateral negotiation processes. The EU’s behaviour can therefore be characterised by an overlap of an interest-based and value-based behaviour.

Committee

Professor Michael Smith, University of Warwick

Research Director Hanna Ojanen, Tampere University

Professor Olav Schram Stokke, University of Oslo

Supervisor

Research Professor Helene Sjursen, ARENA Centre for European Studies

Trial lecture

‘Why does the performance of the EU as a negotiator vary between different multilateral settings?’



Olav Schram Stokke (left), Helene Sjursen, Anke Schwarzkopf, Michael Smith and Hanna Ojanen.

PLURISPACE workshop on migrant integration

ARENA hosted a workshop in the framework of the PLURISPACE project on 30 and 31 May.

The [workshop](#) 'Migrant Integration in Public Space: Normative and Methodological Issues and the Norway Case' was hosted by John Erik Fossum, Espen D. H. Olsen and Alexander Gamst Page.

They held and participated in sessions titled 'The Plurispac analytical framework: reflections on the "new normativity" of migrant inclusion in public space', 'Migrant organizations in Drammen and Oslo: Data collection and fieldwork experience' and 'Migrant integration in Norway and the international dimension', in addition to presenting article ideas in cooperation with external researchers.

ARENA at ECPR

The [11th Biennial Conference](#) of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on the European Union took place on 8 to 10 June at Luiss University, Italy.

Nearly 500 researchers from a broad range of disciplines presented and discussed research focused on questions of European integration.

The following ARENA and affiliated researchers participated:

- Joshua Fjelstul participated with the paper 'Judicial Bargaining at the CJEU: How Much Influence do Non-Rapporteur Judges Have on the Text of Judgments?'
- Christopher Lord participated in the panel 'The wiggle room of non-EU member states'
- Martin Moland participated in the panel 'The politicization and mediatization of Europe's differentiated order' and participated with the paper 'Domination and public support for differentiation: Examining the connection between mode of implementation and support for differentiated integration'
- Daniel Naurin and Tommaso Pavone chaired the section 'The Rule of Law and the Courts'
- Tommaso Pavone participated with the paper 'Where Have the Guardians Gone? Law Enforcement and the Politics of Forbearance in the European Union'
- Antoinette Scherz participated in the panel 'Democratic Backsliding in the European Union' and participated with the paper 'How Should the EU Respond to Democratic Backsliding? Normative Considerations on Expulsion and Suspension of Voting Rights from the Perspective of Multilateral Democracy'.

Second ARENA PhD school on a differentiated Europe

On 21-24 June, ARENA hosted the course ‘A differentiated Europe and its implications’ for the second time, organised by Jarle Trondal and John Erik Fossum.

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.

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 and Professor of Political Science at Boston University; and Sieglinde Gstöhl, Director of the Department of EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies and full-time Professor, College of Europe in Bruges.

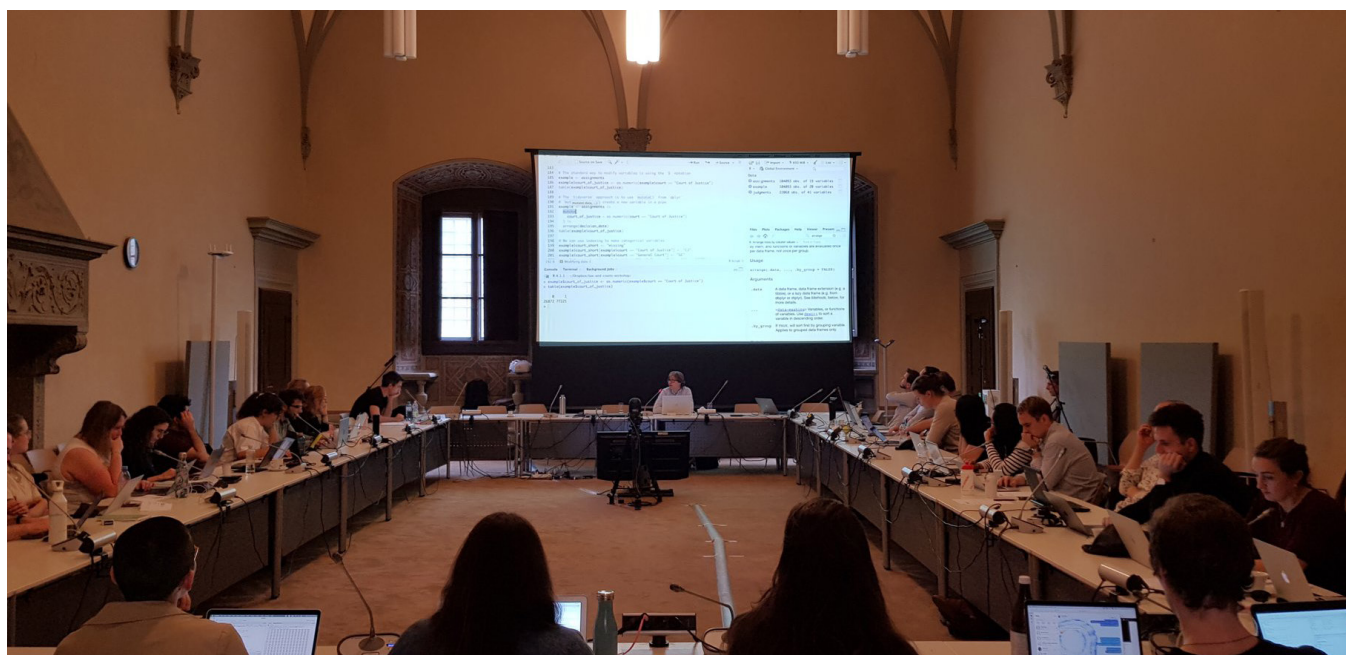
IUROPA workshop: Working with large databases on Courts

Early career researchers met on 10 to 14 October 2022 for a [workshop](#) on large databases on courts in Florence.

The workshop was organised by the IUROPA network in collaboration with ARENA, EUI and PluriCourts. **Daniel Naurin, Øyvind Stiansen, Joshua Fjelstul Louisa Boulaziz and Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez** participated in the workshop.

The aim of the workshop was to discuss the use of large datasets on the EU courts – the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), the European Court of Human Rights – in addition to national high courts.

The workshop concluded with a preview of the CJEU Database, the richest resource on any international court to date, featuring information on the outcomes, processes and actors involved in the decision-making of the CJEU.



IUROPA workshop at EUI in Florence. (Photo: Michal Ovádek)

ARENA at ECPR General Conference

The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) [General Conference](#) was held on 22 - 26 August in Innsbruck.

The following ARENA and affiliated researchers participated:

- Tobias Bach participated in the panel 'The bureaucratic politics of regulatory performance' and presented the papers 'Organizing attention in regulatory agencies: the case of regulating technology and 'The differential effects of politicized appointments on input and output legitimacy: a survey experiment with elite and citizen respondent'
- Joshua Fjelstul participated with the paper 'Text Reuse in Judicial Decision-Making: Cutting Corners or Leveraging Efficiency Gains?'
- Eva Krick participated with the paper 'Consolidating participatory, transparent policy-making in the environmental and climate field'
- Asimina Michailidou participated with the paper 'United, we tweet: Belonging, solidarity and othering in German and Greek Twitter-spheres'
- Martin Moland participated with the papers 'Opting for opt outs? Untangling the role of identity in shaping support for differentiated integration', 'Domination and differentiation: Examining the link between implementation of and support for differentiated integration' and 'United, we tweet: Belonging, solidarity and othering in German and Greek Twitter-spheres'
- Johanne Døhlie Saltnes participated in the panel 'How to tell the world about your research: blogs and blogging with The Loop'

NORMS workshop: Return and Readmission: A Normative Approach

The project 'Deporting foreigners: Contested Norms in International Practice (NORMS)' held a [workshop](#) on 1 to 2 December. The workshop was organised by Nicole Ostrand, postdoctoral fellow at ARENA and Erlend Paasche, researcher at Institute for Social Research and NORMS project coordinator.

This workshop aimed to problematise and go beyond the rationalist bias of the literature on return and readmission to explore the 'logic of appropriateness' and how it operates in the field. This involves shifting focus away from hard power only, and formal policies, such as readmission agreements, to include more normative perspectives on return and readmission as an international practice.

Public defence: Trym Nohr Fjørtoft

Trym Nohr Fjørtoft successfully defended his PhD thesis ‘Borders of Technocracy. Expertise, democracy, and the legitimacy of unelected bodies’ on 7 October.

[In his thesis](#), Fjørtoft asks under which conditions the delegation of power to unelected bodies is democratically legitimate.

He has focused his research on European Union agencies, and a case study of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, Frontex.

In four articles, Fjørtoft aims to delineate the boundaries of technical legitimacy. He cautions against too much faith in technical legitimacy, but also disagrees that technical legitimacy is never appropriate.

The dissertation argues against a one-size-fits-all approach to legitimacy: Every institution must not satisfy everything that democracy demands, but the system as a whole must.

Committee

Professor Dr. Jens Steffek, TU Damstadt

Professor Regine Paul, University of Bergen

Associate Professor Jens Jungblut, University of Oslo

Supervisors

Professor Erik Oddvar Eriksen, ARENA Centre for European Studies

Researcher Asimina Michailidou, ARENA Centre for European Studies

Trial lecture

‘Between evidence-based policymaking and the politics of evidence: Conceptualisations of “knowledge” in policymaking’



Erik Oddvar Eriksen (left), Asimina Michailidou, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, Regine Paul, Jens Steffek and Jens Jungblut.

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.

18 January

Prosecutorial Discretion and the Rule of Law: Does Public Opposition to the EU Deter the Commission from Prosecuting Violations of EU Law? (online)

Joshua Fjelstul, The University of Geneva/ ARENA Centre for European Studies

1 March

How do parliaments build expertise? A study of the European Parliament

Guri Rosén, OsloMet/ ARENA Centre for European Studies

8 March

Three worlds of risk for a trademark: The cultural political economy of European AI regulation

Regine Paul, The University of Bergen

22 March

Does Evidence-Based Policy-Making Reduce Elite Polarization?

Roman Senninger, Aarhus University

5 April

Do Parliaments Talk about Each Other? Analysing Transparliamentary References in the Austrian Nationalrat and the German Bundestag

Katrin Auel, The institute for advanced studies, Vienna

26 April

Who Deserves European Solidarity? How recipient characteristics shape public support for international medical and financial aid during COVID-19

Dirk Leuffen, The University of Konstanz



Adriana Bunea holding an ARENA Tuesday seminar.

10 May

Circular Europeanization: inter-dependence, mutual learning, dis-connection, and EU supreme

Elin Lerum Boasson, The University of Oslo

6 September

Public consultations and stakeholder support for legislative proposals: Evidence from the European Union

Adriana Bunea, The University of Bergen

20 September

Avoiding Public Backlash: Enforcing Rule of Law in the European Union

Dimitar Toshkov, Leiden University

25 October

Field of Education and the Transnational Cleavage (online)

Liesbet Hooghe, the University of North Carolina and the European University Institute, Florence

8 November

EU versus core state powers: the customisation of European Union fiscal policy (online)

Eva Thomann, The University of Konstanz

22 November

Welfare across borders: solidarity, equality and free movement (LEVEL)

Tarjei Bekkedal, The University of Oslo

6 December

Reconfiguring Europe

Markus Jachtenfuchs, The Hertie School and the Jacques Delors Centre



Markus Jachtenfuchs holding an ARENA Tuesday seminar.

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.

12-13 January

Workshop on global justice and international order, Helene Sjusen

31 January

[Workshop: Can the EU learn from the US or Canada?](#), Luiss University, John Erik Fossum

3 February

[Is the Conference on the Future of Europe a success?](#), John Erik Fossum

24 February

[DI Garage: Benchmarking Brexit against the Norwegian model](#), Christopher Lord

30 March

[Brexit and European Integration](#), John Erik Fossum

20 April

[Concluding Conference of EU IDEA: Governing Differentiation and Integration in the European Union](#), John Erik Fossum

5 May

[DiCE Regional Assemblies, Slovakia](#), John Erik Fossum

12 May

[Workshop on EU Differentiation and the Question of Dominance: From the financial crisis through COVID-19 to war in Ukraine](#), John Erik Fossum, Simona Piattoni, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Martin Moland, Asimina Michailidou, Espen D. H. Olsen

1-3 June

RENPET Network Conference, Helene Sjusen

7-8 June

[TIGRE Consortium Meeting in Utrecht](#), Tobias Bach

9 June

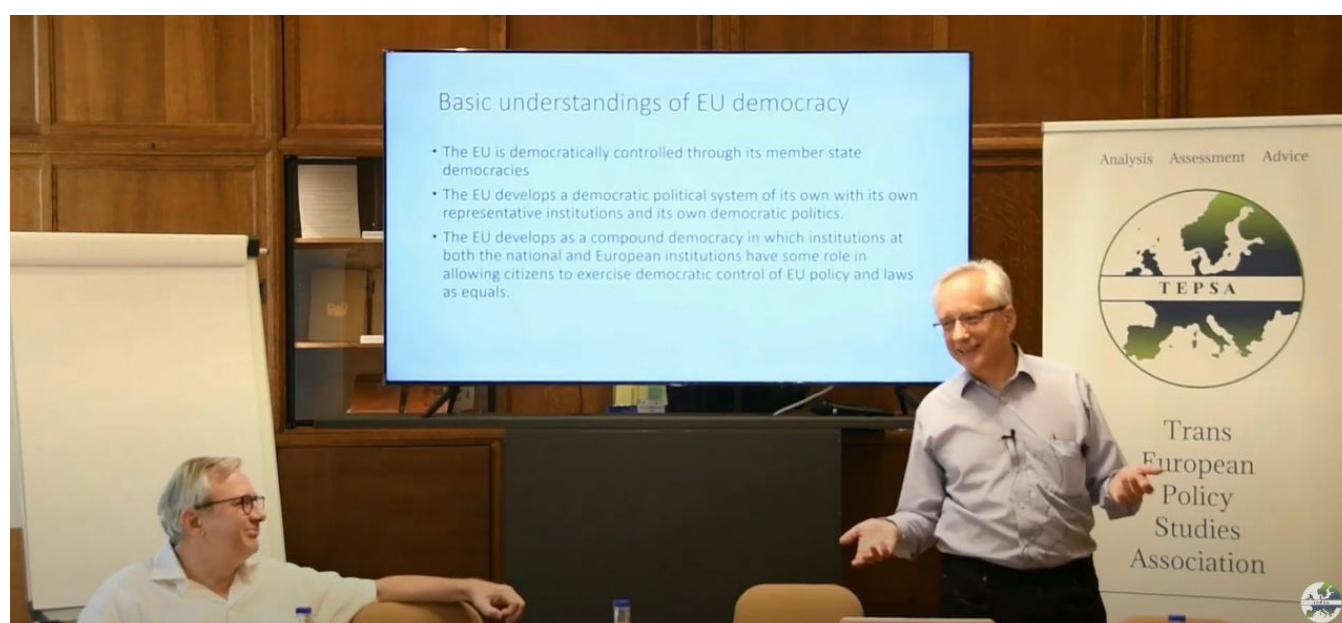
[TiGRE Young Scholars' Workshop](#), Tobias Bach

13-14 June

SINGELMARKETS workshop, Craig Parsons

16 June

[External differentiation and EU enlargement in the Western Balkans](#), John Erik Fossum



Frank Schimmelfenning (left) and Christopher Lord during the DiCE Summer School. (Photo: TEPSA/ [YouTube](#))

20-24 June

[DiCE summer school on differentiated integration](#),
Christopher Lord

1-4 September

European International Studies Association 15th Pan-European Conference on International Relations,
Helene Sjursen

12-13 September

Workshop on 'Global justice and foreign policy: reconsidering the European Union's commitment to the liberal world order', Helene Sjursen

12-13 September

SINGLEMARKETS workshop, Craig Parsons

17 September

[2022 APSA Conference: Sovereignty, Rule of Law and Democracy Challenges in Contemporary Europe](#), John Erik Fossum, Øyvind Stiansen

22 September

[Good Neighbours? The UK & Europe after Brexit](#), John Erik Fossum

14 October

[RECLAIM kick-off conference](#), Asimina Michailidou

22-23 October

SINGLEMARKETS workshop, Craig Parsons

27 October

[EU3D Workshop: Debating the Future of Europe in National Parliaments](#), Espen D. H. Olsen, Guri Rosén, Janna van Diepen

24 November

[DiCE Conference on Ukraine](#), John Erik Fossum

7 December

[Conference on the 30th anniversary of the single market](#), Craig Parsons

Outreach

Democracy and expertise: How are experts held accountable?

Partnerforum and ARENA hosted a seminar on democracy and expertise on 19 January 2022. ARENA researchers presented findings from the book ‘The Accountability of Expertise’.

Modern democracies depend on knowledge-based decision-making, giving expert bodies a vital role. However, they seek neither re-election nor popularity - so how can they be held accountable and legitimate? This seminar explored the questions of accountability of experts through presentations and comments.

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Tobias Bach, Christopher Lord and Andreas Eriksen presented findings from the book ‘The Accountability of Expertise’ and the research project ‘Democracy and expert rule: the quest for reflexive legitimacy’ (REFLEX).

The researchers proposed a new model for holding experts accountable: through public debate.

“Experts can be held responsible by demanding that they explain their decisions to a public consisting of both experts and lay people,” said Erik Oddvar Eriksen.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, both experts and politicians have been present in the media. Experts have also sometimes disagreed, which might have contributed to increased trust in experts and thus also the legitimacy of public administration and politicians, according to Eriksen.



Tobias Bach (left), Erik Oddvar Eriksen and chair Åse Gornitzka. (Photo: Ola Gamst Sæther)

The EU as a security actor

Together with Partnerforum, Helene Sjursen organised an event about the EU as a security actor in light of the war in Ukraine.

Helene Sjursen co-organised the event '[EU som sikkerhetspolitisk aktør](#)' on 23 May 2022. The event addressed the issue of the EU's role in international security following the war in Ukraine.

The event benefited from speakers from both academia and politics. In addition to Helene Sjursen, the speakers were Eivind vad Petersson (State Secretary for Foreign Affairs), Ian Manners (Lund University), Katariina Mustasilta (Finnish Institute of International Affairs) and Ine Eriksen Søreide (chair of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence of the Norwegian Parliament).

The presenters discussed the significance of the accelerated development of the EU as a security actor, with a particular emphasis on perspectives from the Nordic states. Mustasilta discussed the Finnish perspective of the EU's role in international security in light of the war in Ukraine. Vad Petersson addressed

the continuous importance of NATO as well as the Norwegian interest of closer security cooperation with the EU. Søreide further elaborated on Norway's cooperation with the EU on security policy.

Sjursen highlighted that while the EU has traditionally been seen as a 'paper tiger' - lacking the resources and political will to be a credible security actor - its response to the war in Ukraine has been more united, effective and proactive than often expected. Additionally, Manners addressed the difficulty of being on the side lines of decision-making in EU security policy, as illustrated by the Danish opt-outs.



Jan Erik Grindheim (left), Ian Manners and Helene Sjursen.

PLATO Book launch: The politics of legitimation in the EU: legitimacy recovered?

What can responses by specific actors to the EU's recent troubles tell us about its legitimacy?

That was the topic of the [online book launch](#) of the book 'The politics of legitimation in the EU: legitimacy recovered?', edited by Christopher Lord, Peter Bursens, Dirk De Bièvre, Jarle Trondal and Ramses A. Wessel (p. 21).

Christopher Lord and **Claire Godet** presented during the book launch.

The book launch was held in the framework of The Post-Crisis Legitimacy in Europe (PLATO). This was a European training network bringing together 15 PhD researchers and senior scholars from across Europe to study the implications of the 2008 financial crisis for the EU's legitimacy.



ARENA lecture 2022: Espen Barth Eide

**Norwegian Minister of Climate and Environment
Espen Barth Eide held the ARENA lecture on 30
November.**

The lecture was titled '[Hva betyr EUs klima- og miljøpolitikk for Norge](#)', about the impact of the EU's climate and environment policies on Norway.

Barth Eide looked back at the 30 years since Norway entered the European Economic Area (EEA) and talked about how the EU is an impactful force within environmental policies.

He underlined that because of the EEA agreement, Norway is heavily impacted by European climate and environmental policies. But Norway also tries to influence the EU where it can, and takes an active role in the cooperation fora it is part of.

The lecture was an open event held at Litteraturhuset in Oslo, Norway. The ARENA lecture is a tradition at the University of Oslo. In this lecture series ARENA invites politicians and other influential persons to hold an open lecture on a topic that is both of academic and public interest.



*Photo 1: Daniel Naurin introduced Espen Barth Eide and led the Q&A session.
Photo 2: Minister of Climate and Environment Espen Barth Eide held the ARENA lecture 2022.*

EU3D Future of Europe event series

Partners in the project ‘EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy’ (EU3D) have held a number of public events in 2022.

ARENA co-organised two Future of Europe public events, a public debate on 25 October and a student debate on 1 November.

Together with the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oslo, EU3D coordinator **John Erik Fossum** organised the panel debate ‘[Krig i Europa: EU i et nytt Europa](#)’. Other participants in the debate were **Helene Sjursen**, ARENA Centre for European Studies, **Bent Sofus Tranøy** at Høyskolen Kristiania and ARENA Centre for European Studies and Heidi Nordby Lunde, representative in the Norwegian Parliament and leader of Europabevegelsen. Journalist Sten Inge Jørgensen led the debate.

The [student debate](#) was held in cooperation with Europeiske Studenter Oslo, about the future of EU democracy and implications for Norway. John Erik Fossum presented three possible scenarios for the future of Europe: disintegration or differentiated disintegration of the EU; “muddling through” with no EU expansion and no large reforms; and consolidation in some form.

EU3D future of Europe debates, student debates and lectures hosted by partner universities:

24-28 January

Future of Europe debates in France

5 May

Future of Europe student debate in Poland

16 June

Future of Europe lecture in Greece

6 September

Future of Europe student debate in Belgium

19 October

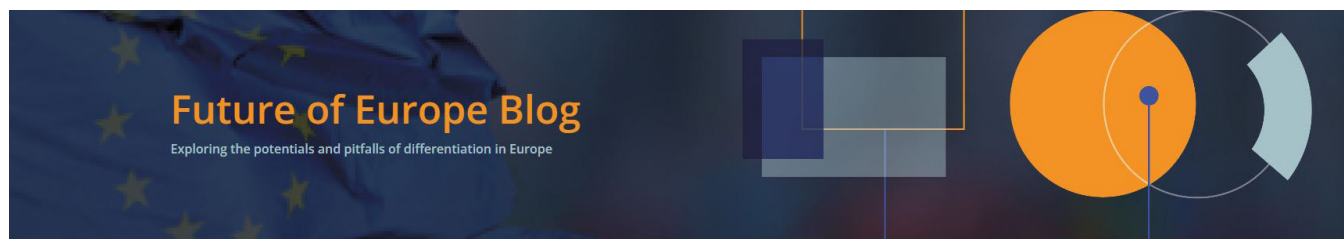
Future of Europe student debate in Italy

8 November

Future of Europe Lecture in France



Photo 1: Sten Inge Jørgensen, John Erik Fossum, Helene Sjursen, Bent Sofus Tranøy and Heidi Nordby Lunde.
Photo 2: John Erik Fossum.



The EU3D 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.

- Duff, Andrew, 'The Wider Europe: a time for experiments', 7 January
- Zgaga, Tiziano, 'The German "traffic light" coalition: no commitment to stronger spending powers for the EU', 14 January
- Michailidou, Asimina and Martin Moland, 'Is there a relationship between Facebook, fake news and support for the EU? It's complicated', 27 January
- Michailidou, Asimina and Hans-Jörg Trenz, 'EU correspondents are needed to make differentiated integration accessible to the public', 11 March
- Zemp, Simon, 'Role modelling Brexit? Swiss newspapers show remarkable leeway in presenting Brexit as a 'benchmark' for Switzerland', 23 June
- Koppa, Marilena, 'A Southern Perspective on EU Enlargement', 11 August
- Duff, Andrew, 'In Search of Europe's Government', 30 September
- Haugen, Marte Christophersen, 'Regional Activity in Brussels: A Matter of Informal Contacts, Networking and Presence', 13 October
- Delanty, Gerard, 'The Crisis of Stability and the Idea of Europe Today', 27 October

Other outreach activities

14 September

Presentation for the Border, Immigration and International Section of the Norwegian Police Directorate (in the framework of the NORMS project), Nicole Ostrand

15 September

[Book launch: The Politics of Differentiation in the European Union](#), CEPS, Jarle Trondal

16 October

[DiCE Scenario Marathon](#), John Erik Fossum

9 November

[Fafroforkost: Hvem skal levere velferdstjenestene?](#), John Erik Fossum

Podcasts and videos

[DiCE Webinar: Differentiation and Democracy](#), John Erik Fossum

[Conference on the Future of Europe](#), Jean Monnet House/ European Parliament, EU3D project members

[Berkeley Talks: The EU in crisis](#), Jarle Trondal, 28 January

[UK in a changing Europe: Good Neighbours?](#) The UK and Europe After Brexit, episode 5, John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord, 26 August

Blogs

What drives public acceptance of expert agencies?, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft and Asimina Michailidou, [The Loop](#), February

How the public evaluates enforcement of the Stability and Growth Pact, Joshua Fjelstul, [LSE Blog](#), 21 March

European Lessons for American Economic Renewal, Craig Parsons (with Matthias Matthijs), [Council on Foreign Relations blog](#), 8 August

How the Court of Justice of the European Union can be reformed to improve the timely administration of justice, Joshua Fjelstul (with Matthew Gabel, Clifford J. Carrubba), [LSE Blog](#), 7 October

Erik Oddvar Eriksen's [own blog](#) on the ARENA website with his op-eds and public lectures

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

Offentlighet, fornuft og solidaritet, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Uniforum, 11 January

The curious case of the EU's disappearing infringements, Tommaso Pavone (with Daniel Kelemen), Politico, 13 January

Hvem er tjent med at Stoltenberg blir sentralbanksjef, Tobias Bach, Aftenposten 14 January

Har vi råd til demokrati?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Uniforum, 17 January

Demokratisk underskudd er et misvisende begrep, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Morgenbladet, 23 January

Krig – makt eller rett?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Uniforum, 2 March

Ukraine wants a fast pass to EU membership. It's not that easy, Joshua C. Fjelstul, Washington Post, 9 March

Europa ved et vendepunkt, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Nationen 20 April



MONKEY CAGE

Ukraine wants a fast pass to E.U. membership. It's not that easy.

Here's what the European Union might offer instead

Analysis by Joshua C. Fjelstul
March 9, 2022 at 6:00 a.m. EST



European Union and Ukrainian flags flutter outside the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, on March 8. (Frederick Florin/AFP/Getty Images)

Listen 6 min Comment 2 Gift Article Share

On Feb. 28, four days after Russia invaded Ukraine, Ukrainian President

Hva gjør vi med ekspertveldet?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, forskersonen.no, 7 July

Ukraina må ikke tape, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagbladet, 21 July

Varig fred, varig føderalisme, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen, 28 July

EU, Ukraina og gratispassasjeren, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen, 11 November

Ska Sverige imitera turkisk lag om kränkthet?, Karin Hjorthen Zelano, Nerikes Allehanda, 28 December

Fred i vår tid, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, VG, 31 December



Interviews, news commentaries and expert opinions

ARENA får likevel 25 millioner kroner til demokratiforskning fra Fellesløftet, Daniel Naurin, Uniforum 20 January

UiO-forskar: – Rolla til domstolane er å halda tilsynsorgana ansvarlege, Tobias Bach, Uniforum, 21 January

Ekspert på ekspertise, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Universitas, 27 February

Ønsker flere med i store debatter, Jarle Trondal, Sørnett, 5 May

– EØS-avtalen vil truleg få tryggingpolitiske konsekvensar, Helene Sjørnsen, Uniforum, 27 May

UNIVERSITAS Nyhet • Kultur • Meninger • English



Ekspert på ekspertise

Hvem skal holde ekspertene ansvarlige? Vi har hørt med en ekspert på akkurat det fellet.

Thomas Fure
FOTOGRAF I UNIVERSITAS (FOTO)

Sofie Kristine Flydal
DESKJOURNALIST I UNIVERSITAS

PUBLISERT Søndag 27. februar 2022 - 12:58 SIST OPPDATERT Torsdag 10. mars 2022 - 10:07

***Ekspertene skal ikke bare adlyde Regjeringen, de skal også kontrollere den.**

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, forsker ved Arena ved Universitet i Oslo

Russisk oljeboikott splitter EU på toppmøtet, Daniel Naurin, NRK, 30 May

Ursula von der Leyen: Europas mor, Jarle Trondal, E24, 4 June

Derfor blir Ukraina neppe EU-medlem no: – Eit ekstremt skakkøyrtd land, Jarle Trondal, NRK, 9 June

Is Norway the way back?, Christopher Lord and Erik Oddvar Eriksen, The New European, 23 June

Helgemorgen, Helene Sjørnsen, NRK, 25 June (TV)

Sverige: Nå er flere på venstresiden enn høyresiden positive til EU, Daniel Naurin, forskning.no, 30 June.

La multiplication des agences complique la gouvernance européenne, Jarle Trondal, Acteurs Publics, 12 July

Farligere enn noensinne, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, Klassekampen, 1 August

Aftonbladet: Samtaler mellom Moderaterna og Sverigedemokraterna, Daniel Naurin, NRK, 11 September



Nyhetsmorgen, Daniel Naurin, NRK, 12 September (radio)

Ny europeisk samling: Utenforlandene inviteres inn i EU-varmen, Helene Sjørnsen, Morgenbladet, 23 September

Britene er lurt, sier norsk professor om Brexit, Erik Oddvar Eriksen og Christopher Lord, Altinget, 26 October

Ukraina-krigen har økt tempoet i EU, Jarle Trondal, forskning.no/ Universitetet i Agder, 11 November

Altinget Artikler Debatt Jobb & Navn Q

Britene er lurt, sier norsk professor om Brexit

Britenes utmelding av EU er en av de viktigste årsakene til den ustabile politiske situasjonen vi nå ser utspille seg i Storbritannia, mener professor for Europaforskning Erik Oddvar Eriksen. Han får følge av EU-professor Christopher James Lord som mener Brexit har vært et alvorlig slag.



Britene har vinklet farvel til EU. Det har fått konsekvenser for landet og gir en tøff start for landets nye statsminister Rishi Sunak. Foto: Peter Nicholls/REUTERS/NTB

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 2022, the centre's main sources of external funding in 2022 were the Research Council of Norway, the EU's Horizon 2020 programme/ Horizon Europe, and the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development.

Key figures 2022

Professors including research professors (work years)	5.2
Senior researchers and postdoctoral fellows (work years)	5.2
PhD fellows (work years)	3.2
MA students	7
Administrative staff (work years)	3.72
Research assistants (work years)	2.9
Total budget (NOK million)	24
External financing (per cent)	57

The ARENA Board

Chair

Professor Magnus Gulbrandsen

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

Deputy chair

Director General Asgeir Fløtre

Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development

Board members

Professor Bjørn Høyland

Department of Political Science, UiO

Director General Agnethe Dahl

Ministry of Climate and Environment

Senior researcher Asimina Michailidou

ARENA Centre for European Studies

Deputy member: Professor John Erik Fossum

Doctoral research fellow Martin Moland

ARENA Centre for European Studies

Deputy member: Doctoral research fellow Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, ARENA

Senior adviser Geir Kværk / Adviser Tyra Kristiansen Stave

ARENA Centre for European Studies

Deputy member: Adviser Ragnhild Grønning / 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 PluriCourts and the Department of Public and International Law at the University of Oslo and with the departments of political science at the universities of Oslo and

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 Hjelmesæth

Hjelmesæth holds a master's degree in political science from the University of Oslo from 2007. She has worked in ARENA's research administration since 2008, and has acted as Administrative Director since September 2015.

Academic staff

All ARENA staff and affiliated researchers during 2022.



Tobias Bach

Senior Researcher

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



Louisa Boulaziz

PhD Fellow

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



Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

PhD Fellow

PhD project: 'Differentiated Integration in European Security and Defence Cooperation'



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

PhD Fellow/ Postdoctoral Fellow

PhD project: 'Borders of Technocracy. Expertise, democracy, and the legitimacy of unelected bodies'



John Erik Fossum

Professor

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



Claire Godet

PhD Fellow

PhD project: 'Understanding the Legitimation of Controversial Institutions: Stakeholder Critique and Legitimation of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS)'



Torbjørge Jevnaker

Researcher

Research: Public policy and administration, implementation, regulation, institutional theory, EU agencies, energy policy, climate policy, ACER, electricity policy.



Christopher Lord

Professor

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



Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez

PhD Fellow

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



Joris Melman

PhD Fellow

PhD project: 'Deeply contested yet taken for granted - The legitimation of the euro between the political and the everyday'



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

PhD project: 'Differentiated Views on a Differentiated Union? Investigating popular support for a differentiated European Union'



Espen D. H. Olsen

Researcher

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



Johan P. Olsen

Professor Emeritus

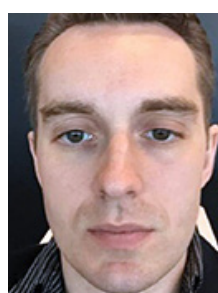
Research: Organisational decisionmaking, New Institutionalism, democracy, power and the Scandinavian model, the changing political organisation of Europe



Nicole Ostrand

Postdoctoral Fellow

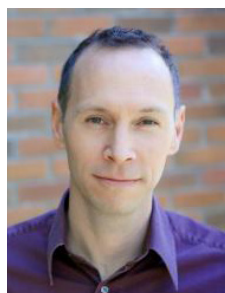
Research: Immigration and asylum policy, extraterritorial migration controls, transnational migration governance and inter-state cooperation, and migration-related detention and deportation.



Alexander Gamst Page

Researcher

Research: Migration, religion, minorities, integration.



Craig Parsons

Senior Researcher

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



Jan Pesl

PhD Fellow

PhD project: 'The EU's post-crisis legitimacy and the public sphere'



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.



Simona Piattoni

Professor

Research: Standards of democratic governance in the EU and contributions of the Committee of Regions to EU democratic governance.



Adriana Riganová

PhD Fellow

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



Guri Rosén

Senior Researcher

Research: EU's external trade policy, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the European Parliament



Alicia Noëllie Saes-Louarn

PhD Fellow

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



Antoinette Scherz

Senior Researcher

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



Anke Stefanie Schwarzkopf

PhD Fellow

PhD project: 'Values versus interests? The EU's approach to multilateral negotiations at the United Nations'



Helene Sjørnsen

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



Resul Umit

Postdoctoral Fellow

Research: Parliamentary representation, public opinion.



Frode Veggeland

Researcher

Research: Public administration and public policy, international organisation and governance, institutional theory.

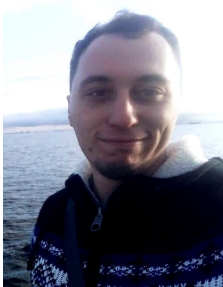


Karin Hjorthen Zelano

Postdoctoral Fellow

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

Guest researchers



Mario Giagnorio

University of Trento

Research: Transformation of EU governance and actorness in the Arctic.



Eva Krick

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



Agustín José Menéndez

Universidad de León

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



Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

University of Brasilia

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



Bent Sofus Tranøy

Kristiania University College, Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences

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

Research assistants and interns



Josephine Andersen
Research assistant



Ingrid Christensen
Research assistant



Lisa Le Boulvais Børkja
Research assistant



Raquel Ugarte Díez
Research assistant



Birthe Einen
Research assistant



Torill Settemsdal Hansen
Intern



Silva Malin Hoffmann
Research assistant



Siri Katrine Helland Stai
Research assistant



Silje Marie Thorstensen
Research assistant



Mathias Opdal Weseth
Research assistant



Andrijana Zivic
Research assistant

Administration



Vilija Duleviciute
Senior Adviser



Marit Eldholm
Senior Adviser



Ragnhild Grønning
Adviser



Geir Kværk
Senior Adviser



Tyra Kristiansen Stave
Adviser



Janna van Diepen
Senior Executive Officer

MA students

Spring



Mona Frank

Student

‘From imagination to reality. An anthropological study of the Norwegian Bio-politics of Integration’

Supervisors: John Erik Fossum and Keir Martin



Marte Christophersen Haugen

Student

‘Regional Presence in the EU: A Qualitative Study of Regional Offices’ Activity in Brussels’

Supervisors: John Erik Fossum and Resul Umit



Hasnat Raza Naqvi

Student

‘The uncanny valley of integration. A qualitative analysis on the relation between Norwegian policies and multiculturalism and assimilation’

Supervisors: John Erik Fossum and Alexander Gamst Page



Emilie Faarup Storvik

Student

‘Women’s Mobilization in the Digital Era. Lobbying and Advocating for European Women’s Rights’

Supervisors: Carine S. Germond and Asimina Michailidou



Simon Zemp

Student

‘Is the grass greener on the other side of the Channel? How Swiss news media presented Brexit as a ‘benchmark’ for Switzerland’

Supervisors: Resul Umit and Berthold Rittbergerand

Autumn



Maisie Florence Fitzmaurice

Student

Resistance to deportation in immigration detention centres in the United Kingdom.

Supervisors: Nicole Ostrand and Katja Franko



Live Johanna Steinsdatter Øverhaug

Student

Democratic backsliding and “LGBT-free zones” in Poland.

Supervisor: Daniel Naurin

Annual report 2022**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

© ARENA Centre for European Studies 2023

This publication can be downloaded from

www.arena.uio.no

Graphic design: ARENA

Photos © University of Oslo (unless otherwise specified)