

ARENA Centre for European Studies Annual Report 2025



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Introduction

In 2025, ARENA launched two new channels to disseminate our research. We launched a new podcast series, Arena Europa, where we interview experts on current issues in Europe and publish episodes in both English and Norwegian. In its first year, we published ten episodes on a range of topics, discussing the EU's relationship with Norway, with the US and with China – among other.

We also started our own ARENA policy brief series. We published three briefs by the end of the year, and continued publishing in 2026. The briefs published last year were on EU's relations with the Global South, democracy in Hungary and on European health cooperation.

ARENA has continued disseminating our research in public events, closed meetings and conference participation. We organised 19 Tuesday seminars, a number of panel debates in Oslo and two events during Arendalsuka.

A tradition at our centre is the ARENA Lecture. Last year, it was held by Federica Mogherini, former Rector at College of Europe, and before that High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission.

Last year, ARENA started and secured funding for a number of new research projects. Our first Starting Grant from the European Research Council, "Egalitarian but not Equal: Sectoral Wage Formation and Gendered Wage Differentials (WAGE)", led by Ines Wagner, started in January.

Our other new projects starting in 2025 are "Norway and the EU undergoing change", "Changing transatlantic security relations: Implications for Europe and Norway (TransatDefence)", "Encouraging a digital and green transition through revitalized and inclusive union-employer negotiations (EGRUiEN)" and "European Network on Learning, Assessing and Researching Governance in Enlargement (ENLARGE)". We concluded the project "Rebuilding Governance and Resilience out of the Pandemic (REGROUP)". We also secured funding for six new projects starting up in 2026.

Lastly, a warm welcome to our new employees, Master's students and guest researchers joining us in 2025.



Pernille Rieker

ARENA Director

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Research projects

Changing transatlantic security relations: Implications for Europe and Norway (TransatDefence)

TransatDefence studies transatlantic relations as the cornerstone of Norway's security and defence.

About

Against the backdrop of the United States' 'pivot to Asia,' the increasing polarisation of US foreign policies, and the war in Ukraine, TransatDefence asks if and if so in what way transatlantic security relations are changing and what this implies for Europe and Norway. In a more uncertain world, securing a strong security relationship to its traditional partner and ally, the United States, is more important than ever for the Europeans. Yet, research and recent developments suggest that Europe is facing a real possibility that the transatlantic relationship may be seriously weakened. The TransatDefence project sets out to explore longer-term and ongoing changes in the transatlantic security relationship, what this tells us about the future direction in which the relationship is going, and what this implies for Europe and Norway.

We ask:

1. Are transatlantic security and defence relations weakening?
2. If so, what are the implications of weaker transatlantic ties for emerging European security structures, in the EU and in NATO and in relations between them?
3. And; what are the implications of changing transatlantic ties and emerging European security structures for Norway?

Objectives

To explore if, how and why transatlantic security relations are changing and what this implies for emerging European security and defence, we study two main cases with much relevance to Norway: 1) Transatlantic security relations in Europe, with a particular focus on EU-US-NATO cooperation vis a vis Russia (defence and Ukraine) and 2) transatlantic relations in space.

Funding

The Norwegian Ministry of Defence

Project period

January 2025 – December 2027

Project coordinators and ARENA project member

Marianne Riddervold

Cooperation

Norwegian Institute of international Affairs (NUPI)



(Illustration: Sydney Niemi/ Wikimedia Commons)

Egalitarian but not Equal: Sectoral Wage Formation and Gendered Wage Differentials (WAGE)



(Illustration: Kenchiro 168/ Adobe Stock)

WAGE explores how collective bargaining affects the undervaluation of female work.

About

All over the globe, women in the work world receive, on average, 20 per cent less than their male counterparts. In countries explicitly committed to eliminating the gender pay gap, such as those in Europe, women still earn, on average, 13 per cent less than men do. This is regardless of the fact that countries with persistent pay gaps have deployed a strategic institutional measure to raise the wage floor of feminised work sectors and reduce the gender pay gap – namely, collective bargaining.

Given the dearth of scholarship on the relationship between gendered wage differentials and collective bargaining processes from an inter-sectoral angle, this study will be the first to systematically use qualitative methods to explore the economic frontier between sectoral gendered wage differentials and collective wage formation, thereby contributing to the effort to achieve gender equity in practice.

Objectives

The overall aim of WAGE is to theorise the gendered nature of collective bargaining by investigating the past, the unruly present and the possible future of regulated collective bargaining processes in three key countries: Germany, Norway and Sweden. Moreover, the project's research design will involve gathering data at the sectoral level of the metal sector and nursing and will use ethnographic research methods. To realise its overall aim, WAGE will accomplish the following three research objectives:

1. Compare and synthesise existing histories of collective bargaining and the GPG in the three selected countries.
2. Uncover and analyse daily practices in collective bargaining rounds that result in wage increases in the male dominated metal sector and the female dominated nursing sector.
3. Document and explain how actors embedded in the male dominated metal and the female dominated nursing sector relate to the wage norm and sectoral gendered wage differentials.

Funding

The European Union (ERC Starting Grant).

Project period

January 2025 – December 2029

Project coordinator and ARENA project member

Ines Alisa Wagner

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.



(Illustration: Zuma Press/NTB)

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.

Funding

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 – April 2027

Project coordinators

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

ARENA project members

Daniel Naurin, Tommaso Pavone, Antoinette Scherz, Mauricio Mandujano, Adriana Purzycka.

Cooperation

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

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?

Funding

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.



(Illustration: Statsministerens kontor)

Project period

August 2021 – July 2026

Project coordinators

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and Andreas 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

Institute for Social Research

Law Faculty, University of Bergen

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

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

About

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

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

Funding

The Swedish Research Council (2018-04215)

Project period

January 2019 – December 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

European University Institute

University of Gothenburg



(Illustration: G. Fessy/ CJEU)

Norway and the EU undergoing change



(Illustration: Mission of Norway to the EU/ Wikimedia Commons)

The project analyses what the EU's development in various policy areas means for Norwegian interests.

About

In recent years, the EU has launched several initiatives responding to crises and structural challenges within security, economy, energy, climate and democracy. There are rapid changes, and these affect Norway - a country outside the EU with close ties to the Union - in a range of policy areas. The project analyses developments in five policy areas and assesses the implications for Norway.

The project covers the following topics:

1. Security and Defence
2. Competitiveness and Economic Security
3. Green Transition
4. Rule of Law and Democracy
5. Health Union

Funding

The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Project period

March 2025 – December 2026

Project coordinator

Pernille Rieker

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Guri Rosen, Craig Parsons, Vlagyislav Maksimov, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, Marianne Riddervold, Merethe Dotterud Leiren, Martin Stangborli Time, Frode Veggeland.

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.

Funding

The Research Council of Norway.

Project period

October 2021 – June 2026

Project coordinator

Craig Parsons

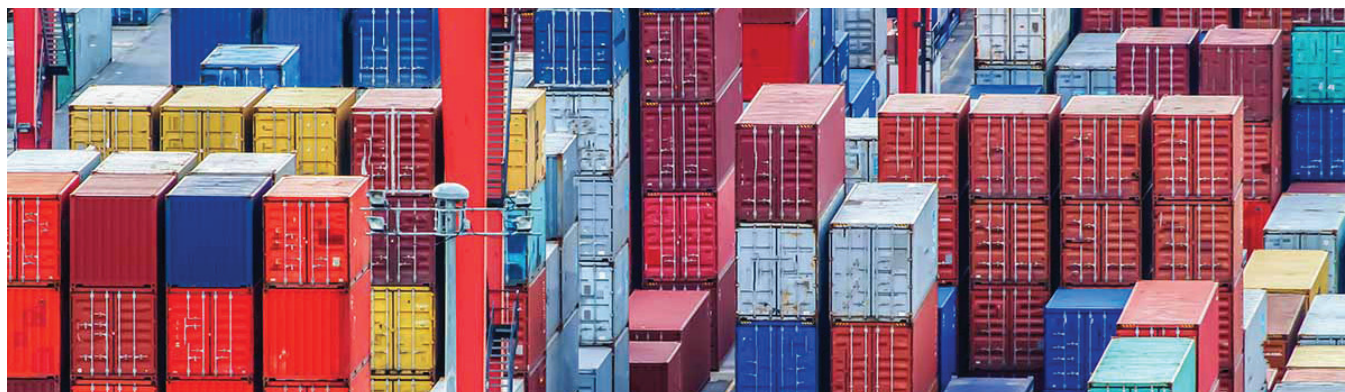
ARENA project members

Craig Parsons, Jarle Trondal, Christopher Lord, John Erik Fossum, Martin Moland, Trym Nohr Fjærtøft

Cooperation

Sciences Po Bordeaux

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences



(Illustration: Shutterstock)

Public Trust in Contemporary Europe: Trusting the Antitrust (PROTRUST)

PROTRUST investigates how the politicisation of antitrust cases influences citizen's trust in the European Commission and tech companies such as Amazon, Google and Facebook.

About

Amazon, Google, and Facebook have attracted global attention due to their violations of antitrust laws. The European Commission can counterbalance such unfair dominance. Given this dynamic, antitrust cases, when they arise, often gain significant media attention, becoming the subject of politicisation. The MSCA-funded PROTRUST project investigates how the politicisation of antitrust cases influences citizens' trust in the European Commission as well as these companies. PROTRUST will analyse media coverage in various countries and conduct survey experiments based on the identified media frames. The goal of this project is to bridge the gap between politicisation and trust research and assess the impact of media framing on competition and antitrust matters.

Objectives

Large firms such as Amazon, Google and Facebook have been making worldwide headlines for abusing their market power and violating antitrust rules. Within the European Union (EU), the European Commission (EC) has been a regulatory powerhouse in competition policy with the capacity to counterbalance unfair dominance of large firms. Such antitrust cases tend to gain news coverage and lead to discussions in the

public sphere. In other words, they become subject to 'politicisation'. But does politicisation affect citizens' trust in public authorities and large companies, and if so, how? PROTRUST (Public Trust in Contemporary Europe: Trusting the Antitrust) investigates the effect of politicisation of EU antitrust cases on citizens' trust in the European Commission and in the firms involved. It does so through an innovative combination of

1. A claims-making analysis of media coverage of antitrust cases in selected countries
2. Survey experiments based on the identified media frames from the claims-making analysis.

Funding

The European Union under Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions (MSCA).

Project period

May 2024 – January 2026

Project coordinator and ARENA project member

Elena Beatriz Escalante Block

Cooperation

Lund University

University of Antwerp



(Illustration: Richard Parmiter, Flickr)

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

NAV through their FoU-program.

Project period

October 2022 - February 2026

Project coordinator

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and Andreas Eriksen

ARENA project members

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Andreas Eriksen, Martin Moland, Fredrik Dybfest Hjorten.



(Illustration: Ssu/ Wikimedia Commons)

Other projects

Contested EU Foreign Policy in an Era of Geopolitics (EUFOG)

About

The doctoral network EUFOG analyses how the EU is reconsidering its international role amid geopolitical shifts.

Over the past decades, the EU's role in international politics was understood based on two assumptions. First, the EU was seen as an integration-through-law project, and a community of values. The promotion of certain international norms was seen as the externalisation of internal consensus. Second, even when the EU entertained projects of reform for the international order, they sought to strengthen its institutions and norms, in a moment when such strengthening was perceived as being broadly in line with the trajectory of international politics. This state of affairs has ceased to exist.

EUFOG will train a generation of scholars to enable them to address the politics, policies and partners associated with the ways in which EU foreign policy responds to these new international realities in a broad range of issue areas, from security to trade to human rights.

Funding

The European Union, under Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions (MSCA).

Project period

December 2024 – November 2028

Coordinator

Oriol Costa, Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

ARENA project members

Helene Sjørusen, Gvantsa Kheladze, Mads Raun Østergaard, Erik Oddvar Eriksen

More: eufog.network

Earth to Orbit - Building Bridges in Space (DISCOVER)

About

DISCOVER investigates the drivers of cooperation and conflict in space governance against the backdrop of increasing global dependencies on space resources and geopolitical tensions.

Space has become one of the world's most critical infrastructures. It is essential for defence and crisis preparedness and management, and for services trade and finance, climate monitoring and navigation and communications. As the new space race intensifies amidst rising geopolitical tensions, ensuring cooperative use of space's limited resources is crucial.

Objectives

DISCOVER analyses the key drivers of cooperation and conflict in space governance. Highlighting the importance of international collaboration for global security and the stability of modern societies, we explore how such cooperation can be achieved. The EU is one of the world's main space actors, and the project explores EU space policies and its role in global space governance.

Funding

Research Council of Norway

Project period

January 2025 – December 2028

Project coordinator

Niels Nagelhus Schia, Norwegian Institute of international Affairs (NUPI)

ARENA project member

Marianne Riddervold



Encouraging a digital and green transition through revitalised and inclusive union-employer negotiations (EGRUiEN)

About

EGRUiEN is a multi-disciplinary and multi-level research project providing an original and comprehensive analysis of the ability of Europe's social dialogue institutions to navigate the labour market transformations resulting from the ongoing green and digital transitions, to protect workers within (or from) non-standard forms of employment and ensure socially and economically just outcomes. EGRUiEN addresses the question: What forms and institutions of social dialogue are needed to facilitate the current comprehensive economic transition, in a socially just manner?

Funding

The European Union, under Culture, creativity and inclusive society.

Project period

January 2025 – December 2028

Coordinator

Nathan Lillie, University of Jyväskylä

ARENA project member

Ines Alisa Wagner

European Network on Learning, Assessing and Researching Governance in Enlargement (ENLARGE)

About

The European Network ENLARGE critically evaluates the EU's enlargement policy. The network engages scholars from 23 universities across Europe.

Enlargement should be understood as a central element in European integration, functioning as a primary instrument in the Community's external relations as it transitioned countries from external partnerships to accession. During the Big Bang Enlargement (2004-2007), the EU experienced its most considerable accession, bringing 12 new Member States and changing the shape of the Union. Enlargement emerged as one of the most critical tools for achieving stability, democracy, and fostering robust external relations, becoming a key mechanism in redefining European space and security.

But what twenty years ago appeared to be the realisation of a great European dream of unity, democracy, peace, and prosperity today no longer seems to be a political project shared both in the East and in the West by millions of European citizens. Can the EU still catalyse progress for its citizens and the globalised world? Progress built on peace, democracy, and sustainable development?

Funding

Erasmus+ Jean Monnet Network

Project period

October 2025 - September 2028

Coordinator

University of Bologna

ARENA project member

Helene Sjursen

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

About

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

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

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

Comparing Norway and Denmark, DEAL is interested in understanding the consequence of the turbulence that the European Green Deal creates for governance and legitimacy of the climate transition in these countries and whether the extent of challenges is related to EU affiliation.

Funding

The Research Council of Norway.

Project period

August 2023 - December 2026

Coordinator

Merethe Dotterud Leiren, CICERO

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Jarle Trondal, Martin Moland

Rebuilding governance and resilience out of the pandemic (REGORUP)

About

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

Funding

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, Martin Moland

More: regroup-horizon.eu

Reclaiming Liberal Democracy in the Postfactual Age (RECLAIM)

About

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

Funding

The European Union's Horizon Europe Protecting and nurturing democracies.

Project period

October 2022 – October 2025

Coordinator

Maximilian Conrad (University of Iceland)

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Marianne Riddervold, Martin Moland, Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger, Ingrid Hjertaker

More: reclaim.hi.is



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

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

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

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

Funding

The European Union's Horizon-Europe programme under the call HORIZON-CL2-2022-DEMOCRACY-01 – Democracy in Flux.

Project period

February 2023 - January 2027

Coordinator

Luca Verzichelli, University of Siena

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Guri Rosén, Marianne Riddervold, Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

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

About

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

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

Funding

Research centre funded by the Research Council of Norway.

Project period

June 2023 - December 2028

Coordinator

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

ARENA project members

Daniel Naurin, Mala Loth

Publications

Books and special issues

The Political Role of the European Commission in Regulating State Aid Policy: In Search of Legitimacy

Elena Beatriz Escalante Block

Routledge, ISBN: 9781003423034

Mechanisms of European Integration. The Force of Reasons

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Routledge, ISBN: 9781032893754

Robust Public Governance in a Turbulent Era

Christopher Ansell, Eva Sørensen, Jacob Torfing and Jarle Trondal (Eds)

Edward Elgar, ISBN: 9781803928791

Contributions by ARENA authors:

Christopher Ansell, Eva Sørensen, Jacob Torfing and Jarle Trondal. 'The challenge of societal turbulence and the need for robust public governance'.

Jarle Trondal and Christian Lo. 'Turbulence as a challenge to public governance'.

Christopher Ansell, Janne Iren Paulsen Breimo, Christian Lo, Eva Sørensen, Jarle Trondal and Jacob Torfing. 'Robust governance of societal turbulence—today and tomorrow'.

Hvilket Norge i hvilket Europa?

John Erik Fossum and Jarle Trondal (Eds)

Cappelen Damm Forskning, ISBN: 9788202840716

Contributions by ARENA and affiliated authors:

John Erik Fossum and Jarle Trondal. 'Preface'.

John Erik Fossum and Jarle Trondal. 'EU som politisk system og scenarioer for Norge'.

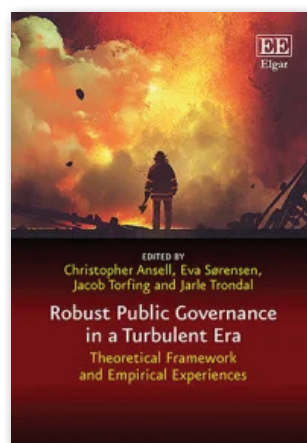
John Erik Fossum and Jarle Trondal. 'Norge og tre teoretisk baserte scenarioer for EUs utvikling'.

Merethe Dotterud Leiren. 'Hvilken framtid for EUs grønne skifte?'.

Marianne Riddervold and Pernille Rieker. 'Full (differensiert) fart fremover: EUs utenriks-, forsvars- og sikkerhetspolitikk og implikasjoner for Norge'.

Johanne Døhlle Saltnes. 'En humanitær stormakt utenfor EU? Utviklingspolitikk i endring'.

John Erik Fossum and Jarle Trondal. 'Avsluttende refleksjoner'.



Special issue: Meso-level Dynamics of Crisis in the European Union

Christopher Ansell, Jarle Trondal, Marianne Riddervold and Akasemi Newsome (Eds)

Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy, Volume 16, Issue 4

Contributions by ARENA and affiliated researchers:

Christopher Ansell, Jarle Trondal, Marianne Riddervold and Akasemi Newsome. 'Meso-level Dynamics of Crisis in the European Union'.

John Erik Fossum. 'The European Council—A Shapeshifting Crisis Handler'.

Nadja S. Kühn, Rebecca Lynn Radlick and Jarle Trondal. 'Crisis and Bureaucratic Discretion: How Bureaucratic Scandals Shape Discretionary Attention Among Government Officials'.

Stian Reme Abrahamsen, Marianne Riddervold and Jarle Trondal. 'Crisis and "Institutional Hubbing" in the European Union'.

Martin Stangborli Time, Arild Aurvåg Farsund and Frode Veggeland. 'Crisis Management in the EU: Identifying "Blind Spots" in Inter-Sectoral Coordination on AMR'.

Special issue: The Comparative Federalism of Single Markets in Europe and the United States.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Craig Parsons (Eds).

Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 55, Issue 4

Contributions by ARENA researchers:

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Craig Parsons. 'Introduction: The Comparative Federalism of Single Markets in Europe and the United States'.

Nicholas Jacobs, Martin Moland and Craig Parsons. 'Do Citizens Have Views about Single Market Governance?'.

Nicholas Jacobs, Martin Moland and Craig Parsons. 'Postfunctionalism across the Atlantic: The "New Politics" in European Integration and US Federalism'.

Katarzyna Andrejuk, Trym N. Fjørtoft, Craig Parsons, Susanne K. Schmidt, Andy Smith and Jarle Trondal. 'American Services in European Perspective: Why Do Americans Not Care about Interstate Barriers in Construction?'.

Katarzyna Andrejuk, Trym N. Fjørtoft, Craig Parsons, Susanne K. Schmidt, Andy Smith and Jarle Trondal. 'Federal Spirits: Single Markets in Goods in the United States and the European Union and the Case of Spirits Drinks'.

Book chapters

See also the list of books on p.20.

Eriksen, Andreas and Everson, Michelle. 'Health Policy: A Cautionary Tale of Constitutional Slippage and Polity Building between Crisis and Nation Building' in Diane Fromage, Adrienne Héritier and Paul Weismann (Eds), EU Regulatory Responses to Crises: Adaptation or Transformation?. (Oxford University Press).

Fossum, John Erik. 'Chapter 17: The political future of the EEA' in Graham Butler (Ed), Research Handbook on EEA Internal Market Law. (Edward Elgar Publishing).

Gunnarsdottir, Elsa Lilja and Riddervold, Marianne. 'Maritime security' in Sonia Lucarelli and James Sperling (Eds), Handbook of European Union Governance. (Edward Elgar).

Kolltveit, Kristoffer and Trondal, Jarle. 'The Norwegian Central Government: A Robust Yet Adaptive Apparatus' in [editor(s) not specified] (Eds), The Oxford Handbook of Norwegian Politics. (Oxford University Press).

Stenvall, Jari, Pinheiro, Rómulo, Johanson, Jan-Erik, Pekkola, Elias, Trondal, Jarle and Rannisto, Pasi-Heikki. 'Governing uncertainty by anticipating risk: assessing crisis management during COVID-19' in Elias Pekkola, Jan-Erik Johanson, Marjukka Mikkonen, Jari Stenvall and Emmi Siirtola (Eds), Future Public Governance and Global Crises: Nordic Perspectives. (Edward Elgar).

Trondal, Jarle. 'Robustness and the study of hybrid governance' in J. Vakkuri, J.E. Johansen, R. Pinheiro and R. Erkkilä (Eds), Public Policies for Hybrid Governance. (Edward Elgar).

Trondal, Jarle and Proszowska, Dominika. 'Political trust: a multilevel governance perspective' in [editor(s) not specified] (Eds), Handbook on Trust in Public Governance. (Edward Elgar).

van Diepen, Janna. 'Debates on the Future of Europe in the Danish Folketing: Between Economic Membership Benefits and Political Autonomy' in Magdalena Góra, Elodie Thevenin and Katarzyna Zielińska (Eds), Political Actors' Narratives on the Reforms of the European Union. (Routledge).

Journal articles

See also the list of special issues on p.21.

- Aars, Jacob, Bach, Tobias and Trondal, Jarle. 'The value of paired and longitudinal surveys in public administration research'. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*.
- Birkeland, Terese and Trondal, Jarle. 'Stakeholder involvement in the European Union policy-making: a study of consultation regimes of the European Commission'. *Comparative European Politics*.
- Blegen, Milla Elisabeth and Sundvall, Eirik Wig. 'Setting Norway Ablaze? British Propaganda Towards Norwegians During the Second World War'. *Scandinavian Journal of History*.
- Boulaziz, Louisa. 'Beyond the glass ceiling, more "housework"? Womens' work assignment, performance and influence in political institutions'. *The Journal of Politics*.
- Damsa, Dorina and Ostrand, Nicole. 'States of Un/Knowing: The Un/Making of the European Deportation Regime'. *Geopolitics*.
- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar. 'Grenseoverskridende forpliktelser. NAVs trygdeskandale i et forvaltningsteoretisk perspektiv'. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*.
- Escalante Block, Elena Beatriz and Blockx, Jan. 'Legislating in the media spotlight: The Digital Markets Act in EU news coverage'. *Media, Culture & Society*.
- Fjelstul, Joshua, Hug, Simon and Kilby, Christopher. 'Decision-making in the United Nations General Assembly: A comprehensive database of resolution-related decisions'. *The Review of International Organizations*.
- Hermansen, Silje Synnøve Lyder, Pavone, Tommaso and Boulaziz, Louisa. 'Leveling and Spotlighting: How the European Court of Justice Favors the Weak to Promote Its Legitimacy'. *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Leucht, Brigitte, Esmark, Magnus and Loth, Mala. 'Rethinking European Legal Integration: Legal text from a bottom-up perspective and the functioning of European law, 1957–2000'. *European Law Open*.
- Loth, Mala. 'Working on Principles: Changing Concepts of "Labour" before the European Court of Justice, 1972–1988'. *Contemporary European History*.
- Loth, Mala. 'Rethinking the Marshall-Cases "from below": Helen Marshall as a legal entrepreneur in Southern England and Luxembourg, 1978–1993'. *European Law Open*.
- Moland, Martin, Custodi, Jacopo and Trenz, Hans-Jörg. 'Reinforcing or Rethinking? What Do News Consumers Want From Journalism in the Post-Truth Era?'. *Media and Communication*.
- Rieker, Pernille. 'EU-debattens fravær i Norge: Strategisk stillhet og demokratisk underskudd'. *Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift*.
- Saes-Louarn, Alicia Noellie. 'Fjords of sovereignty: a case study of selective non-compliance in the Norwegian Environment Agency'. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*.
- Scherz, Antoinette. 'How should the EU respond to democratic backsliding? A normative assessment of expulsion and suspension of voting rights from the perspective of multilateral democracy'. *Journal of European Public Policy*.
- Scherz, Antoinette and García-Portela, Laura. 'Climate scientists as trustees in public reason: the legitimacy of political institutions amid non-epistemic values'. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*.
- Shyrokykh, Karina and Trondal, Jarle. 'Stable roles and agile structures: Temporal robustness in public administration networks'. *Public Policy and Administration*.
- Sjursen, Helene. 'Protean power goes to Europe: on law, norms and power in the EU's external policies'. *Comparative European Politics*.
- Wagner, Ines Alisa, Jaehrling, Karen, Trif, Aurora, Sacchetto, Devi and Czarzasty, Jan. 'Navigating cross-border labour mobility and employment security in European shipbuilding: lessons from the COVID-19 crisis'. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*.

Publications 2021–2025

	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Monographs	4	0	3	0	2
Edited books	4	4	1	2	2
Special issues of journals	0	0	0	2	2
Book chapters	36	35	13	7	13
Journal articles	28	31	26	26	29
Arena Working Papers	12	3	4	2	0
ARENA Reports	4	9	12	3	0
ARENA Policy Briefs	-	-	-	-	3
Publication points (total)	58.13	61.64	57.83	39.22	59.04
Publication points (per academic person-year)	6.28	4.45	3.1	2.19	3.04

ARENA Policy Briefs

Europe Knows Best? The European Union's patronising trade negotiations with the Global South

Elena Escalante-Block

ARENA Policy Brief 1/25

Safeguarding EU values in Hungary: Navigating next steps amid increasing repression

Vladyislav Makszimov

ARENA Policy Brief 2/25

Europeisering av helsepolitikk gjennom krisehåndtering og beredskapssamarbeid

Martin Time and Frode Veggeland

ARENA Policy Brief 3/25



Events

SINGLEMARKETS Workshop

The SINGLEMARKETS project organised a workshop at European University Institute on 17-18 February.

This workshop brought together partners in the project comparing the politics of cross-border trade and mobility in the European Union and the United States.

A common image suggests that the European Union's Single Market project can be understood roughly as an effort to reproduce the wide-open internal market of the United States of America, but this is not a very accurate characterization of either arena. The United States today is indeed still well ahead of Europe in terms of economic integration on the ground. In terms of creating a strong and systematic regime to facilitate cross-border market access and mobility, however the EU has in some ways moved "ahead" of the U.S. It never attempted a project much like the EU's agenda, and a fair number of interstate barriers that the EU has targeted persist between U.S. states—seemingly with little societal mobilization or policy attention around them. Contributors to this workshop chart sectoral regulatory trajectories and patterns in public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic to better explain the similarities and differences in the politics of the two huge advanced-economy single markets.

Participants from ARENA

Craig Parsons, Martin Moland, Jarle Trondal, Trym Nohr Fjærtøft and John Erik Fossum.

What does the public administration think of the internationalisation of law?

On 24 February, ARENA Centre for European Studies organised the seminar “[Hva mener forvaltningen om internasjonalisering av lovverket?](#)”.

During this event, organised in cooperation with Partnerforum, the panellists discussed formal procedures and public administration’s own principles.

As Norway incorporates EU legislation within its domestic legislation, public authorities must navigate a complex landscape balancing national interests, professional justifications, and international obligations. This process cannot always be carried out mechanically through fixed procedures. Indeed, it also depends on the principles, attitudes, and practices of the administration itself.

Panellists

Erik Oddvar Eriksen (ARENA), **Martin Moland** (ARENA), **Andreas Eriksen** (ARENA), **Fredrik Dybfest Hjorten** (ARENA), Oda Helen Sletnes (Norwegian Ministry of foreign affairs).

Moderator: Marthe Kristine Fjeld Dystland (Norwegian Ministry of Justice).





Which Norway in which Europe?

On 17 March, ARENA organised the panel debate [“Hvilket Norge i hvilket Europa?”](#) on the future of the relations between Norway and the European Union.

During the debate, the panel discussed how the EU reacts in a crisis, if the EU becomes more integrated or more differentiated, and what this means for Norway's relations with the Union.

The event explored three scenarios for the EU's future development and their implications for Norway:

1. A more intergovernmental Europe, with weakened supranational institutions.
2. A differentiated Europe, with varying levels of participation among member states.
3. A more integrated Europe, with stronger common institutions and expanded cooperation.

Presentations

John Erik Fossum (ARENA), **Jarle Trondal** (ARENA).

Panellists

Ine Eriksen Søreide (representative for Høyre in Stortinget), **Merethe Dotterud Leiren** (CICERO and ARENA), **Marianne Riddervold** (ARENA), and Ulf Sverdrup (BI). Moderator: Christina Kullmann Five (Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities).



The EU facing new challenges: Will the Union survive?



On 2 April, ARENA organised the book presentation and debate **“EU i møte med nye utfordringer: Vil unionen overleve?”** on the resilience of the European Union as a political system.

For decades, critics have predicted the downfall of European integration. Yet the EU has persisted, expanded, and delivered solutions. What explains its survival? And how robust is the Union in facing today’s crises Russia’s war, U.S. trade conflicts, migration flows, artificial intelligence, and existential climate and environmental threats?

The event opened with a presentation of the new book *Mechanisms of European Integration: The Force of Reasons* by **Erik Oddvar Eriksen** (ARENA), which explores the methods that created and sustains the EU. The discussion considered whether these mechanisms remain sufficient today, or if the Union must evolve towards a more state-like structure.

Panellists

Helge Høibraaten (NTNU), Jan Erik Grindheim (USN Business School), Hilde Wisløff Nagell (Agenda).
Moderator: **Pernille Rieker** (ARENA)

Arendalsuka: The EU and Europe between Trump and Putin: From peace project to security policy project?

On 11 August, ARENA organised the panel “[EU og Europa mellom Trump og Putin – fra fredsprosjekt til sikkerhetspolitisk prosjekt?](#)” as part of Arendalsuka.

Against the backdrop of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and Donald Trump’s uncertain stance on NATO, the panel examined the role the European Union can and will play as Europe moves toward greater security autonomy.

The debate centered around the questions of European defense capabilities concerning the military capacities to handle security and defense policy. The debate aimed to understand how those global upheavals reshape cooperation between European states inside and outside the EU, as well as across the Atlantic. The panel also discussed the consequences for Norway’s position and future security cooperation.

Panellists

Helene Sjursen (ARENA), Bjørn Olav Knutsen (FFI), Anders Romarheim (FHS).

Moderator: Hilde Wisløff Nagell (Agenda)



Arendalsuka: Trump and geopolitical tension: What does the new EU mean for Norway?

On 12 August, ARENA organised the debate [“Trump og geopolitisk tilspissing: Hva betyr det nye EU for Norge?”](#) about the EU as an emerging geopolitical actor.

The European Union has increased its position as a security and geopolitical actor in the context of the war in Ukraine and transatlantic trade conflicts. The panel debate focused on what these developments mean for Norway, a closely associated country outside the EU. Is Norway's connection to the EU becoming a constraint or even a security risk?

Panellists

Espen Barth Eide (Norwegian Minister of Foreign affairs), **Pernille Rieker** (ARENA), Øyvind Svendsen (NUPI), **Guri Rosén** (ARENA and Department of Political Science, UiO).

Moderator: Kjetil B. Alstadheim (Aftenposten).



Photo:

REDIRECT workshop



On 18-19 September, ARENA hosted the REDIRECT workshop gathering researchers to discuss the crisis of democratic representation in Europe and strategies for reconnection.

25 researchers participated in the workshop on political parties and the representative disconnect, held at ARENA Centre for European Studies on 18 and 19 September. The aim of the workshop was twofold: to diagnose how serious the representative disconnect is with explicit reference to political parties, and to examine specific tools that can reconnect the population with the political class and the political system.

Through an interdisciplinary and multi-level approach, [REDIRECT](#) addresses the challenges associated with the ongoing transformation of democratic politics in Europe.

Divided into four parts, the workshop covered a wide range of themes connected with three dimensions of representative disconnect. During Part I, **John Erik Fossum** (project leader at ARENA) and Luca Verzichelli (project coordinator) provided a brief overview of political parties, the representative

disconnect, representative ecology, and strategies for reconnection and redirection.

Part II focused on political parties and the representative disconnect, Part II analysed political parties and strategies for reconnection and redirection and Part IV discussed the relationship between parties and democratic representation today and proposed ways of redefining the research agenda.

Participants from ARENA

Guri Rosén, Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger, John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, and Marianne Riddervold.

The role of researchers in a polarised world

ARENA organised the panel debate “[Forskerrollen i en polarisert verden](#)” on 19 September.

The panellists examined the responsibilities and dilemmas faced by researchers when engaging with the public such as the risks of speaking out or the ethical challenges of how to communicate findings effectively without inadvertently supporting authoritarian tendencies. The discussion offered empirical examples of how subtle authoritarian shifts in countries like Hungary affect public discourse and the role of research in defending democratic principles.

Panellists

John Erik Fossum (ARENA), Anine Kierulf (UiO), Cathrine Thorleifsson (UiO), Carl Henrik Knutsen (UiO).

Moderator: **Pernille Rieker** (ARENA)



How to achieve nuclear disarmament: Europe's role in safeguarding the future

On 15 October, [a speech and a panel discussion](#) were organised around the question: **How effective are transnational networks in forging paths towards peace and international cooperation?**

The event was organised by The Norwegian Nobel Institute, Center for International Affairs and World Cultures at Northeastern University and ARENA. The discussion focused on how transitional networks can continue to influence international politics at a time when nuclear norms are under pressure and when debates about a potential European nuclear umbrella are gaining traction. Thus, can initiatives like the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) sustain their momentum in a shifting geopolitical order? The event was followed by a reception at the The Norwegian Nobel Institute.

Keynote

Alicia Sanders-Zakre (ICAN)

Panellists

Alicia Sanders-Zakre (ICAN), Daniel Serwer (Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies), Denise Garcia (Northeastern University).

Moderator: **Marianne Riddervold** (ARENA).



Photo: Matthew Fleming/ Northeastern University



The ARENA Lecture with Federica Mogherini

On 4 November, Federica Mogherini gave the [ARENA Lecture](#) on the EU in a world of rivalry.

Federica Mogherini was Rector of the College of Europe in Bruges and previously served as the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

During her term in the EU, from 2014 to 2019, Europe was faced with Russia's annexation of Crimea, Brexit, the Syrian war and refugee crisis, and Donald Trump's first term as president of the US. What has changed from then to now with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine and Trump's second term in office?

Drawing on experiences from her term in the EU, Federica Mogherini gave her view on the EU's role in the changing world. Is the EU equipped to deal with the security challenges it faces?

She evoked how the geopolitical upheavals affected the European Union and what the EU's role in the changing world is. Thus, is the EU equipped to deal with the security challenges it faces? And how do we educate a new generation of politicians, civil servants, scholars and citizens to face the challenges ahead?

Panel

The lecture was followed by a panel discussion with Federica Mogherini, Andreas Motzfeldt Kravik, State Secretary for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ine Marie Eriksen Søreide, Member of the Norwegian Parliament, moderated by **Pernille Rieker**, Centre Director at ARENA Centre for European Studies.

About the ARENA Lecture

The ARENA Lecture is a long-standing 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.



Photos: Amund Aasbrenn/ UiO

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.



4 February

Ideologising Europe and Europeanising Ideology: Political Party Ideologies and the European Union

Marta Lorimer, Cardiff University

25 February

Systemic Risk and Democracy: A Conceptual Map

Steven Klein, King's College London

18 March

The Most Dangerous Branch? The EU-led Constitutionalisation of Independent Public Authorities and the Reshuffling of the Balance of Powers in Member States

Julien Bois, University of Liege

1 April

Geopolitical Struggles of the Emerging Global Tech Order

Rebecca Adler-Nissen, University of Copenhagen

8 April

Ignoring Europe? Lawyers and nonlawyers and the knowledge of European law in Norway, since the 1970s

Mala Loth, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo

29 April

European Integration from Club to Commons

Erik Jones, European University Institute

27 May

The need for a new approach? Enlargement of the EU in a time of geopolitical tensions

Mathilde Giske, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

3 June

China's challenge to liberal human rights

Reuben Wong, National University of Singapore

10 June

Populism, the Energy Transition, and International Politics

Kacper Szulecki, NUPI and Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM) of the University of Oslo

18 June

Competing Alternatives in Constructivist Research

Craig Parsons, University of Oregon

19 August

Discourses about the next enlargement of the EU: Are we all meritocrats now?

Antoaneta Dimitrova, University of Leiden

2 September

Dimensions of Politics and Dynamic Ideal Points of Members of the European Parliament

Bjørn Høyland, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

23 September

From Protest to Policy (and Back Again): Towards an Integrated Framework on LGBTQ+ Advocacy

Bastiaan Redert, University of Antwerp

7 October

The Embattled Union: Toward a Theory of Siege Mentality within European Union Institutions

Pieter de Wilde, University of Groningen

14 October

European Union Grand Strategy

Mai'a Cross, Northeastern University

21 October

Repositioning of war: the ambiguous language of private military and security companies

Jozef Bátora, Comenius University in Bratislava

28 October

A Federalist Alternative For European Governance

Sergio Fabbrini, LUISS

9 December

EU inter-institutional relations

John Erik Fossum, ARENA

16 December

Invisible taxes, visible defense: lessons from US fiscal-military history for financing European security

Tomasz Woźniakowski, University of Wrocław

Other conferences and events

ARENA's staff were invited to give lectures and presentations, and participated in academic and non-academic panels, organised by a range of networks, projects and institutions. Some of our activities in 2025 were:

'Norway and the European Union's security policy. Top ten geopolitical risks', KPMG, **Helene Sjursen**, 12 February

'A new global order?', conference at London School of Economics, South Asia Centre, **Helene Sjursen**, 12 February

Lecture on EU economic policy for the Norwegian Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 13 February

Lecture on EU politics for Aker Seniorakademi, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 20 February

Discussant, book launch of "Mechanisms of European Integration: The Force of Reasons," by Erik Oddvar Eriksen. Oslo, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 11 March

'EU som sikkerhetspolitisk aktør', panellist at Sikkerhetspolitisk dag, YATA, **Helene Sjursen**, 11 March

'Europas posisjon mellom USA, Ukraina og Russland', OsloMet, **Helene Sjursen**, 27 March

'Technical Legitimacy', LAGAPE Seminar Sessions, Université de Lausanne, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 10 April

'Politiske konsekvenser av manglende gjennomføring av EUs Ren energi-pakke' NHO, **Merethe Dotterud Leiren**, 23 April

'Hva er EU godt for i dag?', Polyteknisk forening, **Erik Oddvar Eriksen**, 5 May

'Når «grønn» blir til «ren». Klarer EU å holde på en ambisiøs klimapolitikk?', CICEROdagen, **Merethe Dotterud Leiren**, 6 May.

'A struggle for recognition? The EU, third state partnerships and international security' and 'Multilateralism in flux', 19th Biennial EUSA Conference, Philadelphia, USA, **Helene Sjursen**, 8-10 May

Strengthening Northern Ireland's voice in the context of the Windsor Framework, hearing at the UK Parliament Northern Ireland Scrutiny Committee, **John Erik Fossum** (expert witness), 21 May.

30-årsjubileum for EØS-avtalen, Nærings- og fiskeridepartementet, Son hotell, **Erik Oddvar Eriksen**, 3 June

Norge og EU, Europabevegelsen i Follo, Ski bibliotek, **Erik Oddvar Eriksen**, 4 June

'Europe the EU and the 'rest of the world' in the Trump era: order making or (dis)order taking?', Kings College London and London School of Economics, **Helene Sjursen**, 5 June

'Hva med EUs ambisiøse klimapolitikk og Norges handlingsrom?', NMBU Gradsdag, **Merethe Dotterud Leiren**, 5 June.

'Reputational Management in the Digital Age: How the European Commission and the Federal Trade Commission Navigate Antitrust Issues', ECPR Standing Group on Regulatory Governance, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft and Elena Escalante-Block**, 11 June

'Trust and Bureaucratic Communication: The Effects of Emotional Appeals on Public Trust in the European Commission' and 'Trust and Bureaucratic Communication: The Effects of Emotional Appeals on Public Trust in the European Commission', ECPR Standing Group on Regulatory Governance, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, **Elena Escalante-Block**, June.

'Norges forhold til Europa', Melbukonferansen, **Erik Oddvar Eriksen**, 8 July

'The Administrative State as a Democratic Asset', Institute for Social Research, Oslo, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 13 August

'Forvalgsseminar på Norges Hus', Gothenburg, **Karin Hjorthen Zelano**, 27 August

'Populist Disruption: Discursive Signs of Democratic Erosion in Trump's, Meloni's and Milei's First 100 Days in Office', workshop 'Do Populists in Power Undermine Liberal Democracy? Comparisons between Europe and the Americas', Carleton University and the University of Ottawa, Canada, **Elena Escalante-Block**, September

'The many faces of strategic autonomy', 55th UACES

Annual Conference Liverpool, UK, **Helene Sjursen**, 1 September

ILERA Conference, Durham, **Ines Wagner**, 10-12 September

Why America Needs Europe?, NUPI breakfast seminar, **Marianne Riddervold**, 25 September

Gender and intersectionality in research, EU clustering event, Brussels, **Ines Wagner**, 29-30 September

‘Technical Legitimacy’, Oslo Political Theory seminar, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 1 October

‘Hva er framtiden for EUs grønne skifte?’, Norwegian Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries’ EU/EEA forum, **Merethe Dotterud Leiren**, 8 October

‘Depoliticization without value-freedom: The legitimacy of fiscal credibility institutions.’ Workshop: A Sustainable Leviathan? Democratic Control and Macroeconomic Credibility, London School of Economics, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 17 October

‘Kampen om Arktis’ and ‘Skjebnetid for Europa’, KåKånomics, **Helene Sjursen**, 24 October

‘Klimaomstilling i en turbulent verden’ and Hva mener nordmenn og dansker om EU og klimapolitikk?, DEAL breakfast seminar: Norge og Danmark i møte med EUs klimamål for 2040, **Merethe Dotterud Leiren** and **Martin Moland**, 6 November

‘Rettsikker forvaltningspraksis i europeiseringens tidsalder’, Utlendingsnemdas fagavdeling, **Erik Oddvar Eriksen**, 21 November

“Depoliticization without value-freedom: The legitimacy of fiscal credibility institutions.” Workshop at LUISS, Rome, **Trym Nohr Fjortoft**, 5 December

Outreach

Arena Europa podcast

In the new podcast series by ARENA, we invite experts to help us make sense of key European issues. Episodes are in either English or Norwegian. The episodes are hosted by Pernille Rieker, and produced by Tyra Kristiansen Stave.

The Single Market, Tariffs and Trump

25 March

How does the flow of goods, services and people work in the US and Europe? What do people in the US and Europe think about how the internal markets are governed? And how are tariffs on trade likely to affect the two markets?

Guest: Craig Parsons

Nasjonalisme, Nato og den liberale verdensorden

4 April

USA har brukt mange år på å støtte den liberale verdensorden, og har gitt Europa en sikkerhetsgaranti gjennom Nato. Når Donald Trump har blitt president i USA, hvordan ser forholdet mellom USA og Europa ut?

Guest: Iver Neumann

Strøm, klimapolitikk og EU

11 April

Hvordan er Norge knyttet til EUs kraftmarked? Hvorfor er strømspørsmålet så kontroversielt i Norge? Og hvem tjener på energisamarbeidet?

Guest: Merethe Dotterud Leiren

Europe and the US after Trump

20 May

Uncertainty, disappointment and betrayal define European-American relations after Donald Trump came into office in the US. Why was Europe not prepared for a second term of Trump? What does the future of the trade and security relationship look like?

Guest: Erik Jones

Is there a future for EU-China cooperation?

27 June

Has Donald Trump's proposed tariffs strengthened the relationship between Europe and China? And how does the Russian invasion of Ukraine play into this relationship?

Guest: Rueben Wong

Hva vil Arbeiderpartiet med EU og EØS?

14 October

Hvordan vil den nye regjeringen jobbe for å sikre Norges interesser i Brussel? Og hva er begrensingene i EØS-avtalen?

Guest: Maria Varteressian





The EU's planetary grand strategy

27 October

How does Europe work to safeguard the future of humanity?

Guest: Mai'a Cross

Federica Mogherini on the most difficult times we could imagine

7 November

How are new security threats influencing Europe? And how is international cooperation and peace the pragmatic solution?

Recording of the ARENA Lecture

What should the EU do about Hungary?

25 November

Discussions about the situation in Hungary are often centered on the effectiveness of any possible action. However, we rarely evaluate the correct course of action in terms of values. In this episode, we ask: what should the EU do?

Guest: Antoinette Scherz

Host and producer: Vlad Makszimov

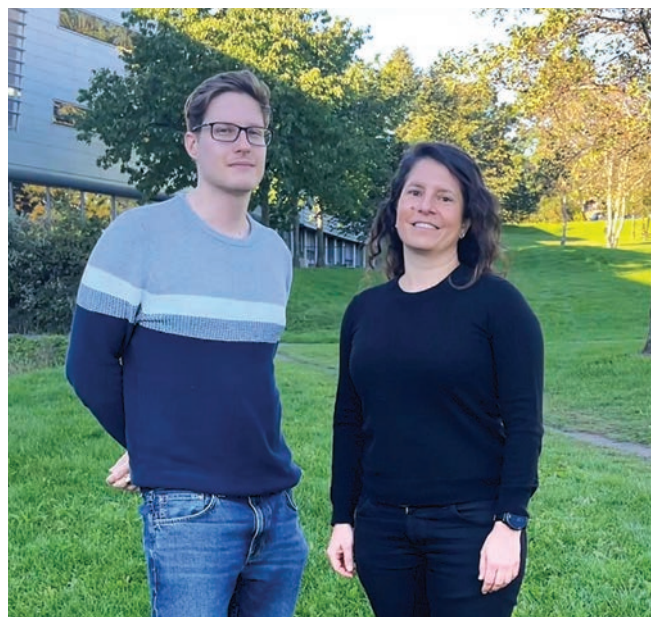
Hungary: How judges are kept in line

12 December

Over the past decade, Hungary has slid into a competitive authoritarian state. Courts are formally independent, but that independence is hollowed out in practise. Learn about how judges are controlled, and why it is difficult for the EU to intervene.

Guests: Etienne Hanelt and Attila Vincze

Host and producer: Vlad Makszimov



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

Europeisk sikkerhet krever alle verktøy i verktøykassen, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 3 January

Diskuter fordelingen, ikke kablene, Merethe Dotterud Leiren and Marie Byskov Lindberg, Klassekampen, 31 January

Norges sikkerhet er uløselig knyttet til et sterkt og samlet Europa, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 21 February

Nå vil EU ha flere kraftkabler i Nordsjøen. Fortsatt «Norway first»? , Kacper Szulecki and Anne Therese Gullberg (Kruse Larsen), Dagens Næringsliv, 26 February

Hvorfor hater Trump EU?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Aftenposten, 5 March

Hvordan håndtere EU-spørsmålet?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Aftenposten, 23 March

Hegnar: – Alle EU-saker bør utsettes til etter valget, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Nationen, 25 March

Europeisk sikkerhet krever alle verktøy i verktøykassen, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 1 March

Igjen er det stormakts-diktat som gjelder. Igjen må små stater smiske og tilpasse seg på den mest uverdige og ynkvverdige måte, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Nettavisen, 27 April

EØS som en politikkens retrett, John Erik Fossum & Jarle Trondal, Altinget, 24 April

EU-medlemskap blir stadig viktigere for Norge, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 15 May

Resignasjon eller opposisjon, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen, 17 July

Demokrati i dag, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Samtiden.no, 15 October

Vil ytre høyre implodere?, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Altinget, 21 October

EU er ikke det EU var, og EØS er ikke lenger nok, Marianne Riddervold, Aftenposten, 24 November

Interviews, news commentaries and expert opinions

Over halvparten med EU-nei: - Kan skape uventede allianser, Martin Moland, Dagsavisen, 4 January

Støre etter krisemøte om Ukraina: – Vi må ikke gå inn i en situasjon med våpenhvile, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 17 February

Krisemøtet i Paris: – En alvorlig situasjon, Pernille Rieker, TV2 Nyheter, 17 February

USA, Russland og Ukraina-krigen: Dette har skjedd, Pernille Rieker, NRK.no, 19 February

Norges sikkerhet er uløselig knyttet til et sterkt og samlet Europa, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 20 February

Europeiske ledere etter Trump-uttalelser, Pernille Rieker, NRK Nyhetsmorgen, 20 February

Nye Ukraina uttalelser fra USA, Pernille Rieker, NRK P1 Dagens, 20 February

Europa og USA ved et veiskille, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 20 February

Siste om forholdet mellom USA og Europa, Pernille Rieker, VGTV, 20 February

Ukrainer i Norge om Trumps utspill: – Vi blir forrådt av USA, Pernille Rieker, NRK.no, 20 February

Tyskland: Forsker frykter ikke AfD, Pernille Rieker, VGTV, 23 February

Trump håper på ytre høyre-fremgang i Europa. Ekspertene tror han kan gå på en smell, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 24 February

Sverige skal redde Norge, Guri Rosén, Børsen, 27 February

Korleis vert ein medlem i EU?, Pernille Rieker, NRK P2 Ekko, 13 March

Spør Ekko: EU, Marianne Riddervold and Guri Rosén, NRK P2 Ekko, 19 March

Spør Ekko: Studentopprør i Europa, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, NRK P2 Ekko, 2 April

Krigen i Ukraina, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 27 May

Europeiske atomvåpen, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Helgemorgen, 8 June

NATO-toppmøtet etter USAs angrep, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 22 June

Fire fine fregatter – men én ting betyr mer enn noe annet for Norge, Pernille Rieker, Aftenposten, 23 June

Europa og Israel-Iran, Pernille Rieker, NRK1 Nyhetsmorgen, 24 June

Mark Rutte med melding til Trump: – Europa kommer til å betale på en stor måte, Marianne Riddervold, Aftenposten, 25 June

Europa dekker bordet for USA, Marianne Riddervold, Klassekampen, 25 June

Mener hele Nato-toppmøtet handlet om å blidgjøre Trump, Marianne Riddervold, Dagsavisen, 26 June

EU og NATO, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyhetsmorgen, 30 June

Danmark har overtatt formannskapet i EU, Marianne Riddervold, NRK2 Dagsnytt 18, 3 July

The security situation prompts Norway to reconsider EU membership: “We can no longer evade it”, John Erik Fossum, MTV News Finland, 3 July

Rekordstort droneangrep i Ukraina, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Dagsnytt 18, 9 July

USA leverer våpen og Europa betaler. Men to Nato-land vil ikke være med, Marianne Riddervold, Nettavisen, 17 July

Nyhetene 22.00, Marianne Riddervold, TV2, 23 July

Zelenskyj snur, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Dagsrevyen 21, 24 July

Zelenskyj varslar ny lovgivning mot antikorrupsjon, Marianne Riddervold, NRK 2 Dagsnytt atten, 24 July

Eksperter om pågripelse: – Helt utelukket, Marianne Riddervold, TV2 Nyheter, 9 August

80 år siden atombombene, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Helgemorgen, 9 August

Frykter toppmøtet: - Bekymring at Putin kan føle seg modig, Marianne Riddervold, TV 2 Nyheter, 13 August

Nyhetene 18.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2, 13 August

Gjør ekstremt grep: – Putin etterlater seg ingenting, Marianne Riddervold, TV2 Nyheter, 15 August

Toppmøtet mellom Putin og Trump, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 15 August

Nyhetene 18.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2, 15 August

Principles for a Democratically Legitimate Digitalisation, Christopher Lord, REGROUP blog, 18 August

Trump: – Det er mulig Putin ikke vil ha en avtale, Marianne Riddervold, NRK.no, 19 August

Avgjørende tid for Europa, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyhetsmorgen, 19 August

NRK Nyheter (NRK P1 Nitimen), Marianne Riddervold, NRK, 19 August

Nordiske land vil gi sikkerhetsgarantier for Ukraina, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Dagsnytt 18, 19 August

Dette tror ekspertene om Ukraina-samtalene, Marianne Riddervold, NRK.no, 21 August

Støre lover fortsatt Ukraina-støtte, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 26 August

Mange løfter, færre løgner – og mye det ikke snakkes om – i valgkampen, Guri Rosén, UiO - aktuelle saker, 27 August

Europa holder pusten: – Usikkert hvor langt Trump vil gå, Pernille Rieker, Nettavisen, 5 September

Nyhetene 18.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2, 7 September

Nyhetene 18.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2, 10 September

Dette må du vite om dei russiske dronene i Polen, Marianne Riddervold, NRK.no, 10 September

Nyhetene 18.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2, 13 September

Trump på statsbesøk i Storbritannia, Marianne Riddervold, NRK TV, 17 September

Putin kommer bare til å avfeie det, Marianne Riddervold, Dagsavisen, 25 September

Tyskland ønsker å bruke fryste midler i Ukrainas krigføring: – Stor gråsone, Marianne Riddervold, DN.no, 26 September

Toppmøtet i København, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 1 October

Hva vil Ursula von der Leyen?, Pernille Rieker, NRK P2 Ekko, 1 October

Dette kan bli løsningen på den politiske krisen i Frankrike, Pernille Rieker, abc nyheter, 10 October

Håpefull Zelenskyj før nytt møte med Trump, Marianne Riddervold, TV2.no, 16 October

Ekspert om Trump-utspill før skjebnemøte: – Går inn i et kjent mønster, Marianne Riddervold, Dagsavisen, 17 October

Europa-ekspert: Blir ikke fred uten at Putin og Zelenskyj møtes, Marianne Riddervold, TV2.no, 17 October

Zelenskyj møter Trump: – Virker bedre planlagt, Marianne Riddervold, TV2.no, 17 October

Zelenskyj besøker Trump, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 17 October

Trump er i hyppig dialog med både Zelenskyj og Putin. Hvem har den amerikanske presidenten på sin side?, Marianne Riddervold, Aftenposten, 18 October

Trump sier han ikke tror Ukraina vil vinne krigen, Marianne Riddervold, NRK.no, 20 October

Medier: Trump og Putin vil ikke møtes i Budapest allikevel, Marianne Riddervold, NRK.no, 21 October

Eksperter tviler på fredsavtale: – Målet til Putin har ikke endret seg, Marianne Riddervold, Nettavisen, 23 October

Flere EU-sanksjoner mot Russland, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 23 October

Uro i NHO for EUs nye mantra, Pernille Rieker, Teknisk Ukeblad, 31 October

Trump vil teste atombomber, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Helgemorgen TV, 8 November

Ukrainas justisminister må gå, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 12 November

Slik kan ny EU-toll ramme Norge, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, E24.no, 14 November

Nyhetene 18.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2 Play, 20 November

Forhandlinger om Ukrainas fremtid, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 24 November

Vil unngå «sivilisasjons-utslettelse» i Europa, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 5 December

Russland om USAs nye sikkerhetsstrategi: Passer med vårt syn, Marianne Riddervold, Aftenposten, 7 December

Zelenskyj sier han kan holde valg innen 90 dager, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyhetsmorgen, 10 December

Forskere bekymret for Aps asylplan: Skremmende undertoner, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagsavisen, 12 December

Toppmøte om Ukraina, Marianne Riddervold, NRK Nyheter, 15 December

Nyhetene 21.30, Marianne Riddervold, TV2 Play, 21 December

Skjebnetid for Europa, Helene Sjursen, NRK, 26 December

Podcasts and blogs

Principles for a Democratically Legitimate Digitalisation, Christopher Lord, REGROUP blog, 18 August

Har Trump gjort nei-landet Norge langt mer positivt til EU?, UiO Universitetspodden, guest John Erik Fossum and Guri Rosén, host Gro Lien Garbo, 3 June

Verden i handelskrig, NUPI Podcast, Guri Rosén, 3 July

Når USA ikke er til å kjenne igjen, blir da EU redningen?, Universitetspodden, guests Pernille Rieker and Marianne Riddervold, host Gro Lien Garbo, 23 October

Is the European Court of Justice a Protector of the Weak, Verfassungsblog, Tommaso Pavone, Silje Synnøve Lyder Hermansen and Louisa Boulaziz, 14 December

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.

Key figures 2025

Professors including research professors (work years)	6.15
Senior researchers and postdoctoral fellows (work years)	7.7
PhD fellows (work years)	5.33
MA students	4
Administrative staff (work years)	4
Research assistants (work years)	1.06
Total budget (NOK million)	26
External financing (per cent)	69

The ARENA Board

2024-2027

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ARENA Centre for European Studies

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ARENA Management 2025



ARENA Director
Pernille Rieker

Rieker is Director of ARENA since January 2025. She holds a PhD (Dr.polit) from the University of Oslo, earned in 2004. She has previously worked as Senior Adviser at NordForsk, and as Research Professor at NUPI, where she led NUPI Centre for

European Studies (NCE).

Rieker is also affiliated with Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) where she leads the RE-ENGAGE project, which aims to analyse the EU's promotion of democracy and stability in its neighbouring regions in a time of increased geopolitical tensions.

Her research interests are European integration and European foreign and security policy, including French and Nordic foreign and security policies.



Administrative Director
Ida Hjelmesæth

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

Academic staff

All ARENA staff and affiliated researchers during 2025.



Andreas Eriksen

Researcher



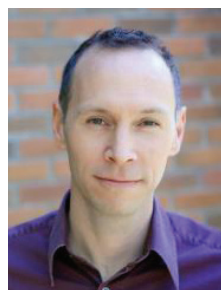
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Christopher Lord

Professor



Craig Parsons

Senior Researcher



Elena Beatriz Escalante Block

Postdoctoral Fellow



Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Professor



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Researcher



Helene Sjursen

Research Professor



Ines Alisa Wagner

Research Professor



Ingrid Hjertaker

Researcher

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Brøgger***Researcher*



Tommaso Pavone
Researcher



Trym Nohr Fjørtoft
Postdoctoral Fellow

PhD Fellows



Adriana Purzycka
Doctoral Research Fellow



Alicia Noëllie Saes-Louarn
Doctoral Research Fellow



Arto Väisänen
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Louisa Boulaziz
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Manriquez**
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