



ARENA

Centre for European Studies
University of Oslo



Annual report
2019

Introduction

ARENA Centre for European Studies is an internationally renowned research centre at the University of Oslo. We conduct theoretically oriented and empirically informed basic research on the dynamics of the evolving European political order. This report provides a comprehensive overview of our ongoing projects, publications and events.

2019 marked ARENA's 25th anniversary and 25 years since the introduction of the EEA Agreement, a period in which ARENA's research has shaped both the public and scholarly debate in the field of European studies. This was emphasised at the ARENA anniversary conference by Minister of Foreign Affairs Ine Eriksen Sørreide, who congratulated ARENA on its long-time contribution, and underlined the continued need to raise awareness and knowledge about European integration for the future.

In 2019 ARENA took on, for the fifth time, the coordinator role on an extensive EU project. EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D) project members from ARENA will work together with academic partners across Europe to provide new insights on the democratic potentials and pitfalls of differentiation in today's EU. The project's kick-off conference in Rome brought together more than 50 participants to discuss differentiation in Europe.

ARENA's many other projects ensured an active year for researchers and staff. GLOBUS organised study tours to China and Russia with partners, policy makers and stakeholder to discuss the EU's role in the world. PLATO held a fourth PhD School on preliminary project findings. ARENA researchers continued to publish research with top tier academic journals and publishers. We were also delighted to see the 19th and 20th PhD candidates graduating from ARENA, as PhD fellows Johanna Strikwerda and Johanne Døhlie Saltnes successfully defended their doctoral theses during the spring term.

While there were time in 2019 to reflect over ARENA's achievements thus far, it also marked new beginnings. ARENA relocated to new premises, finding ourselves closer to campus and the other university functions and buildings. ARENA is looking forward to more, inspiring collaborations in 2020.



Prof. Erik O. Eriksen
ARENA Director

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Research projects

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 2019

EU3D kicked off with a conference in Rome in April, with internal project sessions as well as a public event on the future of Europe with high-level panel participants (p. 40). A policy dialogue was organised at Bruegel in May, where senior academics and policy-makers took stock of the commitments made after the recent European summit. Two workshops were also held; on comparative studies of future of Europe debates, at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and on Norway as a potential 'model' for Brexit. The latter was organised in September, in collaboration with BENCHMARK. In September, ARENA had the privilege of hosting the first EU3D Future of Europe Lecture, with Sir Ivan Rogers, former UK ambassador to the EU (p. 67).

Further, a panel on differentiation and dominance in Europe was organised at the 2019 Conference of the American Political Science Association (APSA) on 29 August in Washington DC. A panel on 'identifying pathologies and assessing their implications for representative democracy in contemporary Europe' was organised at the ECPR General Conference in Wroclaw in September.

The EU3D Research Paper series was launched, and its first paper discusses the project's conceptual framework of differentiation, dominance and democracy. The EU3D Insights series also published its first issue, on Europe after Brexit.



Is differentiation part of the problem or the solution to the EU's current challenges? (Illustration: Colourbox)

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 January 2023

Project coordinator

John Erik Fossum

ARENA project members

Erik O. Eriksen, Christopher Lord, Agustín José Menéndez, Asimina Michailidou, Espen D. H. Olsen, Hans-Jörg Trenz, Jarle Trondal, Helene Sjørusen, Simona Piattoni

Cooperation

Bruegel, Guntram Wolff
Comenius University in Bratislava, Jozef Bátora

ELLAMEP – 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

Reconsidering European contributions to global justice (GLOBUS)

Since its inception, the EU has proclaimed an ambition to promote justice at the global level. But what precisely is the EU's contribution to global justice? And what could a *just* foreign policy look like?

About

GLOBUS is a research project that critically examines the European Union's contribution to global justice.

Challenges to global justice are multifaceted and what is just is contested. Combining normative and empirical research, GLOBUS explores underlying political and structural obstacles to justice. Analyses of the EU's positions and policies are combined with in-depth studies of non-European perspectives on the practices of the EU.

Objectives

GLOBUS scholars combine analyses of the EU's positions and policies on key aspects of global justice, with in-depth studies of third parties' (state and non-state actors) perspectives on the practice of the EU. There is a particular focus on emerging powers – the BRICS states. Core sectors to be analysed are climate change, development and trade, security, and migration. Gender is addressed as a cross-cutting issue within all sectors.

Researchers engage with nascent theoretical debates on how we should think about justice beyond the jurisdiction of the state. They contribute to these

debates by proposing a novel conceptual and evaluative scheme delineating three different conceptions of global political justice: Justice as non-dominance, impartiality and mutual recognition.

Activities in 2019

GLOBUS organised a range of events in 2019, both academic and aimed at stakeholders and the general public. A total of four workshops were organised, of which three was hosted by ARENA at the University of Oslo on themes such as trade and development and conceptions of justice in EU's external foreign policy (pp. 48-50). ARENA also hosted a debate at the University Library in Oslo on the EU and partnerships for sustainable development on 24 October, as a part of the GLOBUS student days (p. 70).

A conference was organised in Brussels in November, where academics and stakeholders from South Africa, Russia, China, and India discussed the legitimacy of the liberal world order (p. 68). The heads of the GLOBUS research groups also made two study trips, to Russia and to China (p. 50).

Further, a GLOBUS panel was organised at the European Union Studies Association 16th Biannual Conference on 9-11 May in Denver, Colorado (p. 51).

The GLOBUS Research Paper series published six papers, on topics such as global gender justice, and EU development policy. The report series also published five issues, of which several master students contributed.



What, if any, is the EU's contribution to global justice? (Illustration: Colourbox)

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 June 2016–31 May 2020

Project coordinator

Helene Sjursen

ARENA project members

Erik O. Eriksen, John Erik Fossum, Cathrine Holst, Christopher Lord, Agustín José Menéndez, Asimina Michailidou, Kjartan Koch Mikalsen, Espen D. H. Olsen, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes and Anke S. Schwarzkopf

Cooperation

Academic partners:

University of Tübingen, Thomaz Diez

University College Dublin, Ben Tonra

University of Bologna, Sonia Lucarelli

University of the Witwatersrand, Pundy Pillay

Scientific advisory board:

Cecilia Albin, James Bohman, Jean-Pierre Cabestan, Michael Davis, Nancy Fraser, Raj Kumar, Christina Lafont, Patricia Mindus, Jennifer Mitzen, Marc F. Plattner, Teija Tiilikainen

More: globus.uio.no

The post-crisis legitimacy of the European Union (PLATO)

Multiple crises have created new legitimacy challenges for the EU. Have the EU's responses to these crises been legitimate?

About

The Innovative Training Network PLATO brings together nine university partners from Europe and eleven training partners from the policy advice, civil society and consulting sector, media and career development. The PhD programme trains 15 PhD researchers to contribute to solving key policy issues for Europe by undertaking a multidisciplinary investigation into crisis and the EU's legitimacy. PLATO also offers training in a range of professional skills, work experience from relevant sectors and individual professional career planning.

Objectives

In the wake of the financial crisis, EU governments have spent taxpayers' money to rescue European banks, straining public finances and social protections in all member states. State powers of taxing, borrowing and spending have been transferred to the European Central Bank, the European Banking Authority, and other authorities created through intergovernmental treaties. The increased powers of non-elected technocratic institutions in financial policy have raised new questions about the EU's legitimacy.

PLATO investigates the legitimacy of the EU's

responses to the financial crisis, using the example of the financial crisis to build and test theory of what would amount to a legitimacy crisis in the case of a multi-state, non-state political system. It does so through connected case studies undertaken by 15 PhD researchers within the network. Their projects investigate different actors with whom the EU needs to be legitimate as well as different standards by which the EU may need to be legitimate.

Activities in 2019

The second project exchange scheme started in January, including ARENA's three PhD researches who spent three months at the University of Antwerp and Institute for Advanced Studies (Austria).

A workshop was organised at the University of Antwerp in March, to discuss the project's theoretical framework, and to outline a joint volume edited by Christopher Lord and other supervisors. Each PhD submitted a chapter outline.

Preliminary findings were presented at international conferences, most notably the ECPR General Conference in Wroclaw in September, where Lord convened a panel with four PhD papers (p. 52). Other conferences include ÖGPW Graduate Conference of the Austrian Political Science Association where the PhDs organised a panel.

The PhDs and supervisors met for the last PhD school at the University of Twente in October (pp. 44-45), presenting and discussing preliminary findings



Did the way the EU handled the financial crisis create a deeper legitimacy crisis? (photo: John Towner/Unsplash)

with their peers, while also attending sessions on research communication, academic publishing, and more.

Funding

Marie Skłodowska-Curie Innovative Training Network, funded by the EU's Horizon 2020 programme

Project period

1 January 2017–31 December 2020

Project coordinator

Christopher Lord

ARENA project members

Claire Godet, Joris Melman, Jan Pesl (PhDs), John Erik Fossum, Cathrine Holst, Asimina Michailidou, Espen D. H. Olsen, Jarle Trondal (supervisors), Erik O. Eriksen, Agustín J. Menéndez and Hans-Jörg Trenz

Cooperation

Academic partners:

Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies, Sciences Po Paris, Institute for Advanced Studies (Vienna), Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Jagiellonian University, University of Antwerp, University of Cambridge, University of Twente

Training partners:

Bruegel, Centre for European Policy Studies, Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael), Democracy International, EUobserver, European Citizen Action Service, Jacques Delors Institute – Berlin, Kellen, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Vitae - The Career Development Organisation

More: plato.uio.no

Democracy and expert rule

The quest for reflexive legitimacy (REFLEX)

How can depoliticised decision-making be legitimate? REFLEX examines the tension between knowledge and democracy in the European context of decision-making.

About

Modern democracies increasingly rely on expertise and independent expert bodies in political decision-making processes. Central banks, international organisations and courts, and not least EU agencies, are typical examples. The EU has set up more than 40 agencies to perform specific tasks under EU law, in areas such as food safety, aviation security and defence cooperation. Norway participates in 27 of these agencies, mainly through the EEA Agreement.

Many of these bodies make decisions with consequences for citizens' well-being and freedom, and operate within large zones of discretion. There is thus a risk of policy formation being based on experts' judgements rather than on citizens' opinion. The delegation of authority to expert bodies raises some fundamental questions for democracy, and how such bodies can be legitimate.

Objectives

REFLEX aims to establish what kind of democratic problem we are witnessing. This requires paying attention to the role and status of depoliticised bodies in democratic theory. Can they be justified in democratic terms?

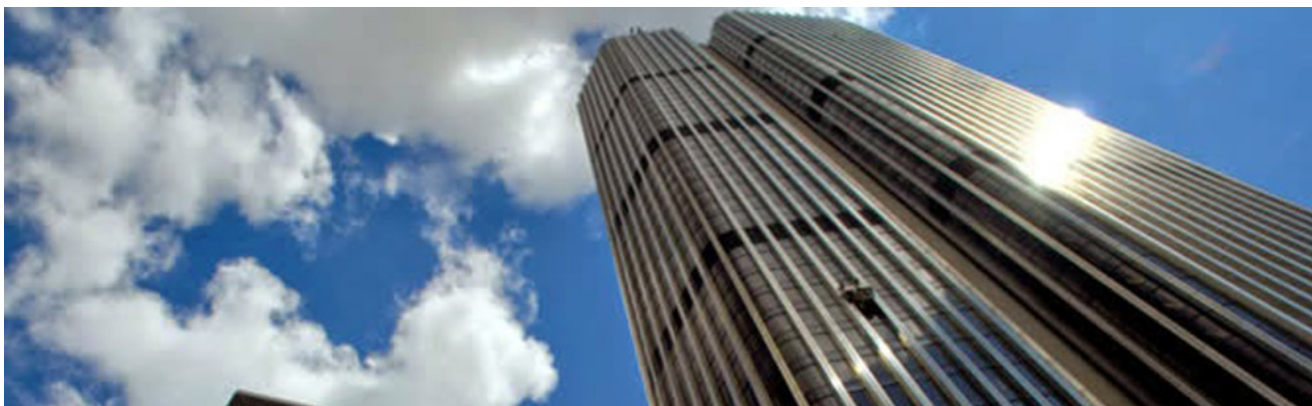
REFLEX studies a selection of depoliticised bodies in the EU multilevel legislative chain within fields such as financial regulation, medicine, border protection, and law enforcement. It compares depoliticised bodies under different formal arrangements in order to establish whether better ways of organising the relationship between expertise and politics exist.

By analysing the institutional and public linkages of several depoliticised bodies, REFLEX will be able to examine actual differences in the influence of expertise and their democratic check. These studies provide a broad empirical basis from which to establish a normative model of depoliticised bodies – an institutional design that meets democratic criteria. At the same time, they will lead to new empirical knowledge of whether or not the power of expertise is wielded legitimately.

Activities in 2019

The project organised a workshop on non-majoritarian institutions and democracy, entitled 'Making Non-Majoritarian Institutions safe for Democracy', in Oslo in June (p. 46). The workshop brought together project participants at ARENA and several collaborators from Norway and abroad, to discuss and reflect on the role and potential legitimacy of non-majoritarian institutions.

The project's two post-doctoral researchers attended EUSA's 2019 biennial conference in Denver



How can expert bodies such as the European Banking Authority (EBA) be legitimate? (Photo: EBA)

(p. 51), where they discussed their work on agencies and parliamentary oversight in the EU, which they have done as a part of the project. They explored key topics such as the political accountability of depoliticised bodies, expert influence on policy-making, and European financial regulation.

The project participants continue their efforts in research dissemination. Erik O. Eriksen has published articles in Norwegian national media outlets such as *Aftenposten* and *Morgenbladet* (p. 74). RELFEX also hosted its own event at the Norwegian political festival *Arendalsuka*, entitled 'The Aftermath of the European election' (pp. 64-65).

Funding

The Research Council of Norway's FRIPRO Toppforsk (top research) scheme and the University of Oslo.

Project period

1 July 2016–30 June 2021

Project coordinator

Erik O. Eriksen

ARENA project members

Andreas Eriksen, Trym Nohr Fjørtoft, Alexander Katsaitis, Christopher Lord, Asimina Michailidou, Kjartan Koch Mikalsen and Helene Sjørusen

Cooperation

Saint Louis University, James Bohman
University of Exeter, Claudio Radaelli
University of Amsterdam, Deirdre Curtin
Goethe-University Frankfurt/Main, Rainer Forst
University of Bremen, Christian Joerges
University College London, Richard Bellamy
Columbia University, Charles Sabel
University of Hannover, Rainer Schmalz-Bruns

More: arena.uio.no/reflex

Expertisation of public inquiry commissions in a Europeanised administrative order (EUREX)

EUREX looks into the role of scientific expertise in the preparation of public policies. What are the consequences for democracy of increased expertisation and Europeanisation?

About

Public inquiry commissions are a core element of policy-making in the Nordic countries. Previous research suggests that these commissions function both as an extension of public administration, as a way of including interest groups in policy formulation, and a channel for incorporating expert advice in decision-making.

Ongoing changes in conditions for governance are challenging the traditional role of inquiry commissions. Both expertisation, the increasing reliance on experts in politics and public administration, and Europeanisation, the processes by which national governance systems adapt to European-wide norms and EU-level bodies, have put existing policy advice mechanisms under pressure. These processes raise fundamental questions about the continued functioning and legitimacy of inquiry commissions: Is the investigation of policy problems and solutions increasingly left to a small elite of national and international experts? Are processes of expertisation and Europeanisation eroding the democratic and governance credentials of inquiry commissions?

Objectives

EUREX has provided a study centred on the Norwegian system of public inquiry commissions, known as NOUs (Norges offentlige utredninger) where two main research questions are examined:

1. How has the NOU system changed in response to processes of expertisation and Europeanisation?
2. What are the consequences of these changes for democracy and good governance?

These questions are addressed within a multi-dimensional, multi-method research design that incorporates historical, comparative, European and normative dimensions. The project will analyse the transformation of the NOU system over time in light of expertisation and Europeanisation, across policy areas, in contrast to simultaneous changes in other countries, and from the perspective of competing normative goals.

Activities in 2019

The EUREX project has produced academic publications for a number of peer-reviewed journals such as *European Politics and Society*, *Science and Public Policy*, and *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*. In May, Holst and Christensen organised the workshop 'Expertise and policy-making - comparative perspectives' in The Hague. Keynote speakers were Åse Gornitzka, professor and vice-rec-



How has the NOU system changed in response to expertisation and Europeanisation? (Illustration: Colourbox)

tor of the University of Oslo, and Bo Rothstein, professor of the University of Gothenburg and the Quality of Government Institute. All core members of EUREX presented papers and chaired sessions during the workshop.

The project members presented papers at conferences, workshops and seminars, such as the annual ECPR General Conference in Wrocław, Poland. Christensen and Hesstvedt co-organised and chaired a panel on 'The Bureaucratic Politics of Expert Advice'.

EUREX has made considerable efforts in creating dialogue with stakeholders and the public. Project members have been invited to hold presentations with topics such as the dynamic relation between research and politics in Norwegian NOUs in forums such as the Norwegian Union of Education and the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research.

Funding

Funded by the Research Council of Norway's DEMOS programme.

Project period

1 July 2016 - 30 June 2020

Project coordinators

Cathrine Holst (ARENA) and Johan Christensen (Leiden University)

ARENA project members

Stine Hesstvedt and Eva Krick

Cooperation

Kathia Serrano-Velarde, *Heidelberg University*
 Peter Munk Christiansen, *Aarhus University*
 Bo Rothstein, *University of Gothenburg*

More: arena.uio.no/eurex

Benchmarking Brexit: Norway and the Legitimacy of UK-EU relations after Brexit (BENCHMARK)

BENCHMARK investigates how we arrange relations between EU members and non-member democracies in ways that secure core standards of democratic legitimacy.

About

The European Union (EU) is the main source of shared political and legal order in contemporary Europe. It shapes the political, economic and security systems under which all European democracies live. Yet it is structurally difficult to arrange relations between EU members and non-member democracies in ways that secure core standards of democratic legitimacy for all of them. BENCHMARK investigates whether any Brexit will aggravate that difficulty.

Objectives

Given that Norway has developed what is probably the most ambitious model to date for how a non-member state can co-operate with the EU, BENCHMARK will distinguish four scenarios for any Brexit in which (i) UK/EU relations break down completely or the UK and EU commit after Brexit to (ii) fewer; (iii) similar or (iv) even more obligations than Norway's present relationship with the EU.

BENCHMARK will use the scenarios to investigate whether avoiding or replicating Norway's EU relationship will make Brexit more or less legitimate: (a) in the UK as a whole; (b) in Scotland and Northern Ireland; (c) with the EU; and (d) in Norway itself.

Activities in 2019

During the first year of the project, BENCHMARK has made important conceptual and theoretical advances in distinguishing different forms of 'non-membership' of the European Union by how far they deviate from the Norwegian model. Importantly, BENCHMARK has gone beyond the standard classification of models of non-membership of the EU based on trading relationships with the European Union.

BENCHMARK has begun the data collection and analysis by gathering both parliamentary and media debates from the UK, Norway and Switzerland. The project has developed an extensive coding scheme for analysing how frequently they mention Norway, the European Economic Area, and any other relationship a non-member can have with the EU. A book proposal is also being drafted. PI Lord and colleagues engaged in the project have continued to publish extensively on problems of European integration and its treatment in the media.

The launch conference was held in September, with panels on the Norwegian model and Brexit (p. 42). The second day was organised as part of the collaboration within BENCHMARK between ARENA and CICERO and consisted of panels on climate change, energy policy and Brexit. More than 100 researchers and practitioners from both the UK and Norway took part over the two days. During the remainder of the project period, BENCHMARK will



Brexit may affect the EU's legitimacy (Photo: Duncan Hull. CC BY 2.0)

use those contacts to spread its own research and to promote a better understanding of the Norwegian model within the UK research community.

Funding

Funded by the Research Council of Norway's EUROPA programme.

Project period

1 November 2018 - 31 October 2021

Project coordinator

Christopher Lord

ARENA project members

Asimina Michailidou, Jørgen Bølstad and Helena Seibicke

Cooperation

CICERO Center for International Climate Research
Merethe Dotterud Leiren and Solveig Aamodt

More: arena.uio.no/benchmark

The legitimacy of EU foreign and security policy in the age of global contestation (LEGOF)

The EU is a semi-autonomous, non-state actor aspiring to the command of its own coercive power. What might be the legitimacy basis of its foreign and security policy?

About

LEGOF examines the viability of the European Union's (EU) foreign and security policy in the context of enhanced uncertainty, risk and ambiguity in international affairs. It aims to provide an updated analysis of the role and capabilities of the EU in the changing world order.

LEGOF posits that there is need for a particular type of legitimacy for the EU to be a capable and a reliable actor. The requirement of physical capabilities to insert the EU's will in a changing world order depends on the Union's ability to establish a legitimacy basis of its own that is also acceptable for others. The prevailing mood is of a need to shift from soft to hard power in the context of increased geopolitical competition. Yet the success of such a shift itself depends on protracted consensus-making processes between the Masters of the Treaties. Power is only power as long as there is agreement and as long as the member states stay together.

Objectives

LEGOF aims to break new ground in research on EU foreign and security policy through its emphasis on legitimacy in the establishment of capability. Drawing

on its conception of legitimacy, it conducts four strands of empirical analyses, which address both the procedural and the substantive dimensions of EU foreign, security and defence policy. LEGOF's theoretically informed research establishes a sound basis for developing policy relevant analyses.

Activities in 2019

PI Helene Sjørnsen organised two policy learning seminars (on 28 February and 27 September). Both were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and participants were civil servants mainly from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence. LEGOF has made use of its international project network, by inviting Professor Ben Tonra (University College Dublin) and Professor Marise Cremona (European University Institute) to the two seminars.

Additionally, LEGOF has discussed preliminary findings with stakeholders abroad. Project leader Sjørnsen presented her research on third country participation in EU foreign and security policy at an internal conference for British civil servants at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 26 September.



LEGOF investigates EU legitimacy and foreign policy (Illustration: Unsplash)

Funding

Funded by the Research Council of Norway's EUROPA programme.

Project period

1 October 2018 - 30 September 2021

Project coordinator

Helene Sjursen

ARENA project members

Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, Johanna Strikwerda, Jarle Trondal

Cooperation

European University Institute, Marise Cremona
University of Bristol, Ana E. Juncos Garcia
University College Dublin, Ben Tonra
LUISS Guido Carli, Raffaele Marchetti
Comenius University Bratislava and Webster Vienna Private University, Jozef Bátora
Jagiellonian University Krakow, Magdalena Gora
Norwegian University of Science and Technology

(NTNU), Kjartan Koch Mikalsen

The Arctic University of Norway, Hans-Kristian Hernes

University of Bergen, Lars Chr. Blichner

University of Oslo, Cathrine Holst

More: arena.uio.no/legof

Other projects

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

Post-truth politics, nationalism and the (de-)legitimation 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 legitimation of the EU. If

there is a lack of knowledge to begin with, then the possible impact of disinformation is heightened.

In addition, the project will address the related topic of why disinformation appears to have such an appeal to nationalist and/or populist actors on the far right and examine whether similar strategies are visible on the left of the political spectrum. These actors often identify the European Union as the root cause of many of the 'evils' that nationalist movements claim to tackle. In this regard, European integration is seen as a fundamental attack on the imagined community of the sovereign nation state.

Project type

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

Project period

1 December 2019–31 August 2022

Coordinators

Maximillian Conrad (University of Iceland)

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum (principal investigator) and Asimina Michailidou

More: arena.uio.no/ptp



ARENA is part of the project PLURISPACE (Illustration: SciencesPo)

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 under-

standing of public space: multiculturalism, interculturalism, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Project type

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

Project period

1 May 2019–30 April 2022

Coordinator

Riva Kastoryano (Sciences Po Paris)

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum and Espen D. H. Olsen

More: sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/projects/plurispace/

Network on Research and Teaching in EU Foreign Affairs (NORTIA)

The project aims to develop and strengthen a global community of scholars in EU foreign policy, providing capacity-building on research and teaching innovation for a cross-institutional academic network. The goal is to apply lessons learned from 50 years of foreign policy cooperation to the challenges of a potentially fragmenting global order and Europe's existential crises. NORTIA unites different generational, geographical and methodological perspectives to build knowledge and exchange ideas on the internal and external forces shaping EU foreign policy cooperation.

Project type

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

Coordinator

Georgana Noutcheva (Maastricht University)
Heidi Maurer (London School of Economics)

Project period

1 September 2017–31 August 2020

ARENA project members

Helene Sjursen, Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger,
Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, Anke Schwarzkopf and
Johanna Strikwerda

More: eufp.eu/welcome-nortia

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

Project type

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

Coordinators

Michele Knodt (Technical University of Darmstadt)
Patrick Mueller (University of the Basque Country)

Project period

October 2018–October 2022

ARENA project members

Helene Sjursen and Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

More: arena.uio.no/ENTER/



ARENA is part of the Network on Research and Teaching in Foreign Affairs (NORTIA) (Illustration: Colourbox)

Enhancing Visibility of the Academic Dialogue on EU-Turkey Cooperation (VIADUCT)

VIADUCT's general objective is to foster policy dialogue and dialogue among academics and practitioners on recent developments in both the EU and Turkey. The aim is to improve and to enhance the teaching and research on this topic. VIADUCT's target groups are academics, students, practitioners, civil society and the general public. The network brings together 40 partners from 36 countries, including all EU member states, Turkey, Egypt, Georgia, Iceland, Iraq, Israel, Switzerland, and Norway.

Project type

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

Project period

1 September 2017–31 August 2020

Coordinator

Wolfgang Wessels and Funda Tekin
(University of Cologne)

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum

More: www.viaduct.eu

Post-Brexit Europe: Lessons from the European Economic Area (PELEEA)

When voters in the United Kingdom opted to leave the European Union, re-conceptualising European integration swiftly became one of the most pressing political challenges of our time. PELEEA aims to make a significant and timely contribution to this debate drawing largely on the unique and highly relevant experience of Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway, who have structured their relations with the EU through the European Economic Area.

The project is led by the Institute of International Affairs at the University of Iceland and the Centre for Small State Studies working in close collaboration with ARENA, the University of Cambridge, and the Liechtenstein-Institut.

PELEEA will include workshops and events in Oslo, Cambridge, Brussels and Reykjavik. Short policy recommendations will be published following each workshop and at the end of the project publish a book which explores what it takes to build a successful association model.

Project type

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

Coordinators

Jóhanna Jónsdóttir and Baldur Thorhallsson
(University of Iceland)

Project period

1 September 2017–31 August 2019

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum

More: ams.hi.is/en/research/research-projects/jean-monnet-projects/



Publications

New books and special issues 2019

Contesting political differentiation: European division and the problem of dominance

Erik O. Eriksen

Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 978-3-030-11698-9

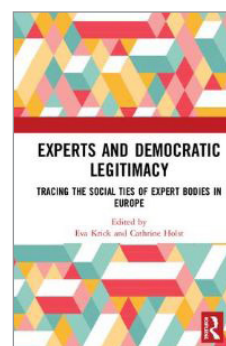
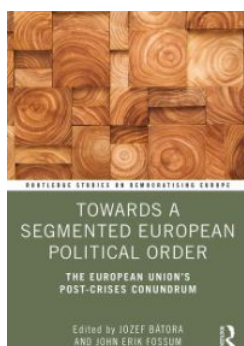
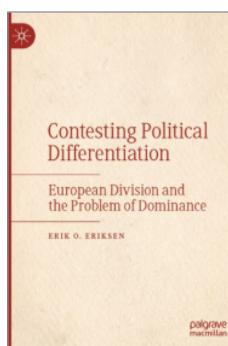
This book discusses the causes and nature of political differentiation in Europe. It deals with the normative problem of differentiated integration, both in its vertical and horizontal dimensions, and addresses the problem of differentiation through a theory of democratic autonomy and dominance. A politically differentiated EU could deprive people of their right to co-determine common affairs and have adverse effects for democratic self-rule. It could also take away the people's ability to influence political decisions that they are ultimately affected by. This book argues that differentiation is not an innocent instrument for handling conflicts in interconnected contexts. The consequences of what might be a benign plea for sovereignty and independence can in fact lead to the opposite.

Towards a segmented European political order. The European Union's post-crisis conundrum

Jozef Bátora and John Erik Fossum (eds)

Routledge, ISBN 978-1-138-49533-3

This book makes a distinctive contribution to the crucial debate on the European Union (EU)'s present and future development. It systematically examines how the range of crises and challenges over the last decade have transformed the EU and relates those findings to the discussion of an increasingly differentiated EU. It argues that the post-crisis EU shows clear signs of becoming a segmented political order with in-built biases and constraints. The book spells out the key features of such an order in ideational and structural terms and shows how it more concretely manifests itself in the EU's institutional and constitutional make-up and in how member states constrain and condition EU action. Different states impose different types of constraints, as is underlined through paying explicit attention to the Visegrád countries. This book will be of key interest to scholars and students of EU politics, European integration and politics, East European politics and foreign policy.



Contributions by ARENA's staff

Bátora, Jozef, Fossum, John Erik. 'Introduction'

Fossum, John Erik. 'The institutional make-up of Europe's segmented political order'

Tranøy, Bent Sofus, Schwartz, Herman Mark. 'Illusions of convergence: The persistent simplification of a wicked crisis'

Holst, Cathrine and Anders Molander. 'Epistemic worries about economic expertise'

Michailidou, Asimina and Hans-Jörg Trenz.

'European solidarity in times of crisis: Towards differentiated integration'

Lord, Christopher. 'Integration through differentiation and segmentation: The case of one member state from 1950 to Brexit (and beyond)'

Bátora, Jozef, Fossum, John Erik. 'Conclusion: A segmented political order and future options'

Differentiated integration and disintegration in a post-Brexit era

Stefan Gänzle, Benjamin Leruth and Jarle Trondal (eds)

Routledge, ISBN 978-0-367-13530-0

Assessing the consequences of Brexit on EU policies, institutions and members, this book discusses the significance of differentiation for the future of European integration. This book theoretically examines differentiated integration and disintegration, focuses on how this process affects key policy areas, norms and institutions of the EU, and analyses how the process of Brexit is perceived by and impacts on third countries as well as other organisations of regional integration in a comparative perspective. This edited book brings together both leading and emerging scholars to integrate the process of Brexit into a broader analysis of the evolution, establishment and impact of the EU as a system of differentiation. This book will be of key interest to scholar and students of European Union politics, European integration, Brexit, and more broadly to Public Administration, Law, Economics, Finance, Philosophy, History and International Relations.

Contributions by ARENA's staff

Gänzle, Stefan, Leruth, Benjamin and Jarle Trondal.
'Differentiation, differentiated integration and disintegration in a 'post-Brexit-era'

Trondal, Jarle and Nadja Sophia Bekkelund Kuhn.
'Governing a 'post-Brexit' Europe and the case of Norway: integration without membership in an affiliated state'

Gänzle, Stefan, Leruth, Benjamin and Jarl Trondal.
'Conclusion: whither differentiated (dis) integration in a 'post-Brexit-era'?'

Experts and democratic legitimacy. Tracing the social ties of expert bodies in Europe

Eva Krick and Cathrine Holst (eds)

Routledge, ISBN 978-0-367-42753-5

This book was originally published as a special issue of the journal *European Politics and Society*, vol. 20(1), 2019.

Between expertisation and a representative turn. The changing role of non-majoritarian institutions in Europe

*Eva Krick and Cathrine Holst (eds)
European Politics and Society, vol. 20(1), 2019*

This study questions the traditional story of the detachment and independence of expert bodies such as agencies, central banks and expert committees. It directs attention to the numerous institutional links with elected bodies and societal actors that we typify as mechanisms of stakeholder inclusion, government control and public and parliamentary scrutiny. With reference to EU examples, we illustrate that these socio-political ties of expert bodies are intensifying and attend to the normative implications of this ‘representative turn’. When expert bodies increasingly link up with societal and political actors, this can be a source of democratisation, but it can also politicise and undermine the independence of expertise. Against this background, the key question becomes how to reconcile the independence requirement of reliable expertise and the responsiveness requirement of democratic governance. We approach this question by, first, delineating a way of incorporating ideal and non-ideal concerns in normative assessment. Second, we identify the key normative challenges related to the legitimate role of experts in democracies and discuss institutional solutions to the ‘democratic-epistemic divide’ that strike a balance both between

the two norms, and between ideal requirements and feasibility constraints.

Contributions by ARENA’s staff

Krick, Eva and Cathrine Holst. ‘The socio-political ties of expert bodies. How to reconcile the independence requirement of reliable expertise and the responsiveness requirement of democratic governance’

Krick, Eva. ‘Creating participatory expert bodies. How the targeted selection of policy advisers can bridge the epistemic-democratic divide’

Lord, Christopher. ‘No epistocracy without representation? The case of the European Central Bank’

Christensen, Johan and Stine Hesstvedt. ‘Expertisation or greater representation? Evidence from Norwegian advisory commissions’

Rosén, Guri and Silje Hexeberg Tørnblad. ‘How does expert knowledge travel between EU institutions? The case of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership’

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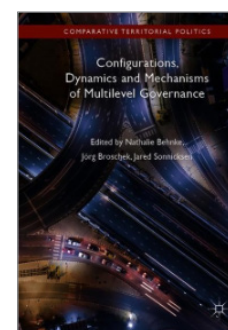
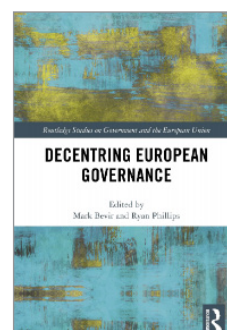
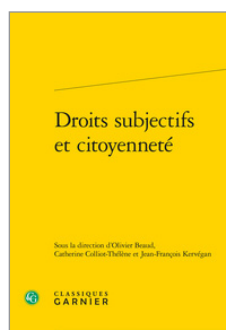
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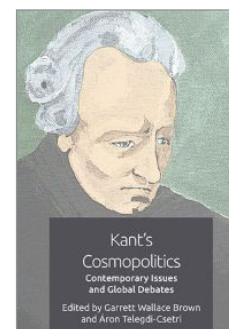
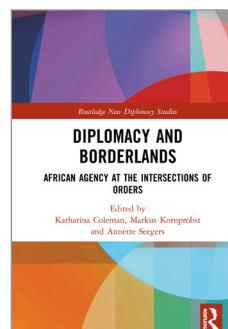
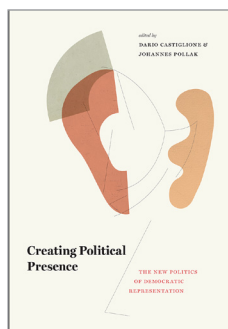
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Publications 2015–2019

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Monographs	1	2	2	4	1
Edited books	6	1	4	2	3
Special issues of journals	2	2	2	1	2
Book chapters	37	17	30	24	19
Journal articles	39	30	30	35	23
ARENA Working Papers	5	5	11	7	5
ARENA Reports	4	3	4	2	9
Publication points (total)*	81.5	58.7	81.1	77.6	59.4
Publication points (per academic person-year)	5.1	3.6	3.7	4.1	3.2

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.

19/01

Michael W. Bauer, Louisa Bayerlein, Jörn Ege, Christoph Knill and Jarle Trondal

Perspectives on international public administration research: A rejoinder to Johan Christensen and Kutsal Yesilkagit

19/02

Erik O. Eriksen

Founding democracy in the European Union: Defending Habermas against Habermas

19/03

Cathrine Holst

Global gender justice distributive justice or participatory parity?

19/04

Andreas Eriksen

Agency accountability: Management of expectations or answerability to mandate?

19/05

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

Global justice and aid effectiveness: Reforms of the European Union's development policy



ARENA Reports

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

The western arguments wins

ARENA Report 1/19 (GLOBUS report 3/19)

Lea Augenstein

In this report, Lea Augenstein investigates the concept of global justice as mutual recognition from a postcolonial perspective, and argues that recognising others is never a neutral or unbiased process and therefore insufficient in bringing about justice.

Augenstein argues from a postcolonial perspective that recognising others is never a neutral or unbiased process. Who we recognise and how we recognise someone depends on specific eurocentric presuppositions. The way Western theorists conceptualise a ‘just’ interaction is tailored to the workings of modern Western societies and is thus excluding, especially for subalterns who do not share our cultural background. As an alternative approach this report offers a ‘culture of restraint’. If discourse is never free of power and thus never free of domination – as Michel Foucault has argued – then we have to create spaces for subalterns in which they can express themselves in the most humane way, irrespective of criteria of rationality, objectivity or neutrality.

Integration in the European Union’s field of defence and security

ARENA Report 2/19

Johanna Strikwerda

In this report, Johanna Strikwerda analyses the role of the European Commission in the EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy, and finds that member states have accepted an increased autonomy of the Commission due to a sense of obligation concerning its role as an executive.

The aim of the report is to answer the following question: Why have EU member states voluntarily accepted policy initiatives from the Commission in the field of defence and security? Strikwerda analyses six different member states and finds that member state actors have accepted the increased autonomy of the Commission due to a sense of obligation concerning its role as an executive. Thus, the report addresses the role of norms. Furthermore, the findings reveal the role of national civil servants in the policy making process, and the framing of new policies within established norms, such as non-discrimination.

Norm collision in the European Union's external politics: EU development policy revisited

ARENA Report 3/19

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

In this report, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes investigates norm contestation and the relationship between norms and interests in the EU's development policy.

The EU has committed to conduct a value-based foreign policy. However, the value-based goals are not always followed consistently. The reason for this is often assumed to be that the EU sets its core values aside when they collide with its interests. Saltnes argues that such inconsistencies are not just a question of values versus interests. Just as 'national interests' come in different forms that may compete with each other, policy-makers may be confronted with norms pointing them in different directions. This report contains three articles that investigate norm contestation and the relationship between norms and interests in the EU's development policy.

On the one hand, the findings support the idea of the EU as a value-based foreign policy actor. Still, the report also questions the assumption that a commitment to norms is a particular characteristic of the EU's foreign policy. Norm evaluations are also important in states' policy-making processes. Hence, there is a need for a broader reconsideration of the basic assumptions of foreign policy analyses.

The EU as promoter of global gender justice: Combating trafficking in the face of the 'migrant crisis'

ARENA Report 4/19 (GLOBUS report 4/19)

Vera Sofie Borgen Skjetne

In this report, the author aims to uncover the decision-making logic behind the evolution of the EU financial stability framework.

Since 2000, the financial stability framework of the EU has gone through major changes. Both the financial crisis (2008-2009) and the European debt crisis (2009-) triggered reforms. This report primarily contributes to the study of the political foundations of financial stability and it aims to uncover the decision-making logic behind the evolution of the EU financial stability framework. It uncovers why EU Member States tend mostly to agree on piecemeal institutional reforms that may in fact increase vulnerabilities by not sufficiently addressing the underlying problems of financial instability. The report finds that decision-makers might not fully understand the risk of piecemeal reforms. The evolution of the EU financial stability framework demonstrates that policy learning is lagging real economic problems also when it is problem- and crisis-driven, and that the weaknesses of intergovernmental bargains become more prominent in times of crises.

Who should bear the burden? The EU's approach to responsibility for the sustainable development goals

ARENA Report 5/19 (GLOBUS report 5/19)

Sigrid Jerpstad

In this report, Sigrid Jerpstad investigates the EU's role in negotiating a global sustainable development agenda by looking at the EU's approach to the contested issue of responsibility and the allocation of burdens.

The EU – which has a long history with sustainable development and ambitious goals in this field – participated actively in the negotiation process on behalf of its 28 member states in the establishment of the sustainable development goals. This report seeks to provide a richer understanding of the EU's role in negotiating a global sustainable development agenda. It does so by analysing the EU's approach to the question of responsibility for sustainable development. The allocation of burdens was a highly contested issue during this intergovernmental negotiation process.

The report finds that the EU promoted a universal responsibility-norm as a guiding principle for the new agenda. At the same time, the EU opposed principles promoted by many developing countries aimed at addressing liability for historical events. For the EU, the actors who contribute the most to injustice in the current international system should be assigned the most responsibility.

Financing the future: Assessing the EU's approach to financing the Sustainable Development Goals in light of global justice

ARENA Report 6/19 (GLOBUS report 6)

Sunniva Unn Hustad

In this report, Sunniva Unn Hustad analyses the EU's perspective on the financing of sustainable development, and discusses whether it is compatible with ideas of global justice.

In 2015, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The financing of these goals is key to their success, and the EU, due to its development cooperation budget, is going to play an important role in this process.

This report contributes empirically to the literature on the EU's development policy by analysing the EU's position towards financing the SDGs. Applying a global justice approach, this report forwards three main arguments. First, it suggests that there has been an increasing emphasis on the role of the state in financing its own development. This has happened at the expense of the safeguarding of the EU's repeatedly emphasised core values, such as human rights, democracy, equality and the rule of law. Second, the report also shows that the EU still considers its own position to be 'the correct' way of governing. Ultimately, the report identifies characteristics of the EU's position towards financing development that are difficult to justify in terms of justice.

Experts at networking? The constrained influence of experts in Norwegian policy-networks

ARENA Report 7/19

Marte Lund Saga

In this report, Marte Lund Saga analyses the social networks of Norwegian official advisory commissions. By using Social Network Analysis, she looks at changes in the network over time (1972-2016) and asks whether experts have gained an increased influence over Norwegian policymaking.

The Norwegian official advisory commissions (NOU) play an important role in giving policy advice to elected officials in the Norwegian government. This report shows that in recent years, the amount of commission members with academic backgrounds has increased markedly, while the participation of public officials and interest group representatives has slightly declined. However, studying the commission members as nodes in a social network has highlighted that members with academic backgrounds have not become more central in the social network. Instead, public officials seem to constitute the largest share of the most central commission members during the whole 45-year time period, while interest group representatives seem to become more central in the network over time. Thus, this report provides some nuance to the widely accepted view that experts have are increasingly important in the system of NOUs.

Who are appointed to public commissions and why? A study of four public commissions relating to the Norwegian Police Service

ARENA Report 8/19

Simen Andreas Nefstad Grinden

Public commissions are intrinsic to the Norwegian political system, but the procedures for member selection are unclear. Based on existing research on public commissions and knowledge utilisation, Simen Andreas Nefstad Grinden questions how and why commission members are selected.

Norwegian decision-makers regularly appoint commissions to evaluate policies, draft laws and suggest reforms, making the public commission regime intrinsic to the Norwegian political system. Despite the high number of commissions, the procedures regarding the selection process of commission members remain unclear. This report asks how and why specific members are selected, and whether selections can be explained by instrumental, strategic and/or symbolic reasons.

Based on 18 interviews with commission members and bureaucrats, this report provides novel insight into selection procedures. It is also suggested that selections, in certain cases, can be explained according to 'non-instrumental' reasons, and that member composition can be fairly random in terms of persons, but not in terms of the characteristics and competencies that these members provide.

The European migration system and global Justice

ARENA Report 9/19 (GLOBUS report 7)

Antonio Zotti

This report edited by Antonio Zotti looks at the legal frameworks underlying the immigration policies of six Schengen countries in order to grasp how different traditions, practices and priorities cooperate and diverge within the emerging EU Migration System of Governance (EUMSG).

Over the last few years, the EU has found a formidable challenge in the unprecedented amount of people that have been moving across the Mediterranean and through Southeast Europe in search for safety or better life opportunities. The EU's ambition to protect the rights of people – inside, outside and across its borders – has often clashed with other priorities and principles, such as the traditional prerogative of states to decide who to let in. In fact, different notions of the just way to deal with migration combines with the multilevel nature of the EU migration policy, which relies heavily on the member states in terms of political commitment and administrative resources.

This report provides an account of the conceptual and legal frameworks underlying the immigration policies of six Schengen countries – France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Norway and the UK – in order to grasp how different traditions, practices and priorities cooperate and diverge within the emerging EUMSG.

The GLOBUS research paper series

The GLOBUS Research Papers are pre-print scientific articles on the EU's contribution to global justice as well as the wider question of Global Political Justice. The series is multidisciplinary, with a particular emphasis on the fields of international relations, political science, political theory, sociology and law.

The series editor is **Helene Sjursen** (ARENA). She works closely with the editorial board, which consists of **Thomas Diez**, **Erik O. Eriksen**, **Sonia Lucarelli**, **Pundy Pillay** and **Ben Tonra**.

The series published **6 papers** in 2019:

19/1

Cathrine Holst

Global gender justice: Distributive justice or participatory parity?

19/2

Franziskus von Lucke

Principled pragmatism in climate policy? The EU and changing practices of climate justice

19/3

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

Global justice and aid effectiveness: Reforms of the European Union's development policy

19/4

Samuel Brazys, Arya Pillai, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

EU aid for trade: Mitigating global trade injustices?

19/5

Ivor Sarakinsky

Recognition and obligation: EU and South Africa renewable energy development cooperation

19/6

Antonio de Aguiar Patriota

Is the world ready for cooperative multipolarity?



Events

EU3D Kick-off conference: Mobilising ideas for the EU's future

The kick-off conference of the EU3D project took place on 11-12 April in Rome and gathered over 50 participants for two days of intensive discussions on EU differentiation, dominance and democracy. It marked the start of a four-year quest to find out how much and what type of differentiation is sustainable and legitimate in Europe.

The ten partners met for internal academic sessions as well as for a public event on the future of Europe with high-level speakers. Scientific coordinator **John Erik Fossum** was pleased with the many fruitful discussions among the multi-disciplinary group of researchers and experts: 'The active participation of the conference participants testifies to the relevance and importance of the project. EU3D deals with one of the EU's most fundamental challenges, namely the role and risks of political differentiation for ensuring political stability and legitimacy in an increasingly contested EU', he said when looking back at the conference.

Assessing EU reform proposals

The different aspects of differentiation that will be studied by EU3D over the next four years were discussed. Fossum presented the project overview and analytical framework and together with **Erik O. Eriksen** elaborated on its theoretical foundation and key terms: political differentiation, democracy and dominance. An important task will be to explore

and evaluate different reform proposals to deal with the EU's current challenges. Another task will be to reveal the public's opinion on such reform proposals. Dirk Leuffen (University of Konstanz), one of the lead researchers in the project, argued that it is crucial for EU reforms to be based on scientific knowledge and to establish whether reforms are legitimate and can be socially accepted. **Hans-Jörg Trenez** and **Asimina Michailidou** laid out EU3D's research to be done on public opinions, debates and reforms.

EU3D will also look at EU's differentiated relationships with non-members. This includes affiliations both within and outside Europe, their related questions of dominance, and the UK's future relationship with the EU. **Christopher Lord** presented the research plans on this external dimension of differentiation along with French and Greek colleagues.

Maximising policy impact

In presenting plans for their research, project members were challenged by the audience on theoretical concepts, and on the project's policy relevance. EU3D will seek to maximise its policy impact through a set of policy dialogues and public events.

'The project can be very useful in mobilising ideas for the future and in producing valuable empirical research, which can be used by European policy makers', emphasised EU3D Advisory Board member Francis Brendan Jacobs, who has four decades of experience from the European Parliament.



Left: Conference discussions. Right: The EU3D team.

Adding to Jacobs' useful insights, University of Oxford Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis reflected on potential policy impacts based on her long-standing experience, most notably as a member of the Gonzales reflection group (2008-2010), which was convened by the European Council to explore how the EU could respond to its long-term challenges. She underlined the need for critically-constructive recommendations to reach out to citizens and policy makers.

Future of Europe debate

The conference culminated with a public panel debate on the EU's future patterns of differentiation, dominance and democracy, Europe's challenges and possible ways for dealing with them. The high-level speakers, all members of the project's Advisory

Board, included former Italian Prime Minister and Vice-President of the European Convention Giuliano Amato, Member of the European Parliament Marian Harkin, former Director General of the EU Council's Legal Service Jean-Claude Piris as well as Associate Professor at Columbia University Turkuler Isiksel and former EUI president Yves Mény (p. 66).

The conference was hosted by LUISS School of Government and organised in cooperation with ARENA.

Is Norway a ‘model’ for Brexit?

ARENA and CICERO Center for International Climate Research, hosted a joint EU3D and BENCHMARK conference on Brexit and the ‘Norway model’ on 19 and 20 September, asking: Can the Norway model function as a model for the UK after Brexit?

The conference explored research synergies from two new ARENA projects, EU3D and BENCHMARK, asking if the Norway model could function as a model for how the UK might structure its relations with the European Union after Brexit. Panelists further focused on what this debate tells us about different ways of structuring some participation of non-member states in the affairs of the Union, and more generally on the normative principles, institutional design and policy practices of external differentiated integration.

Is Norway a rule-taker, or do its many agreements and relationships with the EU produce both satisfactory rules and sufficient influence in rule-making? How might all of that change if the UK were to be included in those relationships? These were some of the questions discussed, and further applied to the case of climate and energy policy on day two of the conference, chaired by CICERO.

British perspectives on Brexit

The conference opened with an introduction to ‘varieties of Brexit’, by Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis

(University of Oxford) who chaired the first panel on competing conceptions of the UK’s future relationship with the EU. John Peet, editor of *The Economist*, and Richard Whitman (University of Kent and Chatham House), joined **Christopher Lord** who presented work on Brexit and the European political order.

What is the Norwegian model?

Asimina Michailidou chaired the session which dealt with ‘the Norwegian model’. Norwegian and European researchers discussed topics such as the EEA Agreement, differences between the Icelandic and Norwegian models, and the models’ origin and sustainability. ‘Could the Norwegian model help deliver Brexit?’, was the theme of the third panel, chaired by Christopher Lord, with researchers from England and Scotland. Among the topics were trade relations after Brexit and the role of Scotland and Northern Ireland in Brexit.

The implications of European differentiated integration were then discussed more closely, including presentations by **John Erik Fossum** on Brexit’s role in Europe’s future political order, and Federico Fabbrini (Brexit Institute, Dublin City University) on the future extension of UK membership in the EU. This session was chaired by **Erik O. Eriksen**.

Brexit visions

Oxford Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis concluded day one with a presentation of her new book *Exodus*,



Left: CICERO director Kristin Halvorsen. Right: Christian Franklin on flexible adaptation for the UK.

Reckoning, Sacrifice: Three Meanings of Brexit. She delved into competing visions over the meaning of Brexit, connecting them with the pluralist ideals of the EU. The book examines Britain's relationship with the EU through the lens of Greek mythology.

European climate policies

Friday's sessions were hosted by BENCHMARK partner CICERO and were devoted to climate and energy policy. Challenges posed by Brexit for this policy field, and possible lessons from Norway's existing relationship with the EU, were discussed both with leading scholars and stakeholders from the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise, Energy Norway and The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate, and others.

The conference was organised by ARENA as a part of the BENCHMARK and EU3D projects.

Fourth PLATO PhD school

The last PhD School took place from 14-18 October at the University of Twente. Entering their third and final year, the 15 PhD candidates discussed preliminary findings, publishing strategies and research communication, and a lot more.

The PhD school brought together an interdisciplinary team of junior and senior researchers from Europe. It was the last school organised by PLATO and marked the two-year anniversary of the very first project meeting, the Oslo kick-off conference.

At the Twente School, the ESRs presented preliminary findings from their individual projects and their contributions to a joint book edited by PLATO Scientific Coordinator **Christopher Lord** and other supervisors. Colleagues from the University of Twente as well as incoming scholars and supervisors acted as discussants, including **Hans-Jörg Trenz**. This laid the ground for the team's work on the contributions to be published as a book on the EU's post-crisis legitimacy.

PhD projects at ARENA

Each of the three ARENA ESRs presented their work and findings and acted as first discussant of one paper each. **Joris Melman** presented a framework for understanding public attitudes towards the European integration process. He argued that we need to study the content and form of such attitudes rather than

merely levels of trust and support. **Jan Pesl** proposed an alternative approach to studying the state of legitimacy and its changes, as well as changes in legitimisation practices. **Claire Godet** discussed a paper co-authored with Bastiaan Redert (University of Antwerp) on stakeholder involvement and its impact on the EU's legitimacy, arguing that it does not hold promise as a democratising instrument.

The legitimacy crisis of global governance

Prof. Michael Zürn (Berlin Social Science Center, WZB) held a keynote speech on the legitimacy crisis of global governance. He linked his theory of global governance and the decline of the liberal world order to PLATO research, referring to current preferences for closing borders – for people and increasingly also for industrial goods, a rejection of political authority beyond the nation state, and popular arguments in favour of national sovereignty.

Research communication

One of the school's non-academic training sessions introduced the ESRs to the basics of communicating research. Katy R. Mahoney (Researcher Coaching) guided them through the topics such as the power of social media to promote research to a wider audience. Further, a team of ESRs presented plans for the academic blog Post-Crisis Democracy in Europe, which aims to disseminate research findings to a broader audience.



The PLATO team at the Twente school. (photo: Sean C Photography)

Academic publishing strategies

Supervisors contributed to panels addressing the two most common types of academic publications: monographs and peer-reviewed scientific articles. In their capacity of authors and editors, they provided useful advice to support the ESRs in developing their own publication strategy.

Cross-sectoral mobility

Another session was dedicated to help ESRs navigate the final PhD year and plan for the non-academic secondments scheduled in 2020. As part of the project's mobility scheme, each ESR will spend one month with one of the project's training partners, notably think tanks, NGOs or consultancies.

Capacity-building for supervisors

The third supervision workshops was organised by PLATO partner Vitae, the global leader in the professional development of researchers. It addressed key elements of effective PhD supervision, and supervisors shared and discussed best practices to support PhDs in finishing their projects on time.

The event was hosted by the PLATO team at the University of Twente and organised in cooperation with coordinator ARENA.

Making non-majoritarian institutions safe for democracy

The REFLEX project on the legitimacy of depoliticised decision-making organised a workshop in Oslo on 20-21 June.

Democratic decision-making

Knowledge-based decision-making is indispensable to modern democracies, and expertise is needed to run bureaucracies and agencies as well as to explain and justify policies to the general public. Thus, modern government relies on the delegation of a wide range of tasks to non-majoritarian institutions (NOMIS). From financial regulation to environmental protection, expert bodies vested with public authority conduct work necessary for polities' day-to-day functioning and long-term stability. The increasing power of NOMIS has raised concerns about the displacement of democratic authorisation and control and the rise of epistocracy/technocracy. How can such concerns be addressed in terms of both accuracy and potential remedy?

The workshop's first section was chaired by **Alexander Katsaitis**, and included presentations by **Erik O. Eriksen** and **Andreas Eriksen** on the accountability of independent agencies and how one can make depoliticised decision making safe for democracy. Doctoral researcher **Trym Nohr Fjørtoft** chaired the second section, where **Tobias Bach** presented findings on reputational threats and democratic responsiveness of regulatory agencies.



ARENA hosted European colleagues for the workshop.

Martino Maggetti (University of Lausanne) then discussed how the EU agencies reshape domestic policy-making. Further, **Eva Krick** drew on findings from the EUREX project in her presentation entitled 'Between "scientisation" and a "participatory turn". Tracing shifts in the governance of policy advice'.

On day two, REFLEX-affiliated researchers **Torbjørn Gundersen** and **Kjartan Koch Mikalsen** discussed issues of expertise and unelected bodies. Katsaitis and Nohr Fjørtoft concluded the programme with discussions on the accountability of expertise through the examples of parliamentary hearings, and the EU agency Frontex.

Conceptions of justice in the EU's external policies

ARENA hosted a half day GLOBUS seminar on conceptions of justice in the EU's external policies on 6 February. The seminar was chaired by GLOBUS Scientific Coordinator Helene Sjørusen and gave several of the GLOBUS contributors the opportunity to present and discuss their current research.

Anke Schwarzkopf presented her research on 'The EU as a global negotiator? The advancement of the EU's role in multilateral negotiations at the UN General Assembly', with comments from Solveig Aamodt (CICERO Center for International Climate and Environmental Research). The paper aimed to account for the EU's role in multilateral negotiations at the UN General Assembly by looking at the negotiations on the enhanced observer status and how the EU is in the process of establishing itself as an active and recognised actor at the UN. During the negotiation process, the EU experienced significant opposition and had to accept an intermediate setback in form of a postponement of the vote. Schwarzkopf analysed the negotiation process and the final agreement through the lenses of a bargaining approach and as an alternative, mutual recognition as global justice.

Cathrine Holst presented her paper on 'Global gender justice: Distributive justice or participatory parity?', with comments from **Andreas Eriksen**. The paper compared two prominent approaches to global gender justice; Alison Jaggar's 'distributive'

approach and Nancy Fraser's 'participatory' approach. It argued that both theories have contributed valuably to develop the feminist criticism of conventional justice theories, and to conceptualise and criticise the entanglement of global injustices and gender vulnerability. The two theories were furthermore discussed and assessed in the light of the GLOBUS framework and its conceptions of global political justice. The paper also draws some lessons from the discussions for both feminist theory and for GLOBUS.

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes presented a draft paper on 'Global justice and the promotion of sexual minority rights: Explaining donors' foreign policy responses to the Anti-Homosexuality Act in Uganda', with discussant **Erik O. Eriksen**. In the paper, Saltnes examined the path through which the EU and the United States decided on their approach to an anti-gay bill introduced in Uganda in 2014. Saltnes shows that human rights conditionality is not applied in an automated fashion in accordance with impartial rules and standards.

The EU's trade and development policies in a changing global environment

The GLOBUS project organised a workshop on the EU's trade and development policies in Oslo on 14-15 March. The workshop brought together 30 researchers from Europe, South Africa, North and South America.

The workshop participants examined the EU's trade and development policies and its contribution to ensure a more just economic order at the global level. In the opening session, **Helene Sjursen** and **Johanne Døhlie Saltnes** outlined the main research questions of the GLOBUS project, including the specific concerns of the work package on trade and development. Sjursen highlighted the importance of cross-disciplinary research on issues of global political justice, as GLOBUS aims at enhancing cooperation between scholars working within political theory and philosophy on the one hand, and international relations and EU studies on the other hand. Saltnes emphasised current risks of domination in the fields of trade and development. The EU has already received substantial criticism for its approach to negotiating regional trade agreements with its partners in Africa, the Caribbean and in the Pacific. Discussions regarding the possible human rights and sustainability implications have, however, not been at the top of the EU's agenda.

Global governance

Following the introductory session, various participants presented their current papers. The discussion following the presentations revolved around the opportunity for developing countries to cooperate with a wider range of partners. Some of these partners claim fewer demanding conditions attached to their cooperation. However, risks of new forms of dominance are also evident.

Subsequently, **Sigrid Jerpstad** presented a paper on the EU's approach to responsibility for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by analysing which principles of burden-sharing the EU promoted in the Agenda 2030 negotiations. Several other presentations dealt with a potential shift in the EU's policies towards an increased focus on the EU's own strategic goals, at the potential cost of the EU's core values.

Day two of the workshop started with a discussion of egalitarian trade justice and more in-depth presentations. The workshop ended with a panel on EU aid for trade. Megan Govender (Wits School of Governance) highlighted the uneven distribution of economic and political power between Africa and the European Union and discussed impacts on trade negotiations.

Revisiting the EU's approach to global order

The GLOBUS project organised the workshop 'Revisiting the EU's approach to global order' at ARENA on 10-11 October. The workshop was centred around discussions of book manuscripts for a forthcoming book series emanating from the GLOBUS project.

Some critical voices notwithstanding, the scholarly debate on the EU's foreign policy role and its contribution to global values has rested on the assumption of the viability of a liberal world order with the EU at its vanguard.

The forthcoming book series emanating from the GLOBUS project revisits this assumption. It analyses the external policies - and the response from external actors - of the European Union at a time of enhanced uncertainty, risk and ambiguity. Drawing on a threefold conception of global political justice, it offers an innovative account of the EU's global role and relevance at a time of profound contestation over global norms. It delivers in-depth analyses of a set of core issues of global governance in which the EU has played a major role, amongst them migration, climate change, security and conflict, and development. Through these analyses, the series re-conceptualises the EU's global role, and brings forth a new perspective on the crisis of the liberal world order; on what is at stake and for whom.

Participants at the workshop thus discussed empirical findings from the GLOBUS project across

all the project's research themes, which will be the basis of the forthcoming book series.

GLOBUS Coordinator **Helene Sjursen** opened the workshop and chaired the discussions. A number of GLOBUS researchers presented their work: **Johanne Døhlie Saltnes**; Sonia Lucarelli, Enrico Fassi, Giorgio Grappi and Michela Ceccorulli from the University of Bologna; Kjartan Koch Mikalsen from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology; Solveig Aamodt from CICERO; Ben Tonra and Nikola Tomic from University College Dublin; Pundy Pillay from Wits University; and Thomas Diez, Bettina Ahrens and Franz von Lucke from the University of Tübingen.

Several external scholars provided their comments: Bjørn Olav Knudsen from the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment; Katharina Meissner from the University of Vienna; and Katja Biedenkopf from KU Leuven.

GLOBUS study tour to Russia

The heads of GLOBUS' research groups travelled to Moscow for a study tour in February.

During their visit to Moscow, the heads of GLOBUS' research groups took part in a range of seminars and meetings with academics, policy makers, and other policy stakeholders. Several of the empirical research areas of the GLOBUS project were on the agenda.

EU-Russia security politics and the role of Russia in world politics was discussed at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations. The GLOBUS research group also met with representatives from industry and academics to talk about Russia's role in global climate governance. The Institute of Europe in Moscow organised a roundtable on migration, human rights and security, where GLOBUS researchers presented findings and engaged in discussions concerning various issues such as migration regulation, rights of migrants, and securitisation of migration. Further, the Russian and EU development policy and the role of the BRICS countries were topics of discussion when the team visited Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

The final day was dedicated to EU trade policy and global trade regulations, and EU-Russia security relations, which was discussed with researchers from Higher School of Economics in Moscow.

GLOBUS study tour to China

The heads of GLOBUS' research groups visited Hong Kong and Beijing for the final GLOBUS study tour in September.

The heads of GLOBUS' research groups took part in a range of seminars and meetings with academics and policy stakeholders over several days. The first part of the tour took place in Hong Kong, where the team met with representatives from the Hong Kong Baptist University (HKBU), Comparative Governance Centre, the Hong Kong Association for European Studies and the Hong Kong EU Office. EU-Hong Kong-China politics, global climate governance, EU-China trade relations, and China's views on development in Africa were the principal themes discussed.

The team then traveled to Beijing, where they visited Renmin University of China and presented GLOBUS research and discussed with students and staff. Chinese perspectives on global justice, development and security issues and other related themes were presented by the School of Government (Peking University), before the group visited the Irish Embassy in China. Ben Tonra (University College Dublin) also gave a lecture at Peking University on Brexit and its impact on Irish and European security.

The trip was concluded with a visit to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and its Institute of European Studies (IES) for an informal dialogue between research staff from the IES and the GLOBUS researchers.

ARENA at EUSA

ARENA researchers were well represented at the 16th biennial EUSA conference, which took place on 9-11 May in Denver, Colorado.

The biennial conference is organised by the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) and gathers leading EU Studies scholars from around the globe. This year's topic was 'Coming Together or Moving Apart?', and addressed recent developments in the European Union, such as tensions over economic policy, border security, and national sovereignty, and asked whether these issues lay the foundations for continued fractionalisation or rather move the member states closer together.

Alexander Katsaitis and **Andreas Eriksen** discussed their work on agencies and parliamentary oversight in the EU, which they have done as a part of the REFLEX project. They explored key topics of the project, such as the political accountability of depoliticised bodies, expert influence on policy-making and European financial regulation. Katsaitis also presented a paper on deliberation in the European Parliament's Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs (co-written with David Coen) and a paper on businesses' financial contributions to EU political parties.

Helene Sjursen chaired the panel 'The European Union: Promoting or Obstructing Global Justice?', where she also presented her work on justice in EU foreign policy. The panel was organised

within the framework of the GLOBUS project and included papers by several of the project's researchers.

Over 15 project participants from the newly started EU3D project contributed to the conference, discussing a wide range of topics of relevance to the project. From ARENA, **Espen D. H. Olsen** discussed his work on EU citizenship and new personal statuses in the context of differentiated integration. The paper was part of a panel on 'Transformations of EU Citizenship', where Olsen also acted as a discussant.

Jarle Trondal chaired the panel 'New Directions in the Study of the European Commission', which covered issues such as how national politics influence the European Commission, the Commission's relationship with interest groups and patterns of Commission non-compliance. The EU's possibilities to promote its foreign policy goals in multilateral negotiations was discussed by **Anke Schwarzkopf**. **Johanne Døhlie Saltnes** also presented her research on norm contestation in EU foreign policy.

ARENA at ECPR

A large delegation of ARENA researchers attended the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) 2019 General Conference. This year's conference took place on 4-7 September in Wroclaw, Poland.

Christopher Lord chaired a panel with PLATO PhD researchers entitled 'Politicisation, Representation and Legitimation Crisis(?) in the European Union'. Four of the project's PhD researchers presented papers on the European Semester, crisis communication, and state aid, while ARENA's **Joris Melman** discussed his focus-group study of attitudes towards the Euro.

John Erik Fossum chaired the panel 'Identifying Pathologies and Assessing their Implications for Representative Democracy in Contemporary Europe', where **Asimina Michailidou** presented her research on social media discourse and public understandings of expertise and democracy. **Cathrine Holst** presented findings from the EUREX project, while Fossum held two presentations, one on the roles of 'pseudocrats' in the EU together with **Agustín José Menéndez**, and one on right-wing populism.

Also from the EUREX project, postdoctoral researcher **Eva Krick** presented the paper 'Reconciling Democracy and Expertise by Institutional Design'. She also chaired the panel 'The Advent of the Lay Expert in Policy-Making: Democratising or Pushing

the Boundaries of Expertise?'. PhD researcher on the same project, **Stine Hesstvedt**, presented her research on technocratic policy-making together with Peter Munk Christiansen from Aarhus University.

Asimina Michailidou and **Hans-Jörg Trezz**, and **John Erik Fossum** presented work on differentiated integration and EU dominance in a panel entitled 'Politicisation, Power and Differentiated Integration'. Michailidou also chaired a panel on 'post-crisis' Greece.

Public defence: Johanna Strikwerda

On 24 January, Johanna Strikwerda defended her PhD Thesis ‘Integration in the European Union’s Field of Defence and Security’.

The European Union’s defence and security policy has remained predominately in the hands of the member states, and therefore the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is understood to be intergovernmental. However, through the acceptance of recent initiatives from the European Commission in the field of defence and security, this belief is challenged. The Commission influences the CSDP, as is known, but how can it be that member states would voluntarily accept initiatives from this supranational institution in the field of defence and security? Examining three recent initiatives from the Commission in the field of defence and security, the thesis aims to account for why member states accepted these proposals.

Findings highlight a new number of actors involved in defence policy making, particularly civil servants at the national level, as well as the importance of the framing of Commission proposals in light of existing regulations, which made that member state actors found it their duty to follow existing norms. Overall, these findings enhance knowledge of the nature of integration in the field of defence and security, through a broad and in depth investigation of several EU member states.



From left: Michael Smith, Helene Sjursen, Johanna Strikwerda, Tobias Bach and Hanna Ojanen.

Committee

Adjunct Professor Hanna Ojanen, *University of Helsinki*

Professor Michael Smith, *University of Warwick*

Associate Professor Tobias Bach, *University of Oslo*

Main supervisor

Helene Sjursen, ARENA Centre for European Studies

Trial lecture

‘Explaining European integration today: Similarities and differences between policy fields.’

The PhD thesis is published as ARENA Report 2/19

Public defence: Johanne Døhlle Saltnes

On 28 March, Johanne Døhlle Saltnes defended her PhD Thesis ‘Norm Collision in the European Union’s External Policies. EU Development Policy Revisited’.

Saltnes’ thesis contributes to the debate regarding the characteristics of the EU’s external policies through an analysis of the EU’s development policy. Whereas the EU has committed to conduct a value-based foreign policy, inter alia by promoting the respect for human rights abroad, values are not always followed consistently. The reason for such inconsistencies is often assumed to be that the EU sets its core values aside when they collide with the Union’s interests. This thesis re-examines this claim.

Saltnes’ findings could be interpreted in line with the idea of the EU as a value-based foreign policy actor. However, the thesis questions the assumption that a commitment to norms is a particular character of the EU’s foreign policy. Norm evaluations are also an important factor in states’ policy-making processes. Hence, there is a need for a broader reconsideration of the basic assumptions underpinning analyses of foreign policy.

Committee

Professor Karen Smith, *London School of Economics (LSE)*

Professor Jan Orbie, *Ghent University*

Associate Professor Karin Dokken, *University of Oslo*



From left: Helene Sjørusen, Jan Orbie, Karin Dokken, Johanne D. Saltnes, Karen Smith and Anne Julie Semb.

Main supervisor

Helene Sjørusen, ARENA Centre for European Studies

Co-supervisor

Johannes Pollak, *Institute for Advanced Studies and Webster Vienna Private University*

Trial lecture

‘Can the EU effectively address current challenges to its development policy?’

The PhD thesis is published as ARENA Report 3/19

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.

22 January

Complementing and correcting representative institutions: When and how to use mini-publics

Jonathan Kuyper, Queen's University Belfast

5 February

Don't think it is a good idea! A critical analysis of the 'ideas school'

Claudio Radaelli, University College London

26 February

Polanyian muscles in hayekian Brussels: The european union's economic authority in comparative and theoretical perspective

Craig Parsons, University of Oregon

19 March

Same, same, but different: Regulatory expertise and the differentiated application of EU law by national regulators

Eva Heims, University of York

14 May

Constituent power in the European Union: A critique of regional cosmopolitanism

Markus Patberg, University of Hamburg

12 November

Collective identity as a legal limit to European integration in areas of core state powers

Sacha Garben, College of Europe

26 November

A democratic theory of growth regimes

Fabio Wolkenstein, University of Amsterdam

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.

- Fossum, John Erik, 'Different approaches to immigrant integration - overview and assessment', People on the move. Migrants, refugees, and citizenship rights, Conference at the School of Governance, Law and Society, Tallinn University, 7-8 February.
- 'Integration versus autonomy – the european council's difficult balancing acts', Autonomy without collapse - towards a better union? Workshop at the Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, 4 April
- 'Three different approaches to immigrant integration: Multiculturalism, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism', Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals Research Seminar, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 29 April.
- and Russell Solomon (RMIT), 'Continuity or break with the past? A case study of Brexit', International conference on public policy, Montreal, 26-28 June.
- 'Europe's triangular challenge: Dominance, differentiation and democracy', 2019 APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Washington D.C., 29 August.
- HERA PLURISPACE Kick-off meeting, CERI Sciences Po Paris, 21 September.
- 'Different perspectives on differentiated integration', BRIDGE network conference, Dublin City University, 30-31 October.
- 'Theoretical concepts and their empirical dimension', EU3D conceptualisation and methodology training, Krakow, 28-29 November.
- Fossum, John Erik and Espen D. H. Olsen, 'Cosmopolitanism', HERA PLURISPACE consortium meeting, Barcelona, 13 December.
- 'Questions in relation to the cosmopolitan approach', HERA PLURISPACE consortium meeting, Barcelona, 13 December.
- Godet, Claire, 'Avoiding a legitimacy crisis despite the quarrels: The EU in the Emissions Trading System negotiations', Euroacademia conference: The European Union and the politicization of Europe (7th edition), Bruges, 25-26 January.



Left: Vera Sofie Borgen Skjetne at the University of Surrey summer school (Photo: Roberta Guerrina).
Right: John Erik Fossum at the BRIDGE Network Conference in Dublin (Photo: Jasmine Faudone).



- ‘Criticism and yet legitimised: The EU Emissions Trading Scheme as a case study of controversial legitimation’, 26th International conference of Europeanists: Sovereignties in contention: Nations, regions and citizens in Europe, Council of European Studies (CES), Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 22 June.
- ‘Criticism as fuel for legitimacy: The EU and its controversial climate policies’, UACES graduate forum conference 2019, ‘What for the next European century?’, Manchester University, 7-9 July.
- Hestvedt, Stine, ‘Experts in policymaking: Trustees or agents? Exploring political control with policy advising experts’, Sosiologforeningens vinterseminar, Golsfjellet, 1-3 February.
- ‘Politicization of expert advice? Tracing political control with academic experts on policy inquiry commissions in Norway, 1973-2017’, EGPA yearly conference, University of Belfast, 11-13 September.
- Holst, Cathrine, ‘Asymmetry, disagreement and biases: Epistemic worries about expertise and how to address them’, CRASSH Cambridge University, Cambridge, 24-25 January.

- ‘Expertization of policy-making - good or bad?’, Workshop in political theory, Aarhus University, 19 March.
 - ‘Scientization of policy-advice?’, Bielefeld University Seminar, Bielefeld, 19 June.
 - ‘Democratic and epistemic worries about expertise’, Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance conference, Amsterdam, 7-8 November.
- Krick, Eva, ‘Democratising expertise? Lay citizens in the role of experts’, SKAPE seminar, University of Edinburgh, 20 March.
- ‘Moderating the epistemic-democratic tension: Institutional innovations of coupling experts, citizens and the government in policy-making’, SKAPE seminar, University of Edinburgh, 6 November.
- Lord, Christopher, ‘Justice, legitimacy and differentiated integration’, Workshop on differentiated integration, Florence, 15 March.
- ‘Legitimacy crisis in the European Union’, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 4 April.
 - ‘Power, stateness and legitimacy crisis in the European Union’, Workshop on approaches to the study of legitimacy, University College London, 13 July.
- ‘Interdemocracy externalities and collective will formation’, European consortium for political research, Wroclaw, 4-7 September.
- Menéndez, Agustín José, ‘Whose and which free movement? The personal status of non-actives, seasonal workers and refugees’, People on the move. Migrants, refugees, and citizenship rights, Conference at the School of Governance, Law and Society, Tallinn University, 7-8 February.
- ‘The European Material Constitution’, The Material Constitution workshop, Glasgow University, 30-31 May.
 - ‘Constitutional false friends: The rise and rise of constitutional conflicts in EU law’, Max Planck Institute for Legal History, 18-19 June.
 - ‘The colonisation of European Personal Status: From transnational workers rights to appendix of the constitution of money and market’, Workshop: From protection to empowerment: EU citizenship’s political and constitutional potential, Frankfurt University, 30-31 October.
 - ‘The sleep of rules produces monsters’, Workshop Il Governo dei Numeri, Università di Bologna, 17-18 October.

- Saltnes, Johanne Døhlie, 'A rights-based development policy? EU development policy at a crossroads', UACES annual conference, Lisbon, 2-4 September.
- 'The politicization of LGBTI human rights norms in EU-Uganda relations', Workshop: Politicization of EU external relations: European development policy at the crossfire, German Development Institute (DIE), Bonn, 30-31 October.
 - 'Human rights in the EU's foreign policy: Context-transcending principles and the requirement of context sensitive solutions', Conference on Norms and other norms: Exploring norm relations and norm interactions in a complex global order, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, 7-8 November.
- Schwarzkopf, Anke Stefanie, 'The EU in the Arms Trade Treaty negotiations – a win for justice or justifying arms trade?', LINES Session at KU Leuven, Leuven, 22 November.
- Seibicke, Helena, 'The EU is (FOR) YOU / The role of civil society in communicating the advantages of being UNITED IN EUROPE', EESC's 13th Civil Society media seminar, Malaga, 10-11 October.
- Sjursen, Helene, 'EU foreign policy 10 years after Lisbon', Perspectives on European foreign policy in the context of current EU-Russia relation, Leiden, 11 January.
- 'The EU's approach to the crisis in Ukraine', GLOBUS workshop on conflict and security, Dublin, 25-26 April.
 - 'EU foreign policy in a contested international environment', NORTIA conference, Poznan, 5-7 June.
 - 'Third country EU cooperation- formal and informal channels', EU foreign and security policy: Academic conference, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, 26 September.
- Skjetne, Vera, 'The EU as a promoter of global gender justice: Combating trafficking in the face of the migrant crisis', Gendering European politics and law summer school, Surrey, 8-12 July.
- Trondal, Jarle, 'Staffing regional organizations in the Global South', CERJ, Paris, 17 October.



Outreach

Rupture and renewal in Europe: ARENA's 25th anniversary conference

ARENA marked its 25th anniversary with a public conference at the House of Literature in Oslo on 18 November. It addressed the EU's current crises and challenges, and also how researchers can advance knowledge of key processes of integration and disintegration.

The Europeanisation of the nation state has come a long way, and the non-member Norway is also deeply affected by the integration process. Yet, the breadth and depth of Europeanisation is not very well known among the population at large. Meanwhile, in 2019 the EU had to deal with a number of external and internal challenges, including Brexit; geopolitical strains in the Union's relationship with both Russia and the United States; challenges to the freedom of the media and the rule of law in some member states; continued difficulties in the reform of the monetary union; and populist challenges to representative democracy and expertise on which the Union depends. At the same time, as Brexit demonstrates, there is a lack of knowledge of how the EU actually works among officials as well as the population at large.

A Europeanised Norway

Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ine Eriksen Søreide held the opening speech, after a welcome by ARENA Director **Erik O. Eriksen** and Vice-Rector of the University of Oslo Åse Gornitzka, who has spent years as a researcher at the centre. Søreide

highlighted the extent to which European integration and the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement has affected Norway: 'This agreement has had a truly transformative effect. It has Europeanised our economy, our society and our governance structures'. She also underlined the importance of ARENA: 'You have done a lot to raise awareness and knowledge about European integration in the past 25 years, but we may need you even more in the 25 years to come', she concluded.

In her keynote speech 'From Europe's would-be polity to power', Brigid Laffan, Professor and Director at the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute, addressed how the EU has been affected by multiple crises over the last two decades. Laffan moreover called Norway's EU affiliation 'organized hypocrisy', but emphasised that this arrangement seems to be working rather well for the country.

The subsequent panel 'Populist opposition and the quest for reform' was devoted to issues like Euroscepticism, populism and Brexit. Laffan was joined by Magdalena Gorá (Jagiellonian University), **Christopher Lord** and **Hans-Jörg Trezz**. Although the EU is currently facing many challenges, the panellists held that the EU that has emerged from crises has become more mature, stronger, and more supranational. This is also reflected globally, where Europe has tried to take a more geopolitical role. And in face of Brexit, the EU has presented a narrative of unity.



Left: Past and present ARENA staff mingle. Right: Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ine Eriksen Søreide.

The EU's present predicaments

In a second panel, 'snapshots' from ARENA's research was presented. Four large ongoing projects illustrated the breath and scope of the research, as well as the centre's international collaboration.

John Erik Fossum introduced the EU3D project and its research agenda, asking if differentiation can solve Europe's current challenges. **Helene Sjursen** highlighted some findings from the GLOBUS project, which has looked into the EU's role in the world and whether it contributes to global justice. The PLATO project, where 15 PhDs undertake a common investigation into the EU's post-crisis legitimacy, was introduced by **Christopher Lord**. Each of the three projects is EU-funded and coordinated by ARENA,

and involves a multi-disciplinary group of researchers from partner institutions across Europe – and beyond. **Andreas Eriksen** concluded the session by addressing the tension between knowledge and democracy in European decision-making, which is at the core of the REFLEX project.

In the ensuing reception, Ingjerd Hoëm, Vice-dean for Education at the Faculty of Social Sciences as well as former Administrative Director at ARENA Ragnar Lie, used the opportunity to give an account of ARENA's history, and to honour the work and standing of ARENA's staff.

ARENA at Arendalsuka

In August, ARENA organised two panel debates at Arendalsuka, a Norwegian political festival. The first debate looked at the lessons learned from Brexit, while the second discussed the newly elected European Parliament and the new leaders of the European Commission.

Brexit: What can we learn?

ARENA's first event was a discussion on the background for Brexit and what consequences the UK's withdrawal will have for stakeholders in the Norwegian business and research sectors. The debate was moderated by Åse Gornitzka, vice-rector at the University of Oslo

ARENA Director **Erik O. Eriksen** opened the conversation by saying that Brexit is in many ways the result of a lack of knowledge. He argued that British media and politicians have not done a sufficient job on communicating highly complex issues to the public. Stein Reegård, Senior Adviser and former Chief Economist in the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) argued that people in the UK were not aware of how integrated they actually were, nor did they have a clear idea of what they wanted to achieve when they voted for Brexit in 2016.

The UK is one of Norway's biggest trading partners, and Brexit will have major implications for Norwegian businesses. According to Benedicte Staalesen Nilsen, Senior Adviser in the Confederation

of Norwegian Enterprise (NHO), this is not just a question of increasing tariffs. She pointed to several other challenges that arise from a lack of common rules and regulations, for example in the fishing industry. Nilsen emphasised that the Norwegian government has negotiated transitional arrangements that are much needed in case of a no-deal Brexit. Preparations are also needed in the research sector. Kristin Danielsen, Executive Director of the Norwegian Research Council, emphasised that Norway will continue to cooperate closely with the UK in this area.

The panel participants concluded that Brexit will have wide-ranging consequences and that the difficult process of actually leaving the Union is a reminder of how integrated Europe has become.

The aftermath of the European elections

In the course of 2019, both the European Parliament and the European Commission were replaced. Erik O. Eriksen moderated ARENA's second event which was devoted to the election results and what we can expect from the new parliament.

ARENA's **Christopher Lord** introduced the election results, pointing to the fact that voter turnout grew for the first time since 1979, and that the seats in the European Parliament are more equally distributed across party groups. He also pointed to evidence that more people voted on European issues, rather than just national politics. A new cleavage between



Left: Erik O. Eriksen debating Brexit with Kristin Danielsen and Benedicte S. Nielsen. Right: Espen Barth Eide.



more or less European integration has however emerged, and these two counterparts will have to co-exist in the years to come.

Espen Barth Eide, member of the Norwegian Parliament and former Minister of Foreign Affairs (Labour Party), agreed with Lord's analysis and added that although the far right increased their number of seats, they will have limited political influence. Barth Eide also discussed the new Commission President, the Conservative Ursula van der Leyen. Member of the Norwegian Parliament (Conservative Party) and leader of the European Movement in Norway, Heidi Nordby Lunde, agreed with Barth Eide that the new Commission leader's agenda looks promising, and also fits well with what we might call

'Nordic values'.

Sten Inge Jørgensen, author and journalist in *Morgenbladet*, emphasised the importance for the EU of finding inner unity whilst also increasing its ability to defend itself from external threats in a period of growing authoritarianism. He also said that despite the many crises over the last decade, the EU's popularity is now higher than in 35 years.

Almost 150 people, including government and business representatives, civil society organisations, students and citizens, attended the events. Full video recordings are available on ARENA's website.

Panel debate on the future of Europe

High-level speakers discussed the EU's future and current patterns of differentiation, dominance and democracy at EU3D's first Future of Europe Debate in Rome.

The Future of Europe Debates are a series of public events organised by EU3D partners throughout Europe between 2019 and 2022. The first debate was hosted in tandem with EU3D's opening conference in Rome, and took place at LUISS University on 12 April. The panelists discussed Europe's challenges and possible ways for dealing with them.

In the panel were five distinguished members of EU3D's Advisory Board: Former Italian Prime Minister and Vice-President of the European Convention Giuliano Amato, Member of the European Parliament Marian Harkin, former Director General of the EU Council's Legal Service Jean-Claude Piris, Associate Professor at Columbia University Turkuler Isiksel and former president of the European University Institute and former advisor to the European Commission Yves Mény.

Piris emphasised that the current treaties offer enough flexibility for member states not willing to participate, for instance in Schengen. He warned against excessive differentiation and argued that in the current political climate in the EU, it is important to work to ensure coherence. Amato underlined the importance of mutual recognition as a means to foster integration. More authority is needed to prevent



Member of the European Parliament, Marian Harkin.

fragmentation, but he did not see a two-speed Europe as the solution.

Harkin argued that the reforms put in place by the EU need to be grounded in dialogues with citizens. 'We need to engage people; only then will they feel an ownership to the EU. We have to continue to explain to the citizens of Europe what the EU is, what it does and why it matters', she said.

EU3D Future of Europe Lecture Sir Ivan Rogers on Brexit and the future of Europe



John Erik Fossum introduced Sir Ivan Rogers before the lecture.

Sir Ivan Rogers, former UK ambassador to the EU held a public lecture on Brexit and the future of Europe as a part of the EU3D project in Oslo in September.

In this lecture, Sir Ivan Rogers, who is one of the UK's foremost experts on the EU and the issues arising from Brexit, provided his perspectives on Brexit and its implications for Europe. With his unique insight on the UK's relationship to the EU as former UK ambassador to the Union, he discussed how the UK ended up in this situation, which models of European integration might work for the future and how the EU can best manage the relationship with its neighborhood.

The lecture, which took place at the University of Oslo Law library was fully booked and attracted a broad audience, from among Norwegian political circles and public administration, diplomatic missions from EU countries, and media commentators. The event was the first in a series of lectures organised by the Horizon 2020-funded EU3D project – the Future of Europe lecture series. The EU3D Lectures on the Future of Europe aims to attract interest in differentiation and the Future of Europe debate from a broad audience and foster public debate, and will be hosted across Europe throughout 2019-2023. The event was also part of the official programme of the Norwegian research days (Forskningsdagene).

GLOBUS policy dialogue on the EU's changing relations with major powers

Is the liberal world order legitimate? The GLOBUS project hosted a policy dialogue in Brussels on 29 November addressing perspectives from the EU, Russia, India, China, Brazil, South Africa and the United States.

A number of scholars, policy makers and civil society representatives gathered at this policy dialogue organised by the Egmont Institute and the GLOBUS project. The aim of the event was to discuss the increasingly contested global norms and values. The EU is often considered a vanguard of a law based, liberal world order. The Common Foreign and Security Policy gained strength in parallel with the consolidation of this order after the end of the Cold War. But is the liberal order legitimate? Aiming to identify what might be viable reforms to the global order and the multilateral system, the seminar addressed perspectives from the EU itself, the US, and the BRICS countries. Key questions that were brought up during the event were: Is there evidence of common views? On which core principles could a viable multilateralism be rebuilt in order to resolve key global challenges such as migration, climate, armed conflict and poverty?

For the first panel, Philani Mthembu of the Institute for Global Dialogue in Pretoria discussed perspectives on multilateralism together with Farnanda Magnotta, from the Fundação Armando

Alvares Penteado in São Paulo and Shisbashis Chatterjee from Jadavpur University in Kolkata, India. The debate included topics such as the role of civil society in the multilateral system, new initiatives from BRICS in the support of plurality, and the benefits of distinguishing between different spatial dimensions of plurality in multilateralism.

Sergey Utkin from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), opened the second panel of the day, which analysed the perspectives of Russia, China and the United States. Kenneth Chan, from Hong Kong Baptist University, presented an analysis of the Chinese approach to multilateralism, explaining that the current multilateral order is Eurocentric and needs to be 'democratised'. The West projecting human rights and democracy as universal values is imperialism in disguise, according to the Chinese government. Nicolas Bouchet from the German Marshall Fund in Berlin, presented a historical overview of the American approach to multilateralism, highlighting in particular the tensions between unilateralism and multilateralism. He suggested that Trump's recent isolationist policies should be understood as a more extreme version of the unilateralist historical American opinion.

In the last panel, the speakers discussed what lessons might be drawn for the EU. Giovanni Grevi from the European Policy Centre, argued that the EU needs to adjust its approach to multilateralism and differentiate in its engagement with actors according



Philani Mthembu (Institute for Global Dialogue, Pretoria) presenting perspectives from South Africa.

to their specific assets. Alexandros Yannis from the European Union External Action Service spoke of the EU's ambition to move beyond power politics.

Helene Sjursen highlighted the centrality of multilateralism for the EU's foreign policy and asked if it is possible for the EU to be a global actor in a world without multilateralism. Based on GLOBUS' research, Sjursen suggested that the EU might consider an approach that is more sensitive to context with an aim to facilitate a sense of local ownership.

Ben Tonra, Professor at University College Dublin, wrapped up the event by highlighting three key lessons. First, that history matters for the different approaches to multilateralism. Second, the need for the EU to reflect on its own history whether it is anx-

ieties from a colonial past or internal disagreements. Thirdly, Europe needs to make its own strategic pivot based on its core values.

The EU will never be a strategic geopolitical actor in the way that nation states are. Rather, he argued, the EU should be true to its own core values, interests and nature.

GLOBUS student day on equal partnerships for sustainable development

ARENA and the GLOBUS project hosted a debate on the EU and partnerships for sustainable development at the University of Oslo Library on 24 October.

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes moderated the debate, with the participants Elin Lerum Boasson, Associate Professor, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo & CICERO Center for Climate Research; Kim Gabrielli, Executive Director, UN Global Compact Network Norway; and Marte Mørk, Deputy President, Norwegian Students' and Academics' International Assistance Fund (SAIH). The event was part of a series of student events hosted by GLOBUS partners all across Europe in 2019 and 2020.

In the opening introduction, Saltnes highlighted a number of ambiguities connected to the EU's proclaimed partnership with Africa. While the EU holds that it has a fruitful partnership with a broad selection of partners in the Global South, in practice beneficiary governments are prioritised in key processes such as human rights dialogue. Saltnes explained how the EU has taken a prominent role in advancing private-public partnerships for financing of sustainable development initiatives.

The panelists provided different perspectives on how partnerships for sustainable development could be established, and discussed whether such partnerships are the most effective way to achieve the sustainable development goals. Elin Lerum Boasson

argued that the EU essentially failed to get partners on board for their position at the Copenhagen climate summit in 2009. While the EU sought to get binding international regulations to reduce emissions, they had to adjust their approach. The 2015 Paris agreement had a bottom up approach, where states set their own targets for reduction of emissions. Even though it was presented as a success by the EU, it was more so a result of the EU changing its strategy and adapting its goals to those of its partners.

Marte Mørk from SAIH spoke about the importance of partnerships with marginalised groups. She noted that it can be difficult to create equal partnerships when there is also a donor-recipient relationship. One option is to focus on capacity-building within partner organisations and provide support to networks among local organisations who have a more equal standing.

Kim Gabrielli from UN Global Compact Network Norway, a corporate sustainability initiative set up by the UN, reflected on recent changes in the business sector and its role in contributing to sustainable development. In his view, the sustainable development goals are increasingly seen as a business opportunity that can leverage a positive effect on economic development and poverty reduction. He also noted that it is often difficult to set up trade partnerships with actors in countries with authoritative traits. Gabrielli argued that dialogue, not international regulations, is the most fruitful way to approach these challenges.

Fossum at European Parliament Former Members Association



Fossum gave a speech for the European Parliament Former Members Association. (Photo: EPFMA)

John Erik Fossum was invited to the European Parliament in Brussels to speak at the annual seminar of the European Parliament Former Members Association (EP FMA) on 11 December.

The EP FMA is an organisation that brings together more than 800 former Members of the European Parliament from all EU countries and across the political spectrum. The organisation's goal is to connect former MEP's with European citizens, policy makers and academics, and its annual seminar is an important part of this work.

The seminar was entitled 'The European Union and its Parliament in a Global Context', and Fossum gave a scholarly view on the European Parliament

(EP) as a core actor in the EU's actions, both externally and internally. Externally, the EP plays a central role through its programme of political conditionality, promoting human rights and democracy; internally it plays a central role for EU democratisation, through the special responsibility it has as the only directly elected EU body. Fossum pointed to the normative obligation that follows from labelling oneself a 'parliament', as the main institutional-constitutional embodiment of representative democracy. Parliaments are the mainstays of modern democracy.

The wide audience consisted of former and current MEPs, EP officials, journalists and university students. The full speech is available on ARENA's website.

Other outreach activities

Fossum, John Erik, ‘Configurations, Dynamics, and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance’, Symposium in Honour of Arthur’s 65th Birthday, Darmstadt, 27-28 May

- ‘The European Parliament Election – What’s Next?’, The EU delegation to Norway at Arendalsuka, 13 August
- ‘Dagen før dagen? Brexit’, Panel Debate on Brexit, Oslo, 30 October
- ‘Brexit. Hva er status og hva er mulige konsekvenser for Norge?’, Universitetet i Bergen, 24 April

Holst, Cathrine, ‘Ekspertene kommer. Om kunnskapsbasert politikk’, Utdanningsforbundet, Oslo, 7 June.

- ‘Ekspert i politikken’, Fagutvalget (Institute for Political Science, University of Oslo), 23 January
- ‘Ekspertkunnskap og gode samfunnsbeslutninger’, Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, 21 November

Lord, Christopher, ‘Presentation to the Defence Sub-Committee of the European Parliament on accountability and the Common Security and Defence Policy’, Hearing of the Defence Sub-Committee of the European Parliament, Brussels, 2 April



John Erik Fossum debating Brexit together with Kristin Haugevik (NUPI), Øivind Bratberg (ISV) and Guri Rosén.

- ‘Panel Debate on Brexit’, Nervous Societies Democracy in Europe, Literature House, Oslo, 8 April
- Saltnes, Johanne Døhlle, ‘EU development policy at a crossroads’, EU Delegation to Norway, Oslo, 29 September

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

Det er en myte at det er byråkratene som bestemmer i EU, Morten Egeberg, Aftenposten, 30 March

Brexit er en lærepenge, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv, 11 April

Habermas fyller 90 år. Samtidig er et nytt storverk ferdigstilt, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten, 17 June

Planeten brenner, men velgerne strømmer til demagogene, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten, 11 September

En reform i spagaten, Nicoline Frølich, Jarle Trondal, Joakim Caspersen and Ingvild Reymert, Khrono, 27 October

Fra fredsprosjekt til skjebnefellesskap, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten Viten, 3 December

Interviews based on own research

Fra krise til krise, Erik O. Eriksen and Helene Sjørusen, Apollon, 7 January

Bistand med bismak, Johanne Døhlie Saltnes, Apollon, 7 January

Brexit er typisk britisk, John Erik Fossum, forskning.no, 30 October

Planeten brenner, men velgerne strømmer til demagogene

Kronikk
Erik Oddvar Eriksen, professor og seniorrådgiver, ARENA Sentrum for Europaforskning

Utsveigene bekymrer europeparlamentet og de fleste landene. Blide statsministere og journalister har problemene og den politiske høytrykksveivene siden ikke drager som felleskapet.

Sentrum portretter åpent for helter ikke såklart som ikke alle reformer vil gi samme vits. Samtidig materialiserte og konkretiserte de økonomiske og politiske utfordringene og ferske data om klimautviklinger.

De utveigene står og faller sammen med de utveigene som har vært i fokus for de siste årene.

Ulla eller?
Populisme har lenge vært et begrep som brukes om utenlandske og utenlandske myndigheter som har politisk myndighet på det norske markedet. Det er enklere og raskere å snakke om utenlandske myndigheter enn å snakke om dem som har politisk myndighet på det norske markedet.

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Dagens credo er at en må lytte til folket. Men at folket kan ta feil, det har historien til fulle vist.

Det må påpekes. Dagens credo er at en må lytte til folket. Det som har skjedd på vei fra den første til den siste, er at det er ikke alle som har lyttet til folket. Det er derfor vi har rettsvesen og et krav om at politikere i bestemmte saker lytter på kansen.

Fra EØS-avtalen til Brexit
Dagens politiske overbevisning, med likhet og uoverensstemmelse, med demokrati og uoverensstemmelse, er at det er legitimt å uttrykke seg om politiske saker. Det er derfor vi har rettsvesen og et krav om at politikere i bestemmte saker lytter på kansen.

Å uttrykke seg om politiske saker er en del av demokratiet. Det er derfor vi har rettsvesen og et krav om at politikere i bestemmte saker lytter på kansen.

Erik O. Eriksen with an op-ed about European populism in the Norwegian Daily 'Aftenposten'

ARENA-direktør Erik Oddvar Eriksen: – Går vi ut av EØS, får vi revolusjon, Erik O. Eriksen, Uniformo, 14 November

Blogs and comments

Brazil's declining climate ambitions: A severe blow to global climate governance, Solveig Aamodt, Global Justice Blog, 20 March

Trafficking in human beings: A threat to European state security?, Vera Skjetne, Global Justice Blog, 30 July

Who is responsible for sustainable development?, Sigrid Jerpstad, Global Justice Blog, 23 September

Critique as an Opportunity for Legitimation: The Case of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, Claire Godet, Crossroads Europe Blog, 10 October

Why differentiated integration and disintegration will shape post-Brexit Europe, Jarle Trondal, Stefan Gänzle and Benjamin Leruth, LSE EUROPP Blog, 22 November

Is private finance a panacea for sustainable development?, Sunniva Hustad, Global Justice Blog, 19 December

News commentaries and expert opinions

Høyrepopulister har aldri stått sterkere, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 5 January

En trussel mot demokratiet, Jarle Trondal, Apollon [interview], 7 January

Frykter vellykket brexit, Erik O. Eriksen, Klassekampen [interview], 14 January

I morgen kan britene krasje ut av EU, John Erik Fossum, Vårt Land [interview], 14 January

Storbritannia står ovenfor viktigste politiske avgjørelse siden krigen, Erik O. Eriksen, NRK P1 Her og Nå [interview, Radio], 15 January

Brexit-siden skeptisk til økonomiadvarslene, Erik O. Eriksen, e24 [interview], 15 January

Gigantfusjon skaper hodebry i EU: Uro for kinesisk konkurranse, Jarle Trondal, e24 [interview], 20 January

EU elections: Six countries seen by six experts, John Erik Fossum, The Conversation [interview], 23 January

Parlamentsvalg i EU: - Jo mer uro i EU, jo mer usikkerhet her til lands, Erik O. Eriksen, ABC Nyheter [interview], 27 January



Morten Egeberg on the misconceptions of the Brexit debate in 'Aftenposten'.

Norsk professor i opprop for å berge EU i eksistensiell krise, John Erik Fossum, ABC Nyheter [interview], 11 March

Konflikten med Tyrkia kan avgjøre valget i Nederland, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagbladet [interview], 15 March

- Wilders har flyttet debatten drastisk til høyre, Erik O. Eriksen, Newshub NO [interview], 16 March

Dokument – EU 60 år, Hans-Jörg Trenz, Nationen [interview], 24 March

Tar fartskrangelen i EU med knusende ro, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten [interview], 24 March



ARENA MA student Sigrid Jerpstad won the UiO Sustainability Award for her MA thesis on the UN SDGs.

Kan gå mot eit meir oppdelt EU, Helene Sjørusen, Nationen [interview], 24 March

Vil ha ny kurs for Europa, Jarle Trondal, Aftenposten [interview], 25 March

Frykter nådeløs maktkamp, Erik O. Eriksen, NRK [interview], 29 March

Brexit, Erik O. Eriksen, NRK Dagsnytt 18 [radio interview], 29 March

Storbritannia forlater EU, uten å nevne EØS. – Det er skuffende og farlig for oss, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagbladet [interview], 29 March

Forholdet til EU i spill, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 19 April

Krever stans av EØS-midler og tiggere, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 6 May

Ein valuta med tillitsproblem, Asimina Michailidou, Dag og Tid [interview], 26 May

EU stanser gigantfusjon: - Dette kommer til å tjene Kina, Jarle Trondal, e24 [interview], 6 February

EU-ledere frykter svakt Storbritannia i brexitforhandlingene, Erik O. Eriksen. VG [interview], 9 June

Tiden renner ut for Brexit-fohandlingene: Ekspertter frykter et hardt brudd, John Erik Fossum and Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten [interview], 21 February

Norra politolog: finanskrisi ja populistid on Brexitist ohtlikumad, John Erik Fossum, Maalim Postimees [interview], 25 February

Hun satte Frankrike i brann og ble de gule vestenes helt. Nå har de gjort henne til et hatobjekt, Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten [interview], 5 March

Underhuset har stemt ned brexitavtalen for tredje gang, Erik O. Eriksen, VG [interview], 29 March

NO, NO, NO!, Erik O. Eriksen, VG [interview], 30 March

Voldelige machomenn er blitt tema i valget i Spania, Agustín Menéndez, Aftenposten [interview], 27 April



John Erik Fossum on populism in the Finnish online newspaper 'Maalim Postimees'.

Mobiliserer til Europa-makt, Erik O. Eriksen, Vårt Land [interview], 2 May

Kniver om å styre skuta, Christopher Lord, Klassekampen [interview], 27 May

Gjør opprør mot status quo i EU, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 28 May

Ble valgt på bakrommet, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 4 July

Kuttpolitikk frå Brussel har kosta Syriza veljarar, Asimina Michailidou, Klassekampen [interview], 6 July



Jarle Trondal published an article on post-Brexit Europe on the LSE European Politics and Policy blog.

Gresk «Kennedy-dynasti» ventes å overta makten i Hellas, Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten [interview], 7 July

Sigrid vant årets bærekraftoppgave – nå jobber hun for UD, Sigrid Jerpstad, Studenttorget.no [interview], 9 September

Var valget en finger til det etablerte?, John Erik Fossum, Aftenposten [interview], 15 September

Kritisk grenseplan, Christopher Lord, Klassekampen [interview], 2 October

Brexit får følger for Norge, John Erik Fossum, Klar Tale [interview], 10 October

Har planer om å styrke EUs globale innflytelse, Guri Rosén, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 10 October



Erik O. Eriksen interviewed by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation about Brexit.

På kanten av en brexitavtale: – Den kommer aldri til å gå gjennom i Parlamentet, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten [interview], 15 October

Flertall av briter vil fortsatt ut av EU, Erik O. Eriksen, VG [interview], 16 October

Brexit: Samarbeidsparti vil velte Johnsons avtale, Erik O. Eriksen, e24 [interview], 17 October

Tusk utelukker ikke Brexit-utsettelse, Erik O. Eriksen, VG [interview], 17 October

Trur ikkje det blir brexit, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 19 October



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 2019, the centre's main sources of external funding were the Research Council of Norway, the EU's Horizon 2020 programme, the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation.

Key figures 2019

Professors including research professors (work years)	5
Senior researchers and post docs (work years)	8
PhD fellows	9
MA students	10
Administrative staff	5
Research assistants	1
Total budget (NOK million)	26
External financing	64 %

The ARENA Board

Chair

Magnus Gulbrandsen

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

Board members

Ingvild Marheim Larsen

Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research

Asgeir Fløtre

Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation

Steinar Stjernø

Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences

Marit Eldholm

Espen D. H. Olsen

Staff representatives

Deputy members for staff representatives:

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes and Jørgen Bølstad

ARENA Management



ARENA Director

Prof. Erik O. Eriksen

Eriksen has been professor at the University of Tromsø and the University of Bergen, professor II at the Centre for the Study of Professions at Oslo University College, and is currently an adjunct professor at the University of Aalborg.

Eriksen's main research fields are political theory, public policy and European integration. His interest in legitimate rule has led to publications on democracy in the EU, governance and leadership, functions and limits of the state, deliberative democracy, trust, regional politics, security politics and the welfare state.



Administrative Director

Ida Hjelmesæth

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

Academic staff



Dr. Jørgen Bølstad

Research: Political economy, political psychology, democratic representation, quantitative methods, time series analysis.



Dr. Eva Krick

Research: Political theory, comparative politics, role of expertise in policy-making, decision-making, legitimacy, climate and energy policy



Dr. Andreas Eriksen

Research: Political theory, legitimacy, professional judgment, role moralities, normative cognitivism, public reason.



Prof. Christopher Lord

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



Prof. John Erik Fossum

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



Dr. Asimina Michailidou

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



Dr. Alexander Katsaitis

Research: Lobbying, interest groups, the European Parliament, pluralism, democracy, legitimacy



Dr. Espen D. H. Olsen

Research: European citizenship, EU integration, citizen deliberation, deliberative democracy, the Eurocrisis
Part-time researcher from September



Prof. Emeritus Johan P. Olsen

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



Kaja Meeg Valvatne

Research Assistant



Dr. Guri Rosén

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

Part-time researcher from September



Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

Research: The EU's development policy, the EU's foreign and security policy, sanctions



Prof. Helene Sjursen

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

Part-time



Prof. Tobias Bach

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



Prof. Hans-Jörg Trenz

Research: European public sphere and civil society, cultural and political sociology, migration and ethnic minorities, European civilisation and identity



Prof. Morten Egeberg

Research: European Commission, the relationship between the EU and the national levels, EU agencies and national executives



Prof. Jarle Trondal

Research: EU as a political system, administrative integration, EU/EEA and Norway, European Commission, EU committee governance



Prof. Cathrine Holst

Research: Political and feminist theory, expertise in the EU, gender equality policies, gender studies



Prof. Agustín José Menéndez

Research: Fundamental rights, legitimacy, EU constitutional theory, national vs. EU law



Prof. Simona Piattoni

Research: democratic governance, Committee of Regions, transformations in centre-periphery relations, EU integration, cohesion policy

PhD fellows



Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

PhD project: 'The EU in crisis: Implications for the Common Security and Defence Policy'



Trym Nohr Fjørtoft

PhD project: 'Expertise and democracy in non-majoritarian institutions'



Claire Godet

PhD project: 'How does the EU legitimacy crisis prevent the reform of its failed policies? The case of the Emissions Trading System'



Stine Hestvedt

PhD project: 'Experts in policymaking: The case of Norwegian public inquiry commissions'



Joris Melman

PhD project: 'Popular understandings of the legitimacy of the EU response to the financial crisis'



Jan Pesl

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



Anke S. Schwarzkopf

PhD project: 'The role of the European Union at the United Nations'



Helena Seibicke

PhD project: 'The European Women's Lobby: Advocacy in the EU's Discursive Opportunity Structure'

From April: Researcher on BENCHMARK (80%)



Johanna Strikwerda

PhD project: 'Pushing the boundaries of inter-governmentalism? The role of the Commission in the CFSP'

Guest researchers



Darragh Golden

ERC Postdoctoral Researcher, University College Dublin

Project: 'EU's new economic governance regime and the implications for the transport sector'
July-September



Hallvard Sandven

PhD candidate, Oxford University

Project: 'Legitimacy of border control' (GLOBUS)
August-May 2020



Katharina Meissner

Associate Professor, University of Vienna

Project: 'EU trade policy' (GLOBUS)
October-November

Administration



Mads A. Danielsen
Senior Executive Officer
Until August



Eli Melby
Higher Executive Officer



Marit Eldholm
PLATO Project Manager
Adviser



Geir Ove Kværk
GLOBUS and EU3D Project Manager
Senior Adviser



Ragnhild Grønning
Adviser

MA students Spring 2019



Thea Rugtevdø Eide

‘Changing Reliance on Academic Knowledge in Norwegian Policy Advice: A Study of Citation Patterns in Norwegian Public Inquiry Reports 1972-2017’

Supervisors: Cathrine Holst and Stine Hesstvedt



Sigrid Jerpstad

‘Who Should Bear the Burden? The EU’s Approach to Responsibility for the Sustainable Development Goals’

Supervisors: Johanne Døhlie Saltnes and Cathrine Holst



Simen Andreas Nefstad Grinden

‘Who Are Appointed to Public Commissions and Why? A Study of Four Public Commissions Relating to the Norwegian Police Service’

Supervisor: Cathrine Holst



Marte Lund Saga

‘Experts at Networking? The Constrained Influence of Experts in Norwegian Policy-Networks’

Supervisor: Cathrine Holst



Sunniva Unn Hustad

‘Financing the Future. Assessing the EU’s approach to financing the Sustainable Development Goals in light of global justice’

Supervisors: Johanne Døhlie Saltnes and Helene Sjørnsen



Vera Sofie Borgen Skjetne

‘The EU as Promoter of Global Gender Justice: Combating Trafficking in the Face of the “Migrant Crisis”’

Supervisors: Johanne Døhlie Saltnes and Cathrine Holst

MA students Autumn 2019



Zarifa Barkatullah

'The Role of EU Policy in Advancing Migrant Women's Labour Market Integration'

Supervisor: Asimina Michailidou



Lars Wibe Hagen

'Publishing for the Choir: British Centre-Left Justifications for European Integration in the Brexit Debate'

Supervisor: Asimina Michailidou



Andreas Bjørnbekk

'Civic and Ethnic Nationalism in European Union Identity Creation'

Supervisor: John Erik Fossum



Elisabeth Eike

'Digitalization and Democracy: Fake News, Disinformation and the EU'

Supervisor: Asimina Michailidou



Annual report 2015
ARENA Centre for European Studies

University of Oslo
P.O.Box 1143 Blindern
0318 Oslo
Phone: +47 22 85 87 00
Fax: +47 22 85 87 10
arena@arena.uio.no
www.arena.uio.no

© ARENA Centre for European Studies 2016

This publication can be downloaded from
www.arena.uio.no
or ordered by e-mail to arena@arena.uio.no

Graphic design: ARENA
Print: 07 Media AS Oslo
Photos © University of Oslo (unless otherwise specified)