



Navigating Uncertainty in Global Governance

Regional Policy Workshop

Tokyo, Wednesday 29 October 2025

Venue:

Delegation of the European Union to Japan, Europa House,
4 Chome-6-28 Minamiazabu, Minato City, Tokyo 106-0047, Japan.



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon Europe research and innovation action programme under grant agreement ID 101094394. Unless otherwise indicated, the views expressed are attributable only to the authors in a personal capacity and not to any institution with which they are associated, nor do they necessarily reflect the views or policy of the European Commission. For more information on the NAVIGATOR project, see <http://eunav.eu>

INTRODUCTION

Global governance is undergoing significant changes. Some are long in the making, with the emergence of private actors, club formats like G7/G20 and BRICS, and criticisms of inefficiencies of parts of the UN system. Others have emerged more recently, notably the increased rivalry between great powers and rising nationalist populist tendencies that devalues international cooperation. The NAVIGATOR project seeks to assess these changes and offer guidance on how the EU and international partners can prioritize and choose between a myriad of different governance arrangements, both global and regional. Using the idea of “search costs” as our point of departure, we explore areas of innovation and decline in global governance and focus in particular on regional experiences from Asia and on the specific challenges of health and digital governance, respectively.

The workshop is organized by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) in collaboration with the Delegation of the European Union to Japan and is part of the EU-funded NAVIGATOR project (eunav.eu), a global consortium of researchers examining how Europe should navigate the increasingly complex institutional spaces of global governance to advance a rules-based international order.

PROGRAMME

Time	Description
0830-0900	Registration
0900-0910	Welcome and introduction <i>Thomas Gnocchi</i> , Deputy Ambassador, Delegation of the EU to Japan <i>John Karlsrud</i> , Principal Investigator, NAVIGATOR, Research Professor, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
0910-0930	KEYNOTE: Search costs in global governance – navigating uncertainty We are transitioning from an international rules-based order to a dealmaking one. This requires powers to manage their search costs as they seek to maintain global governance in this new order. These search costs include identifying increased transaction, opportunity, and sunk costs in engaging public authorities and private actors. As these costs potentially rise, we need to recognize structural asymmetries in the control of information, security, financial, and production infrastructures. <i>Leonard Seabrooke</i> , Professor, Copenhagen Business School
0930-1045	Decline and innovation in global governance Using the keynote on search cost as a springboard, the panel will discuss areas of innovation and decline, how new formal and informal governance arrangements balance legitimacy and effectiveness, and what it may imply for the EU and international partners. Key questions include: - In what areas do we see decline, and where can we see promising areas of innovation? - How is effectiveness and legitimacy balanced across different governance arrangements? - What are key implications for EU and international partners? Chair: <i>Wrenn Y. Lindgren</i> , Senior Researcher, NUPI Participants: <i>Yoko Iwama</i> , Professor, GRIPS Tokyo <i>Ole Jacob Sending</i> , Research Professor, NUPI <i>Chiyuki Aoi</i> , Professor, The University of Tokyo
1045-1100	Coffee break
1100 - 1215	Regional perspectives on global governance Global governance varies across different regions, both in terms of the depth and scope of formal organizations and in terms of the role of informal governance arrangements. This panel zooms in on governance arrangements in Asia and how global governance arrangements are assessed from the perspective of Japan and partners in the region. Key questions include: - How do regional governance arrangements work? - What are main challenges and lessons learned? Chair: <i>Eleni Tsingou</i> , Professor, Copenhagen Business School Participants: <i>Akiko Fukushima</i> , Senior Fellow, The Tokyo Foundation <i>Wrenn Y. Lindgren</i> , Senior Researcher, NUPI

	<i>Hiroshi Nakanishi</i> , Professor, Kyoto University <i>Ayako Kobayashi</i> , Associate Professor, Sophia University
1215-1315	Buffet Lunch
1315-1430	Global digital governance: defending a free and open Internet in a vast regime complex The global governance of digital technologies is characterized by a cross-cutting and multi-layered regime complex that touches on most other policy areas. As such, efforts to both promote and undermine the current global order occurs across a dizzying range of venues and organizations. With major Western states reconsidering their global engagements and commitment to a free and open internet, questions arise over where actors like the EU and Japan ought to place their efforts to prevent digital technologies becoming a vehicle for authoritarian interests. Chair: <i>Peter Fatelnig</i>, Minister Counsellor for Digital Economy Policy, Delegation of the EU to Japan Participants: <i>Eneken Tikk</i>, Senior Researcher, Tallinn Institute of Technology <i>Mihoko Matsubara</i>, Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT Corporation <i>Eleni Tsingou</i>, Professor, Copenhagen Business School <i>Dai Mochinaga</i>, Associate Professor, Shibaura Institute of Technology
1430-1445	Coffee break
1445-1600	Global Health Governance – Restructure or Reform? The system of global health governance is facing its biggest funding crisis in decades, as major donors are abandoning multilateral health structures or scaling back financial commitments. This takes place against escalating global health threats, including the resurgence of infectious diseases and the rise of non-communicable diseases. How can major global health donors, like Japan and Europe, respond to the changed global health landscape? This panel will take stock of recent developments and transformations in global health governance and discuss the prospects for strengthening global health amidst multi-faceted challenges. Chair: <i>Leonard Seabrooke</i>, Professor, Copenhagen Business School Participants: <i>Alexander Kentikelenis</i>, Professor, Bocconi University <i>Yasushi Katsuma</i>, Professor, Waseda University <i>Kayo Takuma</i>, Professor, Keio University <i>Ayako Takemi</i>, Associate Professor, The University of Tokyo
1600-1630	Concluding remarks
1630-1800	Reception hosted by the Delegation of the European Union to Japan

BIOGRAPHIES



Chiyuki Aoi is Professor of International Security at the University of Tokyo and Director of the Strategic Communications Education and Research Unit (SCERU), established with support from the EU. She serves on the Editorial Board of Defence Strategic Communications, the official journal of the NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence. Dr. Aoi lectures in the Postgraduate Certificate Programme for Strategic Communications practitioners organized by the Symposium Institute for Strategic Communications (London). In 2018, she was appointed to the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities under the Shinzo Abe Cabinet. Her recent publications include “The Indo-Pacific, Geopolitics, and Strategic Communications: Construction of the Indo-Pacific,” in Defence Strategic Communications, Vol. 14 (Riga: NATO SC COE, Spring 2024).



Peter Fatelnig is the Minister-Counsellor for Digital Economy Policy at the Delegation of the European Union to Japan, in Tokyo. Digital economy policy is a top-priority in EU-Japan relations. His work is instrumental in developing the Digital Partnership Agreement and drives the conversation on key European policies such as the Digital Services Act, on AI, on data flows and cyber. Prior to his current role, from 2018 to 2023, Peter managed the digital economy portfolio at the Delegation of the European Union to the United States, which includes the Trade & Technology Council. Before joining the European foreign service, Peter was a senior manager at the European Commission where he started in 1998.



Akiko Fukushima is currently a Senior Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation, Japan with a Doctoral degree from Osaka University and M.A. from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. Her career includes being Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University and Director of Policy Studies at the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA). Her publications include Japanese Foreign Policy: The Emerging Logic of Multilateralism (1999) by MacMillan and “Multilateralism Recalibrated,” in Postwar Japan (CSIS 2017). She has contributed chapters to edited volumes including “A New Logic of Multilateralism on Demand” in The Palgrave Handbook of Diplomatic Reform and Innovation (2023).



Thomas Gnocchi is the Deputy Head of the EU Delegation in Tokyo. He holds experience as the Head of the EU Office to Hong Kong and Macao (2020-2024), as Deputy Head of Division for Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, and Deputy Head of Division for Afghanistan and Pakistan in the European External Action Service in Brussels. He served as Deputy Head of Office and Head of the Political, Economic and European Integration Section at the EU Office in Kosovo between 2012 and 2017 and as Head of the Political and Information Section at the Delegation of the European Union to Serbia between 2008 and 2012. Between 2003 and 2008, he worked at the European Commission in Brussels as desk officer for a number of Asian countries including Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, Timor Leste and Vietnam.



Yoko Iwama is Professor of National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS). She is also the director of Security and Strategy Program (SSP) at GRIPS. She graduated from Kyoto University in 1986 and earned her PhD in Law at the University. She joined GRIPS in 2000 and was appointed Professor in 2009. Her publications include “Joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty: Deterrence, Non-Proliferation and the American Alliance” (eds. John Baylis and Yoko Iwama, Routledge 2018); “The Realities of Nuclear Sharing: NATO’s Experience and Japan” (ed. Yoko Iwama, Shinzansha, 2023 in Japanese). She received the 2022 Inoki Masamichi Prize of Japan Society for Security Studies for her book “The 1968 Global Nuclear Order and West Germany” (Yuhikaku, 2021 in Japanese).



John Karlsrud is Research Professor at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. He works on peacekeeping as well as global governance more broadly. He is the the Principal Investigator (PI) of NAVIGATOR, a large-scale Horizon Europe project exploring changes in global cooperation across a range of issues, the PI of the UN Peace Operations Programme, financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Strengthening Critical Infrastructure Governance for Resilience and Security (INFRAPOL), financed by the Research Council of Norway. He has been a Fulbright Scholar at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, a visiting fellow at the International Peace Institute and a visiting fellow at the European University Institute.



Yasushi Katsuma is Professor of International Studies Program in the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies (GSAPS) at Waseda University, while serving as a member of the University’s Board of Trustees. At the National Center for Global Health & Medicine (NCGM), Japan, he is Director of the Department of Global Health Affairs & Governance in the Institute for Global Health Policy Research (iGHP). At Vietnam-Japan University (VJU) in Hanoi, he is Professor and Co-Director of the Master’s Program in Global Leadership. At the United Nations University Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability (UNU-IAS), he is Visiting Professor.



Alexander Kentikelenis is Professor of Political Economy and Sociology and Director of the PhD Program in Social and Political Sciences at Bocconi University in Milan. A leading scholar of global governance, he studies how international cooperation is sustained and the societal consequences of globally devised policies. He has published three books and more than fifty award-winning articles. His research has attracted wide coverage in major international media outlets and informed debates in parliaments and international organizations.



Ayako Kobayashi is Associate Professor of the Faculty of Global Studies, Sophia University, in Tokyo, Japan. She is interested in the nexus between international and local dynamics in peace and security. Her projects include critical analysis of the protection of civilians in armed conflict, humanitarian institutions in the global south, and humanitarian disarmament. Prior to joining Sophia University, she worked both in academia and policy practice, including researching at Harvard Kennedy School, USA, and serving for the Government of Japan in Tokyo and Sudan. She holds a bachelor's degree from Sophia University, and a master's degree and Ph.D. from Hitotsubashi University, Japan.



Wrenn Yennie Lindgren is a Senior Research Fellow and Head of Center for Asian Research at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), as well as an Associate Research Fellow at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI). Her research focuses on international relations in East Asia and the Indo-Pacific, foreign policy legitimization, the politics and foreign policy of Japan, traditional and non-traditional security issues and Asia-Arctic diplomacy. Wrenn holds a PhD in International Relations from Stockholm University and was a Japan Foundation Fellow at Meiji University and a visiting fellow at Waseda University's Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies (GSAPS). Prior to joining NUPI in 2013, she held research positions at the Centre for Asian Security Studies at the Norwegian Institute of Defense Studies (IFS), United Nations University-Tokyo, the U.S. Embassy-Tokyo and the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, CA.



Mihoko Matsubara is Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT, Inc., Tokyo, being responsible for cybersecurity thought leadership. She worked at the Japanese Ministry of Defense before her MA at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies on Fulbright. Prior to joining NTT, she served as Vice President and Public Sector Chief Security Officer for the Asia-Pacific region at Palo Alto Networks. She has published a book on cybersecurity for business leaders and another one on cyberwar in Ukraine, and both won an award. Her most recent and third book was just published in September 2025, and it analyzes resilience lessons of Ukrainian critical infrastructure companies. She is Associate Fellow for Cyber at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and Non-resident Fellow, National Bureau of Asian Research.



Dai Mochinaga is an Associate Professor at Shibaura Institute of Technology. Formerly with Mitsubishi Research Institute and JPCERT/CC, he specializes in global cybersecurity, technology policy, and regulation, providing cross-issue analysis at the nexus of technology and governance. He has advised the Japanese government on cybersecurity policy, including infrastructure protection, standards, and technology development, and recently testified before the House of Councillors Cabinet Committee on Japan's Active Cyber Defense Act. A computer scientist, his research covers network measurement, security, and international security. He earned his doctoral degree in computer science from Waseda University.



Hiroshi Nakanishi is a political scientist at the Graduate School of Government, Kyoto University. He specializes in international history of the twentieth century international relations methodology and Japanese foreign and security policy. He published widely on the international affairs and was awarded the fourth Yomiuri-Yoshino Sakuzo prize. During 2014-16 he served as President of the Japan Association of International Relations and in 2022 he served for two governmental commissions as member of the Advisory Panel to Comprehensively Discuss Defense Capabilities as National Strength of the Cabinet Office and as chairperson of the Advisory Panel on the revision of Development Cooperation Charter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which led to the National Security Strategy in 2022 and Development Cooperation Charter in 2023.



Leonard Seabrooke is Professor of International Political Economy and Economic Sociology at Copenhagen Business School, where he leads the Organization, Markets and Governance group and chairs the Ethics Council. He is also Research Professor at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. An interdisciplinary scholar, he has published widely across International Relations, Political Economy, Sociology, and Organization Studies. He is a former co-editor of *International Studies Quarterly* and *Review of International Political Economy*, and has secured major funding, including multiple EC and ERC grants. He also advises on global publishing rankings for the Chartered Association of Business Schools.



Ole Jacob Sending is Research Professor and leads the Center for Geopolitics at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). He served as Director of Research at NUPI from 2012 until 2023. His research focuses on the geopolitical dimensions of global governance arrangements. He has been Senior Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visiting scholar at Stanford University and at UC Berkeley. In 2022-2023, he chaired the Norwegian Government's Independent Expert Group on Development Assistance.



Ayako Takemi is an associate professor at the Research Center for Advanced Science and Technology at the University of Tokyo, where she leads the Global Consensus Making Policy lab. Her research addresses global coordination development, consensus building, and implementation to address transnational issues, in particular, global health policy and health-security. In addition, Dr. Takemi assesses policies to strengthen the foundation of science and technology capabilities with a focus on enhancing economic security. These are all areas in which Dr. Takemi is strongly convinced that U.S.-Japan cooperation and collaboration are becoming even more crucial.



Kayo Takuma is a professor at Keio University in the Faculty of Law. Her research interest is global health governance's origin, evolution, and challenges, with a focus on its relationship with the changing international political order. In this regard, she has been engaged in several projects, such as a comparative study on G7 countries' contribution to the implementation of the International Health Regulations and health cooperation in Asia. She received an M.A. and Ph.D. from University of Tokyo.



Eneken Tikk conducts research on strategic stability, cybersecurity governance, peaceful settlement of international disputes and responsible state behavior. She is leading the Security Governance pillar in Meta's Security Policy Team since July 2022. Eneken is part of research projects at the Institute of Software Sciences at Tallinn University of Technology, and the Erik Castrén Institute of the University of Helsinki. Tikk serves as Member of the International Advisory Board of the ICT for Peace Foundation. Previously, she held the position of Senior Fellow for Cyber Security at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and was a member of the Estonian delegation in the UN Group of Governmental Experts (2012-2013, 2014-2015 and 2016-2017).



Eleni Tsingou is Professor of International Political Economy at the Copenhagen Business School. She studies transnational governance, with a recurrent focus on financial governance and the role of expert networks. Empirically, her work examines financial policy networks and compliance practices and anti-money laundering. Her work has been published in *Global Networks*, *New Political Economy*, *Policy & Society*, *Public Administration* and *Review of International Political Economy* among others. As part of the NAVIGATOR project, she is developing work on the governance of cross-border financial flows.

ABOUT NAVIGATOR

The EU Navigating Multilateral Cooperation (NAVIGATOR)

How should the EU navigate the increasingly complex - and conflict-laden - institutional spaces of global governance to advance a rules-based international order? And what factors should be emphasized when considering which institutions to strengthen, which to reform, and which to by-pass when revitalising multilateralism?

NAVIGATOR's main objective is to answer these questions and deliver a ready-to-use "search mechanism" and associated pathways of action that the EU and its member states can use as it seeks to strengthen a rules-based international order. To achieve this, NAVIGATOR comprises a strong, global and inter-disciplinary team of researchers who explores institutional variation on six policy issues – climate change, digitalisation, finance/tax, health, migration and security – to identify what institutional mixes that enables the EU to have optimal impact in a given policy issue. We explore variation in formality (formal to informal), accessibility (open to closed), and normativity (expressed purpose is technical to openly normative). Drawing on these data and complementing these with content analysis, social network analysis, semi-structured interviews and European and global surveys, NAVIGATOR develops a "search mechanism" that allows the EU and member states to compare strengths and weaknesses of existing multilateral organizations, determine which can be reformed and which are too costly to reform, identify and assess alternatives, and, on this basis, develop action strategies to reform multilateralism. NAVIGATOR will be very relevant to the work programme, as it will assess the effectiveness of multilateral institutions and arrangements; identify the optimal pathways of action of EU support to multilateral, minilateral, private and public-private initiatives to further global governance in a given policy domain, and provide recommendations for EU engagement strategies in the context of the war in Ukraine, threats of nationalism and anti-EU populism.



NAVIGATOR