

LOST IN TRANSLATION

The Role of Professionals in the Governance of
Demographic Change in the European Union

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Abstract

This thesis studies the governance of demographic change in the EU. Specifically, it investigates the role of external actors in shaping policy-responses at the European level.

To address the combined complexity of the political process, the case, and the expert community, this thesis applies a combination of network analysis and semi-structured interviews.

“The demographic community of experts form a core that successfully introduced ideas to the socially oriented European Commission (EC) services. Additionally, the findings of the thesis show that the political responses to the recent financial crisis shifted internal dynamics within the EC, favoring the economics and finance service. The resulting agenda setting power constrained the possibility to introduce interventionist ideas into the policy-process as the narrowed discursive space now necessitates a framing of solutions in accordance to a supply-side oriented paradigm. By implication, expert advice needed to be re-framed and adapted to the dominant discourse, resulting in the proposed life-course approach to be “lost in translation”.

Accordingly, the governance of demographic change in Europe is centered on the issue of pensions. Indeed, the pension systems in most Member States have become more sustainable economically. However, the adequacy dimension has been neglected, and broader approaches to the governance challenge have become marginalized.

This is an important finding as the EU’s economic and geopolitical prospects are interconnected to the Union’s ability to adapt to a changing demographic structure, preventing labor-shortages and guaranteeing social cohesion.

Further, the results point towards structural problems in the EU political setting to address looming crises on a more general level. It is, however, in the context of these *slow-burning crises* that external experts can provide for novel ideas. The thus shown inability of the Union services to use this input efficiently raises questions about the adequacy of the institutional processes, thus questioning the legitimacy of the Union to effectively address European problems.

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List of Abbreviations

AWG: Ageing Working Group

CED: Barcelona Centre for Demographic Studies

CEDEFOP: European Centre for the Development Vocational Training

DG ECFIN: Directorate General Economic and Financial Affairs

DG EMPL: Directorate General Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion

DG HOME: Directorate General Migration and Home Affairs

EC: European Commission

ECB: European Central Bank

EP: European Parliament

EU: European Union

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

INED: French Institute for Demographic Studies

IPE: International Political Economy

KCMD: Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography

MPI: Migration Policy Institute

MPIDR: Max-Planck Institute For Demographic Research

MS: Member States

NIDI: Dutch Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

RI: Research Institute

SG: Secretary General of the European Commission

SIP: Social Investment Package

SNA: Social Network Analysis

SPC: Social Protection Committee

UNECE: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

VID: Vienna Institute on Demography

Introduction

How can we understand power without disregarding neither structure nor agency? How do we objectively address and analyze questions of power? How do we measure power? These have been enduring questions in the study of the international political economy (IPE). Recently, the relational sociology approach has gained prominence in introducing a novel methodology to the study of power in transnational governance (see Carroll & Carson, 2003; Chwiero, 2014; Dezalay & Garth, 1996; Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2012; Fourcade, 2006; Gracia & Oats, 2012; Henriksen & Seabrooke, 2015; O'Mahoney & Sturdy, 2016; Paterson, Hoffmann, Betsill, & Bernstein, 2014; Quack, 2007; Ron, 2016; Seabrooke & Tsingou, 2015, 2016; Thistlethwaite & Paterson, 2016; Tsingou, 2014). However, the literature has continued to apply a narrow focus on transnational environments characterized by high rule ambiguity, distributed agency, and the absence of clearly defined authorities. That is, the *hitherto* scholarship has applied the framework of relational sociology to cases of transnational *thin* institutional environments.

In doing so, much of the literature has focused on governance challenges extending beyond political and business cycles, referred to as *slow-burning crises*. In such contexts, it has been argued that issue professionals engage in competitive struggles over problem definitions and on how to address solutions (Seabrooke & Tsingou, 2016, pp. 71–72). Examples include the study of sustainability accounting (Thistlethwaite & Paterson, 2016), transnational advocacy networks in global battles for tax justice (Seabrooke & Wigan, 2013), and transnational law-making in the context of commercial and corporate law (Quack, 2007). Additionally, the case of demographic change has started to attract scholarly attention in a context of issue distinctions within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Seabrooke & Tsingou, 2015), and in the context of competitive struggles over the question of how low fertility levels should be addressed in industrialized countries (Seabrooke & Tsingou, 2016).

This thesis extends on the research on demographic change as a slow-burning crisis, investigating it in a novel context of European Union (EU) governance. Thereby, we adopt the above outlined approach to a *thick* institutional environment, thus contributing to the literature of relational sociology within the study of IPE by extending the approach to a fundamentally different institutional setting. In doing so, we aim to highlight how *thick* institutional structures influence, constrain, and empower professionals in defining issues and how they should be treated.

The combined processes of low-fertility and demographic ageing are projected to cause profound challenges to the European welfare states, economic growth, and global competitiveness (European Commission, 2006b). The most recent Demography Report released by the EU (2015) quantifies the governance challenge: Whereas combined increases in the working-age population and productivity of around 1% each resulted in approximately 2 % annual GDP growth for the EU-28 Member States before the financial crisis (2008), the demographic transition is projected to result in a decreasing workforce from 2022 onwards, necessitating productivity growth levels to increase to approximately 2.5 % annually to maintain the pre-crisis GDP growth levels – a scenario that seems unlikely given the fact that the so-called “New Economy” has yet to translate into increased productivity growth (Gordon, 2000), and that current EU forecasts project a maximum growth of 1 % by 2018 (European Commission, 2017b). With the share of people outside of the working age population rising, and low fertility levels projected to last, the total age dependency ratio is projected to increase from 63 % in 2010 to 95 % by 2060 (European Commission, 2012c). Hence, fewer working-age people will have to provide for increasing numbers of people outside of the workforce, while at the same time social expenditure in the areas of health and care will increase, raising questions about inter-generational justice and social cohesion (European Commission, 2014).

Proposed policy solutions have focused on ways to increase the size of the working-age population by raising the retirement age; to increase employment rates; to boost productivity growth through large-scale investments in human capital and education; to create child-friendly environments that allow young people to get the number of children they want; and to increase the levels of immigration (European Commission, 2007a). Thus, the governance challenge is associated with high levels of issue ambiguity and uncertainty. This opens up for discursive spaces, allowing experts to engage in competitive struggles over issue control. This leads us to the following research question:

Who exercises issue control over the governance of demographic change in the EU?

With the above outline in mind, this thesis seeks to fulfill a two-fold purpose: First, a theoretical dimension, applying the theoretical approach to a different institutional environment than what has previously been investigated. Second, a practical dimension, highlighting the governance structures surrounding the case of demographic change in the EU, and adding to recent literature on how to restore legitimacy in EU governance (see e.g. Schmidt, 2013, 2016).

In seeking to fulfill this two-fold purpose, the following sub-questions need to be addressed:

- How does the thick institutional environment affect the capacity of external experts to exercise issue control?
- How do internal dynamics within the EU institutions affect the governance of demographic change in the EU?
- How does the governance process relate to larger questions about the EU's legitimacy?

In order to answer the above questions, a mixed method approach is applied. The chosen approach seeks to integrate a quantitative social network analysis (SNA) with qualitative semi-structured interviews with key individuals identified from the SNA. The former is used to map the objective structure of the field and to identify strategically positioned actors, while the latter is used to underpin the quantitative structural findings with an agency-centered qualitative analysis. The thus chosen approach follows the Bourdieusian tradition of extensive empirical data collection (Gartman, 2013). The SNA identified 856 individuals connected through 4,569 affiliations based on common participation in events and organizational affiliations. This resulted in interviews with ten individuals including both external actors and key EU-officials.

A key contribution of this thesis is that it combines the study of fields with the study of social networks, thereby highlighting both differences between actors (i.e. fields) and similarities of actors (i.e. SNA). In doing so, we aim to contribute to a better understanding of how one of the key long-term policy-challenges is being addressed by the EU. The significance of the governance challenge relates to the EU's future prospects as a dynamic and thriving economic powerhouse, thereby ensuring that the Union continues to be a dominant global player. Additionally, the governance challenge is inherently political as the choice of policy options is embedded in personal values and world-views of decision-makers and the public at large (May, 2005, p. 832). Furthermore, research has often focused on interest group behavior in cases where big business has captured the regulatory process. Thus, another substantive contribution of this research is to highlight how expert engagement can translate into policy solutions in situations in which capture from the private sector is unlikely as financial rewards in the case at hand are low and far in the future. Hence, we respond to the call by Young (2012, p. 683) to look beyond cases which favor the "popular narrative"¹.

¹ Young's call was made in relation to international financial regulation. However, we argue that it is important to look beyond cases of "capture" at a more general level in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of interest group and expert involvement in governance processes.

The thesis proceeds as follows: First, paying respect to the complexity of the methodological framework applied and the case at hand, the next section provides for a conceptualization of power. It is important to devote a freestanding section on this central concept. All too often, power is applied in a rather diffuse sense, marginalizing the multi-faceted nature of the concept, and instead focusing on singular approaches, resulting in incomplete understandings of the complexity of the issue at hand (O'Mahoney & Sturdy, 2015). Second, the Bourdeusian tradition for the study of social phenomena is introduced. Here, it is argued that structure and agency are best understood as conditioning forces. This discussion leads us to define power as relational and multi-faceted which is best studied through the application of the concepts of *fields*, *habitus*, and *species of capital*. An extensive literature review of the relational sociology approach in the field of IPE is conducted, highlighting key concepts and developments that will subsequently steer the analysis and discussion of the case. The third section outlines the research design and methodology, addressing fundamentals of network theory including the ubiquitous question of boundary setting, arguing for a demand-driven nominalist approach. Additionally, the section provides for a short discussion about the chosen approach to qualitative data collection, highlighting the added value of semi-structured interviews to uncover the logics of the demographic field and "the rules of the game".

As a final section before the analysis, an extensive review of EU produced output in the area of demographic change is provided, making the case for a renewed momentum in the governance of the topic after the release of the *2005 Green Paper on Demography*. Additionally, this section serves to highlight the complexity, issue-ambiguity, and sensitivity of the demographic challenge when addressed in a political context. Fifth, the quantitative results are presented, highlighting the network attributes, the role of central external and internal actors, and the formation of community structures through the application of a *Louvain* cluster analysis. Hence, this section serves to uncover the objective field of relations between actors, highlighting similarities and differences at the individual and group level.

Sixth, the qualitative underpinning to the SNA is used with a two-fold purpose in mind: It serves as a robustness test for the quantitative network thus identified, and it is analyzed with the aim to uncover differing narratives of key individuals internal and external to the governance process. In doing so, we seek to establish what forms of capital are recognized as prestigious and valued by decision-makers. That is, the section seeks to identify attributes that "make" an actor powerful. Furthermore, the qualitative data are used to assess institutional dynamics within the EU, providing the basis to discuss the implications of a *thick* institutional environment in the subsequent section.

This marks the beginning of the discussion in which the quantitative and qualitative results are brought together. Utilizing Schmidt's (2013) work on legitimacy, we discuss how the findings on expert involvement and institutional dynamics relate to broader concerns about the EU's perceived legitimacy. Finally, a conclusion will sum up the main findings and provide for an outlook on future research.

Theoretical Underpinning

Conceptualizing Power

The study of issue control in political processes is inherently linked to the study of power. Who has the power to define a problem, and what are the characteristics that allow for such exercise? The study of power has been at the heart of inquiries into the understanding of how social order works from the very start of what we can consider political science (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009, p.1). And yet, the concept of power is today as diffuse and fragmented as ever. With debates focusing on distinctions between 'power over' versus 'power to' – that is, power as a tool of domination, and power as a concept of empowerment respectively – the only agreement, arguably, is that power is an “essentially contested” concept as it was famously described by Lukes (1974, p. 9). This contestation, it can be argued, results from the way in which conceptions of power are embedded in wider world views: Is emphasis placed upon structure as a constraining or enabling feature respectively, or does one instead hold a view that the individual ultimately is free to act in ways that are consistent with its objective interests irrespective of the institutional and societal structures in which (s)he is embedded? Power is therefore one of the ubiquitous concepts in political science and can be described as a large-order concept (Gerring, 2012, pp. 114 & 126); it is a latent concept that is not directly observable in reality (Gerring, 2012, p. 157). The operationalization – that is, the measurement – of power has therefore been one of the enduring challenges in the social sciences.

At this point we will abstain from a comprehensive evaluation of such debates given the limited scope of this thesis. A review of the most significant developments in the field is, however, needed to give direction to our research. All too often, studies of political processes use power in a rather diffuse sense without defining explicitly what is meant by the concept. Unclear terminology and concept definition is a general unfortunate tendency within the social sciences (Gerring, 2012, p. 113). By providing a brief review of the evolution of the field, we seek to overcome this shortcoming. This is needed due to the complexity of the methodology applied and the case at hand. A clear conceptualization of power helps to understand the relational dynamics and complex

institutional settings even when these are latent and not directly observable. We will argue that the structure-agency debate is the defining dividing line of competing approaches to the concept of power, and that this ontological dichotomy is of rather limited value. Instead, we align ourselves with a concept based on the idea that agency is conditioned by structure, and that power in the context of political processes arises primarily as a function of being recognized with the *Deutungshoheit*, that is, being a bearer of expertise with an authoritative claim to knowledge. Power, hence, is in our view best understood as a relational value. Importantly, this does not exclude the possibility that materialistic forms of power do play a role. Thus, a relational conception of power is best equipped to capture the multiple facades of power that drive political processes.

The concept of power itself is subject to professional struggle over its meaning and analytical definition, and is hence constantly in flux. As Ulrich Beck notes in his work on a new global political economy, “the foundations and basic concepts of power and domination [...] are undergoing a transformation” (Beck, 2005, p. xvii). Power is endemic to the constitution of the field of international political economy (IPE), but its roots can be traced back much longer: Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532) dealt extensively with the question of how to apply power most efficiently from the perspective of a totalitarian leader, and Hobbes based his social contract theory on a strictly materialistic conception of the exercise of power in *Leviathan* (1651). The history of power within the field of IPE is slightly more recent: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848) famously conceptualized the state and the economy as the outcome of power relations between the capitalists and the working class, thereby bringing power “back in” to the field of political economy. In their view, “political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing the other” (Marx & Engels, 1969, p. 19).

Numerous other scholars have placed power at the center of their work, mentioning all of them clearly is beyond the scope of this thesis and the analytical contribution for our purposes would be limited (see Clegg & Haugaard, 2009 and Clegg, 1989 for an extensive review). One scholar that deserves mentioning is, however, Max Weber who introduced the idea of legitimate power by distinguishing between authority and violence (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009, p. 16; Weber, 1978[1925]). This distinction is to our understanding crucial as it does away with negative connotations of power *a priori* as it is often associated with the Marxian tradition, and places the concept in a transitive category: To the Weberian mind, power is not associated with class but a capacity that may or may not translate into influence (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009, p. 36). One

important implication of this approach to power is that it redirects focus *inter alia* on the “continuous struggle over values and norms” (ibid., p. 14) within societies which often result in unintended consequences (Blyth, 2001, p. 4). Writing in the inter-war period, Max Weber’s conception of power has persistently been among the most dominant ever since, and inspired subsequent scholarship to fill remaining gaps within his approach.

The post-war period saw a renewed interest in the conception of power, which significantly contributed to our understanding of the concept. This scholarship can be attributed two main aims: First, to operationalize the conception of power, one strand of scholarship focused on increasing the analytical sharpness of the concept. The practical purpose of such approaches is the attempt to quantify power. Robert Dahl’s work is arguably among the most prominent of this strand. The problem of quantification of power is one that we will return to in the methodology section. The second aim of post-WWII scholarship was to broaden the scope of what was understood by power. This is exemplified by the contributions of Bachrach & Baratz (1962) and Lukes (1974), adding the second and third faces of power to Robert Dahl’s work. Both approaches seek to go beyond the resource-based conceptualizations of power associated with Dahl, introducing what could be labeled the power of process (Bachrach & Baratz) and the power of meaning (Lukes), respectively. The threefold distinction between power of resources, power of process, and power of meaning is borrowed from O’Mahoney & Sturdy (2015). The subsequent section will provide for a short discussion of the three concepts with a special emphasis on the underlying structure-agency debate before elaborating on the usefulness of these concepts for our purposes.

The significance of Robert Dahl’s work on power is twofold: First, he introduces a formal definition of power as a situation in which “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Dahl, 1957, pp. 202-203). In doing so, a concept of power is presented which is supposed to capture the essentials of the diverse set of definitions employed in the field by establishing a causal view of power (Clegg, 1989, pp. 46 & 52). Power, hence, is in Dahl’s view a relation between actors based on the source, means, amount, and scope of power (Dahl, 1957, p. 203). Actors are not only individuals but include “other human aggregates” such as organizations, groups etc. However, power is always associated with the agency of actors rather than with the structure at large; it is an agency concept of power (Clegg, 1989, pp. 51 & 88). The extent to which power is exercised depends on the unequal distribution of resources among actors including financial resources, popularity, control over jobs, and control over information, and on the political skill of actors (Clegg, 1989, p. 56) – hence the label as the resource-based view of

power. The second contribution of Dahl's work is his aim to quantify power, making it possible to study power in a comparative context: "The main problem, however, is not to determine the existence of power but to make comparisons" (Dahl, 1957, p. 205). Thereby, he places center-stage a problem that later has been echoed by *inter alia* Hojnacki et al. (2012). Given the ambition of such a project, it is no surprise that the attempt is constrained by first and foremost extensive data collection problems which make the operationalization of his approach extremely difficult. Moreover, Dahl's approach is limited to situations in which power is exercised over a prolonged period in repeated instances (or games), which severely limits its range of applications.

Moving beyond a one-dimensional focus on the exercise of power, Bachrach and Baratz add a second "face" to Dahl's definition: "Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 948). Research focus, hence, shifts from formal – and thus measurable – decision-making to an investigation into the area of issues that were not taken up in the political process; the investigation of *non-issues*. The underlying idea is that political organizations, just as much as any other organization, exhibit what is called a *mobilization of bias*; decision-making is skewed towards issues that are relatively less controversial among its members (ibid., p. 949). Investigating non-issues, then, can reveal the exercise of real power in the political process by exposing agenda-setting control and the ability to keep delicate issues out of the process – hence the label as power of process. Power, in this view, is still a capacity of agents that – consciously or not - *create* or *reinforce* political values and institutional practice. Thus, the approach aligns to a methodological individualism similar to that of Dahl and Weber (Lukes, 1974, p. 22). It is interesting to note, however, that institutional practice and political values are introduced as mediating variables. That is, individual agents are constrained or enabled in their action by an objective structure as represented in the institutional practice. This structure can be reinforced or changed through action. This reading of the second face of power, hence, already hints at the possibility to bridge the dichotomy of pure types in the structure-agency debate.

Lukes takes this one step further in suggesting that power is the suppression of objective and real interests (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009, p. 29). This "radical" way of conceptualizing power departs from the first two faces in significant ways: He follows Bachrach and Baratz in their behaviorist

critique but Lukes does not limit himself to the covert conflict of non-issues. Rather, he expands on the structuralist dimension by maintaining that individual interests are shaped by the structure which they encounter and are hence not a real reflection of their true interests. Thus, the structural arrangements inherited from the past may result in a false consciousness of individuals, leading them to perceive of the world contrary to their own objective interest. In this Gramscian conceptualization, focus is redirected to the ways in which consent is manufactured and facilitated by structural arrangements. In doing so, Lukes challenges Bachrach & Baratz and Dahl for assuming that “the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus” (Lukes, 1974, p. 24). His conclusion, thus, is that actual conflict is not necessary for power to be exercised since the “supreme exercise of power [is] to get another and others to have the desires you want them to have – that is to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires” (ibid., p. 23). The essence of Lukes’ “radical view” of power is therefore labelled as the *power of meaning* in this thesis.

So, where does this – arguably superficial – discussion about the conceptualization of power leave us with regard to the study of issue control in political processes? As can be derived from the guiding questions of this paper, our aim is to study and identify the people, processes, and institutions that result in a certain definition of how and what issues should be treated within the governance of demographic change in the EU. *Who exercises issue control?* The above discussion allows us to slightly reformulate this: Who has the *power to* exercise issue control? Thus, in moving beyond the traditional structure-agency debate, power is in this thesis conceptualized as an empowering capacity that allows for the transformation or maintenance of existing structures to control the given field, and make it function to one's own advantage. In doing so, we do not seek to privilege one conceptualization of power over the other. To the contrary, this conceptualization allows us to embrace the “essentially contested nature” of the concept: Only when applied collectively, the resource based view, the power of process, and the power of meaning give us the opportunity to study power in political processes holistically. Ontologically and epistemologically, relational sociology provides for the framework to do so, seeking to “escape from under the philosophy of the subject without doing away with the agent”, and to “escape from under the philosophy of the structure but without forgetting to take into account the effects it wields upon and through the agent” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 121-122).

Bourdieu: Introducing Relational Sociology

Bourdieu's work is concerned with uncovering "the most profoundly buried structures of the various social worlds which constitute the social universe, as well as the 'mechanisms' which tend to ensure their reproduction or their transformation" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 p. 7). That is, in a Bourdieusian sense, the individual is conditioned by its environment, and can either reproduce or transform this structure through action. Investigating social phenomena, therefore, requires a two-level analysis, identifying "the objectivity of the first order" and "the objectivity of the second order", which combines the virtues of structuralist and agency-centered analyses respectively. Objectivity of the first order relates to a structuralist point of view advanced *inter alia* by Durkheim, Levi-Strauss, and Althusser: Society is treated as an objective structure that can be "materially observed, measured, and mapped out independently of the representations of those who live in it" (ibid, p. 8). Through formal modelling or statistical regression, the external observer can uncover the structures that individual agents are positioned and embedded in, and in which they themselves believe actions to be based on free will. A pure structuralist analysis neglects, however, the will and representation (i.e. *Wille und Vorstellung*) of agents, which is addressed in the analysis of the objectivity of the second order (ibid., p. 9).

The focus on agency in the analysis of the objectivity of the second order necessitates a constructivist or subjectivist analysis (see Garfinkel, 1999). The attribute of such a subjectivist analysis is that it places the agent centrally in the continual production of society by emphasizing the importance of actions and perceptions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 9). However, conceiving social structures as the sum of individual actions fails to acknowledge the objective structures such actions seek to perpetuate or challenge (ibid, p. 10). It is the interplay between structure and agency that enables an understanding of power to be relational. To understand relations of power between groups and classes one must conduct a "double reading", which encompasses the epistemological virtues of the two orders (ibid, p. 7). For Bourdieu, then, society has an objective structure, which is reproduced or transformed by the actions of individual agents making objectivism and subjectivism false antinomies (ibid, p. 8-9).

Social Praxeology

The result of interweaving the relationship between structure and agency is what Bourdieu labels as a *social praxeology* (ibid, p. 11). That is, social praxeology starts from the empirically observable phenomena to the more complex, non-observable (Hayek, 1935, p. 11). Thus, epistemological

priority is given to the first reading concerned with an objectivist structuralist approach inspired by Durkheim (see Durkheim, 1982). Both levels of analysis are equally necessary, however, as agents' worldviews are influenced by the structural setting they are positioned in. It is, hence, necessary to first uncover the objective social space and then investigate the viewpoints of individual agents (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 11). To understand Bourdieu's notion of power as contingent on the interplay between structure and agency and how it is constantly reproduced and transformed, it is pivotal to explore the concepts of *fields*, *habitus*, and *capital*.

Fields

Investigating the characteristics of fields is related to the 'objectivity of the first order'. The reality of the social world is relational. Nothing exists and functions independently as substances. Rather, a field is to be considered as a network of objective relations between positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 p. 97). Fields are sites for constant struggles and "those who dominate in a given field are in a position to make it function to their advantage" (ibid., p. 102). Domination of a field gives, however, rise to contestation and resistance. Fields are therefore subject to constant reproduction or transformation depending on the outcome of the competitive struggles between agents (ibid, p. 101).

Habitus

Habitus is a complex concept to define. It refers to the culture or the "rules of the game" within a field, and can be defined as socialized subjectivity. Thus, habitus is the link combining structure and agency, allowing individuals to think, act, and perceive according to shared categories of perception (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126). The system of objective relations – that is, the field – structures habitus, which in turn contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world. The implication of this is that social reality exists twice; both outside and inside of agents (ibid, p. 127). This implies that habitus is both the product of history and the force that, by generating practice, produces history. Bourdieu refers to it as "double historicity" (ibid, pp. 136-139).

Species of Capital

Species of capital are the tools disposable to agents for transforming or reproducing the field. When investigating fields empirically, it is therefore interconnected to investigate and determine what species of capital are prominent in the given field. "A species of capital is what is efficacious in a field, both as a weapon and as a stake of struggle, which allows its possessors to wield a power" (ibid, p. 98). Bourdieu accounts for three fundamental species of capital: economic, cultural, and

social. First, economic capital is related to financial virtues of the individual agent. Second, cultural capital refers to the general education, manners, cultural awareness, and linguistic skills. Third, social capital is the virtue of being well-positioned and connected in a network of social relationships. When a given form or combination of forms of capital is recognized as prestigious in a given field, it is referred to as symbolic capital (ibid, p. 119). By introducing various forms of capital, Bourdieu distinguishes himself from Marx who only referred to capital as conditioned by economic virtue.

Power as Relational – The Role of Networks and Expertise

The above account for Bourdieu's sociology allows us to conceptualize power as relational. That is, power only manifests itself when it is perceived through others. If the particularity of a field is determined both by a network of objective relations and by the outcome of competitive struggles between agents, one must necessarily investigate the double historicity of the field and habitus in question. In this context, species of capital are used as weapons of symbolic violence. Once symbolic capital is established, it opens up for an investigation of what species are most important for being recognized as a bearer of expertise and thus exert control over the given field. This necessitates that we investigate the social world by looking at networks, network positioning, and expertise as defining elements of power.

A relationalist approach to social science has among others been advocated by Mustafa Emirbayer (1997). He argues along the lines of Bourdieu that agency entails actors to transform or reproduce the structural environment they are positioned in by changing "those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (ibid., p. 294). Emirbayer's account for relational sociology defines power as dynamic. That is, power is not possessed as a substance but lived through its agents. This follows a Bourdieusian notion of power, which is conditioned by the position actors occupy in social network structures. Emirbayer uses this conceptualization to account for how a relationalist approach can be applied empirically. Special emphasis is given to social network analysis as an analytical strategy for studying social relationships (ibid., p. 298). An in-depth account of the attributes of a social network analysis will be provided in the methodology section.

Powerful Network Positioning – Issue Professionals in IPE

The relational sociological approach to power is well established in the field of IPE. Much of the literature has focused on professions and professionals and how they establish themselves as

powerful actors. Abbott (1988) highlights the role occupational values and how professions define their jurisdictions through competitive battles over jurisdictional boundaries. This deems it necessary to analyze the relationships and dynamics within professions if one is to understand the outcomes of the inter-professional competitive battles. Eyal (2013) contrasts Abbott's *sociology of professions* with a *sociology of expertise*. The latter is not reducible to professions but includes all actors who can make viable claims to expertise. The main contribution is that she argues that expertise is not a formal quality but instead "a network connecting together actors, devices, concepts, and institutional and spatial arrangements" (Eyal, 2013, p. 877). Expertise, hence, is lived through relations. Abbott (2005) has furthermore promoted the theory of *linked ecologies*. This constitutes an important development from his earlier work on professions as it shifts the focus from occupational values to the virtues of organizational values. In doing so, it is highlighting the importance of actors' ability to organize beyond formal professions (Seabrooke, 2014, p. 53). Two central concepts of the *linked ecology* approach are the notion of *hinges* and *avatars*. The former is associated with alliances between actors located in different ecologies agreeing on an issue definition. An avatar, on the other hand, is the attempt to institutionalize a copy of an actor from one ecology to another. The difference between the two is that an *avatar* is a single actor acting as a "spy" penetrating information from one ecology to another. A hinge, on the other hand, ensures mutual exchange of information between ecologies (ibid., p. 53).

Seabrooke and Tsingou (2015) have extended the linked ecologies framework to the study of transnational professional interaction. They argue that *thin* institutional environments create room to turn issue distinctions into hinges that can produce narratives on issue treatment. Therefore, the linked ecologies framework can help to identify actors and distinctions on emergent issues by focusing on professional interaction. The distinguishing features of transnational environments facilitate professional competition since these environments are *thin* compared to domestic *thick* environments. Thin environments are characterized by high levels of rule ambiguity, distributed agency, no clear authority, and high levels of competition. Whereas the domestic environments are often characterized by clear jurisdictional boundaries enabling professional associations to block for competition (Seabrooke, 2014). European public policy literature builds on the thin versus thick distinction in asserting that: "(thick) institutions shape political actors' understandings of their policy goals and interests through formal and informal norms, standards of behavior, and principles of interaction, and (thin institutions) merely provide spaces in which actors exchange their pre-

determined interests and enforce agreements where they occur” (Trommer, 2017, pp. 504–505, see also Paraskevopoulos, 2002).

The significance of thin institutional settings is further elaborated by Faulconbridge and Muzio (2012) who introduce a *transnational sociology of the professions*. They argue that globalization has changed the work of professionals who now are involved with transnational projects, seeking to institutionalize privileges and practices of professionals by establishing norms, regulations, and cultures resembling the neoliberal capitalist paradigm (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2012, p. 137). Seabrooke (2014) links the observations of the transnational environments to the linked ecologies framework. Contributing to the concepts of *hinges* and *avatars*, he introduces the concept of epistemic arbitrage. “The epistemic character of epistemic arbitrage is based on relationships in which a professional is identified as knowing well” (Seabrooke, 2014, p. 52). Thus, it builds on Eyal’s sociology of expertise. Epistemic arbiters are professionals who mediate between different pools of knowledge for their own strategic advantage to position themselves and their preferred skillset and knowledge as the optimal way to address problems. The concept, thus, involves more than just leveraging information that is readily understandable to different networks. Instead, it exploits differences in professional knowledge that allow to promote a particular understanding of how problems should be treated (Seabrooke, 2014, p. 62).

Epistemic arbitrage can be distinguished from epistemic communities. Promoted by Peter Haas (2008) the concept is defined as “networks—often transnational—of knowledge-based experts with an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within their domain of expertise” (Haas, 2008, p. 793). The focus is thus on shared norms and beliefs within communities and members of epistemic communities are experts having received formal professional training (ibid). Carpenter (2007) introduces *issue entrepreneurs* which can be distinguished from *issue professionals* (Henriksen & Seabrooke, 2015). That is, issue professionals, contrary to issue entrepreneurs, are concerned with exercising issue control rather than developing new ideas.

Professional network dynamics differ according to the characteristics of the policy-challenge at hand. Seabrooke and Tsingou (2016b) distinguish between two types of crises; *fast-burning* and *slow-burning*. Fast-burning crises are types of crises that create immediate demand for political response. Time availability for action is perceived to be limited. Therefore, policy-makers and regulators seek established ideas that can address the issue effectively within a narrow time frame. The recent financial crisis serves as an example of a fast-burning crisis. Slow-burning crises, on the

other hand, are types of crises that extend beyond political and business cycles. They are per definition long-term making the perceived need to address them less urgent. This applies both to policy-makers and the general public. Here, professionals engage in competitive struggles over problem definition and how to address solutions (Seabrooke & Tsingou, 2016b, pp. 71–72).

Applying Relational Sociology to Institutional Thick Environments

The above section emphasizes the importance of a relationalist approach to IPE and highlights how actors engage in competitive struggles over issue definitions and issue control. The outcomes of such struggles are conditioned by network positioning. This thesis seeks to investigate how network structures of experts influence policies addressing demographic change in the EU. We argue that demographic change represents a slow-burning crisis, as it is by definition a long-term challenge. The issue, therefore, buys well in to the slow-burning crises framework and it thus becomes relevant to investigate the importance of expert networks in defining the problems to be addressed.

The previous section places a strong emphasis on transnational environments and how these *thin* structures facilitate competitive struggles among agents over issue definition and control. The European Union, on the other hand, can be argued, to represent a thick institutional environment having clear authority and little rule ambiguity (Paraskevopoulos, 2001, 2002) when compared to cases of for example international commercial arbitration (Dezalay & Garth, 1996) and transnational environmental sustainability certification (Henriksen & Seabrooke, 2015).

However, we argue that this does not disqualify the theoretical framework of relational sociology to be applied to a case resembling a thick institutional environment. The case of demographic change within the EU can shed light on how the network structures of professionals influence the governance process of EU policy-making, thereby contributing to the theory of professionals and social networks. The EU engages extensively with experts through institutionalized processes of consultations and deliberation to in-source expertise. This implies a source of demand for external expertise. In terms of the supply of external expertise, Brussels is the target for a large number of lobbyists (Bache, George, & Bulmer, 2011, p. 332). However, the number of civil society organizations and non-business associations remain weak comparably (Bache et al., 2011, pp. 336–337). In a case characterized by high financial rewards we would thus expect the field to leave little room for strategic positioning exploiting differences in knowledge pools and introducing novel ideas. For the case of demographic change, however, we expect the field of inter-professional

struggles over issue definitions and issue control to be rather weak and thin. The reason for this is that we expect private sector engagement to be rather limited as the financial rewards at stake are not significant. The theoretical contribution of this thesis will therefore be to test the relational sociology approach in a thick institutional environment in a case characterized by low financial rewards. Thus, this provides for an opportunity to investigate network dynamics in a context in which the power of resources is expected to play a marginal role. Often, research has been focusing on interest group behavior in cases where big business has captured the regulatory process. A substantive contribution of this research, thus is, to highlight how expert engagement can translate into policy in situations in which capture from the private sector is unlikely. We, thus, respond to the call by Young (2012, p. 683) to look beyond cases which favor the "popular narrative".

Alternative approaches to studying the governance of demographic change at the Union level could have been applied. Egeberg et al. (2003) have studied the influence of national experts on EU decision-making through a qualitative survey-based approach, providing for important insights into the changing roles of actors and the nature of collaboration in EU expert committees. However, whereas a survey-based approach is well-suited to investigate a specific type of actor in the context of deliberative processes, the approach is less equipped to capture the dynamics in expert involvement across different types of actors in a highly dispersed field. Likewise, Gornitzka & Sverdrup (2011) have studied expert involvement from a positivist perspective, investigating distributions of expert types across DGs. However, the quantitative approach relies on extensive deductive reasoning for the interpretation of the implications of differing distributions of actors. Hence, by combining quantitative and qualitative approaches into a coherent framework, we seek to increase the robustness and validity of our findings without having the privilege to investigate an *a priori* demarcated field.

Research Design and Methodology

In this section, we argue that a mixed methods approach is best suited to identify central actors in the field of demographic governance in the EU, and to understand the distinguishing features of power in this context. A mixed methods approach is defined as an “inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks” (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). More specifically, the approach employed is an explanatory sequential mixed methods design (ibid., p. 224) for which qualitative data are used as an underpinning to the quantitative results derived from a network analysis. The need to combine quantitative and qualitative data stems from the emergent nature of the sociology of expertise framework employed, and from the ontological and epistemological assumptions associated with this framework. First, the sociology of expertise framework is a relatively recent methodology in the study of interest groups and issue definitions as was highlighted in the literature review in the previous section. For example, Hojnacki et al. identify 10 % of the academic literature on interest groups as belonging to a network approach (Hojnacki, Kimball, Baumgartner, Berry, & Leech, 2012, p. 9.8)². The added value of a mixed methods approach serves in this regard as a form of robustness test: Do the assumptions of network theory hold; do the identified actors identify themselves as central players; and do the identified events give an accurate picture of what actors perceived to be important? Second, the methodological and epistemological underpinnings of the relational sociology framework necessitate a mixed methods approach.

Bourdieu famously stated that “the true object of social science is not the individual but the field. Individuals exist as agents who are socially constituted as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 107). A quantitative approach is, hence, needed to identify the “network of objective relations” (ibid., p. 97) which constitute a field. The qualitative underpinning, on the other hand, allows for the investigation of *the necessary properties* that allow agents to *produce effects* in the previously identified field. The purpose of the qualitative underpinning is, hence, to identify the habitus and ultimately also the different forms of capital at work, and the internal dynamic of interaction between agents within the field. In doing so, this thesis seeks to investigate both the differences among individuals and communities (i.e. field

² The meta-analysis included 110 books and articles published in the period January 1996 to July 2011 (p. 9.2)

structures) and how actors are related in terms of similarities (i.e. network structures). By combining the field and network approach, we aim to uncover a more comprehensive picture acknowledging the complexity of the governance setting and the policy challenge.

Figure 1 graphically depicts the employed three-step approach. The first section “Boundary Setting” is peculiar to the case of this paper. Given the diversity of approaches propagated as possible solutions to the demographic challenge that the EU faces, it seems appropriate to designate a free-standing section to the boundaries of the field with the purpose to delineate what is part (and what is not part) of the relevant processes. The second stage is the quantitative analysis. Here, a social network analysis (SNA) is employed. Lastly, a qualitative underpinning provides for the opportunity to gain in-depth knowledge about the processes and forms of capital that drive the governance debate within the European Union.

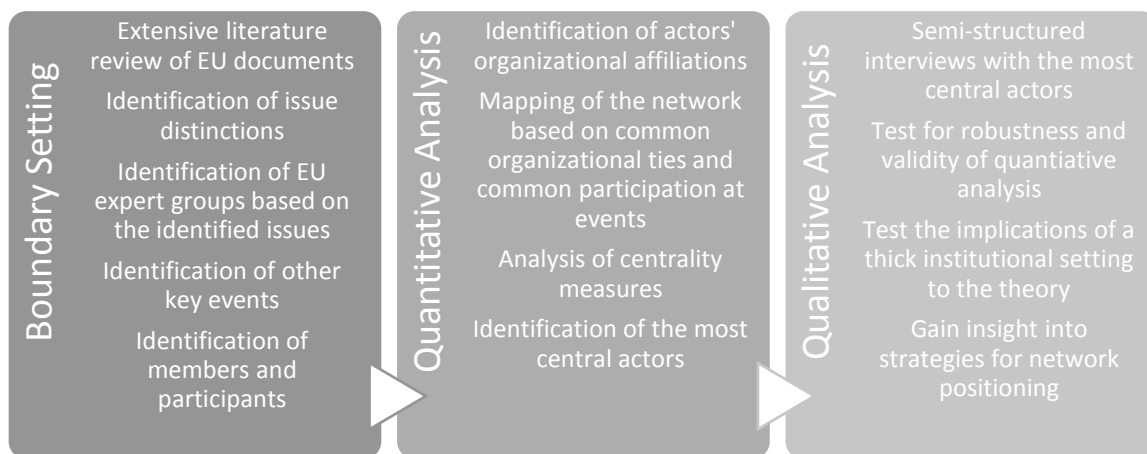


Figure 1: The three-step approach to data collection

Boundary Setting

Where does the demographic field start, and where does it end? Before a network analysis can be conducted meaningfully, the enduring question of boundary setting must be answered. Accordingly, Emirbayer identifies boundary setting as one of the most significant problems with network approaches (1997, p. 303). In lieu of a settled best practice, two approaches have gained prominence: the realist and the nominalist. In this section, both approaches are discussed, and it is argued that the nominalist approach is better equipped to deal with the particularities of the topic at hand. Subsequently, the application of the nominalist approach in this thesis is outlined and discussed.

Theoretical Considerations

The dividing line between nominalist and realist approaches is how the concept of a field is understood. A realist conception understands a field as a social fact which is defined through its agents. That is, the boundaries of the field are where the inhabitants of the field believe it to be (Laumann, Marsden, & Prensky, 1983, p. 20 & Emirbayer, 1997, p. 303). This is problematic for two reasons: The first problem is analytical: If the boundaries of a field are a function of the beliefs of its components, then one can only know about the boundaries by asking the occupants of the field. But how do you identify the relevant actors to ask when you do not know who belongs to the field? The second problem is ontological: If we follow Bourdieu in his conceptualization of a field as a phenomenon that is not deliberately created and the regularities or rules of a given field are not codified nor explicit (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98), then the added value of drawing boundaries based on actors' perceptions is questionable because it presupposes that all actors know about the structure of the field in its entirety. However, this is not a requirement. Rather, it is a form of social capital that may or may not be at the disposal of a given actor. The argument, hence, becomes self-referential and a cause of systematic validity concerns when applied in larger fields. Therefore, the realist approach is best suited to deal with smaller and closely integrated fields such as intra-firm networks.

A nominalist approach to boundary setting takes the analytical and theoretical framework as its starting point: boundaries are drawn to serve the analytical purpose, and are informed by the particularities of the case at hand (Laumann et al., 1983, p. 21). The limits to the field are hence not a function of the occupants' beliefs and perceptions. Rather, the field is demarcated relative to the conceptual framework employed. Whether the thence drawn boundaries correspond to the subjective consciousness of actors within the field becomes, thus, a matter of empirical investigation (*ibid.*, p. 22). In a field that is characterized by complex institutional settings, high issue-ambiguity, and inter-professional struggle, the nominalist approach to boundary setting is better equipped to penetrate dividing lines across sub-fields that are not (or only loosely) interacting with each other. Indeed, the governance of demographic change resembles the above outlined characteristics in that the governance is embedded in a multi-level context across institutions and jurisdictions. Additionally, numerous potential solutions to the demographic issue have been brought forward resulting in high issue ambiguity, contributing to the involvement of experts from diverse professional and organizational backgrounds.

Unfortunately, the problem of boundary setting is not solved by applying a nominalist approach in a Bourdieusian tradition. As Emirbayer points out, Bourdieu conceptualizes the boundaries of a field as the points at which the field seizes to exercise an effect on its objects (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 100; Emirbayer, 1997, p. 304). To understand, let alone measure, this effect is, however, a task that creates problems of its own: When attempting to draw boundaries based on an effect exercised by the field on objects, one first has to know which effect one has to look for. Subsequently, a threshold must be set for defining a point at which the effect can no longer be attributed to the working of the field. Hence, the “field-effect” approach is – notwithstanding its theoretical beauty – of limited help for the application of the concept. Nonetheless, Bourdieu does offer some practical advice on how to reach a compromise between the ideal-type boundary setting and concrete applications of his concept by pointing towards institutionalized barriers to entry: “The boundaries of the field can only be determined by an empirical investigation. Only rarely do they take the form of juridical frontiers (e.g., *numerus clausus*), even though they are always marked by more or less institutionalized “barriers to entry” ” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 100).

It is these barriers to entry that define the starting point for delineating the demographic field in this thesis. Indeed, the aim of this thesis is to understand how expert networks influence, define, and transform the governance of demographic change within the European Union. The EU, thus, serves as the institutionalized setting which provides for the access points through which experts can enter the field of demographic change. However, the EU is a vast bureaucratic apparatus. Hence, we need to refine what to look for within this conglomerate of institutional practice.

The three challenges that Hasselbalch (2017, *forthcoming*) identified for investigating the governance of brain drain within the EU thus closely resemble the challenges associated with the governance of demographic change: First, the statistics about the demographic trends in Europe leave room for uncertainty regarding the interaction of processes resulting in demographic trends. That is, for example, how social structures of family planning, labor market policies, migration policies and more impact fertility rates. Hence, whereas the grand trends of population developments are rather well-known, much less is known about the interaction of causal factors contributing to these developments (see for example, Human Fertility Database, 2017). Second, the statistical picture does not resemble popular mood or sentiment, which is of particular importance when taking into account the sensitive nature of policy solutions such as pension reforms, migration policies, and internal mobility. Third, the statistical picture is not easily translated into policies as multiple solutions are available and the choice of which depends on the values of decision-makers

(May, 2005, p. 832). The next section outlines an approach to boundary setting that seeks to take into account the above challenges.

Institutional Practice and Barriers to Entry within the EU

Within the European Union, the Commission operates as the agenda setter in that it is the sole European institution with the right to initiate legislative proposals (Bache, George, & Bulmer, 2011, p. 230; van Schendelen, 2010, p. 79). However, in fulfilling its role, the EC relies on the participation of external actors for input and feedback. Article 11 of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) explicitly states that “the European Commission shall carry out broad consultations with parties concerned in order to ensure that the Union’s actions are coherent and transparent”. Furthermore, the 2001 White Paper on Governance defines five principles to form the basis of good governance: Openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness, and coherence (European Commission, 2001). It is especially the first two of these principles that allow for an institutionalized participation of stakeholders in the formulation of policy proposals. Additionally, the role of networks is highlighted explicitly, and a need to integrate these networks more closely to “form a scientific reference system to support EU policy-making” (ibid., p.16) is expressed. Hence, the EU has adopted an inclusive approach to policy making, ensuring open processes of consultation and providing access points for external experts to participate in the policy process.

Among the European institutions, the EC is the most dependent on external expertise (Bouwen, 2002, p. 379). Commonly, the reasons for its reliance on expert knowledge are associated with its supranational mandate, the limited in-house resources available, and a need to boost its own legitimacy as well as the legitimacy of the concrete policy at hand (Bache et al., 2011, p 338; Bouwen, 2002, p. 379). Hence, when experts wish to influence the agenda and define the way in which demographic change is addressed, the EC is a reasonable place to start. This does, however, not imply that the set boundaries exclude the work of other European institutions. To the contrary, the set boundaries aim to capture expert activity across the institutions by applying a demand-driven framework: that is, starting with an extensive review of output documents produced across the institutions, references are collected, and the thus identified actors are defined to be part of the demographic field. In this way, no *ex ante* privilege is given to the EC *vis-à-vis* other institutions. However, the EC exhibits some particularities because it includes the work of external stakeholders more systematically than others (van Schendelen, 2010, p. 81). For the Commission, expert involvement is a way of expanding on activities without draining on notoriously short in-house resources. Van Schendelen refers to this process as the *in-sourcing* of resources to expand on

activities by *inter alia* inviting experts and organizing public consultations (ibid.). Whereas the latter provides for an open and wide process of stakeholder engagement, the former is often institutionalized in the form of expert groups (ibid.).

According to the 2016 Commission decision, an EC expert group is defined as a consultative body set up by the Commission or its Directorate General services (DG's) to provide them with advice and expertise (Article 2) in relation to the preparation of legislative proposals and policy initiatives; the preparation of delegated acts; the implementation of Union legislation, programs and policies; and where necessary the early preparation of implementing acts (Article 3) (European Commission, 2016). Expert group members can be appointed as individuals in their personal capacity; as individuals representing a shared interest; as representatives of organizations; as Member State authorities; or as public entities (Article 7). For the former three, the selection process is competitive (Article 10). That is, experts must respond to a public call for applications and members are selected from the pool of applications subsequently. Hence, the Commission provides for the institutionalized access points and experts must actively seek appointment. For this reason, we argue that Commission expert groups concerned with the issue of demographic change constitute a part of the demographic field. The incorporated threshold in this regard is that the mandate of the expert group must explicitly refer to the demographic situation in the EU. A full list of expert groups included is to be found in the appendix (Appendix M).

In the case of demographic change, however, which European institution to approach is only one of many question. Often, proposed solutions to the demographic challenge infringe on the principle of subsidiarity and EU-level competency. For example, the EU does not hold competency in most of social-policy related aspects (e.g. Zimmermann, 2015). However, we will argue that the EU in general, and the EC in particular, remain important fora for the development of dominant discourses and issue definitions even if the question of competency is unsettled. Indeed, consultations on the 2005 Green Paper on Demographic Change (COM(2005) 94 final) indicated support for the EC to take the institutional lead on this topic. Consequently, and at the request of member states (European Commission, 2007c), the EC established a new expert group on demographic issues with the mandate to advise the Commission on the implementation of the policy proposals set out in the follow-up Communication to the 2005 Green Paper (COM(2006) 571 final). Additionally, the DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (DG EMPL) introduced the format of bi-annual demography forums to be hosted by the Commission with a specific aim to bridge the gap between EU competency and the European character of the demographic transition (European Commission,

2006a). To date, four such forums have been held and collectively, they account for a melting pot of actors comprising the demographic field. Hence, the European institutions have provided and continue to provide for events across units of governance. Participation in these events is one applied threshold to be considered a member of the demographic field for the purposes of this thesis. As the second threshold, we use references and quotations in EU output documents.

In sum, this paper takes a demand-driven nominalist approach to boundary setting, and defines the field of demographic change as the setting in which actors from diverse backgrounds enter the political arena by means of access points thence provided by the EU institutions. Thus, an event-based approach is applied. In doing so, we acknowledge the diversity of issues associated with the governance of demographic change without privileging one school of thought over the other. At the same time, the demand-driven framework recognizes that:

“Power of any kind cannot be reached by a political interest group, or its leaders, without access to one or more key points of decision in the government. Access, therefore, becomes the facilitating intermediate objective of political interest groups. The development and improvement of such access is a common denominator of the tactics of all of them.”

(Truman, 1951 in Bouwen, 2002).

By implication, the applied nominalist framework is not set out to capture and map the entire field of experts working on issues associated with the governance of demographic change. Instead, it is designed to capture the actors that are directly (through access) or indirectly (through reference in EU output documents) part of the EU-driven institutional setting.

Social Network Analysis

After having defined the demographic field for the purposes of this thesis, this section will provide for an introduction into the basic properties of social network theory and its application.

Social network analysis (SNA) can be understood as an attempt to map, visualize, and understand how individuals combine and create enduring social structures, and to develop graph-theoretic properties to describe properties of networks (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, & Labianca, 2009, pp. 892–893). As such, SNA is sometimes described as a descriptive quantitative argument highlighting interrelations among units (Borgatti et al., 2009, p. 893; Gerring, 2012, p. 142). However, if the SNA is seen as constituting a part of an integrated mixed-methods approach, the descriptive nature of SNA becomes part of a larger design that aims to develop, test, and refine predictive theories (Fu,

Luo, & Boos, 2017, p. 6). More precisely, SNA is a theory about the advantages of social capital. Hence, network theory can be defined as “the proposed processes and mechanisms that relate network properties to outcomes of interest” (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2016, p. 41). The underlying assumption of network theory, thus, is that structure conditions agency, and by implication that structurally equivalent actors have access to the same kind of resources and consequently tend to behave in similar ways (Borgatti et al., 2009, p. 893). For a social network analyst, behavior is therefore deeply embedded in the networks that actors operate in rather than an attribute of the individual alone. The network was coded in the programming software *RStudio* (see Appendix A).

Fundamentals of Social Network Analysis

A network consists of a set of nodes which are connected by different forms of ties (Marin & Wellman, 2016, p. 12). Nodes are the units – agents, organizations, or any other unit – that constitute the network. Ties represent a form of relationship between the nodes and can take the form of similarities, social relations, interactions, or flows (Borgatti et al., 2009, p. 894). Nodes connected by similarities refer to common attributes shared by relevant units. Depending on the position that a node occupies relative to all other nodes in a given network, it can either be empowered or constrained in its individual ability to act. For example, a well-connected node will tend to be in a better position to obtain new information that it can leverage. A poorly connected node, on the other hand, will tend to be in a relatively worse position to do the same. The ability to act, and by implication to exercise power, is hence understood as a function of its relational context (Marin & Wellman, 2016, p. 17). A fundamental question to ask, therefore, is: what makes a good network position?

Actor-Level Analysis and Centrality Measures

One way to measure the importance of a given node in a network is its centrality. The underlying assumption is that a central person is “of structural importance” to the network (Borgatti et al., 2009, p. 894). Obtaining structural importance is, in turn, positively related to power (Bonacich, 1987, p. 1170). Commonly, four types of centrality measures are applied, each equipped to highlight an idiosyncratic form of what is understood to make a node central.

The most well-known centrality measure is that of degree. It simply asks, how many other nodes one is directly connected to (Correa, 2014, p. 678). In doing so, each other node in the network is given equal weight. Degree is a measure that gives a good first impression of central actors.

However, depending on the research design and boundary setting, it can also be misleading. If, for example, an event based approach is chosen for boundary setting, participation in large events (e.g. a conference with many participants) results in a high degree score because links are established to all other participants. At the same time, smaller events result in a lower score. Thus, the degree centrality does not account for the quality of links.

Betweenness is a second measure and it is designed to highlight nodes that frequently are positioned along the shortest paths between different nodes (Freeman, 1977, p. 35). The underlying assumption is that resource flows (e.g. information) tend to take the shortest route when being transmitted from one node to another. A unit that is strategically positioned along these shortest routes will therefore be in a position that empowers it to facilitate, withhold, bias, or distort the flow (ibid., p. 36). Hence, a node with a high betweenness score tends to be able to exert control over information flows between non-connected units.

The closeness centrality measure is calculated by taking the sum of the shortest distances from one node to all other nodes in the network (Borgatti, 2005, p. 59; Henriksen & Seabrooke, 2015, p. 728). A low closeness score is therefore a representation of a node that is closely connected to all other nodes in a given network. This characteristic enables a node to receive information quickly and independently. The underlying assumptions are that information originates with equal probability at any place in the network, and that the information subsequently disseminates along the shortest paths (Borgatti, 2005). Closeness centrality is therefore best equipped to capture the most important actors when timely information is essential. This is for example the case in regulative procedures with competing lobbying groups, and where influence on the early stages of regulatory efforts is essential. In such cases, closely connected nodes should perform better (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2016, p. 47).

Lastly, eigenvector centrality is a variation of degree. It measures the sum of a node's connections to others weighted by the peers' degree centrality (Bonacich, 1987, p. 1170). In this way, connections to well-connected actors are weighed higher than connections to poorly connected actors. Being well-connected to other well-connected nodes is typically associated with status and prestige (ibid., p. 1181). However, it is not always a virtue. As Bonacich points out, in certain exchange networks, a node's bargaining power is increased when its peers are poorly connected. In information flow networks, on the other hand, the situation is reversed: connections to other central actors allow for timely information. Hence, eigenvector centrality is inherently ambiguous and

cannot be interpreted without taking the specific context of the network into consideration (ibid., p. 1181).

In sum, the application of centrality measures and their relevance *vis-à-vis* a node's power is context specific. Therefore, the measures should be applied with some caution. For the purposes of this thesis, a combination of measures is applied. In doing so, we aim to identify actors that are closely connected to all others and by implication can be assumed to receive information early, and to be in a position that allows for some orchestration of efforts (i.e. closeness centrality). Additionally, the betweenness score is applied to identify the type of actors that are situated along the shortest routes of information flow, and hence can be assumed to be in a position that allows for some control over flows between different sub-units. This is of relevance due to the idiosyncratic characteristics of the demographic field. That is, we assume the field to be fragmented into sub-fields that are only loosely connected, while at the same time the institutionalized field at the European level is assumed to be fragmented along departments. The interaction between governmental institutions and the expert field is not subject to any assumptions at this point. Degree and eigenvector centrality are disregarded as the applied event-based approach would bias the result towards actors that participated at large events.

Network-level analysis

Additional to actor attributes, the network structure at large can give rise to opportunities for actors to leverage and exploit resource-mismatches. The concept of structural holes is important for understanding how professionals can take advantage of strategic positioning in social networks by controlling the flow of information between groups. However, before going into depth with these concepts, a sub-theory under the broader concept of SNA will be accounted for. In the article *The Strength of Weak Ties* (1973), Mark Granovetter makes the case that peripheral relations give access to new information. Based on the observation that individuals have more peripheral relations than close relations it is argued that weak ties give access to new information. The underlying assumption is that an actor's close relations tend to be connected with each other, thus forming a rather closed group, thereby decreasing the likelihood for new ideas and information to originate within this group. On the other hand, weak ties allow for the access of different knowledge pools, providing for the opportunity to re-combine these resources in novel ways, thus generating new ideas (Henriksen & Waldstrøm, 2016, p. 20).

The concept of structural holes, developed by Ronald Burt (1992) is extending on the *strength of weak ties* theory. Burt is not concerned with the strength of the individual ties between actors but rather if the relations are redundant or not. When studying the characteristics of multiple networks, Burt found evidence that confirms the *small world theory* of agents connected in close networks, or clusters. Within these clusters, few agents are positioned to bridge the gaps between clusters. Whereas information within clusters is expected to flow freely, this is not the case between clusters. Thus, agents positioned to bridge a structural hole are in a powerful position as they have access to the information of each cluster, allowing them to act as a broker (Henriksen & Waldstrøm, 2016, p. 22).

Group-Level Analysis

At the group level, a cluster analysis can highlight community structures, putting emphasis on similarities between actors (Henriksen & Waldstrøm, 2016, p. 63). Decomposing large networks into smaller and highly-connected sub-units is therefore a useful tool to uncover *a priori* unknown shared properties among groups of actors (Blondel, Guillaume, Lambiotte, & Lefebvre, 2008, p. 2). A cluster analysis has the purpose to group all actors into sub-units in which all actors are closer to each other than to any other actor outside of the sub-unit (Henriksen & Waldstrøm, 2016, p. 62). The crucial assumption here is that of *homophily*: People tend to have stronger ties to people who are similar to themselves (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2016; Xiaoming Fu et al., 2017, p. 17). Thus, grouping actors with similar connections together with the purpose to infer community structures assumes that actors with similar ties tend to *be* similar.

The application of a cluster analysis will utilize the above outlined concept to indicate how experts combine into communities beyond single events and how issues are bridged in the demographic governance debate. That is, we build on the applied event-driven approach for actor identification and use a cluster analysis to investigate whether actors form sub-units that extend beyond the event which originally caused the actors to be included in the network. For example, a cluster analysis might indicate a sub-unit which includes all actors of one expert group with no other actors included. This would then indicate an isolated community, and it might be inferred that the thematic issue of the expert group is causing the isolation. On the other hand, a cluster could include actors from a set of expert groups dealing with similar issues. The grouping together of these expert groups into a single cluster would then indicate that the individuals share ties beyond their immediate event affiliation. A causal link could be that individual experts bridge the expert groups and thus shorten the distance between all members of the groups. It has to be stressed, however, that

the results of a cluster analysis can be ambiguous when the assumption of *homophily* does not hold. Thus, one has to be careful not to use a cluster analysis as the only indicator for community structures, and support the findings by qualitative data.

The applied approach relies on a *Louvain* cluster analysis which has been proven to work well in larger network structures, decreasing computational time and maintaining high levels of accuracy (Blondel et al., 2008, p. 10).

Qualitative Analysis

Semi-Structured Interviews

The format of interviews with subjects identified from the SNA will be semi-structured. The semi-structured interview is related to the second reading of Bourdieu's *double reading*. Focus is directed at agents' perceptions and appreciations of the structural setting in which they are positioned. The semi-structured interview seeks to establish an open dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee. Promoted among others by Kvale (2007), the semi-structured interview has "the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale, 2007, p. 8). Thus, the semi-structured interviews can help to uncover the habitus and species of capital characterizing the demographic field in an EU context.

Sampling

Actors were identified based on the results of the quantitative analysis focusing on betweenness and closeness centrality. In doing so, the interviewees include both external experts and EU officials. The purpose of including both types of actors is to gain a deeper understanding of the similarities and differences prevailing in the field of external experts as well as to highlight the role of a *thick* institutional environment. Once the SNA was conducted, interview requests were sent out by email to the ten most central actors from the respective centrality measures.³ This resulted in nine interviews with ten actors in total, five of them conducted in-person and four of them conducted by Skype⁴. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. Prior to the interviews, we created an interview guide providing an indication for issues to be addressed (see Appendix C).

³ See Appendix B for generic email request.

⁴ Transcripts of six interviews are to be found in Appendixes O, P, Q, R, S, T. The remaining three interviews were granted on the condition of anonymity. These include the interviews with EC officials and the Personal Advisor to the EC President.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is a qualitative research method that often is not addressed explicitly in research. However, it should not be neglected for its attributes for providing supplementary research data. It is concerned with reviewing and evaluating documents in a systematic manner. According to Bowen (2009), document analysis works well in mixed-method studies as a means of *triangulation*. That is, it is important to stress its attributes as a complementary method both for the quantitative and the qualitative part of research. As Atkin and Coffey argue “we should not use documentary resources as surrogates for other kinds of data (...) We have to approach them for what they are and what they are used to accomplish” (Atkinson & Coffey, 1996) In our research, the document analysis is an important complementary method for conducting the semi-structured interviews. When interviewing professionals, it is of utmost importance to be capable of engaging in a professional dialogue. As Kvale (2007) points out: “The interviewer should be knowledgeable about the topic of concern and master the technical language, as well as being familiar with the social situation and biography of the interviewee. An interviewer demonstrating that he or she has a sound knowledge of the interview topic will gain respect be able to achieve an extent symmetry in the interview relationship” (Kvale, 2007, p. 70). Adding to this, a document analysis can help to generate questions for an interview by gaining deeper insights to the topic at hand by adding to the knowledge base (Bowen, 2009, p. 30).

A document analysis combines elements from content analysis and thematic analysis. Thus, it involves “skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation” (ibid, p. 32). The ‘skimming’ part of the document analysis is relevant for the preparation of the SNA as was highlighted in the above section on the SNA. In preparation for the semi-structured interviews with key actors, a thorough examination of documents was conducted in order to obtain knowledge of cutting edge research within the field of demographic change and to understand its political implications. EU and expert produced output formed the starting point for this approach. This included green papers, white papers, communications, reports and transcripts of key-note speeches from conferences. A full list of EU output can be obtained from Appendix D. The below table lists the interviewees including their name, profession, sector of employment, and rank according to the employed centrality measures. Note that current EC officials remain anonymous. Their identity is known to the authors and the supervisors of this thesis.

Betweenness/ Closeness	Name	Main profession	Date	Interview form
23/3	Lieve Fransen	Former Social Director, DG EMPL	14/6/2017	Skype
11/4	Prof. Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	Assistant Professor, Warsaw School of Economics and former Deputy Director at the Polish Ministry for Labour and Social Policy	30/6/2017	Skype
7/27	Anonymous	Personal Advisor to the EC President	3/7/2017	In-person
24/6	Anonymous	Senior Official, DG EMPL	3/7/2017	In-person
17/7	Laszlo Andor	Former Commissioner, DG EMPL	21/6/2017	Skype
3/10	Anonymous	Senior Official, DG EMPL	28/6/2017	In-person
10/21	Prof. James Vaupel	MPIDR	6/6/2017	In-person
19/86 ⁵	Demetrios Papademetrious	MPI	20/6/2017	Skype
- ⁶	Dr. Tomas Sobotka	Wittgenstein	15/6/2017	In-person
- ⁷	Anonymous	Junior Official, DG EMPL	28/6/2017	In-person

⁵ Demetrios Papademetrious was selected due to his participation in the recent launch of the EC Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography, which represents the latest effort of the EC in the area of demographic change. His expertise was therefore valuable to the research as he was able to provide for an assessment of the governance under the Juncker Administration.

⁶ Tomas Sobotka was selected due to his affiliation with the Wittgenstein Centre on Human Capital and Migration whose founder and president, Wolfgang Lutz, was the most central actor. Unfortunately, Mr. Lutz was not available for an interview. Thus, we were interested in hearing from a colleague of his about the threefold Vienna institutes (VID, Wittgenstein and IIASA). Furthermore, Tomas Sobotka is a demographer with expertise in fertility, which distinguishes him from the other demographers identified.

⁷ This Junior Official does not figure in the network, however, he participated in an interview at the request of another DG EMPL official

The Case: Addressing Demographic Change in the EU

This section addresses the demographic situation in Europe as of today and provides for a review of the EU's official future projections of demographic trends. Thereby, we make the case for a need to address the looming issue of population change in Europe at several levels. Subsequently, we address the question of what constitutes population policy, and we address the fundamentally different nature of addressing population change in a low-fertility and high-income environment *vis-à-vis* a high-fertility and low-income environment. The purpose is to underline the novelty of the policy challenge at hand, and to set the governance challenge into context. Lastly, and most importantly, the EU efforts to date in this area are evaluated.

European Demographic Trends

The European Union and its Member States (MS) face a rapidly ageing population and continued below-replacement level fertility⁸ in most countries resulting in a profound demographic transition (European Commission, 2012c, p. 26). Indeed, 2016 was the second year since data collections began in 1961 in which the natural population growth was negative in the EU-28 (Eurostat, 2017b). That is, the net population growth in 2016 is solely attributable to net-migration. In ten Member States, the net-population decreased in 2016 (*ibid.*).

While increasing life-expectancy is a desirable development, the combination of low fertility and increasing life-expectancy can lead to imbalances, putting pressure on welfare systems and decreasing economic growth (May, 2005, p. 836). The total fertility rate in the European Union was 1.55 in 2013, representing a continued low level in global comparison, and substantially below the 2.1 replacement rate. At the same time, the EU-28 are witnessing a trend for delayed child-birth with the mean age at childbirth increasing to 28.7 years on average in 2013 (European Commission, 2015, p. 13). Life-expectancy at birth is steadily increasing. In 2013, the total life-expectancy at birth was 80.6 years in the EU-28, representing a 2.9-year increase over ten years (*ibid.*, p. 16). This relates to long-term trends which show that life-expectancy is rising by approximately three months every year (Christensen, Doblhammer, Rau, & Vaupel, 2009, p. 1196; European Commission, 2012c, p. 47). An illustrative indicator of the combined processes of low fertility and increasing life-expectancy is the median age of the European population: In 2017, the median age was 42.5 years meaning that half of the population is older than this age, and half was younger (Eurostat,

⁸ Below-replacement fertility is defined as a total fertility rate of below 2.1 live births per woman (European Commission, 2015, p. 11)

2017a). The corresponding number in 2001 was 4.3 years lower (ibid.), and is projected to increase to 47.9 years by 2060 (European Commission, 2011, p. 65). Hence, the basic trends of population ageing are projected to last.

With an ageing population and low levels of fertility, a shrinking workforce will – *ceteris paribus* – have to provide for more people outside the workforce, corresponding to a significant increase in the overall dependency ratio⁹, and the old-age dependency ratio¹⁰. Indeed, the 2012 Ageing Report projects an increase in these ratios from 49.3 % in 2010 to 77.9 % in 2060 for the total dependency ratio, and from 26 % in 2010 to 52.5 % in 2060 for the old-age dependency ratio (European Commission, 2012c, p. 27). Accounting for the fact that young people (age 0-19) rarely participate in the labor market, the corresponding total age-dependency ratio is even larger, increasing from 63 % in 2010 to 95 % in 2060 (ibid., p. 56). That is, in 2060 it is projected that one worker will have to provide for approximately one person outside of the labor force, assuming full employment. Additionally, the working-age population in the EU-27 (excluding Croatia) has peaked as early as in 2012 (ibid., p. 57).

To sum up, the European populations are facing a rapid transition towards an ageing society. The share of the working-age population (20-64 years) is no longer growing, and the share of people outside the working-age population is growing at a fast rate. The resulting demographic transition is profound and relates to all EU countries. However, the timing and severity of the transition is not the same across all Member States. The most exposed countries are Germany, Italy, the Mediterranean countries and many central and eastern European countries which have seen plummeting fertility rates after the breakdown of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Nordic countries, France and Ireland are projected to be less severely affected by this transition primarily due to continued relatively high fertility rates. For the EU as a whole, the 2012 Ageing Report lines out three phases of population change (European Commission, 2012c, pp. 29–30): First, the period spanning 2007-2012 characterized by growth supporting demographic developments. Second, the period spanning from 2013 to 2021 is characterized by a decreasing working-age population, which is projected to be offset by increasing levels of employment, increasing participation of women in the labor market, and older workers leaving the labor market at a later stage resulting in a continued net increase in the total number of employed persons. The last phase spans from 2022 and onwards,

⁹ The overall dependency ratio is defined as all people outside the working age population (0-14 years and above 65 relative to the 15-64 year cohort) (European Commission, 2012c, p. 27)

¹⁰ The old-age dependency ratio is defined as the age group of 65 years and above relative to the working age population (15-64 years) (European Commission, 2012c, p. 27)

and it is here that the effect of an ageing population is dominant. Hence, after 2022 the working-age population and the number of persons in employment are projected to enter a shrinking phase.

Concerns about the implications for economic growth and the sustainability of social protection systems provide for the focal points in the political debate (European Commission, 2014, p. 8). Together, these focal points form the basis for the pursuit of a European population policy.

A Short Detour: Population Policy in Industrialized Countries

Drastic demographic transitions can result in societal imbalances which need to be addressed politically to prevent them from undermining economic prospects and social cohesion. Population policies are aimed at managing, regulating, and mitigating these societal imbalances. May (2005) provides for a definition: "Population policies are direct or indirect actions taken in the interest of the greater good in order to address imbalances between demographic changes and other social, economic, and political goals" (p. 828).

Traditionally, the governance of demographic transitions has focused on cases dealing with a need to decrease fertility rates with the aim to harness the rewards of the so-called first demographic dividend: Lower fertility rates free up the human potential of individuals to participate in the economy as less capacity is needed to look after the young-age dependent cohort (Crespo Cuaresma, Lutz, & Sanderson, 2014, p. 300). The most well-known example of such a policy is the one-child policy of China. Other less authoritarian approaches focus on individual choice by providing access to, and education about, the use of contraceptives. However, the European case is fundamentally different because the challenges are reversed. As May (2005) points out, it is much harder to increase fertility when it has reached a low than to decrease rates from a high level (p. 847). The reason is that demographic trends fruitfully can be understood as the aggregate of individual decisions. High fertility levels are often the result of unavailable contraceptives and missing knowledge at the individual level. In industrialized countries, however, low fertility regimes are commonly associated with a prioritization of careers over families, changing cultural norms, and a progressive understanding about the role of women in society (European Commission, 2007b, p. 33; Luci-Greulich & Thévenon, 2013, p. 390). Targeting these factors directly in a form of *pronatalist* policy is a challenging task for policy-makers. In Europe, fertility-enhancing pronatalist policies remain an artifact associated with the continents' fascist and nationalist past: Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, and Stalin all made efforts to increase the national fertility rate (Forcucci, 2010; May, 2005, p. 837; Quine, 1996). The policy-options to directly target the fertility rate are,

thus, limited and politically sensitive (May, 2005, p. 837). However, more discrete measures that respect individual choice have proven to potentially be effective in targeting the fertility rate. Family planning and investments in health systems are examples of such measures, allowing families to get the desired number of children (ibid., p. 833).

A different type of direct action is migration, which, however, is as sensible as deliberate pronatalist policies. The Brexit vote and the election of Trump serve as illuminating examples. The focus of policy is for these reasons often centered to a significant extent on what is considered indirect or passive actions. The notion refers to policies aimed at adopting to changing demographic structures as opposed to active measures which directly target the causes of demographic change (May, 2005, p. 832; Zimmermann, 2015, p. 2). Ageing societies exert effects on *inter alia* pension systems, health care, social security, individuals' life courses, savings rates, investment levels, and labor markets (European Commission, 2014, p. 16). Passive actions can thus take the form of investments into human capital formations, infrastructure investments to address the needs of a growing elderly population, housing schemes, reforms of pension systems, and gender equality enhancing policies. The list is non-exhaustive but it gives an impression of the wide range of possibilities to address demographic trends by passive actions, and the choice of which combination of responses is preferred depends to a significant extent on the values of the decision makers (May, 2005, p. 832).

However, governing demographic change in industrialized countries remains a dilemma for decision-makers as a significant share of policy options runs counter to liberalist and individualist worldviews. Taking into account the *slow-burning* character of this policy challenge, decision-makers face little incentive to take on the issue. That is, demographic transitions are gradual processes, and the consequences of which extend way beyond election cycles. At the same time, population ageing and low-fertility rates feature low on the public agenda (Demeny, 2003, p. 13, 2016, p. 111). The combination of these factors is detrimental to the development of effective population policies, which have been argued to require a "convergence between the perception of population problems, routine political processes (politics), and the organization of interest groups whose principal aim is to promote population policy" (May, 2005, p. 831). Accordingly, the European response to population ageing has been described as being characterized by indifference and a lack of concern (Demeny, 2016; May, 2005, p. 837). In the next section, we will evaluate these claims and argue that the situation has changed after the 2005 issuance of the EC Green Paper on demographic change, which initiated a process of institutionalized dialogue and expert involvement.

Putting Demographic Change on the Agenda of the European Union

Notwithstanding the above outlined policy dilemmas associated with the governance of demographic change, the EU has been an early mover and started to introduce the topic in the early 1990's (Zimmermann, 2015, p. 12). Acknowledging the cross-cutting nature of demographic change which often extends beyond the EU's immediate competences, tools to be leveraged have included White Papers, Green Papers, European Years, the development of indexes, and Communications. For analytical purposes, we have divided the policy responses of the European Union into three periods starting with the early efforts throughout the 1990's, continuing with the second period starting in 1999, and culminating in the last period with the release of the 2005 Green Paper on Confronting Demographic Change. This separation is for analytical purposes only, and does not imply a strict segregation of policy efforts. However, it does help to highlight the varying focus points of European policy over time. A comprehensive list of identified EU output documents is attached in Appendix D.

The First Wave: Solidarity Between Generations

The early efforts were largely centered on the issue of ageing. In 1991, the DG EMPL initiated an *Observatory on the impact of national policies on ageing and older people* which for the first time set elder people on the agenda of the European institutions (Ervik & Skogedal Lindén, 2013, p. 36). The work of the observatory fed into the White Paper on a European social policy (COM(94) 333 final) (European Commission, 1994a, p. 7) and the 1993 *European Year of Older People and Solidarity between Generations* (European Commission, 1993). In the wake of what could be considered the first wave of demographic governance in Europe, the EC released its first Demography Report, detailing the demographic transition and analyzing the role of families and migration (European Commission, 1994b). The Demography Report was quickly followed up by a second edition in 1996 which is notable for its alarming language, referring to demographic trends as having a "time-bomb effect" (European Commission, 1996, p. 12). In responding to demographic trends, Member States face the choice between cost-reducing measures to adapt to changing demographic structures and increased investments in human, economic, and social areas for which the report highlights a preference for the latter (ibid., p. 29). This preference is also reflected in the subsequent introduction of the concept of *lifelong learning* in the 1995 White Paper on "Teaching and Learning: Towards the learning society" (European Commission, 1995), which paved the way for the 1996 *European Year on Lifelong Learning*.

The Second Wave: Active Ageing and Cost-Cutting

The second wave of demographic governance started with the release of the 1999 Communication *Towards a Europe for all Ages – Promoting prosperity and intergenerational solidarity* (COM (1999) 221 final) which introduced the concept of *Active Ageing* into the European discourse. Active ageing is based on the idea to incentivize and facilitate the opportunities for older workers to stay active for a longer period of time and thereby “securing a maximum degree of self-reliance and self-determination throughout old age” (European Commission, 1999, p. 22). It places, hence, a focus on how to minimize the costs of the demographic transition by highlighting the issues of old-age employment and the sustainability of pension systems (Walker, 2008, p. 82). This focus was again reinforced at the Stockholm Summit in 2001, which set the ambitious goal of an average employment rate of 50 % for older people (55-64 years) by 2010¹¹ (European Council, 2001, p. 16). In 2001, the first Ageing Report was issued which essentially brought the Commission's economics and finance service (DG ECFIN) on board of the demographic discourse. The Ageing Reports are produced to assess the sustainability of public pension and social security systems across the Member States. Therefore, the Ageing Reports reinforce the focus on cost-cutting rather than social investments in order to cope with the demographic transition. Lastly, the 2002 Barcelona Summit set the goal of increasing the effective average retirement age in Member States by five years by 2010 (European Council, 2002, p. 12), and the language employed became more alarming with the 2004 Communication, calling for “drastic action” of Member States (European Commission, 2004, p. 3).

A parallel development within the second wave was migration. The issue came to the forefront out of practical necessity as a consequence of increased migratory pressures primarily due to the Yugoslav Wars, and because migration increasingly was seen as means to facilitate a demographic renewal. The 2000 *Communication on a Community Immigration Policy* (COM(2000) 757 final) reflects this dual purpose and highlights the need to target growing labor shortages with immigration from third country nations (European Commission, 2000, p. 3). The idea to leverage migration policy as a means to counter demographic ageing and labor shortages gained traction in the governance process with the release of the United Nation's Report on Replacement Migration (United Nations, 2000), which for the first time quantified the number of migrants needed in individual countries to maintain stable populations, thereby safeguarding against the negative

¹¹ By 2010, the old-age employment rate had increased by ten percentage points, representing 38.8 % for women and 54.6 % for men (Eurofound, 2012).

consequences of population ageing. The hence established focus on productivity and economic growth is continued in the Commission's 2003 *Communication on immigration, integration and employment* (COM(2003) 336 final). However, the notion of a singular focus on immigration to reverse population declines was explicitly rejected (European Commission, 2003, pp. 16–17).

The Third Wave: Bridging Investment and Sustainability of Public Finances.

The EU efforts up to 2005 have therefore focused to a large extent on passive measures with the addition of economic migration. Among the passive measures, focus was increasingly centered on employment and pension reforms. The new wave was to build on this legacy but it did so in a modified way by re-introducing social investment aspects, and including for the first time – albeit cautiously – aspects of active policies directly targeting some of the causes for low fertility. To be sure, the 2002 Barcelona Summit did mention social investment aspects such as child care (European Council, 2002, p. 12) but the 2005 Green Paper did so in a more integrated and strategic manner, raising it to a truly European issue. For instance, in its conclusion to the Green Paper, the Commission set three priorities: A return to demographic growth; ensuring a balance between the generations; and finding new bridges between the stages of life. Hence, the 2005 Green Paper is arguably an attempt to bridge the two preceding approaches of social investment and sustainable public finances respectively, and to initiate a process of systematic expert involvement and fostering public discussion about the demographic transition in Europe. Indeed, a Green Paper is an EU legal document with the purpose to stimulate discussion at the European level including processes of open stakeholder consultation (Eur-Lex, 2017).

The open stakeholder consultation was quickly followed-up by a Communication (COM(2006) 571 final), which acted as a catalysator in framing and driving the demographic debate at the European level. The distinguishing features of this Communication were twofold: First, it changed the language by framing the demographic transition as an opportunity for better and longer lives for Europeans, which, however, had to be underpinned by long-term investments in health, lifelong learning, and sustainable finances (European Commission, 2006b, p. 5). For these policies to be implemented, the Communication argued, Europe faced a window of opportunity of approximately ten years (ibid., p. 10). Secondly, the Communication started an integrated process resulting in a constant presence of the demographic issue on the European agenda for the years to come: It introduced the concept of bi-annual demographic forums for which the results would be published in the Demography Reports (ibid., p.8). These had not been published since the beginning of the first wave of demographic governance in the 1990's. Thereby, an inter-disciplinary arena for expert

involvement was created, and the social dimension of demographic governance was re-introduced as was also exemplified by the 2008 *Communication for a Renewed Social Agenda*.

In sum, then, the start of the third wave of demographic governance is best understood as the point in time when the European Commission truly took the institutional lead on the topic of demographic governance and created an institutional framework which ensured that the topic would not slip away during the coming years. The Commission's approach was clearly framed with an acknowledgement of the two earlier "waves" of governance, trying to integrate the social investment dimension with the employment and pension focus which was so dominant during the second period. This balancing of approaches was also exemplified by the intra-institutional approach of the EC: The Ageing Report remained the analytical flagship document produced by the ECFIN service. However, the economic focus of the Ageing Report was again supplemented by the Demography Report which is produced by the EMPL department.

Subsequently, demography took on a prominent role in President Barroso's *Europe 2020* strategy, which identified demographic ageing as one of three structural weaknesses that needed to be addressed (European Commission, 2010a, p. 5). The accompanying flagship initiative of an *Innovation Union*, therefore, included demographic change as a focus point for innovation policy, and the ageing society was highlighted as a main challenge to arrive at inclusive economic growth (ibid., p. 10 & 16). Indeed, the *Demographic Dimension of the Europe 2020 Strategy* became the headline of the third Demography Forum (European Commission, 2010c). In the same year, the *Green Paper on Pensions* was released, giving new impetus to the need to adopt welfare systems to new demographic structures (European Commission, 2010b). Reflecting on the above proposed synthesis of approaches in the third wave of governance, this Green Paper took an inclusive approach, incorporating economic, social and financial market strategies (ibid., p. 3). It highlighted a need to address adequacy concerns to protect retirees from poverty since hitherto efforts had overly focused on sustainability concerns (ibid., p. 8).

The aim to gain traction with a positive look on demographic ageing in the European society was further pursued by the introduction of the 2012 *European Year on Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations*. The objective of this awareness-rising event was to "facilitate the creation of an active ageing culture in Europe based on a society for all ages" and to mobilize a wide range of stakeholders (European Union, 2011). A significant outcome of the European Year was the *Active Ageing Index* which was jointly developed by the European Centre for Social Welfare in Vienna

(ECV), the Commission's Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (DG EMPL), and the United Nation's Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) (European Commission, 2012b). The index is designed to capture the social as well as the employment dimension of active ageing and, hence, breaks to a certain extent with the previous practice of a social discourse accompanied by a practice that neglected the social dimension (Walker, 2008). The social dimension of ageing policy was further reinforced by the introduction of the Social Investment Package (SIP) in February 2013 by the DG EMPL service. Significant contributions of this action were a fixed minimum allocation of 25 % of the European Social Fund to social investment, and the strengthening of the social investment dimension within the European Semester (European Commission, 2013, p. 15). Additionally, the SIP made the case for social policy to be regarded as investment that must be pursued by Member States to "restore and maintain prosperity in Europe" (European Commission, 2012a, p. 3).

In recent years, EU efforts have undertaken a slight re-orientation in placing migration center-stage among the efforts to govern the demographic transition. This development is underpinned by Commission President Juncker's list of priorities for his tenure as President which includes the demographic dimension only as a sub-category to the greater migratory challenge (European Commission, 2017a). Hence, recent focus is on direct actions to address the demographic transition by inter alia reorganizing the EU Blue Card system to improve the attractiveness of the EU as a destination in the global "war for talent". This has been manifested by the launch of an *EU Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography* in 2016 (European Commission, 2017c).

Figure 2 provides for an indicative illustration over the sub-fields associated with the governance challenge. The sub-fields were identified from a review of all EU produced output related to demographic change. The approaches are structured according to a distinction between administering and designing approaches which in turn are separated into direct and indirect categories. An administrative approach is aimed at adapting to demographic trends either directly by changing the categories that define a working-age population (e.g. by raising the retirement age), or indirectly by investing in the workforce with the aim to increase the employment rate and to increase productivity. The designing strand, on the other hand, covers approaches that directly or indirectly target the underlying population dynamics. Migration and improved access to assisted medical reproduction represent direct approaches, while indirect measures cover approaches aimed at facilitating an environment in which young people can get the number of children that they want

(e.g. work-life-balance, improved day-care etc.). The visualization of the combined approaches illustrates the high levels of issue-ambiguity associated with the governance challenge.

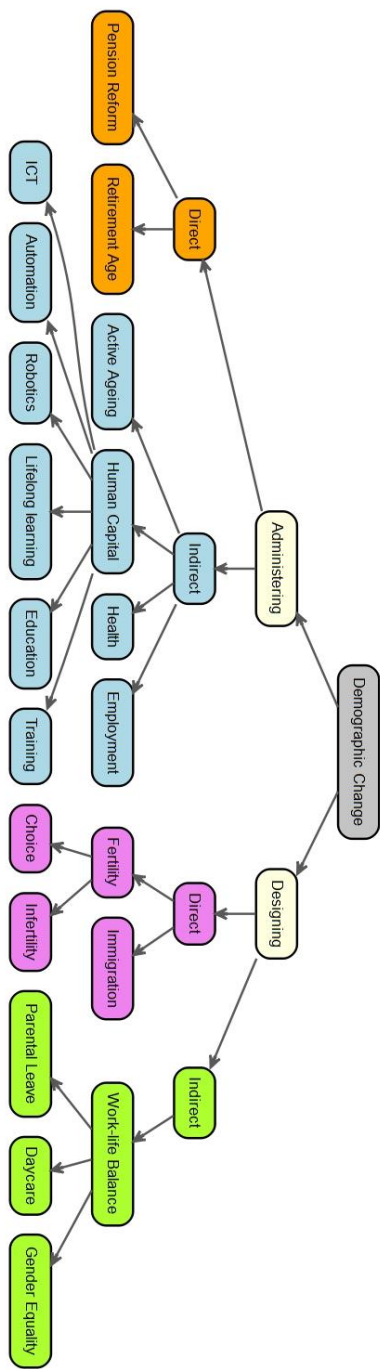


Figure 2: Issue distinctions

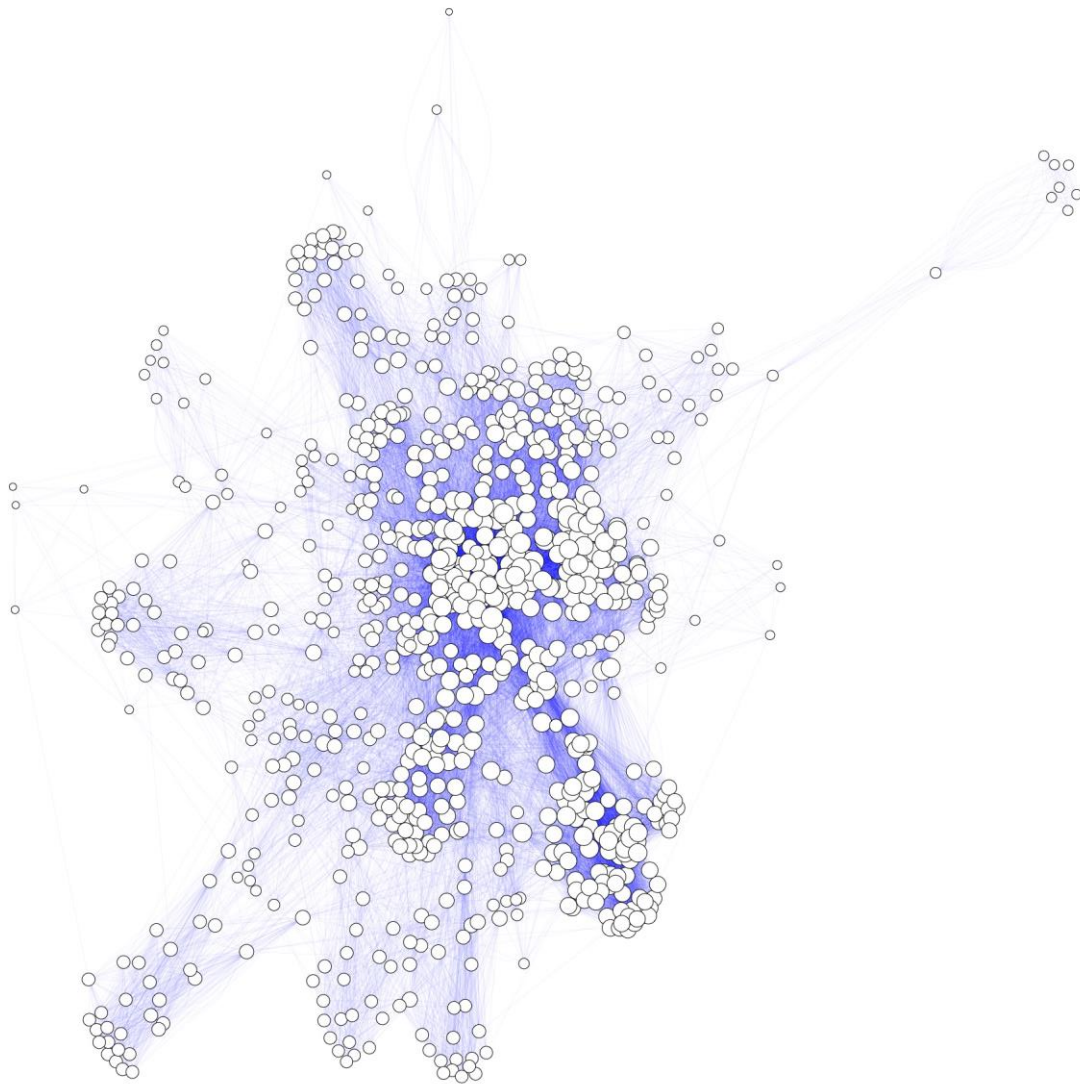


Figure 3: The Full Network Consisting of 856 Nodes and 4,569 Affiliations

Quantitative Analysis

The Full Network

The SNA consists of 856 individual actors, which are all identified from the demand-driven nominalist approach. This has resulted in a total of 4,569 affiliations based on each individual's career path and participation in EU coordinated events, expert groups and publications. Figure 4 shows the distribution of actors in terms of professional affiliations. We distinguish between three basic types of affiliations: Actors working for the EU institutions (102), public officials (167), and actors who are external to the political process (587). The relatively high number of domestic public officials underscores the significance of the multi-level governance challenge. Figure 3 depicts the entire network. At a first glance, the network does not reveal much in terms of who are the most important actors and what their given characteristics are. Thus, the following sections will uncover the story of the network and its attributes. Specifically, we will provide an overview of the characteristics of experts and their professional and educational affiliations. Scrutinizing EC officials in terms of what service they are affiliated with and educational backgrounds will highlight the dominant EC services and indicate dominant approaches. The latter is done through an analysis of the composition of educational backgrounds between departments. Furthermore, a cluster analysis will highlight what attributes "make" an actor important in the network and how actors are linked to each other in cohesive groups. Finally, a sub-conclusion will connect the dots from the SNA and present the story inferred from the quantitative part of our analysis.

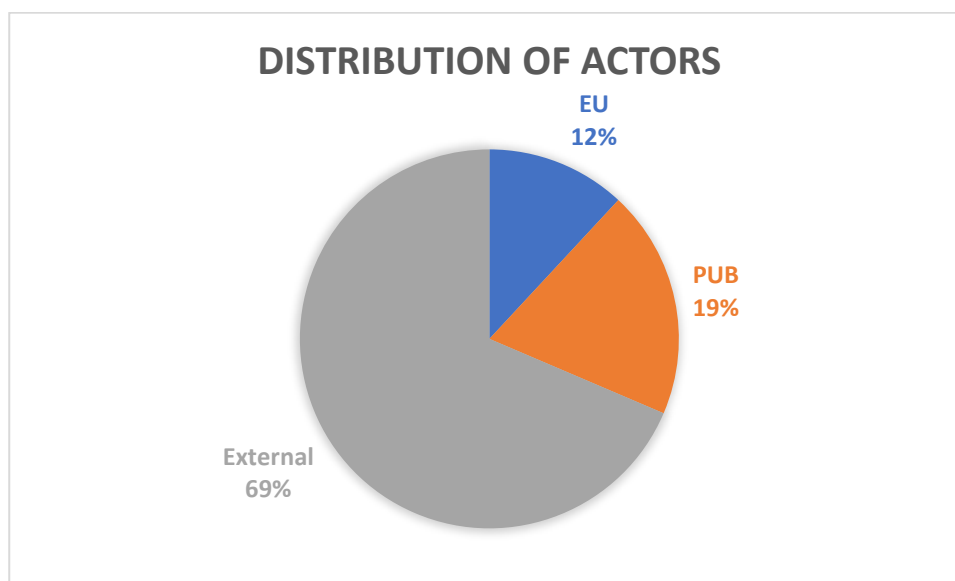


Figure 4: Distribution of Actors

External Experts: Educational and Professional Affiliations

As already highlighted, the field of demographic change is characterized by many different sub-fields. These sub-fields, be it longevity, fertility, migration, human capital, or pension systems represent different disciplines within academia. Thus, when investigating the characteristics of the expert network surrounding demographic change within the EU, it is interesting also to investigate the background of the external actors. This includes both an investigation of the formal training (i.e. educational background) as well as actors' professional affiliations. Such insights can give an indication of the cultural capital that is of value in the network of demographic change. Figure 5 highlights that the identified experts have a background in various academic disciplines. This aligns well with the characteristic of demographic change being a dispersed field. However, it is also apparent that the educational affiliation is skewed towards economics, which accounts for around 30 % of the total experts. This number is significantly higher than any other discipline including demography (5 %). It raises the question whether actors' academic backgrounds translate into the dominant epistemic approach in the field of demographic change.

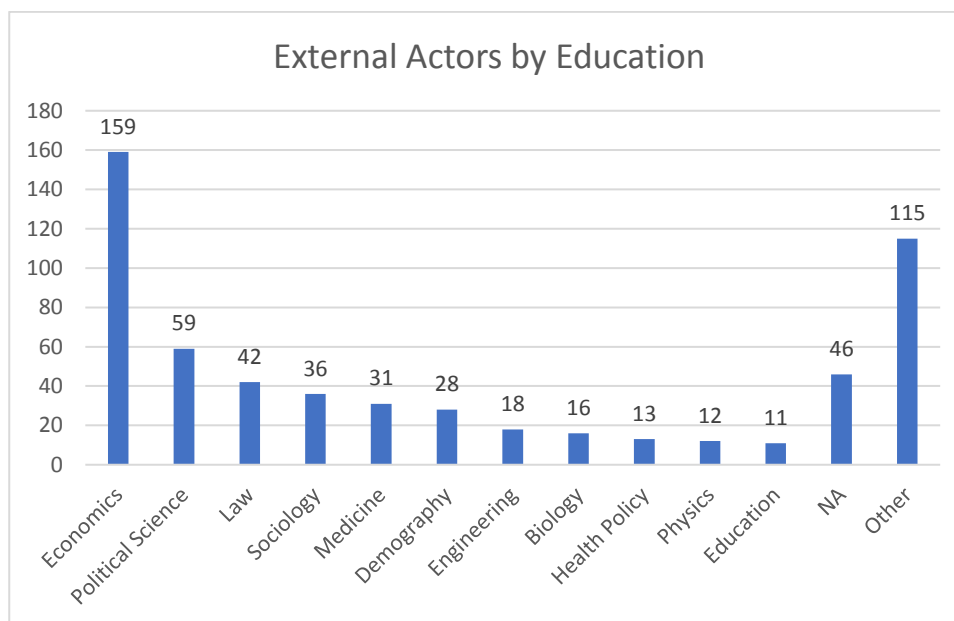


Figure 5: External Actors by Education

Figure 6 highlights that external actors are affiliated professionally mostly with universities, accounting for roughly 45 %. Interest groups (IG) represent the second highest professional affiliation accounting for around 15 % of the external experts in the network. We have broadly defined interest groups as advocacy organizations working to promote a certain agenda. Research institutes (RI) are organizations concerned with academic research without being directly affiliated with a university. A research institute differentiates itself from think tanks (TT) in terms of the output it produces. The funding of research institutes is mostly dependent on producing academic papers subject to publication in scientific journals whereas think tanks are concerned with research targeting policy makers and promoting a certain agenda. Actors affiliated with research institutes account for about 13 %. It is also worth highlighting that actors affiliated with IOs account for approximately 9 %. The experts from IOs are mostly affiliated with the OECD, which the EC both uses as reference in Demography Reports and Pension Adequacy Reports. Further, the OECD plays a significant role in co-hosting events with the DG EMPL service.

To sum up, around 60 % of the experts in the network are working as academics/researchers at universities or research institutes. This is an important insight as it indicates that private interests are relatively less vocal in the field of demographic change. This raises the question of what type of knowledge (cultural capital) is the most effective, a question we will turn to later in this thesis.

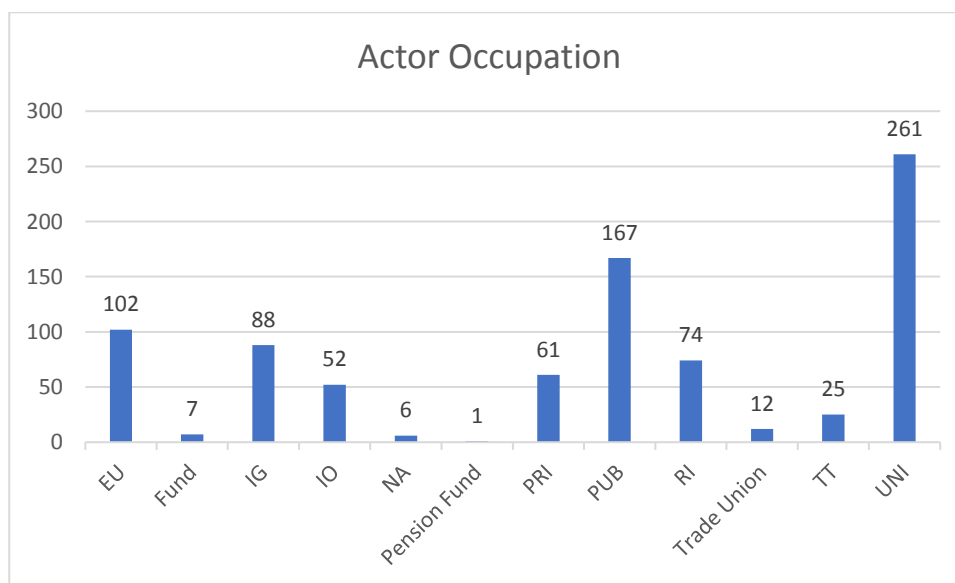


Figure 6: Actors by Occupation

EU Internal Experts: Educational and Service Affiliations

The SNA identified 102 EU-related actors across the institutions dealing with the issue of demographic change¹². This section will address the overall composition of in-house experts and ask whether there are general attributes that “make” an expert across the European institutions.

Among the European institutions, the Commission is represented by the majority of EU-related personnel accounting for 60 individuals or 58 % of total in-house experts. Other relevant services represented are the European Parliament (14), Eurostat (10), the Social Protection Committee (6), the ECB (3) and specialized agencies such as the European Foundation for the improvement of living and working conditions (Eurofound) (4), and the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) (1). The quantitative results therefore reinforce the dominant position of the EC in the field and indicates that the institution has taken the institutional lead. In terms of educational backgrounds, there is a general tendency for EU experts to hold degrees in economics (36 or 35.3%) or political science (15 or 14.7 %). Law, business, sociology, history and engineering backgrounds do occur but are the exception. For 16 actors, the educational background could not be obtained. Noteworthy is the absence of actors with a formal education in demographics. In total, 38 in-house experts are women and 64 are men. Hence, when looking at the EU as a whole, the in-house experts tend to work in the Commission and hold degrees in economics or political science. Additionally, there is a 2/3 chance for in-house experts to be men.

The next section will provide for a closer investigation of the internal composition of actors within the Commission. This relates to the question whether there is a general tendency of actor attributes that “make” in-house experts differ among EC departments, and if so in what way. The first finding is that in-house experts tend to work in one out of two departments: The Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (DG EMPL) is represented by 34 in-house actors accounting for more than half (56 %) of total Commission in-house experts and almost a third (32 %) of total EU experts. The educational background within the DG EMPL service is heavily skewed towards economics, which accounts for 56 % (18 individuals). Political Science, on the other hand, is approximately in the same magnitude as for the EU as a whole, representing 19 %. In terms of gender, the DG EMPL is composed of 23 men (68 %) and 11 women (32 %).

¹² This relates to actors that were employed by EU institutions when they participated in relevant events. A person that joined the European institutions at an earlier or later stage is, hence, not coded as an in-house expert.

Additionally, the Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN) is represented by 11 individuals, accounting for 19 % of Commission actors and 11 % of EU actors respectively. Within DG ECFIN, the economics profession is even more profound accounting for 73 % of individuals. Ten out of 11 individuals are men, representing a strong gender bias even when compared to the overall tendency among the European institutions in this field. The remaining 15 individuals are split out somewhat evenly among a diverse set of directorate generals including the DG for Migration (DG HOME), Justice (DG JUST), Education (DG EAC), and Research (DG JRC).

Hence, the SNA indicates that the EC is governing demographic change primarily through the DG EMPL and the DG ECFIN services. Both departments rely heavily on the work from economists in their approach to demographic change although the DG EMPL exhibits relatively more diverse backgrounds including a relatively more balanced composition of gender.

In contrast to the EC, the members of the European Parliament (MEPs) represent a less homogenous group. The 14 individuals identified have 12 different educational backgrounds and originate from 11 different countries. Nine MEPs are female and five are male. Their average age is almost 60 years, and their political affiliations are diverse. MEPs have participated in a diverse set of events ranging from demography forums to roundtables. Important positions within the EP tend to be the rapporteur on demographic change, the rapporteur on the needs of older people, and the Chairperson on the intergroup on family and protection of childhood.

Eurostat is the European institution that provides the data input for *inter alia* the Demography Reports. Seven out of ten actors have been identified in this way. Given their role as providers of objective information, these actors are excluded from a closer analysis.

Lastly, the Social Protection Committee (SPC) is represented by six EU-affiliated individuals. The role of the SPC is of particular interest to the internal dynamics within the EU institutions. This question will, however, be addressed in the qualitative analysis. For now, it is sufficient to note that the identified SPC actors possess diverse educational backgrounds and are all men. An interesting detail is that two individuals in this group have previously worked for the DG EMPL service, indicating possible linkages between these departments.

In sum, internal experts at the EU level tend to be concentrated around the DG EMPL and DG ECFIN departments. The topic of demographic change is, however, not exclusively addressed by

these two departments. The SNA indicates an interplay between the EC, the EP, and the Council which is represented through the Social Protection Committee. Nonetheless, the EC is clearly dominating the process. Interestingly, no indications are to be found on internal experts switching between the two dominant departments within the EC. Lastly, the absence of formal demographers is a striking finding given the otherwise well-established interest of the European institutions in the demographic dimension.

Centrality Measures – Who Are the Most Important Actors?

Now, we have accounted for general tendencies among the three types of actors. However, moving to the actor level of analysis, the SNA can reveal how actors are positioned and how these positions translate into power. The following section, thus, provides for an analysis of the two applied centrality measures: Betweenness and closeness.

Betweenness Centrality

The betweenness value indicates the shortest distance between actors. Thus, it is related to the concept of brokerage, and actors with a high betweenness score are in a position to exert control over the flow of information between non-connected units. Tables 1, 2, and 3 list the 10 top performers on betweenness centrality from each of the three basic distinctions of affiliations; external actors, EU employees, and public officials from member states. Besides listing the names of the 10 most influential actors from each distinction, the tables also account for their ranking in the overall betweenness score, and their educational background. The table of EU affiliated actors also lists the respective EU service at which the actor is employed. The table of public officials also includes the nationality of the actors.

External Experts

It is noteworthy to highlight that 8 out of the 10 highest scoring actors on the betweenness score are external actors and not EU officials or public officials from MS (see table 1). Furthermore, we also see that the professional affiliations of these actors are mostly with universities or research institutes (7 out of 10). This is also in accordance with the general picture we saw from the entire network with researchers and academics accounting for around 60 % of external actors. Actors with formal training in demography make up a significantly larger group among the ten most central external actors (3 out of 10) when compared to the entire network.

The high proportion of external actors on the betweenness score reveals that external experts have positioned themselves strategically allowing them to exert influence over the flow of information

between actors and groups of actors. In order to understand what makes an actor perform well on betweenness centrality, a closer look is needed to examine whether there is a pattern in terms of what events and organizations these actors are affiliated with. A significant finding is that five out of the 10 actors have participated in one or more of the demography forums organized by DG EMPL. These forums (2006-2013) focused on the facilitation of knowledge-sharing between policymakers, stakeholder, and experts from all over Europe. Another finding is that the European network Population Europe is a common affiliation between 6 of the 10 most important actors. Population Europe is a partnership between leading universities and research institutes “seeking to mobilize Europe’s best demographic researchers to coordinate and strengthen collaborative research efforts, and to contribute reliable facts and findings to public discussions of population issues in a research-driven evidence-based way” (Population Europe, 2017). Thus, we both see that a certain type of event organized by DG EMPL is highly significant as well as an academic network established by prominent demographers.

The following paragraphs will put central external actors under scrutiny. A closer examination of these actors will further highlight important affiliations and, thus, emphasize the social capital at work. Also, it will highlight whether the given actor is central in his own capacity, or if (s)he is central because of the person’s affiliation with a powerful organization. Put differently, is an actor consulted by the EU institutions because (s)he is perceived to “know well” or is the actor consulted because (s)he is representing an organization whose interests are considered important?

The actor who scores highest on betweenness centrality is Wolfgang Lutz. He is an Austrian national and trained demographer who is the founder and director of the Wittgenstein Centre. Wolfgang Lutz’ organizational affiliations are numerous. The Wittgenstein Centre is a collaboration between the International Institute for Applied System Analysis (IIASA), the Vienna Institute of Demography (VID), and the Demography Group of the Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU) all of which Wolfgang Lutz has been employed at. Additionally, he also holds the position of director at the VID and the IIASA. Wolfgang Lutz is also affiliated with Population Europe as well as the Oxford Institute of Population Ageing, the Population Reference Bureau, the Asian MetaCentre for Population and Sustainable Development, and the Berlin Institute for Population and Development. Furthermore, Wolfgang Lutz’ work on demographic change is also being noticed within the EU institutions. He was referenced in the 2007, 2008, and 2010 Demography Reports published by DG EMPL. At the 2006 and 2008 demography forums hosted by DG EMPL, Wolfgang Lutz was invited as a keynote speaker to deliver an address on the current

state of affairs on Europe's demographic situation and projected development. Also, Prof Lutz is co-heading the newly established partnership between IIASA and the EC's science and knowledge service (the Joint Research Centre (JRC)) called the Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography (KCMD). Thus, Prof. Lutz has multiple ties to both the demographic community within and beyond Europe as well as the EC which on multiple occasions drew on his expertise, mainly through the EMPL service. Relating this to the characteristics of betweenness, Wolfgang Lutz may well be positioned in the network as a broker who can control the flow of information thereby influencing the political agenda.

The second most central actor on betweenness centrality is Anna d'Addio. Taking a closer look on her professional affiliations, one must be careful not to exaggerate her importance as an individual actor. When participating in various events at the EU level and being cited in EC publications, Ms. d'Addio has been a representative of the OECD. Recently, Ms. d'Addio joined UNESCO as a senior policy analyst. Although actors affiliated with UNESCO are present in the network, none of them are among the most central ones. It therefore raises the question whether Ms. d'Addio's centrality is an outcome of her affiliation with the OECD rather than her own individual attributes. The EC and in particular the DG EMPL service are working closely together with the OECD, organizing seminars on pension reforms. The OECD is also a key source for providing data and indicators on demography including indicators on fertility rates, elderly population, and the working age population, allowing for comparisons between countries (OECD, 2017). Thus, it can be argued that the collaboration is with the OECD rather than with Anna d'Addio. This is contrary to Prof. Lutz who arguably is inseparable from his primary affiliation with the Wittgenstein Centre of which he is a founding director.

The general statistics highlighted that representatives of interest groups were quantitatively present in the network, accounting for around 15 % of the external actors in the network. However, the betweenness centrality indicates low performance of actors affiliated with interest groups. Nonetheless, we still find it relevant to highlight which interest groups are primarily consulted by the EC. Two aspects are worth mentioning. First, the top performer of actors affiliated with interest groups is Anne-Sophie Parent (27 on the betweenness centrality). Ms. Parent is the Secretary General of the AGE Platform Europe. The AGE Platform is concerned with promoting the interests of the 190 million citizens aged 50+ in the EU (AGE Platform Europe, 2017). Ms. Parent has participated in the first two Demography Forums, a seminar on demographic change hosted by the DG EMPL, and two expert groups including the Committee in the Area of Supplementary Pensions

which also is headed by DG EMPL. Ms. Parent has been the Secretary General of the AGE Platform since it was established in the early 2000s and she is the only representative from the organization that features in the network. We can thus infer two things; the primary engagement from the Commission with civil society is concerned with the interests of the older population of the EU, and Ms. Parent has established herself as a leading expert and as *the* representative of the older population.

Second, we see that actors from the leading private sector interest group, BusinessEurope, are relatively active in the field of demographic change. This is highlighted by participation in the first three Demography Forums, a couple of seminars on demographic change, as well as numerous expert groups addressing areas related to demographic change. There is, however, no single actor representing BusinessEurope on the subject of demographic change. Rather, responsibility is delegated to different employees. Loes van Embden (who is no longer employed by BusinessEurope) is the top performer from the organization on the betweenness centrality (102). This indicates that actors with ties to BusinessEurope are part of the network because of the affiliation with the interest group and not in their own capacity. Furthermore, the fact that no single actor from the organization is leading the organization's activity on demographic change indicates that the topic is not a top priority for the organization. Given the fact that BusinessEurope is the leading interest group of the European private sector in Brussels, this raises the question whether demographic change is addressed by the private actors at all. As a final note, public officials from member states are not performing well on the betweenness centrality. Thus, we will not further highlight the attributes of these actors in this context. Actors affiliated with the EC will be investigated in the subsequent section, analyzing the closeness centrality measures.

Table 1: External Actors - Betweenness Centrality

External Actors - Betweenness			
Rank overall	Name	Profession	Education
1	Wolfgang Lutz	RI	Demography
2	Anna d'Addio	IO	Economics
4	Bernard Casey	UNI	Economics
5	Dan Andree	RI	Physics
6	Petra Wilson	PRI	Law
7	Anonymous	PRI	Demography
9	Elias Mossialos	UNI	Political Science
10	James Vaupel	RI	Demography
11	Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	UNI	Economics
15	Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdottir	UNI	Political Science

Table 2: EU Actors - Betweenness Centrality

EU - Betweenness			
Rank overall	Name	EU Branch	Education
3	Jörg Peschner	DG EMPL	Economics
9	Giuseppe Carone	DG ECFIN	Economics
14	Georg Fischer	DG EMPL	Economics
17	Laszlo Andor	DG EMPL	Economics
20	Jakob von Weizsäcker	EP	Physics
21	Pascaline Descy	CEDEFOP	Education
23	Lieve Fransen	DG EMPL	Medicine
25	Fritz von Nordheim Nilsen	DG EMPL	Sociology
26	Lenia Samuel	DG EMPL	Public Administration
28	Ettore Marchetti	DG EMPL	Statistics

Table 3: Public Officials - Betweenness Centrality

PUB - Betweenness			
Rank overall	Name	Country	Education
12	Maria Stratigaki	Greece	Political Science
13	Paul Morrin	Ireland	Economics
42	Michel Englert	Belgium	Economics
44	Ileana Carmen Manu	Romania	N/A
45	Torben Hede	Denmark	N/A
48	Eleonora Hostasch	Austria	Business
80	Tom Bevers	Belgium	Economics
81	Maria do Carmo Gomes	Portugal	Sociology
88	Jerzy Ciechanski	Poland	N/A
94	Jean-Philippe Cotis	France	Economics

Closeness Centrality

The closeness centrality identifies how close one actor is to everyone else in the network. Thus, this centrality measure is more concerned with the pace of which one actor can spread and obtain information in the network. As with betweenness, we have listed the ten top performers from each of our three basic distinctions of affiliations: External actors, EU employees, and public officials from member states. We see that out of the ten most important actors, four are external actors and six are EU employees (see table 4, 5, and 6). Therefore, compared to betweenness, external actors are less central and EU employees are of greater importance. This is not the most surprising insight given our demand-driven nominalist approach to boundary setting, using the EU as our starting point for identifying events. Hence, the closeness centrality variable indicates that EU employees are the actors who most efficiently can spread information to the entire network. Furthermore, we see that 8 out of the 10 most central *external* actors also featured on the top ten on the betweenness scale indicating that also private actors are positioned strategically to spread information in the network. Once again, we do not see public officials from MS performing at the top of scale, indicating that MS play a less central role in our network.

The EC as the Main Facilitator

As mentioned above, 6 of the 10 most central actors based on closeness are employees of the EC. Also, all of the top ten EC employees are affiliated with DG EMPL. This confirms two findings from the document analysis: First, the EC is the main facilitator that drives the political process on demographic change within the EU institutions. Second, within the EC, DG EMPL is the primary service concerned with producing output, organizing events, and facilitating expert involvement at the European level. The question is whether this resembles reality. Most of the content produced by the Commission is indeed produced by DG EMPL be it publications or events. However, what we cannot measure from our SNA are the internal dynamics within the EC, and thus the quality and relative weight of ties. We know that DG ECFIN is also invested in the governance of demographic change as exemplified by the biannual Ageing Report. Additionally, the Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs (DG HOME) is the primary service coordinating expert involvement on economic migration as a sub-field to demographic change. Lastly, the research and innovation service (DG RTD) is invested in the issues of gender equality, higher education, health, and innovation policies. Thus, our SNA identifies DG EMPL as the most important service within the EC due to its level of activity. Notably, the DG EMPL service is by far the leading service in consulting with trained demographers: Only one is linked to the ECFIN. However, we have to be

cautious to infer that activity equates influence. We will address the question of power dynamics within the EC in the qualitative analysis.

Table 4: EU Officials - Closeness Centrality

EU - Closeness			
Rank overall	Name	EU Branch	Education
3	Lieve Fransen	DG EMPL	Medicine
6	Laszlo Andor	DG EMPL	Economics
7	Georg Fischer	DG EMPL	Economics
8	Fritz von Nordheim Nilsen	DG EMPL	Sociology
9	Ettore Marchetti	DG EMPL	Statistics
10	Jörg Peschner	DG EMPL	Economics
11	Vladimir Spidla	DG EMPL	History
12	Egbert Holthuis	DG EMPL	Business
13	Paul Minty	DG EMPL	Paul Minty
14	Lena Samuel	DG EMPL	Public Administration

Table 5: External Actors - Closeness Centrality

External Actors - Closeness			
Rank overall	Name	Profession	Education
1	Anna d'Addio	IO	Economics
2	Bernard Casey	UNI	Economics
4	Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	UNI	Economics
5	Wolfgang Lutz	RI	Demography
21	James Vaupel	RI	Demography
24	Stefanos Grammenos	PRI	Economics
26	Rainer Münz	PRI	Demography
28	Jørgen Mortensen	TT	Economics
30	Anne Sophie Parent	IG	Translation
34	Francesco Billari	UNI	Demography

Table 6: Public Officials - Closeness Centrality

PUB - Closeness			
Rank overall	Name	Country	Education
28	Yves Chassard	France	Business
32	Lennart Janssens	Netherlands	Economics
37	Paul Morrin	Ireland	Economics
67	Maria Stratigaki	Greece	Political Science
83	Maria do Carmo Gomes	Portugal	Sociology
99	Eleonora Hostasch	Austria	Business
107	Jean-Philippe Cotis	France	Economics
108	Aspassia Strantzalou	Greece	N/A
113	Denis Maguain	France	Economics
117	Tom Bevers	Belgium	Economics

Cluster Analysis: Identifying Community Structures

Uncovering community structures in networks can be advantageous in order to understand how a larger network is composed of smaller groups in which all actors belonging to a certain group are closer to each other than to any other node in the network (Henriksen & Waldstrøm, 2016). In that way, a cluster analysis can tell us how groups of experts internal and external to the Commission can form even beyond specific events. Hence, a cluster analysis can hint us at possible linkages of issues. For example, gender equality could be expected to be relatively close to issues such as day care and education. On the other hand, linkages between human capital discourses and assisted reproductive technologies (ART) would not be expected. A cluster analysis can therefore order groups of actors according to their relative distance to each other. This can highlight cases in which individuals act as bridging elements, connecting entire groups of people. The results of the cluster analysis are presented in table 7 (see also Appendix H and I).

The *Louvain* cluster analysis identified 12 clusters ranging from a group size of eight to 131 individuals. Some clusters contain individuals from only one event (e.g. cluster eight), indicating that these experts have been operating in relative isolation from other actors and events. On the other hand, some of the larger clusters connect multiple events and types of actors, indicating shared ties among actors beyond specific events. Cluster 5, 6, and 7 are examples of that. A second interesting dimension to investigate is the composition of actor types within clusters: Are external experts clustered with their peers or do we see overlapping memberships with EU and public officials? And if so, why is this the case? The subsequent section will take a closer look at these questions. First, we will look at single-issue clusters which are centered around specific events. Cluster 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 can be argued to belong to this group. Second, the remaining clusters are investigated, and it is highlighted, how individuals bridge issues and events to form community structures within the larger field of demographic change.

A first result of the cluster analysis is that it highlights relatively isolated issues within the larger field demographic governance. 518 individuals (60 %) are clustered in such single-issue communities. This finding alone indicates a fragmented field. It is, however, more intrusive to investigate what topics seem to be isolated. The annual Pension Adequacy Report is indicated to be such a case (cluster one). The 43 public officials within this cluster further indicate that the Pension Adequacy Report is a largely Member State driven process, and the EU takes on the role of a facilitator rather than a steering element. This is further highlighted by the fact that 50 members of the cluster have links to the SPC which operates as an advisory body to the EPSCO¹³ council, which in turn is operating under the auspices of the European Council.

Secondly, the 2015 Communication on Migration was, notwithstanding its emphasis on the demographic dimension, drafted without the help of external experts that were connected to the larger demographic field. Cluster two highlights instead the role of Unisys, a large IT company, which has been dominating the external expert involvement in this case. The isolated nature of the migration issue is further highlighted by cluster 11, which exclusively covers the expert group on economic migration. Interestingly, there does not seem to be any cross-membership between these two clusters, indicating two very distinct bureaucratic approaches within the DG HOME service.

¹³ The EPSCO council is the Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council and can be understood as the DG EMPL's counterpart in the European Council.

Table 7: Cluster Analysis

Cluster	Number of actors	Connecting event(s)	Other connecting element
1	52	Pension Adequacy Reports	Public officials and EU internal experts
2	8	2015 Communication on Migration	Private interest group affiliation
3	64	E02818 E02942 E03034	Academic affiliation
4	32	E02164	Academic affiliation
5	85	Diverse	Education oriented expert involvement. External experts.
6	122	Diverse	EU internal experts and lesser connected external experts
7	131	Diverse	Public officials, external experts and IO representatives of high centrality. Population Europe.
8	35	JPI-MYBL	External experts.
9	69	2007 & 2008 Demography Reports	Academia and other external experts
10	117	Demography Forums	EU internal experts External experts of lower centrality measures. Public officials.
11	35	E03253	External experts
12	104	Ageing Reports	External experts IOs Public Officials

Additionally, the isolated nature of the two DG HOME efforts indicates an autonomous working of the service with little cross-service coordination. Further, the third event distinctively addressing the migration dimension (the EC Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography) is an inter-service effort linked to the DG HOME expert group by only one individual – Demetrios Papademitriou from the Migration Policy Institute. Thus, it can be argued that DG HOME is operating in relative isolation from the other EC services.

Third, cluster four indicates that the external experts working in the expert group on the issues of gender equality, social inclusion, health and long-term care were largely unconnected to other relevant experts operating in similar areas (e.g. cluster 3). This result is rather surprising because the issues of gender equality and social inclusion took on an increasingly prominent role in EU discourse throughout the late 2000's and early 2010's as was indicated by the review of EU output in the case description. However, not a single participant of this expert group has close links to other relevant events in this issue area. Instead, internal cross-membership is highlighted with seven actors sharing ties to the expert group on gender equality and employment issues (E02161), which is not directly related to the demographic dimension.

Fourth, cluster 8 captures all members of the Joint Program Initiative "More Years Better Lives" (JPI-MYBL). Again, the seeming isolation of these experts within the network is surprising given the explicit transnational and multi-disciplinary approach of this setting (JPI MYBL, 2017). However, only two members of this group possess links to other relevant EU events of which only one explicitly deals with demographic change.

Fifth, cluster nine captures primarily external experts from diverse backgrounds linked to DG EMPL's Demography Reports. 66 actors possess links to these events. However, the label of single-issue experts does not apply to the same extent here, as the Demography Reports capture a wide range of areas and link multiple issues to the demographic dimension. A more interesting element is the rather strict separation of experts involved with the Demography Reports from those linked to the Ageing Reports as represented in cluster 12. Together, as highlighted in the case description, these reports combine to the two major continuous outputs on the demographic dimension from the EC. However, the two corresponding Directorate Generals (ECFIN and EMPL) do not seem to include the same experts in their input. Only one external expert possesses links to both types of reports. This underscores the distinct foci of the two DGs. However, it also hints at differing understandings of what the demographic challenge translates to in political terms. That is, whereas

the expert involvement in the Demography Report is characterized by a relatively heterogeneous educational background, the Ageing Report relies to a significant extent (54 %) on external input from trained economists.

However, a closer analysis of the external experts related to the two types of publications reveals a somewhat different picture. For example, when the focus is directed to academic references (i.e. actors working in the field of academia), the educational backgrounds are relatively similar: The Ageing Reports include references to 67 academics and 34 of those are trained economists, corresponding to 51 %. For the Demography reports, the corresponding numbers are 64 academics out of which 23 are trained economists translating to a share of 36 %. Hence, a difference remains but the comparison reveals that both reports rely to significant extent on input from economists. In terms of other educational backgrounds, the picture is also relatively equal: Both rely on a mix of trained economists, demographers, health scientists, mathematicians, medical experts, and sociologists. The share of demographers is, however, significantly larger in the Demography Reports (22 %) *vis-à-vis* the Ageing Report (7.5 %).

The two reports differ, however, on another dimension: The Ageing Report has a significantly higher tendency to cite academics affiliated with US universities (46 %) than the Demography Reports (4.5 %). Previous research has highlighted the role of US universities in promoting a supply-side oriented understanding of economics associated with neo-liberal ideas (Nelson, 2014). It is therefore of interest to zoom in on the geographic dimension for referenced economists only: For the Demography Reports, out of the 24 cited economists, only one is affiliated with a US university while all 23 remaining economists are affiliated with European universities and research institutes. For the Ageing Reports, the corresponding number is 6 out of 34 while the remaining 28 are affiliated with European institutes. Therefore, the focus on trained economists weakens the presumed impact of US universities, and no conclusion can be drawn in this context. Nonetheless, when taken together, the above analysis indicates differing approaches of the two Reports, and the difference in geographic focus is a part of this story.

If and to what extent these two approaches are coordinated within the work of the Commission is a question to be answered in the qualitative analysis. Nonetheless, the quantitative results do not indicate that such an internal coordination of approaches exists, at least not in a formalized way. Additionally, the results hint at a possible bureaucratic competition between the two departments

about the *Deutungshoheit* – that is, the exclusive authority to interpret – of the demographic issue at the EC level.

Another interesting dimension is the separation of the Demography Reports from the Demographic Forums. To an overwhelming extent, participants of the Forums belong to cluster ten. In fact, 98 members of the cluster (84 %) have been included to the network due to their participation in a demographic forum. However, only one actor within the cluster is also linked to a Demography Report. This comes against the background where the Demographic Forums were set up to feed into the development of Demography Reports. As we will see, actors linking the two events do exist in other clusters. However, their absence from cluster ten indicates that the majority of expert input at the forums went unrecognized and did not translate into EU output documents. Hence, cluster 10 seems to capture forum participants of less importance to the network – an observation that is further reinforced by the fact that forum participants who subsequently have been cited in Demography Reports tend to belong to cluster seven instead.

Turning to the heterogeneous clusters, we can observe that it is here where we find the most central actors from the actor-level analysis. Clusters 4, 5, 6, and 7 are grouped into the heterogeneous category, representing 338 actors (39 %).

Cluster four links individuals from three expert groups: the high-level group on modernization of higher education (E02818); the Expert Group on Health, Demographic Issues, and Wellbeing (E02942); and the Horizon 2020 Advisory Group on Gender (E03034). The majority of experts in this cluster are affiliated with universities or research institutes (77 %), and educational backgrounds are diverse with economics being the exception rather than the rule (accounting for 9 %). Instead, engineering (13%), medicine (22 %) and biology (13 %) feature prominently among educational backgrounds. The connecting element for this cluster is ambiguous with Anne Inger Helmen Borge acting as a bridge between the gender dimension and the expert group on health, demographic issues and wellbeing. However, additional linkages are rather weak and based to a greater extent on common affiliations to universities than substantive links.

Cluster five combines 85 external experts linked together through several events involving the input of the OECD and events with a thematic focus on education and innovation. The cluster is characterized by a diverse set of organizational affiliations, covering private, public, academia, think tanks, and international organizations. The educational backgrounds are rather heterogeneous with the economics profession once again playing a dominant role, accounting for 25 % of its

members. The composition of actors included is slightly ambiguous. Whereas expert groups dealing with education and innovation are linked through shared membership, it is not clear why the OECD events are situated in the same cluster.

Cluster six captures a rather diverse set of actors from all types of backgrounds. However, strikingly all EU officials with high centrality scores are included in this cluster. In total, 67 members (55 %) of this cluster are EU officials.

The most interesting of the heterogeneous clusters is number seven. It includes the majority of the prominent external actors of the centrality measures. It is composed of experts affiliated with public institutions, the EU, academia, private and IO actors. The cluster includes 131 individuals, who are linked together through a diverse set of events which all deal with demography in a broad sense facilitating inter-disciplinary approaches. This includes the expert group on demographic issues, central participants from the demographic forums, the seminar on demographic change, and national experts on active ageing. External experts make up 56 actors within this cluster, and 61 are public officials from Member States. Interestingly, the majority of actors with a formal demographic education are to be found in this cluster, accounting for 14 individuals (out of a total of 28 in the network).

Sub-Conclusion: Insights from the SNA

The SNA has given us important insights into how the expert network surrounding demographic change in Europe is structured. The first insight is that at the European level, the EC is the main facilitator for driving the political agenda on demographic change within the EU institutions. The closeness centrality variable further indicates that it is primarily the DG EMPL service, which has taken the institutional lead on demographic change within the EC. Further, the cluster analysis indicates little coordination between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN. This is especially apparent when comparing the experts used as references in the Demography Reports (published by DG EMPL) and the Ageing Reports (published by DG ECFIN). DG ECFIN is more inclined to make use of experts with formal training in economics as their point of reference whereas DG EMPL uses experts from various academic fields including demographers. Given that DG ECFIN is mostly concerned with budgetary aspects, it is not surprising that the two DGs have different focus areas. However, this does raise the question of a possible bureaucratic competition over the *Deutungshoheit* between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN.

At the actor level, the SNA indicates that experts who participated in DG EMPL's demography forums and subsequently were referenced in the demography reports, appear to be most central both in terms of betweenness and closeness. Additionally, the academic network Population Europe provides for a further linking element of these actors. Furthermore, the cluster analysis shows that most of the central external actors are grouped within the same cluster. As highlighted, this cluster does not have a single or few connecting events. Instead, actors that are grouped in this cluster tend to bridge a variety of topics linked to the broader field of demographic change, thus emphasizing inter-disciplinary approaches.

This summarizes the main findings of the SNA. We want to, once again, stress that in order to capture the interplay between structure and agency in the case of demographic change in the EU, it is not sufficient to only map the field of objective relations (i.e. objectivity of the first order). Thus, the following section will qualitatively assess and analyze the role of individual actors (i.e. objectivity of the second order). The qualitative analysis thus seeks to both test the robustness of the SNA (do the mapped structures resemble reality according to agents' perception), and to investigate agents' perceptions of the symbolic capital at work in the case at hand.

Qualitative Analysis

The betweenness and closeness centrality measures obtained from the SNA formed the starting point for the selection of interviewees. As highlighted in the quantitative analysis, we see that external actors dominate the top ten on the betweenness scale and EC officials (solely from DG EMPL) dominate the closeness top ten. Thus, for the semi-structured interviews, we estimate the two groups to be of equal importance in terms of deepening our understanding of the governance of demographic change. Interviewing central external experts will highlight how they themselves perceive the field of demographic change, how it is structured, and what issues are dominating. We thus highlight similarities (the networks) and differences (fields) among the external experts. Interviews with EC officials will provide for insights into the internal dynamics of the Commission's governance structure, thus highlighting the implications of applying a relational sociology approach to a thick institutional environment.

Robustness Test

An important part of the qualitative analysis is to test the validity of the quantitative results. First, we test whether the applied method for identifying actors corresponds to the actors' own subjective perception of the field of demographic change at the European level. Put differently, the applied approach was based on the implicit assumption that the EU is the major arena for governing demographic change in Europe. This has influence on the results of the SNA as it solely focuses on EU organized events, disregarding events organized outside of the EU institutions. It is important to stress that using the EU as a starting point does not come out of the blue. Our initial research points to the EU as the central actor on demographic change at the European level c.f. the 2005 Green Paper *Confronting Demographic Change: A New Solidarity between the Generations*, which attempts to bridge a solution combining social investments and sound public finances. To ensure that our approach and findings resemble reality, we asked all interviewees (both external actors and EC officials) to identify important forums for the policy process and to assess the EU's role *vis-à-vis* MS.

The second aspect of the robustness test is to assess the importance of the output produced by the EU on demographic change. It begs the question: Have we been focusing on the right events for actor identification? We identified actors based on participation in events (forums, seminars, conference etc.), membership of expert groups, and references in official EC publications. The SNA does not weight ties, thus membership in an expert group is in principle equally important as

participation at a conference. What matters in the SNA is on the other hand how other actors are connected to the same or different events. Thus, the SNA does not capture the institutional thick environment where the political process is less ambiguous and characterized by formality and hierarchy. Therefore, EC affiliated experts were asked to give their insights into what events are most important in terms of having external experts influencing the policy process.

EU as the Major Arena for Governing Demographic Change

The principle of subsidiarity constraints the EU's competencies in terms of establishing legislation and legally binding acts on governing demographic change. However, the EU and especially the EC have a crucial role in facilitating the exchange of knowledge and best practices in order to establish the most optimal solution to the issue at hand (Zimmermann, 2015). Employees at DG EMPL further back this:

"We look at how Member States are performing and our job is to highlight what is possible for each Member State to self-govern and utilize their own potential. It is here that the Commission is the proponent of good governance as an ideal"

Senior Official, DG EMPL

Thus, the perception within the EC is to facilitate the coordination and policy exchange among MS by highlighting best practices. Furthermore, we know that in the wake of the 2005 Green Paper on demographic change, the Commission consulted the MS to express an opinion on whether a European-wide coordination on demographic governance was needed. The subsequent 2006 Communication established this to be the case (European Commission, 2007c). The preference of MS to delegate the institutional lead to the Commission is further supported by a former Director at DG EMPL.

"I still remember the Dutch ministry coming to me and say we really need this. And it is rare that MS come to the Commission and say we need this and can you do this."

Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

This highlights that there was a demand from MS to encourage the EC to be the facilitator addressing the issue of demographic change at the European level. It is also of relevance to investigate how external experts perceive the governance structure of demographic change at the European level and whether they can confirm the EC to be the main facilitator. Asked about

whether the EC is the facilitator of the political discourse on demographic change, experts gave the following responses:

“Yes, absolutely!”

Prof. James Vaupel, Director MPIDR

“Of course, it is. But if you would argue that it is the right level to look at national governments I would also agree because there are these two main bodies acting and interacting with each other and there are lots policy initiatives which mostly come from the European Union and which are proposed by the European Commission for instance. But at the same time the national playing fields remain very important.”

Dr. Tomas Sobotka, Wittgenstein Centre

Thus, there is an acknowledgment among the external experts that the EU, and especially the EC, is of great importance when it comes to the governance of demographic change. The point made by Dr. Sobotka aligns with our analysis of the 2005 Green Paper and its following implications for the political process. The MS are indeed important actors on demographic change as most of the policies associated with solutions to an ageing population and lower fertility rates are within the competencies of MS. However, in terms of issue definitions the EC remains the central hub not only within the EU institutions but also at the European level in general.

Relevance of Events

Given the dispersed management of the demographic issue at the EU level and the related crucial questions of subsidiarity and competency, it is important to further test the robustness of the SNA. Put differently, the complexity of the governance process makes it imperative to assess whether the applied approach of event selection corresponds to the perceptions of important external experts. The SNA highlighted that the majority of central external experts were linked by a common participation in the demographic forums. Asked about the most important events organized by the EU, actors in general agreed to the thus chosen approach as is highlighted in the following quote:

“Definitely the demographic forums. I participated in two of them. So, this is focused purely on demographics but also it's interrelated because the Commission is also trying to work on the impact of population ageing. So, this is the reports of the working groups and presentations of these

reports, discussions, in the Social Protection Committee and some of the workshops organized. Also, the pension adequacy issue, which is, again, not pure demographics but it is related to demographics.”

Prof. Agnieszka Chlon-Domincziak, Warsaw School of Economics

Regarding the importance of expert groups, however, the answers were ambiguous. Although the above quote supports our research approach and furthermore highlights the demographic forums as important, both external actors and EC official were little aware of the existence of expert groups. This is a surprising finding given the extensive use of expert groups within the many sub-fields of demographic change. Thus, it raises the question of how expert groups influence the Commission in legislative drafting.

Literature addressing the role of expert groups highlights how they can function differently by either having a technocratic or political function. Hartlapp et al. (2014) account for three different strategies behind the usage of expert groups within the EC: *Problem-solving* usage, *political consensus-building*, and *political substantiating* usage. The first is considered with providing expert knowledge where expert groups can compensate for the EC's internal lack of expertise. This is also referred to as the *in-sourcing* of expertise (van Schendelen, 2010, p. 81). In the political consensus-building strategy, expert groups are not used for their capacity to provide expertise on a given topic but instead used as an arena “transforming experts into agents of compromise” with the purpose to reconcile different understandings of the policy-challenge at hand in the EU multi-level governance structure (Robert 2012 in Hartlapp et al., 2014, p. 16). Finally, political substantiating usage refers to a situation in which political motivations are driving the setting up of an expert group in order for the DGs to “substantiate and politically defend their positions against other actors” (Hartlapp et al., 2014, p. 17).

When asked about how expert groups play into the governance of demographic change in the EU, the general tendency among our interviewees was to downplay their importance. Except for Demetrious Papademetrious, the interviewees external to the EC were not affiliated with expert groups. Neither did they seem to be aware of their existence.

“I have never looked into them very closely; I don't even know the names of the expert groups – maybe you can tell me.”

Dr. Tomas Sobotka, Wittgenstein Centre

Among EC officials the picture is generally the same. However, we do see indications that expert groups are used as a problem-solving function:

“These experts bring in a level of granularity that we don't have the time nor resources to actually deal with”

Junior Official, DG EMPL

The context of the above question is on expert groups in general and not specifically related to their work on demographic change, however, we do find indicators for the usage of the political substantiating strategy in the context of demographic change:

“I worked on the Social Investment Package and social policy and even then it was quite difficult because calling social policy an investment and not a cost was difficult. There I had a good expert group with several people supporting that, and I am still working with them.”

Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

Thus, it indicates that inside DG EMPL, expert groups were also used to create political momentum and to promote a certain agenda reflecting the views of central actors within the service, allowing DG EMPL to position itself strategically *vis-à-vis* DG ECFIN. This is further reinforced by the actor's own reference to repeated interaction with the ECFIN service and the difficulties to talk about investments in this context.

Sub-Conclusion: Robustness Testing

To sum up the robustness testing, the interviewees, both EC officials and external experts, agreed that the EC is the main facilitator for governing demographic change at the European level. This is an important insight for supporting the applied SNA approach. Furthermore, the insights from interviewing experts and EC officials on the importance of events for the political process indicates a lack of coordination within the EC on how to address demographic change. Indeed, the importance of identified events and conferences were generally acknowledged both by EC officials and external experts. However, the role of expert groups is less clear, hinting at both problem-solving approaches at a general level, and substantiating use in the specific context of social investments. This finding will be further addressed in the discussion in a context of EU legitimacy.

External Experts, Symbolic Capital and the Role of the Demographic Community

Apart from robustness testing, the quantitative results raise questions that need to be addressed qualitatively. These refer to two general levels of analysis: the institutional, that is the internal dynamics within the EU, and the external level referring both to the types of capital of individuals and the habitus of communities of external actors.

Regarding the former, the SNA indicated an institutional dominance of the DG EMPL service with supplementary engagement from DG ECFIN and the SPC. Two questions arise: First, is the demographic issue coordinated between services, and is the work of the different services supplementary to each other or repetitive? Second, does the quantitative lead of the DG EMPL service indeed translate into qualitative issue control and ownership? We know from previous studies that the economics service has successfully extended its institutional reach into a number of issue areas in the post-crisis setting (Copeland & James, 2014; de la Porte & Heins, 2014; Schmidt, 2016). A closer look at the quantitative results in combination with the literature review on EU output reveals a potential for such in-house competition over issue control as highlighted by the fact that the ECFIN service produces the current flagship report on the issue while DG EMPL is extensively engaging external experts and producing the Demography Reports. Hence, the internal dynamics within the Commission will provide for a focal point of the qualitative underpinning.

As regards the level of external experts, the qualitative underpinning shall uncover forms of capital and the habitus at work. In doing so, this section will highlight the attributes that make an expert important, and the community structures that enable or constrain the production of relevant knowledge. This is a challenging task, given the dispersed nature of the field and the parallel existence of sub-fields. However, by comparing the qualitative data obtained from external as well as internal experts, similarities and differences can be highlighted. The next section starts out with the level of external experts before moving to the internal dynamics within the Commission. The quantitative and qualitative data will subsequently be synthesized in the final sections of this thesis.

External Actors

One of the striking findings of the quantitative analysis was the importance of trained demographers based on the applied centrality measures. This is in contrast to the overall low number of trained demographers accounting for under 5 % of the total external actors. The fact that three out of the top ten central external experts were trained demographers, therefore, raises the question whether the demographic profession possesses a characteristic of particular value to the EU institutions. Put

differently, the question is whether the habitus of the demographic community corresponds to the symbolic capital valued at the institutional level.

Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital refers to the combination of social, economic, and cultural capital that is valued and recognized as dominant in a given field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Since the institutional environment in the case at hand is to be described as “thick”, the symbolic capital is to be identified at the EU level rather than at the level of external experts themselves. For this reason, the symbolic capital was identified via the conducted interviews with former and current DG EMPL officials, representing the dominant service within the EC based on the quantitative results.

Based on the qualitative data obtained, three characteristics stand out:

1. A strong focus on policy solutions rather than problems is valued highly.
2. A positive framing of the solution, reinforcing the opportunity aspect of demographic change rather than the challenge aspect is desirable.
3. A framing that allows to address the issue in terms of jobs and growths is essential.

The first characteristic is not surprising but given the composition of external actors in terms of their occupational background, this factor is highly significant. As Lieve Fransen, former Social Policy Director in DG EMPL emphasized:

“[The academic debate] was always non-solution oriented, non-policy oriented. [...] So, there was a sterile discussion about figures and statistics. [...] I was more interested to have real discussions on what to do with it.”

Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

The focus on solutions, thus, puts a premium on academics who are able to step out of the academic habitus, and to re-direct attention from problems to solutions. A requirement for external experts that want to establish themselves as central actors is, thus, an ability to switch from the academic sphere into the political sphere where sound understandings of the political process are vital, mirroring the concept of “identity switching” as brought forward by Seabrooke and Wigan (2013). This is not to say that external experts should please decision-makers. Rather it is to say that a workable solution must be grounded in the political context.

“The how-to is about understanding the context and the history and the institutions of a country; how societies develop, and then give an advice that is relevant to that society. [...] [T]hey are going to be laughed out of the room if they don't show that they understand enough about what is going on.”

Demetrios Papademitriou, President of the Migration Policy Institute

An understanding of the political context is also closely related to point two. For the European Commission, the demographic issue has been feared to reinforce its image as an institution that rarely is focused on improving people's lives.

“[Advocating pension reforms] can be extremely unpopular. It often questions our legitimacy. That is why we focused a lot on highlighting the necessities in a context of highlighting the positive implications of that. But there is no doubt that our insistence on cutting public spending has made us enormously unpopular and taken a lot of our legitimacy.”

Senior Official, DG EMPL

In the same vein, former Commissioner Laszlo Andor emphasizes the need to establish positive discourses in the demographic context:

“We did our best to highlight the positive side. [...] Indeed, there was this fear that out of this whole discussion only bad news can come out. So, you had to clarify this first: There is a bigger picture and we should all be happy that we have a longer life which allows for more healthy living, and also to work longer.”

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner DG EMPL

A positive framing, hence, does not imply underplaying the magnitude of the challenge. Rather, what is sought by DG EMPL is a way to align its responsibility to deal with common European problems without taking the role as the sole disciplining watchdog. Instead, it is sought to map out ways in which member states can both deal with the challenge and integrate the solution into a bigger and more positive picture. However, competencies remain a central aspect. Since social policy competency largely remains with Member States, the EU has to, on the one hand, frame its approach in terms of jobs and economic growth, while on the other hand acknowledge what politicians in Europe need.

“The Commission is only one out of the different EU services and it is headed by a consortium of politicians who during the last two legislative periods have been much more focused on political mandates, especially in this case this is essential.”

Senior Official, DG EMPL

“This was, and I think it still remains, the approach of the Commission that, yes, you could have broader responsibilities but at the end of the day the Commission's responsibility is economic growth and job creation, and then you have to practically justify everything with growth and job creation.”

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner DG EMPL

Thus, the symbolic capital in the case at hand is to be seen as a capacity rooted in the ability to understand both the challenge and its political context in order to propose solutions structured around the needs and wants of decision-makers.

The Demographic Community

The demographic community is defined as the set of individuals who work professionally with demographic issues in an academic setting including universities and research institutes. A distinguishing feature of these actors is to work with purely demographic issues – that is, the evolution of population structures – rather than individual aspects of potential solutions to the current demographic transition in Europe. Membership is not limited to formally trained demographers. Formal membership in demographic associations such as Population Europe or the European Association for Population Studies is another criterium for belonging to this community. For example, an economist may very well be part of the demographic community when the person actively seeks membership in that community by e.g. participating in demographic networks and extending the research focus on multiple aspects dealing with demographic issues such as a focus on pensions, education, and family policy. However, a person that is a trained economist with a focus on only pensions is not regarded as being part of the demographic community. This definition of the demographic community includes three of the top ten positioned actors based on the betweenness score. Additionally, one actor has previously been part of the community but left it as he moved to the private sector and is now working as a personal advisor to the Commission President's office.

The qualitative data obtained from multiple interviews with members of this community reveal a strong presence of research institutes (RIs). The most notable are the Max-Planck Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR), the Dutch Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), the Vienna Institute on Demography (VID)¹⁴, the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), the Oxford Institute on Population Ageing, and the Barcelona Centre for Demographic Studies (CED). In general, the field of demographers is rather small when compared to, for example, the economics discipline, and well-integrated. As one actor highlighted:

“We all go to the same meetings and someone who takes a PhD here goes off to Vienna and the other way around. So, we all work closely together. We evaluate each other and give each other high grades.”

Prof. James Vaupel, Director of the MPIDR

The institutionalized connections between these research institutes are a significant feature of the field of demographers, and Prof. Vaupel highlights two aspects of this feature in his quote: the frequent exchange of young professionals among the institutes, and the inter-connectedness of institutes for evaluations. The importance of the latter aspect must be understood in context to the funding structure of these institutes. The mentioned RIs receive a core funding from the government, affiliated universities, or parent organizations as in the case of the MPIDR. To maintain these streams of funding, the RIs are evaluated on a regular basis by external actors. But since the community is small and well-integrated, the external evaluators tend to be highly-distinguished colleagues from the same discipline whom they “meet on a regular basis”. As highlighted by another actor of the field:

“The good thing is that, mostly, we have very good relations with each other. Maybe unlike in bigger fields, there is not much rivalry between demographers [...], and the general spirit is more of cooperation and collaboration.”

Dr. Tomas Sobotka, Wittgenstein Centre

Thus, the demographic community is held together by peer-recognition and mutual co-dependence. Additionally, the role of Population Europe must be highlighted. It is a network of 40 European universities and research centers with the aim to disseminate the best research of the demographic

¹⁴ The VID is part of a demographic hub in Vienna which includes the Wittgenstein Centre and the IIASA World Population Program. All institutes are headed by Prof. Lutz.

community to policy makers and the general public (Population Europe, 2017). It was founded in 2009 by the MPIDR in collaboration with NIDI, and it has become the main organ to bridge the demographic field with the political arena. In doing so, it organizes conferences such as the annual Berlin Demography Forum, and collaborates with central NGO's such as COFACE¹⁵, and supports the DG EMPL and Eurostat in demographic research. Other collaborations include the UNECE¹⁶, the OECD, and Allianz insurance. Hence, Population Europe is a bridging institution per excellence, and a manifestation of the ambition of the demographic community to become a more vocal voice in the political debate by increasing its social capital.

The capacity of Population Europe as a bridging institution is, however, not limited to bridging various actors. Another element in the strategy is to bridge topics and bring together the various strands of demography-related issues. For example, Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak highlighted the role of interdisciplinary work by the network:

“[The work] focuses on family policies, migrant policies, labor market policies, pension policies, and social protection policies. This is very broad and I think that is the kind of approach that is important when we think about the demographic issue. [...] The solution is to do a combination of everything. It is not that the one policy should be more important than the other. [...] But my overall perception is that there is still silos and people are locked. This bridging is important but still undervalued.”

Prof. Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak, Warsaw School of Economics

The role of Population Europe, then, is to bring together these various strands and put the information into small digestible policy-making documents. A valuation of interdisciplinarity and broad solutions to the demographic issue is a general pattern observed during interviews. An illustrative statement on this issue was put forward by Professor James Vaupel:

“I think the basic questions and policy solutions are clear. Something should be done to enable younger people to have the number of children they would like to have [...]. So, there should be better daycare, parental leave of absence and financial support. In terms of longevity and mortality, there should be some labor market reforms to help and encourage older people to stay active. [...] But for old-age, the solutions are politically unacceptable, and for fertility it's too expensive.”

¹⁵ COFACE is the leading European interest group advocating for the needs of families (COFACE, 2017).

¹⁶ UNECE is the United Nation's Economic Committee for Europe (UNECE, 2017).

Prof. James Vaupel, Director MPIDR

Given these policy dilemmas, it tends to be acknowledged among the community members that the political context is extremely complex, requiring determination and personal interest to get involved with. This, however, tends to counter the habitus of the demographic community, and especially the question of what constitutes prestige within the community.

“Demographers like to have both feet on the ground and to work with data which we can trust and analyze, and it's very difficult for us to deal with futures which are extremely uncertain.”

Dr. Tomas Sobotka, Wittgenstein Centre

In a similar vein, all interviewed experts of the demographic community highlighted their prioritization of sound science and publishing articles over involvement in political debates. This is not to say that political involvement was per se seen as a negative thing but the unequivocal understanding was that “this is not the role of academics”. An illustrative quote was given by Mr. Papademitrou, a leading global expert on migration:

“Formal demographers don't care much about how you might take or not take what it is they are offering in order to solve the particular problem. They are creating a new framework - a theoretical way of thinking - on these issues and the necessary mathematics that will make other formal demographers understand it and move the ball forward.”

Demetrios Papademitrou, President of the Migration Policy Institute

This habitus must, again, be seen in a context of this field's funding structure. As was highlighted previously, the institutes rely on core funding from public funds and research grants from *inter alia* the Economic Policy Committee (EPC). The yardstick for maintaining these streams of funds are academic, and, thus, investing scarce resources into the political arena is an investment with low or zero returns. Therefore, it is extraordinary when Wolfgang Lutz (Director of the VID & Wittgenstein Centre) is described not only as “the best demographer in the world” but also as a person that is personally “very interested in politics”. The institutional field simply does not incentivize political involvement, which makes the political engagement of individuals occupying the field a matter of personal interest as is further highlighted by the role of individuals in setting of Population Europe where research funds were being devoted out of a feeling that academia should give something back to society.

“I decided that we should pay our tithe, so we should devote ten percent of our budget on helping society somehow. [...] So, ten percent were spent on outreach activities. [...] But to avoid a budget cut, you’ll just have to be very good in terms of research output. The fact that we set up Population Europe is mentioned but it’s not important. It’s icing on the cake.”

Prof. James Vaupel, Director MPIDR

In sum, the demographic community is a small and highly integrated group of actors, connected by peer-recognition and mutual co-dependence based on the evaluation structure of leading institutes. At the meta-level, there seems to be a wide-ranging consensus about the need for an integrated political approach to the demographic transition, with a preference for what can be summarized as a life-course approach. That is, bringing together elements of anthropology, demography, economics, sociology, and developmental psychology with an aim to redirect social policy from a management of acute problems to preventive intervention in order to solve problems before they manifest into crises (Mayer, 2009, p. 414). Therefore, it can be argued that the demographic community amounts to an epistemic community (Haas, 2008, p. 3). This is manifested in the shared understanding of the basic problem, inter-subjective and internally defined criteria for validation, and a common policy enterprise as reflected in the preference for a life-course approach. However, the demographic community is embedded in a structure that dis-incentivizes political engagement as resources are scarce and investments into outreach campaigns have little or no direct pay-offs in terms of financial resources and prestige. Hence, it is worthwhile to discuss whether the demographic community indeed possesses an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within the governance of demographic change.

The Demographic Community and Demand for Expertise

In investigating whether the habitus of the demographic community matches the symbolic capital at work in the field, we will argue that this actually is not the case except for a few individuals. These have actively sought to establish themselves through long-standing relationships and the ability to combine the shared principled and causal beliefs of the community into a framework that allows them to introduce a refined picture of the situation. Thereby, new discursive spaces are opened, potentially equipping political decision-makers with ammunition to more effectively exploit their political capital.

Indeed, the thence established habitus of the demographic community does not live up to the three identified aspects of the symbolic capital at work: It is problem oriented with a tendency to

highlight the challenge aspect of the demographic issue, and the focus tends to extend beyond narrow policy objectives of jobs and growth. It is problem oriented because demographers focus on population developments and use macro indicators to measure these developments. The two most prominent of these indicators are the dependency ratio and the replacement fertility level. When used as a yardstick, the European development is significantly negative for both indicators. This, in turn, is then analyzed as a challenge because it is something that is largely unprecedented and the standard models of demographic dividends would associate such a development with worsening conditions for societal and economic development. Lastly, the demographic habitus tends to be less focused on political mandates than European policy-makers are.

Nonetheless, few individuals have managed to reconcile the dominant habitus with the symbolic capital. Key to this capacity is a combination of cultural and social capital. The former is obtained by an ability to combine the shared principled and causal beliefs in a way that allowed to introduce new variables into the community debate. An example is Wolfgang Lutz who successfully introduced education and human capital as the forgotten variable into the study of population dynamics. In doing so, he could transform the demographic debate, redefining the way in which population dynamics are studied.

“[W]hat Lutz has going for him is an experience of 30 years or 35 years of always trying to figure out the best way [that] the formal demographer can use in order to improve the standard assumptions of demography when you measure deaths and births.”

Demetrios Papademitrou, President MPI

The above quote, thus, highlights how Prof. Lutz has managed to transform the causal beliefs of the demographic community over a long period of time by reconciling the standard scientific methods used in the community and introducing new variables.

The social capital aspect, on the other hand, is the result of long-standing relationships that allow actors to develop intimate insights both into the level of institutionalized decision-making and the wider demographic community beyond a European context. Again, Professor Lutz serves as an illuminating example. He has a history of developing an institutional conglomerate in Vienna comprising the VID and the IIASA World Population Program of which he functions as Director and Leader respectively, and introducing the Wittgenstein Centre for which he serves as Founding Director. Thus, he is backed by a strong institutional structure that bridges both different geographic

focus areas and different substantive issues within the governance of demographic change. Consequently, he is recognized as the leading expert of formal demographics in the world.

“Wolfgang [Lutz] is the best demographer in the world. And I mean in the world.”

Demetrios Papademitrou, President MPI

This expertise is reflected in his various appointments in the U.S. as a member of the Committee on Population of the US National Academy of Science and as Member of the board of directors at the Population Reference Bureau in Washington. Additionally, he is the initiator of the Asian MetaCentre in Shanghai. Hence, he is embedded in a truly global network in which he is recognized as one, if not the, leading expert. The combination of his social and cultural capital, thus, enables Professor Lutz to exercise power of meaning, allowing him to (re-)define within the demographic community what the demographic issue really is about. Additionally, he also possesses a number of ties to the European institutions in which he was used as an external expert appointed in his individual capacity to hold key note speeches at the demographic forums, to contribute to the demographic expert group which was set up alongside the launch of the 2005 Green Paper on Demographic Issues, and more recently to initiate and set up the EC Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography.

In sum, then, the demographic community in Europe is a well-integrated and small community with a core which is structured around the leading research institutes. These institutes are inter-connected through common research projects, cross-institutional board membership, and a financial inter-dependence that is manifested by the fact that the leading figures of the field evaluate the work of the peer institutes. The dominant habitus of the community dis-incentivizes political engagement, and the focus tends to be strongly oriented towards scientific ideals rather than practical solutions to the political problems. At the group-level, the community tends to be rather homogenous which is reinforced by the educational system of young demographers, and the general spirit is one of collaboration and cooperation. Within this community, a few individuals have managed to establish themselves as central, and among these Wolfgang Lutz is generally recognized as the most important. However, with a financial structure and an inter-subjective conceptualization of prestige that discourages the development of political solutions, the community does only possess an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge to the extent that leading individuals take a personal interest in bridging the demographic and the political field.

The next section will investigate the internal dynamics within the European institutions with a particular focus on the European Commission. In doing so, it seeks to establish whether the authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge of the demographic community translates into a similar understanding within the European institutions.

Internal Dynamics in the European Institutions

Previously, we argued that the issuing of the Green Paper in 2005 on confronting demographic change marked a turning point as it initiated a sustained political process with the DG EMPL service taking the institutional lead. However, it is also evident that the period after 2013 is not continuing the coordinated approach. The dual process of demography forums connected to the issuing of Demography Reports was not extended nor succeeded. The EMPL service continues to publish Demography Reports (the latest from 2015), however, we do not find the demographic dimension to appear explicitly on the agenda of DG EMPL. Under the former Commission (the 2nd Barroso Commission 2010-2014), a freestanding unit within DG EMPL was directly assigned to demographic change. This is, however, no longer the case. Furthermore, employees within the DG appear to confirm the decreased focus on demographic change.

“If you ask me who does demographics, you won’t get an answer. I have a personal interest, so people would probably approach me. But my portfolio doesn’t explicitly include demographics. But who is in charge of demographics? Nobody.”

Senior Official, DG EMPL

The above raises both the question of why demographic change is no longer prioritized. Furthermore, it also raises a question of how demographic change is coordinated within the DG EMPL. The SNA indicated that DG EMPL is the most active branch within the EC with regards to demographic change and this was also confirmed by the semi-structured interviews with EC officials. However, currently DG EMPL is not including demographic change into its employees’ portfolios, and action is limited to the extent that employees take up the issue out of personal interest. A natural consequence is that the coordination of information and efforts within the Commission is limited.

The role of the Social Protection Committee (SPC) is also worth highlighting as it bridges efforts from the European Council, the European Commission, and Member States on social protection policies. The SPC is established by the Council and is an advisory committee for the Council

service “Employment and Social Affairs Ministers in the Employment and Social Affairs Council (EPSCO)”. Members of the SPC include two public officials from each of the EU’s 28 Member States as well as two representatives from the EC DG EMPL service. This includes the current Director General for DG EMPL, Michel Servoz (Social Protection Committee, 2017). The SPC has also addressed issues related to demographic change, however, as highlighted by Prof. Chlon-Dominczak, efforts have been limited. Prof. Chlon-Dominczak, who is former Deputy Minister for the Polish Ministry for Labor and Social Policy, was the Vice President of the SPC from 2007-2009. On the question of how demographic change was taken up in the SPC, she replied:

“It's more a background factor because, I mean, the Social Protection Committee focuses on topics which are social-policy related. So, this is social inclusion and health, and pensions [...] right now when I look at what SPC produced, I think it is again very much related to rather current issues related to social policies, social inclusion, poverty, than population or demographic change.”

Prof. Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak, Warsaw School of Economics

Thus, we see further indications for demographic change not featuring prominently on the political agenda of the EU institutions. Furthermore, it highlights that when demographic change is addressed, it is often as an underlying background factor, rather than a freestanding policy issue.

Downgrading the Demographic Dimension: The Fate of a Slow-Burning Crisis?

The downgrading of demographic change on the agenda of the Commission raises the question whether other issues are perceived to be of greater importance and more pressing than demographic change. The theoretical underpinning of the fast-burning and slow-burning crisis dichotomy distinguishes between short-term and long-term effects. This does not imply that a fast-burning crisis cannot have effects that are long-term. Instead, it refers to the demand for immediate political action and response. Thus, as already accounted for, slow-burning crises extend beyond business and political cycles. Indeed, the interviewees acknowledged the role of fast-burning crises in downgrading the demographic dimension.

“My impression is that politics is more interested in these short-term challenges that you have mentioned. During the financial crisis [...] demography was not a topic at all.”

Senior Official, DG EMPL

“There were too many hot potatoes. In the end, demography became an annex to the Social Investment Package. And then migration exploded in everybody's face basically.”

Lieve Fransen, former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

The above quotes give us an indication why demographic change has not featured prominently on the Commission's agenda recently. It is noteworthy to point out that the quotes focus on two different emergent crises; the recent financial crisis and the "migration crisis" respectively. When faced with issues requiring emergent attention, politicians downgrade the importance of other policy areas, which can be postponed without it having an immediate negative impact. The case of demographic change illustrates this.

Internal Competition

The quantitative analysis indicated that DG EMPL is the most active institutional actor within the Commission. However, the quantitative results also raised the question of internal dynamics and whether a quantitative lead equals qualitative issue control. Put differently, is the EMPL service in a position to define the political priorities on behalf of the Commission? This question will be addressed in the following section. Based on the interviews conducted with former and current EMPL officials, there is no doubt as to the question where the issue belongs:

"Of course, DG EMPL is the main agent [ed.'s note: within the EC]"

Laszlo Andor, former Commissioner, DG EMPL

However, being the main agent does not account for DG EMPL's capability of carrying out policies addressing demographic change. This instead refers to the internal dynamics of the Commission and how DG EMPL is positioned relative to other DGs.

"During that time when I was dealing with social policy [ed.'s note: 2011-2014], I had a lot of discussions with the DG ECFIN because I was also in charge of the European Semester, the European 2020, and I had all the time to discuss and come to agreements and disagreements with DG ECFIN. And over that period, the Secretary General always took the side of the DG ECFIN. Partially because, they were the first ones to seriously increase their power after the crisis in 2008 and 2009 trying to save the Euro and things like this."

Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

The above quote indicates two things worth highlighting. First, there are internal competitive struggles between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN on what policies to pursue with DG ECFIN appearing

to have a more powerful position to perform issue control. Second, it also highlights how the ECFIN service managed to establish an alliance with the Secretary General (SG) over what political priorities were pursued. The powerful position of DG ECFIN *vis-à-vis* DG EMPL is something that also current employees of DG EMPL confirm:

"We [DG EMPL] are their [DG ECFIN's] supplement. Previously, we were more equal in the analytical processes and political priorities, which we haven't been for a number of years. Now, DG ECFIN is acting as the President's right hand."

Senior Official, DG EMPL

Hence, DG ECFIN is the most important service within the EC when it comes to policy preferences and the EMPL service has to adapt accordingly. This finding contrasts the results of our quantitative analysis. Therefore, we also need to analyze the characteristics of the symbolic capital as recognized by the ECFIN department. This marks a crucial departure from the symbolic capital analyzed in the previous section, which focused on DG EMPL as the leading department for external expert involvement. The interviews reveal that the dominant discourse of DG ECFIN is to pursue stable budgets and sound public finances; an approach that became dominant in a post-financial crisis setting (see e.g. Blyth, 2013).

"DG ECFIN is a crucial player and maybe you should know that regarding on the work on pensions, there was a major dispute between DG ECFIN and DG EMPL primarily because DG ECFIN didn't want a White Paper on Pensions. Why did they not want a White Paper on Pensions? Because they produce an annual Ageing Report and the Ageing Report from their side covered the most important issues."

"On pensions, the ECFIN was, I would say, a very significant contributor. On the SIP [ed.'s note: the Social Investment Package], I think, the ECFIN only wanted to check if we are not bringing things, which would cost too much. That is normally an ECFIN concern. Of course, social investment has a cost but in a way the philosophy was about choosing the priorities rather than spending more."

Laszlo Andor, former Commissioner, DG EMPL

The above quotes from the former Commissioner for DG EMPL give us an indication of the internal dynamics and the ideas dominating the work of the Commission, highlighting a preference for supply-side oriented economic policies over social investments and demand-side oriented

economic policies. A fast-burning crisis, which in this case is the recent financial crisis, has shaped the priorities of the Commission extending DG ECFIN's influence beyond immediate economic challenges. In the case of demographic change these ideas have been used as weapons of symbolic violence in an ideational dispute between DG ECFIN advocating a laissez faire approach and DG EMPL advocating an interventionist approach.

Symbolic Capital and Epistemic Arbitrage

The above highlighted insights into the dominant discourse of the EC in general, and DG ECFIN in particular, indicate what the EC values as important features for recognizing experts as bearers of expertise. Indeed, one of the central experts identified has successfully positioned himself with direct ties to the EC Presidency. Having recently taken on the position as personal advisor to Jean-Claude Juncker, the actor (who remains anonymous for privacy reasons) is bringing expertise on demography to the President's office. This actor has participated as external expert in a wide range of events organized by the EMPL service, and it is these links that place him in the top seven on the betweenness score. However, it is also of significant importance to evaluate his other links, which are not important to the results of the SNA. Assessed qualitatively, however, these links may be of great importance for having access to the EU institutions. Being a trained demographer, he previously worked in academia, heading the department of demography at a prestigious German university. Later, he switched to the private sector, working for a retail bank as Senior Adviser. His professional affiliations also include employment at a leading Brussels-based think tank. Additionally, his expertise was recognized at the European Council level as he was appointed to a highly influential advisory group focusing on long-term developments in the Union. Members of the Council-based group included former heads of governments, and the actor in question was the only one bringing expertise on demography to the table.

This specific person is the sole actor in the network who features centrally with strong relations to both the work of the European Council, the EC and the demographic community. Being a trained demographer with affiliations to the demographic community, he is being invited to key conferences to address issues related to demographic change. Thus, he is well-recognized within the demographic community as well as the EU institutions. This is an indication that he has positioned himself as an epistemic arbiter. According to the theory, an epistemic arbiter exploits differences in knowledge pools, allowing him to promote a particular understanding of how demographic problems should be treated. Thus, it becomes relevant to qualitatively assess the ideas of the actor in question and how he perceives issues related to demographic change. This will allow us to

understand the symbolic capital valued at the EU institutions. On the question of his preferred set of policy solutions, he gave the following answers:

"It's a policy of let the market rule!"

"You have to live longer but you also have to work longer and you also have to pay longer in the system. That's it. That's the adaption that you need."

On pension adequacies:

"When you live 20 % longer and I take 20 % of your monthly pension, you'll get exactly the same amount. You just feel poorer. These are allocational things [...]. People think they have an entitlement to retire. Forget it! This is an insurance product!"

On the reasons for the EMPL service to adopt a different language in the context of demographic change:

"Because DG EMPL is more people who come from trade unions and they are not happy with telling people that they would have to work for 5 to 10 years more. So, they want to preserve the current status of rights, and they think early retirement at age 57 is an entitlement which should not be touched. This is a redistribution fight. It's not a crisis. Nothing like a crisis."

On the question whether the demographic community is right in depicting the situation as a looming crisis:

"Fake news."

"I'm aware of this discourse. This is to scare people into either making financial contributions to certain products, or it's about scientists trying to make themselves more important."

"Maybe you should have a look at the reports of DG ECFIN. Look at the Ageing Report, which comes from DG ECFIN. When you read it, you don't get the sense that there is a looming crisis."

Personal Advisor to President Juncker

The above quotes highlight how Juncker's personal advisor contests the notion of an ageing crisis, and by implication the need to take political actions beyond adjusting the retirement age. Furthermore, he aligns himself with the work produced by DG ECFIN thus further indicating internal competitive struggles between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN on issue definition. His conceptualization of pensions is illuminating in this respect, depicting pensions as an insurance

product and establishing this conceptualization subsequently as being opposed to the dominant approach of the EMPL service, which continues to view pensions as a right. These competing conceptualizations support the proposed ideational split among the EC services with the EMPL service favoring *interventionist* approaches and the ECFIN services aligning to *supply-side monetarist* ideas. Given the institutional dominance of DG ECFIN, this process can be summarized as a move from social protection to social insurance in public pensions.

We, thus, have a situation in which an expert on demography with close affiliations to the EC is advocating a *laissez faire* approach to demographic change. By identifying himself with supply-side economic thinking, he manages to include demographic expertise into an economic discourse. In this regard, it is interesting to investigate how he distinguishes himself from the demographic community and the community's habitus, promoting his ideas and research approach as state of the art:

"I try as a demographer to look at it (ed.'s note: the demographic issue) not through a demographic angle. Demographers tend to think that it's about the relation of two age-groups.

From an economic point of view this is outright nonsense."

"[I]f you try to put yourself out of the milieu, and just see what is going on - look at it from an economic point of view - you see that, yes, demography plays a role but the age 65 has absolutely no meaning. It's an institutional setting."

The thus documented ideational alignment between the actor in question and the dominant EC institutions raises the question whether his appointment as advisor is based on strategic positioning and playing off knowledge pools, thus allowing him to control the agenda, or whether his appointment is a substantiating move by the President himself, attempting to legitimize the pre-existing discourse. DG ECFIN's political priorities of stabilizing public finances in the wake of the financial crisis using means of austerity policies (see Blyth 2013) is therefore, according to our interviewees, also dominating the overall approach of the EC presidency to the demographic issue. Thus, the valued symbolic capital in demand from the EC and the ECFIN service is an economic language, promoting *laissez-faire* solutions. The specific profile of the actor in question allows him to reconcile the demand for demographic expertise supporting the dominant discourse, thereby breaking with the dominant habitus of the demographic community. Not seeing demographic change as a "real issue" and employing an already existing ideational discourse stemming from a fast-burning crises narrows the possibility of experts to define issues and introduce novel ideas.

Discussion

Experts, Influence, and Strategic Positioning in a Thick Institutional Environment

The theoretical underpinnings of Bourdieu for investigating the relationship between structure and agency and how the latter either reproduces or transforms the former has served as guidance for adopting a social praxeology approach when investigating the governance of demographic change within the EU. This implies, methodologically, that we first uncovered the social structures or spaces of positions of agents quantitatively, and then we turned to an analysis uncovering subjects' perception of the social world. Thus, we are following the Bourdieusian tradition of extensive empirical data collection (Gartman, 2013, p. 1) by giving epistemological priority to the quantitative analysis (SNA) over the qualitative analysis (semi-structured interviews). As Bourdieu argues, although both levels of analysis are equally necessary, they are not equal (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 11).

The examination of the quantitative and the qualitative analysis indicates that the institutional thick environment makes the qualitative analysis relatively more important than what we see in the literature on transnational governance. Most of the literature applying a relational sociological approach to the field of IPE in cases of transnational governance use the identified network structures to assess who is able to exercise influence given his/her position in the given network be it the politics of climate refugees, transnational carbon emission trading, or global tax justice (Henriksen & Seabrooke, 2015; Paterson et al., 2014; Seabrooke & Wigan, 2013). However, in the case of the thick institutional EU setting, the SNA does not capture the importance of the internal structures of the EC. Granovetter (1973) argues that the strength of social relationships between actors is dependent on "their duration, emotional intensity, intimacy, and exchange of services" (Granovetter 1973 in Opsahl & Panzarasa, 2009, p. 155). Thus, these attributes do not take into account structural power, which in our case could be referred to as internal dynamics or hierarchies. Methodologically, the problem that we were confronted with was therefore that the ties of external actors to dominant Commission services should have been weighed higher than ties to corresponding weaker services. However, such weighing is a matter of empirical investigation, and cannot be meaningfully performed *ex ante*. Consequently, the influence of a thick institutional environment is in our approach investigated *ex post* by combining and comparatively assessing the quantitative and qualitative results thus obtained. This is what this section seeks to do.

It is important to stress that the SNA remains of great importance to our analysis. First, it sets out clear objective criteria for actor identification. Using EU output to identify what actors are active in the political process of governing demographic change and furthermore tracing each individual's career path and professional training background indicates also how actors are related to each other and in what sense. Second, the SNA accurately depicts the level of activity with regards to addressing demographic change in the EU. Our method for tracing all EU output related to demographic change also systematizes the total output, and serves as an indicator for the level of activity at different periods of time. Finally, a comparison between our SNA structures and the responses obtained from the interviewees, indicate the SNA to depict an accurate picture of the politically active demographic community in Europe. Thus, to sum up, the applied SNA provides for depicting the field by identifying the important actors. This partly confirms Bourdieu's argumentation of giving epistemological priority to the analysis of uncovering the structures of the social world. However, the qualitative analysis also indicates that the SNA does not give the full story as internal institutional dynamics distort the free flow of information. Thereby, the relative importance of powerful network positions is less significant while a premium is put on other factors. Thus, the thick institutional environment allows for a partial tradeoff, in which cultural can trump the relative importance of social capital.

The interviews with EC officials – former and current – uncover a consensus that in a post financial crisis environment, DG ECFIN has managed to position itself powerfully within the Commission and managed to influence key policy priorities including the European Semester¹⁷. The internal dynamics of the EC, as highlighted by our interviews, also highlight that the dominant ideational discourse of the EC in the post-financial crisis setting influenced political action to various issue-areas including demographic change, thus extending beyond the immediate responses to the financial crisis. Blyth (2001) conceptualizes economic ideas in three ways: As blueprints, weapons, and cognitive locks. In times of great uncertainty (e.g. the recent financial crisis) ideas become increasingly important when used as blueprints for “defining what the economy is, how it operates, and the places of the individual or collectivity within the economy” (Blyth, 2001, p. 4). Ideas as weapons refer to a situation where agents challenge the institutional setting through a scientific and normative critique, proposing novel solutions to a given problem (ibid, p. 4). Finally, once ideas are institutionalized, they can produce political outcomes independent from the agents' initial motives

¹⁷ The European Semester is the framework for the coordination of economic policies across the EU (European Commission, n.d.)

resulting in cognitive locks. Hence, the idea is closely related to the concept of path dependency (ibid, p. 4).

Blyth (2013) powerfully argued that the focus on supply side economics and laissez-faire policies as the immediate response to the financial crisis was rooted in the liberalist tradition of Hume and Locke to limit the role of the state. These ideas were then presented as blueprints to the European institutions by the so-called “Bocconi Boys” (Helgadóttir, 2016). The observed internal competition between DG ECFIN and DG EMPL on how to address the demographic dimension can be argued to fall into the latter two categories of ideas as weapons and cognitive locks respectively. The expansion of influence in favor of DG ECFIN in the aftermath of the crisis challenged the interventionist paradigm of the EMPL service, creating a structural setting that forced them to “buy-in” on the supply-side oriented economic discourse as policy-making became possible only in terms of the dominant discourse (Blyth, 2001, p. 4).

This directs us back to the discussion of epistemological priority of the quantitative analysis over the qualitative. We argue, based on the findings from our analysis, that the SNA does not capture the internal dynamics of the EC, as ties are not weighted. Thus, for our research, the qualitative analysis is of relatively more importance than what we normally see in research concerned with institutional thin environments. This is an important insight as the SNA revealed a picture in which external experts with close affiliations to DG EMPL are the most important actors. However, the insights from the semi-structured interviews highlight that the priorities of DG ECFIN on how to respond to the challenges of demographic change have dominated the agenda. Our literature review of the output produced by the EC and the interviews conducted with EC officials reveals that the Ageing Reports produced by DG ECFIN are the flagship output on demographic change in the Commission. The Ageing Working Group (established under the Economic Policy Committee) is the primary contributor to the Ageing Reports along with DG ECFIN officials. Its members include MS officials, EC officials, and ECB officials (Economic Policy Committee, 2017). Thus, it points towards the conclusion that the inclusive policy process with external expert involvement is of less importance in the field of demographic change. This question will, however, be further addressed in the final section on legitimacy.

Strategic Positioning between two Economic Paradigms and the Role of Epistemic Arbitrage

We have already touched upon the concept of epistemic arbitrage in the analysis when investigating the role of a personal advisor to the President of the Commission. This actor proved to advocate solutions to demographic change, which align with the discourse of DG ECFIN. The question is, whether he is capable of promoting a particular understanding of how problems should be treated by being recognized for his knowledge and for “knowing well” (Seabrooke, 2014, p. 52). An alternative narrative is that he instead is used as a tool to boost the legitimacy of the Commission by conferring with an expert who is ideationally aligned with the EC presidency. If the latter is the case, one could argue that the particular actor in question is used by the EC as a strategy of political substantiating usage (see Hartlapp, Metz, & Rauh, 2014). If, however, the former is the case, it raises the question as to the institutional powers conferred to him in his capacity as personal advisor. As one of our interviewees pointed out, these were limited under the Barroso II administration:

“My experience is that they (ed.’s note: personal advisors to the SG) do not have impact on what the services are doing. So, they do some studies and some papers but you do not really know who is using them.”

Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

The empirical data collected for this thesis do not provide for a sufficient basis to conclude on this aspect as it raises the question as to the service’s capacity for autonomous action *vis-à-vis* the control of the President’s office and Member States to narrowly define the services’ mandates. Thus, it feeds into the larger debate about EU-integration theories of neo-functionalism (see e.g. Schmitter, 2005) and liberal intergovernmentalism (see e.g. Moravcsik, 1995).

The role of the anonymous actor in question also leads us to a discussion on structural holes and structural folds. The former is a situation in which an actor can bridge the gap between clusters, which are not otherwise connected thereby controlling or manipulating the flow of information between the clusters. The latter is concerned with actors who have membership in multiple groups and can act as entrepreneurs with the capacity to import new ideas from one group to another and to generate new knowledge by recombining resources (such actors are also referred to as *multiple insiders*). From the career path of the personal advisor, we know that he is a formally trained demographer who previously worked as Head of Department at one of Germany’s prestigious

universities. Furthermore, interviews with members of the demographic communities confirm that he previously held membership in this 'community of demographers', however, this is no longer the case. This naturally rules out the possibility of a structural fold for which he would have to be positioned as an integrated member of two cohesive clusters, one being the demographic community comprising the most influential demographers in Europe, and the other one being EC officials working with demographic change in one way or the other.

A situation of structural holes on the other hand does appear to be the case. Both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis show evidence that he is no longer directly a member of the demographic community by not having affiliations to the dominating research institutions nor Population Europe. However, the interviews reveal that members of the demographic community are aware of him (see Appendix Q & T). Furthermore, he is also keeping himself updated on the current research by reading the output produced by demographic research institutions (that is a point he highlighted in the interview). The cluster analysis in the SNA reveals a similar story, placing him in the same cluster as the leading demographers. His current position as adviser to the EC president and his former membership of a prominent European Council initiated High Level Group also reveal that he is closely, in fact more closely than any other external expert in our network, affiliated with the EU institutions and the Commission in particular. Hence, according to the theory of structural holes promoted by Burt (1992) one could argue that the person in question bridges the gap between the demographic community and the EC, acting as a broker between these groups.

An additional finding is that he distances himself explicitly from the dominant discourse and policy-enterprise of the demographic community:

"I wouldn't tell you that we are in the midst of an ageing crisis. Because I don't need to organize money for myself. So, I don't have to rely on that kind of fake news."

Personal Advisor to President Juncker

Thus, he argues that demographers are blowing the magnitude of the demographic challenge out of proportion by relating it to a potential crisis that can impact the welfare systems severely. Additionally, the above quote illustrates that he has an inherently different perception of how to address demographic change compared to the demographic community. Our interviews with members of the demographic community revealed that there tends to be a consensus on taking an integrated approach to the demographic challenge, combining many solutions rather than a narrow

focus on retirement ages. Thus, the strategic position of the personal advisor allows him to function as a gatekeeper, who can distort the information flow from the demographic community to the EC President. Furthermore, we also see an indication that the actor's powerful position within the EU institutions is partly due to the 'strength of weak ties' (see Granovetter, 1973). On the question, why he was approached by the European Council to become a member of the High-Level Advisory Group, he replied:

"Sarkozy was sitting somewhere and they were trying to choose some people. And then you needed some support of some member states, and I was selected because the husband of Mrs. Merkel used to teach at the same university as I did."

The High-Level Group included previous heads of government and representatives from leading private sector companies. Also, the quote mentions the names of the former President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, thus indicating that appointment of members was politicized. Therefore, it is difficult to assess whether his appointment was due to his relation to the husband of the German Chancellor, however, it does indicate that peripheral relations can be of importance.

When investigating what "makes" an actor powerful in the case at hand, it is illuminating to compare the Personal Advisor to Juncker to Prof. Wolfgang Lutz. Thus, it is a comparison between the most important actor based on the qualitative results and his counterpart from the quantitative results. Additional to his performance in the SNA, Wolfgang Lutz is being singled out by several interviewees as the top demographer in the world. Therefore, both the quantitative and qualitative results indicate Prof. Lutz to be the leading figure within the demographic community with his influence extending way beyond Europe. Highlighting the differences between the two experts can, therefore, give us insights to what makes an external actor powerful in the EU policy making process.

There is a distinct difference between the two demographers both in terms of how they perceive challenges associated to demographic change, and in terms of their professional affiliations. Wolfgang Lutz' professional affiliations are centered around academia (research institutes, universities, and academic associations) at a global scale. Thus, compared to the personal advisor, whose ties are primarily at the European level, Wolfgang Lutz has established himself as a leading demographer globally. The personal advisor's, on the other hand, has affiliations with academia, the

private sector and think tanks. Thus, it indicates that he has strategically positioned himself as an expert on demography with a focus on Europe.

This highlights the attributes of symbolic capital: First, looking at the three species of capital, economic capital plays a marginal role. Second, cultural capital is translated into symbolic capital through an ideational alignment with the dominant ideas within the EC, focusing on supply-side economics and a general laissez-faire approach of “let's not overdo it”. Third, social capital translates into symbolic capital by having ties to a broad range of relevant actors extending beyond academia and including relevant policy-makers at the European level beyond the EMPL service (especially the EC President, the ECFIN service, and the Council).

What is Demographic Governance? Economic Discourse, the Power of Process, and Ideational Spill-Overs

The study of an institutional thick environment revealed a story of how perceived solutions to a fast-burning crisis can spill over and affect policy-responses to a slow-burning crisis. Specifically, the story highlights competing narratives of two different economic paradigms. On the one hand, the interventionist paradigm promoted by the demographic community and the DG EMPL service, which under previous administrations (2005-2014) framed demographic change as a looming crisis (c.f. Appendix D). Interviews with members of the demographic community and the former Commissioner, Laszlo Andor and the former Social Policy Director, Lieve Fransen exemplify this. Although demographic change is no longer addressed as an explicit priority within DG EMPL, the topic is still perceived by members of the EMPL service to be an important challenge needing to be addressed as a free-standing issue rather than as a background factor. The solutions to demographic change promoted by this group are based on a life-course approach, highlighting the need for social investments as a pivotal tool to address the problems before they turn into a fast-burning crisis. This is *inter alia* manifested in the framing of demographic change as having a time-bomb effect (European Commission, 2006a) that needs to be dissolved within a window of opportunity of ten years as it was framed in 2006 at the release of the latest EC Communication on Demography (European Commission, 2006b).

The competing paradigm to the interventionist approach is that of laissez-faire. As the DG ECFIN service managed to increase its powers within the Commission in the wake of the financial crisis, DG EMPL's ability to promote an interventionist paradigm was reduced. As the next section will

further elaborate on, the creation of *non-issues* incentivized the EMPL service to adopt the language of the dominant discourse to introduce interventionist policies through the back-door. Thus, one could argue that the ideational framework for managing a fast-burning crisis spilled over and defined policy responses to a slow-burning crisis. This is exemplified by how Commissioner Andor and Social Policy Director Lieve Fransen under the Barroso II administration used the Social Investment Package from 2013 to integrate demographic change as an annex to the overall framework (c.f. Appendix R & S).

Literature on post-financial crisis EU governance highlights how the institutions adapted and responded to the economic recession, and show how supply-side economic ideas trumped competing paradigms (see Blyth, 2013; Heins & de la Porte, 2015; Streeck, 2014). As evident from our case study, the adherence to supply-side economics for solving a sovereign debt crisis also affected policy responses to demographic change. Our research thus feeds into the growing literature on post-crisis ideational battles within the European Commission, and it further highlights the need for additional research about this crucial governance challenge that the EU is facing. It is important to note, however, that our research only represents one case, thus one must be careful not to generalize on the specifics.

Governing through Hard Times: A Question of Legitimacy

How do expert networks relate to questions of legitimacy? The European Union has increasingly come under scrutiny for its perceived lack of legitimacy. The focus of such criticism has been on the Commission's technocratic approach to policy-making, which has been argued to disconnect the institution from ordinary citizens and contribute to popular sentiments directed against a European 'elite' for whom the concerns and needs of citizens are of little or no interest (de Wilde, Michailidou, & Trenz, 2014, p. 776; Hooghe & Marks, 2008, p. 6; Innerarity, 2014, p. 309), and it has focused on the Commission's cognitive lock-in into neo-liberal economic ideas which allowed the institution to frame unpopular political decisions in the now infamous slogan "there is no alternative" (Blyth, 2013). While the European economy today is slowly recovering, legitimacy concerns about the work of the European institutions in general and the Commission in particular continue to feature prominently among the European left (Agustín, 2017; Scharpf, 2015; Varoufakis, 2017) and right (Cincu, 2017; Pavan & Caiani, 2017). Undoubtedly, European policy-makers continue to this day to govern through hard times. In such a setting, it is crucial to ask how the Union can recover from these sentiments and restore its legitimacy. The question to be

addressed in this section, then, is how the governance of demographic change relates to the above outlined criticisms of a lack of legitimacy, and whether the dominant approach of the Union services in addressing demographic issues reinforces or softens such concerns.

Legitimacy is a ubiquitous concept in the political world, and it is useful to distinguish between different aspects of it in order to increase the analytical sharpness of any such evaluation. We build on the distinction of Schmidt (2013) and discuss the legitimacy aspect in terms of input, output, and throughput legitimacy. In doing so, the next section provides for a brief discussion about the threefold legitimacy distinction and sets it into context to the case at hand.

Conceptualizing Legitimacy: Input, Output, and Throughput Legitimacy

Analyzing legitimacy in an EU setting marks a departure from otherwise dominant rational choice approach in neo-institutionalist conceptualizations. As Schmidt (2016) highlights, “real people do not just think strategically, they also think about what is legitimate and how they will legitimate their actions to others” (Schmidt, 2016, p. 1037). With institutional and political powers being transferred from the nation state to the Brussels bureaucracy, resulting in a situation of “policy without politics” (Schmidt, 2013), the European Union is increasingly providing for the focal points in member states’ ability to set political priorities. Since citizens care deeply about who exercises authority over them (Hooghe & Marks, 2008, p. 2), and because exercised authority has to align with the identity of the governed, legitimacy concerns become all the more important to the functioning of the EU as its formal democratic legitimization is weaker than that of domestic political systems (Schmidt, 2013, p. 12). This aspect is referred to as input legitimacy in our approach.

Input Legitimacy

Input legitimacy is defined as the EU’s responsiveness to the concerns of citizens as a result of the input and thus participation by the European *populus* in the political processes (Schmidt, 2013). Without the ability to directly elect or dismiss a government and weak – albeit increasing – powers of the parliament, input legitimacy is generally depicted as underdeveloped in the European Union (Coen & Katsaitis, 2013, pp. 1105–1106; Schmidt, 2013, p. 12). However, input legitimacy does not only relate to the institutional supply of democratic structures that facilitate the exercise of a government *by* the people. It also refers to the community structures of the citizenry that determine the demand for, and use of, institutional structures thus supplied. Low voter turnouts for EU parliamentary elections are an example of that. In this line of reasoning, the development of a

European *society* is a necessary precondition to the development of satisfactory input legitimacy. However, as long as language barriers and cultural differences prevail, the possibility to create truly European discourses as opposed to domestic ones remains bleak. With this twofold constraint about input legitimacy in mind, we align ourselves to Schmidt's conclusion that "without a Europe-wide representative politics to focus debate, European political leaders have little opportunity to speak directly to the issues and European publics have little ability to deliberate about them or to state their conclusions directly, through the ballot box." The institutional setting thus constraints the possibility for increased input legitimacy, leaving European decision-makers with output and throughput aspects to boost legitimacy.

This thesis takes the structural setting of the European institutions as given and, hence, no comment on an improved supply of input legitimacy is needed at this point. However, it is important to note how the constructivist element of an underdeveloped European society is constraining the ability of experts in the field of demographic change to facilitate the construction of European discourses on European problems. As one actor highlighted:

"One thing that we are learning is to make our research more easily digestible and more visible. [...] But there are also language barriers and other barriers. So, something which is very common in the U.S. – that demographers or social scientists are able to write very nice books about inter-generational change or changing life-courses and family formation [is more difficult in Europe]. There are wonderful books from U.S. social scientists. There are very, very few, if any, books in Europe on these things."

Dr. Tomas Sobotka, Wittgenstein Centre

Hence, the possibility to create a common European discourse from a bottom-up perspective is constrained by the many language and cultural barriers prevailing in Europe. In lieu of European discourses, EU decision-makers are left alone to align its supranational mandate with inter-governmental struggles about what is and what is not to be considered appropriate action in the area of demographic change. A situation that becomes all the more complex when considering the sensitivity of many practical solutions to the demographic issue which closely relate to deeply embedded feelings about the role of families in society, gender roles, the treatment of elderly, and the desirability of increased migration. The institutional environment, thus, is to be described as contested and complex for the governance of demographic change relating both to struggles about dominant ideas between member states, and to internal struggles within the European institutions as

was highlighted in the previous chapter. In such an environment, it is proposed that the EU will place a premium on throughput legitimacy, depicting itself as a technocratic and disinterested actor seeking expert advice and justifying its actions on the ground of a scientific consensus. On the other hand, however, one could also expect a mobilization of bias. That is, a tendency to refrain from sensitive political issues, and to focus on less controversial aspects instead. Obviously, the two outlined determinants can and do clash when a mobilization of bias constraints or undermines the capacity to effectively translate expert consensus into policy. In other words, the demographic issue is favored by experts to be addressed holistically in a life-course approach. At the same time, a life-course approach raises issues of family structures, gender equality, and migration which are not exclusively within the competency of the EU and met with fierce opposition from *inter alia* the Visegrád Group (Buckley & Foy, 2016). The political structure in which the EC operates is thus extremely complex.

Output Legitimacy

How effective are the EU's policy outcomes in addressing demographic change *for the people*? This question has a double life and addresses both the quality of the output judged in terms of its effectiveness in altering the underlying causes and consequences of the demographic transition and an ageing population, and it addresses the output in normative institutional terms. That is, it is asked whether the produced output clashes with national values and principles (Schmidt, 2013).

A comprehensive overview over the EU's efforts in the area of demographic change were provided in the case description. This thesis is focused on the governance processes and its related expert involvement. Hence, no exhaustive discussion as to the effectiveness of the policy output is needed. However, it is notable that the strong focus on pensions and retirement ages indeed translated into more sustainable pension systems in many member states. The most recent OECD *Pensions at a Glance report* notes the double-edged character of this achievement: Whereas the financial sustainability aspect has significantly improved for European Union countries, the social sustainability of this approach is addressed inadequately, leaving concerns about the adequacy of pension levels to sustain adequate standards of living (OECD, 2015, p. 9).

Throughput Legitimacy

Throughput legitimacy relates to the internal processes in the EU, linking input and output legitimacy, and can be defined as the quality of the political process. The quality aspect in turn is evaluated in terms of the *efficacy* of the decision-making processes, the *accountability* of decision-

makers, the *transparency* of the information, and the *inclusiveness* and *openness* of the general process to external stakeholders (Schmidt, 2013, 2016). Throughput legitimacy, thus, can be separated into two parts: one dealing with the quality of internal actors and processes, and one dealing with the involvement of external actors. The former aspect relates in this thesis to the internal dynamics in the EC and the organization of services, and thus deals with aspects that relate to the coherence and quality of the EC's concerted efforts. The latter aspect provides the EU with an opportunity to counter its lack of input legitimacy by engaging extensively with organized interest groups, experts, trade unions, business representatives, and individual citizens through *inter alia* open processes of consultation, expert groups, and the European citizens' initiative. This intermediation process of stakeholder involvement is institutionalized in the EU, and the 2001 White Paper on Governance (European Commission, 2001) and the 2016 Decision on Expert Groups (European Commission, 2016) provide the focal points in this process. Importantly, throughput legitimacy does not only depend on the institutional aspects outlined above. A second aspect is the *constructive throughput*, which refers to how discourses are shaped through deliberative interrelationships among actors. An example would be the role of national civil servants represented in some of the expert groups, and the way in which they contribute to the dominant discourses within the Commission.

Starting from a bottom-up perspective, the SNA has highlighted extensive external expert involvement in the governance of demographic change. Quantitatively, the EC is hence living up to its own standards. Based on the relevant EU documents on good governance and expert involvement, we would expect that the advice and expertise thus provided will be taken up in the preparation of legislative proposals and policy initiatives, and translate into qualitative influence (European Commission, 2016). However, the degree to which this has happened needs to be questioned for two reasons that were highlighted in the qualitative analysis: First, the demand for external expertise was perceived to be rather limited as several actors highlighted. This raises the question as to the true nature of expert group use.

"There was a reasonable in-house knowledge in EMPL and then ECFIN managed to put together what was necessary."

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner, DG EMPL

"We have a lot of expertise in-house and to that extent we are not obliged to extensively engage in [stakeholder engagement]."

Senior Official, DG EMPL

Second, the internal hierarchies seem to thwart the role that external experts play. That is, the institutional dominance of the economics service runs counter to the quantitative lead of the EMPL service. If the demographic issue is controlled by DG ECFIN, what role do external experts involved with DG EMPL really play? Ten out of the 21 identified expert groups, conferences and forums organized by the EU were headed by the DG EMPL service. Only one is primarily associated with DG ECFIN. Is expert involvement therefore more symbol than fact?

The answer to that question depends to a significant extent on the internal organization between services in the EC. It was previously highlighted that the role of the demographic dimension within the DG EMPL is contingent upon the personal interest of actors to address the issue. Additionally, the qualitative analysis showed that this was the case under the Barroso II administration when Laszlo Andor headed the EMPL service. During this time, a specific unit within the service was devoted to the demographic issue. Hence, it is illustrative to look back at this period to understand the inter-service dynamics in addressing the demographic issue.

The Case of the Social Investment Package

In 2011, it was proposed by Laszlo Andor to bring forward a new Communication on demography (Appendix R & S). In fact, in July 2010 Commissioner Andor highlighted that “demographic change will be one of the main challenges of my term as Commissioner” (Laszlo Andor, 2010). This was supported by Lieve Fransen who was Director for Social Policies and Horizon 2020 from 2011 onwards. Hence, the political will was given at that time. The aim of this Communication was to bring the issues of ageing, demographic change, mobility, migration, future trends for the financing of education, and health care into a single framework (Interview: Lieve Fransen), thus introducing a life-course approach. This was supported by a number of member states. Ms. Fransen mentions the Danish and the Dutch governments. Commissioner Andor also highlighted that, curiously, the Hungarian presidency supported a new Communication. The Hungarian support was, however, conditional on the exclusion of migration. Thus, there was a political will within the DG EMPL and “significant support” (Interview: Laszlo Andor) among member states to bring forward such a Communication. This did, however, never happen.

“There was a College debate, and the majority of the College would have welcomed it. [...] But Catherine Day [ed.’s not: Secretary General under Barroso] did not want to promote this that much. So, there was no Demographic Communication.”

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner, DG EMPL

The reason for the Communication to be turned down were twofold according to Lieve Fransen:

“It was stopped by the Commission and the central office of the Secretariat General for two reasons: Officially, because demography was not something supposed to be dealt with in social policy [...] and then the migration issue. They felt that we should not talk about migration because it was politically so explosive.”

Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

From the above quotes, two aspects become apparent: First, the SG possesses significant agenda-setting powers that can be used to turn the demographic issue into a *non-issue*, resulting in a disconnect between ageing, demographic change and the social dimension, effectively ruling out a life-course approach. This is reinforced by the documented position of the ECFIN service, operating as the SG's “right hand”. Second, it reinforces the policy dilemma which the EC faces when addressing “hot potato” aspects of the solution as in this case migration, skewing the addressed challenges towards a *bias of mobilization*. The multi-level governance works, however, both ways. As Commissioner Andor highlighted:

“There are a few countries which can influence the EU agenda more forcefully than others. The ups and downs in demography are also [connected to] what Germany believes. [...] At the end of the day very important political players will decide what is a major issue [...]. And then the European institutions cannot say that this a non-issue”.

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner, DG EMPL

However, the above outlined case is useful in a different aspect to understand the internal dynamics within the EU because the demographic issue was not dropped as a consequence of the rejected Communication. Instead, it was re-packaged and introduced into the Social Investment Package (SIP). In this regard, it is interesting to take a closer look at how the DG EMPL attempted to break with the power of process exercised by the secretary general (SG) and DG ECFIN, combining social policy with demography despite it being considered a non-issue previously. The 2013 Social Investment Package is one of the key EU responses to the social dimension in a post-crisis setting (de la Porte & Heins, 2014). Framing social policy as investment rather than cost, the SIP can be understood as a break with the dominant austerity paradigm favored by the EC at that time (Kvist,

2015). In doing so, we will argue that the SIP re-introduces the life-course perspective into EU discourse through a combination of habitus adaptation and balancing.

“What we did with the demographic materials? We integrated it in the Social Investment Package.”

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner, DG EMPL

As was highlighted by the qualitative analysis, the dominant departments in the post-crisis setting were attained to a supply-side and neo-liberalist approach favoring sound public finances (or austerity) over Keynesian counterbalancing measures (see also: de la Porte & Heins, 2014, p. 16). The re-packaging of the demographic issue and integration into the SIP acknowledged and followed this dominant approach. Indeed, the SIP has been described and criticized as being part of the monetarist paradigm and leaning on supply-side politics (Heins & de la Porte, 2015, p. 36; Streeck, 2014). The DG EMPL at that time, thus, had to show sensitivity towards the structural political setting, and address the social dimension of demographic change without making it too explicit:

“This is where you have to appreciate that demography at the political level is not the same as demography at the expert level.”

Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner, DG EMPL

Notwithstanding the monetarist language, the SIP introduced aspects of lifelong learning (p. 14), poverty eradication (p. 5), gender equality (p. 7) and social exclusion (p. 2) (European Commission, 2013). Substantially, then the SIP is a social investment strategy that is “fit to cope with many societal challenges” (Kvist, 2015, p. 147). However, adopting the dominant habitus and balancing investments with a focus to redirect rather than to increase spending had an impact on the effectiveness of the SIP. As Lieve Fransen put it:

“At the end demography became a little bit of an annex to the SIP and was lost in the whole thing.”

In sum, the legislative period under Barroso II highlights how the demographic issue became part of a larger ideational struggle over economic ideas. Institutional and agenda setting powers were exercised by an alliance between the secretary general office and the ECFIN service, defining the symbolic capital in terms of a supply-side economics language and favoring solutions that fed into, or at the very minimum did not directly oppose, the dominant ideas of austerity at that time. This structural setting in turn constrained the room of maneuver for the socially-oriented EC actors. By repacking the demographic issue and introducing it in a social investment context, the EMPL

service tried to transform this structure by adopting the dominant discourse of supply-side economics, and introducing a life-course approach through the back door. Continued deliberative interrelationships between the relevant EC services allowed the EMPL service to become socialized in the dominant habitus and discourse prevailing at the economically oriented services.

Acknowledging these “rules of the game” provided for the opportunity to integrate some of the life-course developments into the dominant discourse, attempting to transform the dominant approach through processes of incremental change. However, the layering process of introducing the demographic issue within a much larger context had serious pitfalls. The most important among them was the visibility aspect, resulting in the practical disappearance of demography as a freestanding issue over the coming years, and becoming instead integrated as a background factor into several other issue areas, resulting in an even more dispersed management. Indeed, the subsequent Commissioner of the EMPL service did no longer devote a freestanding unit to the issue. An important insight here is that the dominant ideas and discourses in a context of a thick institutional setting spilled over to other issue areas when the fast-burning financial crisis altered the institutional hierarchy of the institutional setting. Arguably, these institutional hierarchies undermine the accountability of the decision-making process as the ability to develop and formulate European solutions to European problems is embedded in and constrained by the dominant approaches of powerful departments. Best practice and expert consensus can be trumped or sidelined by these internal struggles as the case of the failed Communication on Demography illustrates. To make things worse, the multi-level governance reality of the EU further constrained the possibility to integrate a life-course approach within the existing structural setting effectively given the problems of subsidiarity associated with several of the proposed solutions associated with the life-course approach. Therefore, powerful member states have the ability to exercise a *de facto* veto power, and efficacy is consequently undermined. For these reasons, the legal instruments and enforcement and surveillance mechanisms attached to the SIP remain weak at best (Heins & de la Porte, 2015, p. 34).

Lost in Translation: Expert Involvement

Where does the above outlined case leave us with the question about the use of expert input? For the case of the SIP, the DG EMPL set up an expert group, and the qualitative results indicate that this group was used extensively by the service in the preparation of the SIP. The question, then, is what form the expert involvement did take. Throughout the qualitative analysis, we distinguished between expert use for the collection of expertise and novel ideas (*problem-solving*), and a second

form that is aimed at legitimizing pre-defined ideas through support from an expert community (*substantiating*). Lieve Fransen highlighted the substantiating aspect, which helped her to frame social policy as an investment and not as a cost. In combination with the perceived lack of a need to gather external expertise, the expert community seems to take on a specific role which runs contrary to the officially stated intention of the open and inclusive approach to policy-making of the EU. With little resource dependencies to be exploited, the demographic community's policy enterprise does not correspond to the demand of the EU institutions unless the thence supplied expertise is needed to back-up pre-defined policy initiatives (c.f. Bouwen, 2002).

Additionally, the internal hierarchies within the Commission further marginalize the importance of the observed expert involvement with the EMPL service. With the economics service exercising *Deutungshoheit* over the demographic issue in the post-financial-crisis setting, the relative importance of experts affiliated with the ECFIN service increases. Thus, it is illuminating to take a closer look at the composition of the single expert group in the area of demographic change that is closely affiliated with the ECFIN service: The Ageing Working Group (AWG). Composed of member state representatives, the ECB and two EC officials, the group provides for age-related budgetary projections of member states, and the assessment of long-term sustainability of public finances (Economic Policy Committee, 2017). In doing so, the AWG plays a crucial role in preparing and writing the Ageing Reports (European Commission, 2012c). The absence of external experts in this group highlights the differences in approaches *vis-à-vis* the EMPL service. It can be seen as a practical orientation towards deliberation with Member States, acknowledging the multi-level reality rather than relying on expert input from the demographic community which pays little respect to national competencies.

From a supply perspective, this can be understood as yet another indication of the demographic community's incomplete understanding of what it is that the political actors need. Peter Hall famously stated that alternative policy ideas only gain traction and practical leverage when they provide answers to concrete political problems (Hall, 1993, p. 290; Heins & de la Porte, 2015, p. XIII). However, in the case at hand, introducing ideas and novel discourses about the best solutions to the substantive issues only translates into power when such discourses acknowledge and account for the specific demand of EC officials; a process that is better explained through the supply-demand framework of Bouwen (2002). Thus, a powerful solution is one that takes into account the power dynamics and dominant discourses within the Commission and allows the respective actors to reinforce or transform these dynamics by applying the thence introduced solution. Put differently,

expert advice is not judged solely on the grounds of its substantive contribution to the solution of the societal challenge. Instead, a premium is put on the solutions that allow EC officials to put these ideas into practice with an aim of legitimizing their pre-existing policy enterprise and to introduce the ideas as hinges in the competing grand paradigm. That is, the interventionist camp within the EC will value ideas that provide for the opportunity to apply them within the dominant laissez-faire approach, introducing interventionist ideas through the back-door as was illustrated by the SIP case. On the other hand, the laissez-faire camp will value ideas that legitimize their existing dominant position by orchestrating Member State support in order to introduce a paradigm of “let the markets rule” into the more socially oriented EC services. Therefore, once again, demography is different at the political level than it is at the expert level. Arguably, the institutional framework allows for external actors to provide expertise, contributing to the framing of policy-solutions at the European level. However, internal dynamics necessitate the translation of this input into a narrative of supply-side economics. Thus, interventionist solutions face the danger to become “lost in translation”.

In sum then, throughput legitimacy in the governance of demographic change is under pressure. Albeit formally living up to the requirements of open and inclusive policy processes, the internal processes of the EC render this engagement largely irrelevant since the demographic issue is controlled by the ECFIN service. Increasingly, the demographic issue has become integrated into a larger ideational battle between interventionist and laissez-faire paradigms. Seemingly, expert involvement on the side of the EMPL service is not solely focused on gathering expertise and developing the best solutions according to the leading experts in the field. Instead, expert involvement becomes a means to develop hinges, adopting the language of the dominant paradigm and introducing interventionist policy ideas through the back door. The internal power battles sideline accountability concerns. The social dimension of the demographic issue is left to the marginalized Commission services who additionally face an unanimity trap since large member states possess a *de facto* veto power for non-desired policy solutions such as for example migration. The diffused management of the demographic issue further undermines transparency concerns: With demographic issues increasingly being down-graded as a background factor to more pressing issues, it becomes difficult to get a comprehensive picture of what the European institutions actually are doing – a very concrete problem in the preparation of this thesis. To slightly reformulate Henry Kissinger's famous quote: Who do I call if I want to call Europe's demographic governance? The answer to the question is, paraphrasing a senior EU official: “Nobody.”

Conclusion

Who exercises issue control over the governance of demographic change in the EU?

Before answering the above question, we will first highlight the findings of the quantitative analysis, and the qualitative analysis, respectively. Subsequently, we turn to address each of the stated sub-questions stated in the introduction. This will serve as guidance for answering the research question. Finally, we will state proposed implications for future research.

The quantitative SNA highlighted the following: First, it depicted the EC as the dominant actor addressing demographic change within the EU institutions. Furthermore, in terms of output produced and experts consulted, the DG EMPL service proved to take the institutional lead within the EC. Second, through the coordination of events and conferences as well as the setting up of expert groups focusing on issues related to demographic change, the EC engaged extensively with external experts on how to address demographic change politically. Investigating the most central actors based on the applied centrality measures, showed that participation in the DG EMPL organized Demography Forums as well as affiliation with the academic network Population Europe were decisive for making external actors central. However, at a general level, the SNA depicted a dispersed network, in which many of the sub-issues remained isolated.

The qualitative semi-structured analysis with key EC officials and external experts identified from the SNA confirmed the central role of Population Europe in structuring the demographic expert community. Furthermore, the interviews indicated that this group is relatively homogenous and characterized by institutionalized cooperation and collaboration between members. Also, the interviews revealed a common policy enterprise on how to address demographic change politically. However, the qualitative data indicated that the habitus of the community does not incentivize political engagement. Another finding from the interviews was the revelation of an internal institutional competition between services within the EC. Specifically, it revealed differences in ideational discourses between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN with the latter exercising power of process, thus, limiting the scope of applicable policy solutions. With fast-burning crises dominating the EC's agenda, demographic change has been downgraded and is today no longer an explicit political priority. Another finding from the qualitative analysis is that although expert engagement is prominent in principle, the institutional practice trumps its practical influence.

Therefore, the thick institutional environment affects the capacity of external experts to exercise issue control. A fundamental dilemma that external experts are facing when entering the political arena is the above outlined mismatch between institutionally provided access points and the internal hierarchies between Commission services. Hence, an important finding of this thesis is that the institutional dynamics put a premium on the cultural capital of actors which is different from what we would expect from an investigation of a *thin* environment. Specifically, ideational alignment with powerful institutional actors is crucial. However, since the dominant ideas and discourses are defined by the dominant Commission services themselves, the room for steering the debate as an external actor is limited.

These findings are reinforced by the observed lack of organization and collaboration between the two central Commission services. This sheds light on how internal dynamics within the EU institutions affect the governance of demographic change in the EU. As was highlighted by the quantitative results, the publishing of Ageing Reports and Demography Reports indicate two fundamentally different approaches to the governance challenge with little or no coordination in terms of shared participation or sources of expertise. With the outcome of internal competitive struggles, resulting in DG ECFIN capturing the institutional efforts, the governance of demographic change became part of a larger ideational battle. This battle was fought through institutional alliance-building between the ECFIN service and the SG, paying close attention to the multi-level governance context of the EU, acknowledging the *de facto* vetoing power of powerful member states. In this way, the ECFIN service managed to extent its institutional powers to the demographic dimension in the post-crisis governance structure. Hence, the economic ideas perceived as solution to the financial crisis spilled over from the ECFIN service and determined the Commission's approach to demographic change. For this reason, solutions to demographic change must be adapted in a framework that is coherent to supply-side economics and legitimizing a narrative of "let the markets rule".

Embedding the governance of demographic change into a battle of economic paradigms, opens for a discussion on how this approach relates to larger question about the EU's legitimacy. In this context, it is important to highlight how the produced output in combination with the quality of the internal governance processes relate to popular criticisms about the Union's perceived bias towards neoliberal solutions, disregarding the interests of the general population. Albeit formally living up to the requirements of open and inclusive policy processes, the internal processes of the EC render this engagement largely irrelevant since the demographic issue is controlled by the ECFIN service.

Seemingly, expert involvement on the side of the EMPL service is not solely focused on gathering expertise and developing the best solutions according to the leading experts in the field. Instead, expert involvement becomes a means to develop hinges, adopting the language of the dominant paradigm and introducing interventionist policy ideas through the back door. The social dimension of the demographic issue is left to the marginalized Commission services who additionally face the unanimity trap since large member states possess a *de facto* veto power for non-desired policy solutions such as for example migration.

In sum, the answer to the guiding question for this thesis is that external actors have little opportunity to exercise issue control over demographic change. Rather, the thick institutional environment creates power structures that limit the introduction of possible solutions to those aligned with the dominant laissez-faire economic paradigm. Effectively, the propagated solutions from the demographic community are thereby ruled out as they become “lost in translation”. Issue control is exercised by those institutional actors that turn the demographic dimension into a *non-issue*, directing focus on the sustainability of public finances and highlighting the need to raise the retirement age.

This finding underscores the importance of applying a multi-faceted conceptualization of power: Whereas thin institutional settings usually highlight the power of meaning as the decisive face of power, our findings suggest that the power of process is decisive in this specific case of an institutional *thick* environment. This importance is reinforced by the illustrated internal struggles over economic paradigms in which expert involvement becomes a tool to legitimize and manifest dominant ideas and discourses (i.e. power of meaning). Therefore, the ability to exercise power of meaning is contingent on controlling institutional processes.

The favored approach of the EC has been successful to the extent that public pensions in Member States are today significantly more sustainable than before the financial crisis. However, the multi-faceted nature of the governance challenge has become marginalized, feeding into the popular narrative of a European Union that is not concerned with aspects of social equity and the wellbeing of its *populus*. When firefighting remains the dominant approach and solutions to looming crises are disregarded, the Union's legitimacy relies to a significant extent on the quality of its internal processes. Thus, it becomes a matter of its throughput quality. However, the internal competition over grand economic paradigms between institutional services seem to sideline the throughput process, thus undermining the EU's legitimacy.

Further research is needed in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the impacts of a thick institutional environment on expert dynamics and their possibilities to exercise issue control. The insights from this thesis suggest that relatively more emphasis should be given to the qualitative underpinning (that is, the objectivity of the second order) as the institutional hierarchies may distort the results of the SNA. As the importance of the relative institutional actors is difficult to establish *a priori*, it seems unlikely to develop a method to weigh ties relative to the institutional power of the competing institutional actors. Instead, we propose a more well-suited methodological approach to the study of institutional thick environments that extends on the Bourdiesian tradition. Concretely, we recommend to take the methodological approach applied in this specific case (i.e. a nominalist approach to boundary setting followed by a SNA which provides the basis for identifying interviewees) and extend the qualitative analysis with a realist approach (e.g. a snowballing method) to boundary setting to further increase the robustness of the social praxeology approach. That is, the insights provided from the qualitative data should feed into an extended qualitative analysis that opens up for the identification of new actors and events that would highlight the interplay between structure and agency.

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- Appendix S: Lieve Fransen
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Appendix A: Network Script (RStudio)

```
# Install the necessary packages ----
install.packages("igraph")
install.packages("readxl")

# Load packages ----
library(igraph)
library(readxl)

# Read data ----
relations      <- read_excel(path = "")
background     <- read_excel("")
background     <- background[order(background$Name), ]

head(relations)
tail(relations)
View(relations)

# Create an incidence matrix ----
incidence      <- xtabs(formula = ~ Actor + Event, data = relations)
incidence[1:5, 1:5]

# Create an adjacency matrix ----
adj            <- incidence %*% t(incidence)
adj[1:5, 1:5]

adj.affil      <- t(incidence) %*% incidence
adj.affil[1:5, 1:5]

# Create a two-mode network ----
graph.two      <- graph_from_incidence_matrix(incidence, directed = FALSE)
graph.two

# Create a network of individuals ----
graph.ind      <- graph_from_adjacency_matrix(adj, mode = "undirected", diag =
FALSE)
graph.ind

# Calculate degree ----
deg            <- degree(graph.ind)
sort(deg)
plot(sort(deg))

write.csv2(sort(deg), file = "degree.csv")

# Calculate betweenness ----
between        <- betweenness(graph.ind)
sort(between)
plot(sort(between))

write.csv2(sort(between), file = "betweenness.csv")

# Calculate closeness ----
close          <- closeness(graph.ind)
```

```

sort(close)
plot(sort(close))

write.csv2(sort(close), file = "closeness.csv")

# Ego network ----
ego.2      <- make_ego_graph(graph.two, order = 2, nodes = "")[[1]]
plot(ego.2, vertex.color = "white", vertex.label.color = "grey50", vertex.size = 3,
     vertex.label.cex = 0.7, vertex.label="")

# Actor Highlight ----
actor.highlight <- unique(relations$Actor[relations$Actor == ""])
employed      <- V(graph.ind)$name %in% actor.highlight

# Forum Highlight ----
forum.participants <- unique(relations$Actor[relations$Event == ""])
employed          <- V(graph.ind)$name %in% forum.participants

# Full Network
plot(graph.ind, vertex.label = "", vertex.color = employed, vertex.size =
     0.7*log(degree(graph.ind)), edge.color = "blue", edge.width = 0.05)

# Cluster analysis ----
cluster_louvain(graph.ind)
cluster      <- cluster_louvain(graph.ind)
membership(cluster)

memb <- membership(cluster)

as.data.frame(memb)
memberssort <- sort(memb)
cluster$vcount
write.csv2(memberssort, file = "ClusterMembers.csv")
write.table(memberssort, file = "")
lay      <- layout_with_fr(graph.ind)

groups <- split(V(graph.ind)$name, memb)

plot(graph.ind, layout = lay, mark.groups = groups,
     vertex.label = "", vertex.color = as.factor(background$`Education (Economics, Political
     Science, Demography etc.)`), vertex.size = 0.7*log(degree(graph.ind)), edge.color = "blue",
     edge.width = 0.03,)

```

Appendix B: Email Request for Interview Subjects

Dear _____,

We are approaching you because we have identified you as a central actor in the governance of demographic change in the EU.

We are part of the research project “European Legitimacy in Governing through Hard Times: The Role of European Networks ([ENLIGHTEN](#))”, which is funded by Horizon 2020, the EU Framework Programme for Research and Innovation.

Our research investigates the role of professionals in addressing the demographic challenges in Europe. In doing so, we have gathered information based on the composition of expert groups, forums, conferences, and policy documents. The resulting network structure indicates that you have been, and continue to be, a central actor.

We would be highly interested in conducting an interview with you to gain a deeper understanding of how the issues of demographic change are addressed within the EU policy process.

If possible, we would greatly appreciate the opportunity to conduct an interview in-person. Alternatively, an interview by video call or phone would also be greatly appreciated.

We expect the interview to last approximately one hour. The focus of the interview is on how demographic problems are defined, and how they should be addressed politically. Special emphasis is given to the fit between the mode of governance and the dispersed nature of the demographic field. That is, how do experts interact between and across highly dispersed sub-fields such as fertility, migration, human capital, and active ageing?

We truly acknowledge that you have a busy schedule, and would hence ask you to indicate whether you would have the possibility to participate in the interview, and if

so, which format (in-person, Skype, phone) you would prefer. Additionally, if you have any preferred dates we would kindly ask you to indicate these.

Please do not hesitate to reach out to us if you have any questions.

Kind regards,

Frederik Lisberg (Research Assistant), and Johann Ole Willers (Research Assistant)

Copenhagen Business School, Department of Business and Politics

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Robustness testing:

- ➔ Identify important fora for the policy process
- ➔ Is the EU the major arena for governing demographic change?
- ➔ What other actors do you perceive as central/important?

Issue distinctions & Epistemic arbitrage

- ➔ What are the major political aspects/solutions to the demographic challenge?
- ➔ How is the extreme diversity of subfields perceived from your POV?
- ➔ As to our understanding, any comprehensive political response to the demographic challenge would include “multidirectional” solutions (i.e. there can be no reliance on a single mechanism such as improvements in human capital, immigration etc.). Do you feel that the EU is facilitating interdisciplinary approaches and learning to a satisfactory extent?
- ➔ How rigid do you perceive the borders between different sub-fields?
- ➔ Shifting focus on fields?
 - Historicism
 - Issue distinctions and literature review?
- ➔ Do you think that certain aspects related to the demographic challenge are underrepresented in the discourse at the level of the EU?

Actor level:

- ➔ Why are you important?
 - Organizational versus occupational value?
 - Strategies
 - Forms of capital: what are the most important resources?
 - Difference in addressing the issue when working at a university vis-à-vis a research institute

Policy focus on demographic change:

- ➔ In your opinion, has the focus of the EU on demographic change increased over time?
- ➔ Is it possible to pin down a time when the EU took up the issue seriously?
- ➔ In your opinion, is the issue addressed adequately?

- ➔ Relatedly, has the policy attention increased, decreased or remained the same since the start of the “great depression” in 2008?

The financial side of things:

- ➔ As to our understanding, the expert dynamics in the field are not driven by financial rewards. Do you agree with this view?
- ➔ If so, do you think that the largely absent financial incentive to participate has an effect on expert participation in the process?
- ➔ Our analysis indicates that private actors are largely under-represented in the process. Indeed, we were surprised to see that insurance companies are not represented in any of the expert groups.
 - Does this correspond to your impression of the field?
 - Is this due to an absence of demand on the side of private actors?
 - Or, is there reluctance on the side of the EC to involve private actors?

Appendix D: Event Timeline for EC's work on demographic change

Year	Type of Work	Name
1991	Observatory	Observatory on the impact of national policies on ageing and older people
1993	European Year	European Year of Older People and Solidarity between Generations
1993	White Paper	Growth, Competitiveness, Employment - The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century
1994	White Paper	European Social Policy - A way forward for the Union
1994	Demography Report	First Demography Report
1995	Demography Report	Second Demography Report
1995	White Paper	Teaching and Learning - Towards the learning society
1996	European Year	European Year of Lifelong Learning
1999	Communication	Towards a Europe for all Ages - Promoting prosperity and intergenerational solidarity
2000	Communication	On a Community Immigration Policy
2001	White Paper	A New impetus for European Youth
2001	Ageing Report	First Ageing Report
2002	Report	Increasing Labour Force Participation and Promoting Active Ageing
2002	Communication	Europe's Response to World Ageing - Promoting economic and social progress in an ageing world
2003	Communication	On immigration, integration and employment
2004	Communication	Increasing the Employment of older workers and delaying the exit from the labour market
2005	Green Paper	Confronting Demographic Change - A new solidarity between the generations
2005	Green Paper	EU Approach to managing economic migration
2006	Communication	The Demographic Future of Europe - From challenge to opportunity
2006	Demography Forum	First Forum on Europe's Demographic Future
2007	Demography Report	Third Demography Report
2007	Communication	Ageing Well in the Information Society
2007	White Paper	Together for Health - A strategic approach for the EU 2008-2013
2007	Communication	Towards a Common Immigration Policy
2008	Communication	Renewed Social Agenda
2008	Demography Report	2008 Demography Report
2008	Communication	A Common Immigration Policy for Europe: Principles, actions and tools
2008	Demography Forum	Second Forum on Europe's Demographic Future
2008	Resolution	Demographic Future of Europe
2010	Demography Report	Fifth Demography Report
2010	Demography Forum	Third Forum on Europe's Demographic Future
2010	Green Paper	Green Paper on Pensions
2010	Resolution	Long-term care for older people
2010	Resolution	Demographic Change and the Solidarity between Generations
2011	Communication	Communication on Migration
2011	Opinion	FEMM Opinion Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU
2011	Opinion	EMPL Opinion Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU
2011	Report	Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU
2012	European Year	Year of Active Ageing
2012	White Paper	An Agenda for Adequate, Safe, and Sustainable Pensions
2012	Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report
2012	Report	Preparing for Complexity
2013	Demography Report	6th Demography Report
2013	Demography Forum	Fourth Forum on Europe's Demographic Future
2013	Report	Preparing for Complexity - The Answers
2014	Workshop	Delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages
2015	Demography Report	7th Demography Report
2015	Communication	A European Agenda on Migration
2015	Ageing Report	2015 Ageing Report
2015	Roundtable discussion	EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe
2015	Report	The 2015 Pension Adequacy Report: Current and Future Income Adequacy in Old Age in the EU
2016	Briefing	Migration and the EU: A long-term perspective
2016	Roundtable discussion	EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?
2016	Study	Demography and Family Policies from a Gender Perspective
2016	Conference	Identifying ways of raising effective retirement ages
2016	Launch Event	The EC's Knowledge Centre for Migration and Policy

Appendix E: The Event Network

Actor	Event	URL
Liselotte Hojgaard	E02942	https://www.linkedin.com/in/liselotte-hoicn88jgaard-a28820d9/
Liselotte Hojgaard	Rigshospitalet	
Liselotte Hojgaard	University of Copenhagen	
Liselotte Hojgaard	Danmark's Grundforskningsfond	
Liselotte Hojgaard	Olav Thon Gruppen	
Liselotte Hojgaard	EMRC ESF	
Liselotte Hojgaard	Ugeskrift for læger	
Liselotte Hojgaard	The International Committee of Medical Journal Editors	
Liselotte Hojgaard	INSERM	
Liselotte Hojgaard	Robert Bosch Stiftung	
Liselotte Hojgaard	E00761	
Liselotte Hojgaard	Karolinska Institutet	
Liselotte Hojgaard	E03279	
Rafael Bengoa	E02942	https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael_Bengoa
Rafael Bengoa	Basque Government	
Rafael Bengoa	WHO	
Rafael Bengoa	Harvard University	
Rafael Bengoa	McGill University	
Jackie Hunter	E02942	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jackie_Hunter
Jackie Hunter	BenevolentBio	https://www.linkedin.com/in/drjackiehunter/
Jackie Hunter	BenevolentAI	
Jackie Hunter	BBSRC	
Jackie Hunter	Proximagen	
Jackie Hunter	OI Pharma Partners	
Jackie Hunter	GlaxoSmithKline	
Jackie Hunter	Zoological Society of London	
Jackie Hunter	St. George's University of London	
Jackie Hunter	SmithKline Beecham	
Georges de Moor	E02942	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges_De_Moor
Georges de Moor	RAMIT	
Georges de Moor	University of Ghent	
Georges de Moor	CEN/TC251	
Georges de Moor	MediBridge	
Georges de Moor	Custodix	
Georges de Moor	European Institute for Health Records	
Georges de Moor	Saint Elisabeth Hospital	
Georges de Moor	partim Health	
Georges de Moor	Farr Institute	
Marta Cascante	University of Barcelona	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Marta_Cascante/info
Marta Cascante	E02942	https://www.linkedin.com/in/marta-cascante-0072ba3b/
Paula Alves	E02942	http://www.itqb.unl.pt/labs/animal-cell-technology/cv-palves-feb-2014
Paula Alves	Portugese Society for Stem Cells and Cell Therapy	
Paula Alves	European Society for Animal Cell Technology	
Paula Alves	IBET	
Paula Alves	New University of Lisbon	
Paula Alves	GenIBET Biopharmaceuticals	
Paula Alves	Bioprocessing Research Industry Club	
Paula Alves	LabEX	
Paula Alves	Journal of Biotechnology	
Paula Alves	BMC Biotechnology	
Paula Alves	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	
Paula Alves	Genethon	
Paula Alves	European Society of Neurochemistry	
Hele Everaus	E02942	https://www.etis.eu/Portal/Persons/Display/0fee442d-d8ad-4931-9356-799d554ed83?tabid=CV_ENG
Hele Everaus	Clinicum of Tartu	
Hele Everaus	University of Tartu	
Hele Everaus	Competence Center for Cancer Research	
Hele Everaus	MTÜ Society of Future Medicine	
Hele Everaus	The EPMA Journal	
Hele Everaus	CoE	
Hele Everaus	Estonian Council on Bioethics	
Hele Everaus	American Association of Bone Marrow Transplantation	
Hele Everaus	JACIE	
Hele Everaus	European Haematology Association	

Hele Everaus	CoE
Roza Adany	E02942
Roza Adany	University of Debrecen
Roza Adany	Népegészségügy
Roza Adany	EACHR
Roza Adany	Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Roza Adany	Hungarian National Committee of Public Health Genomics
Rose Kenny	E02942
Rose Kenny	Trinity College Dublin
Rose Kenny	St. James Hospital Dublin
Rose Kenny	The Irish Longitudal Study on Ageing
Rose Kenny	Trinity EngAGE
Rose Kenny	Mercer’s Institute for Successful Ageing
Rose Kenny	Institute for Ageing and Health Newcastle
Rose Kenny	Royal College of Physicians
Rose Kenny	Royal Irish Academy
Rose Kenny	European Heart Rhythm Association
Rose Kenny	European Union Geriatric Medical Society
Rose Kenny	European Society of Cardiology
Paulo Lisboa	E02942
Paulo Lisboa	John Moores University
Paulo Lisboa	Institute of Mathematics and its Applications
Paulo Lisboa	IEEE
Paulo Lisboa	JA Lodge Prize Committee
Paulo Lisboa	Institution of Engineering and Technology
Paulo Lisboa	Prozone
Paulo Lisboa	EPSRC
Martine Piccart	E02942
Martine Piccart	EORTC
Martine Piccart	Jules Bordet Institute
Martine Piccart	ULB
Martine Piccart	VZW - BCWG
Martine Piccart	CoBRA
Martine Piccart	ESMO
Martine Piccart	Belgian Royal Academy of Medicine
Martine Piccart	Breast International Group
Martine Piccart	TRANSBIG
Martine Piccart	NeoBIG
Peter Saraga	E02942
Peter Saraga	Philips
Peter Saraga	Philips Research Laboratories UK
Peter Saraga	Institute of Physics
Peter Saraga	British Royal Academy of Engineering
Peter Saraga	Hefce
Peter Saraga	UK Research Partnership Innovation Fund
Peter Saraga	Loughborough Univerty
Peter Saraga	Imperial College
Peter Saraga	Sussex University
Peter Saraga	University of Surrey
Peter Saraga	NPL
Peter Saraga	Energy Technologies Institute
Peter Saraga	European Ambient Assisted Living
Peter Saraga	Educational Development Trust
Marcel Tanner	E02942
Marcel Tanner	University of Basel
Marcel Tanner	Swiss Academy of Science
Marcel Tanner	Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute
Marcel Tanner	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology
Marcel Tanner	WHO
Marcel Tanner	Wellcome Trust
Marcel Tanner	NITD
Marcel Tanner	INEPTH
Marcel Tanner	INCLEN-Trus
Marcel Tanner	DNDi
Marcel Tanner	Ifakara Health research and Development Centre
Marcel Tanner	Novartis Institute of Tropical Diseases
Marcel Tanner	Swiss Commission for Research Partnership with Developing Countries
Marcel Tanner	CRESIB
Marcel Tanner	EPFL

<https://goo.gl/DDk5bh>

<https://www.tcd.ie/research/profiles/profile=rkenny>

<https://www.ljmu.ac.uk/about-us/staff-profiles/faculty-of-engineering-and-technology/department-of-applied-mathematics/paulo-lisboa>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martine_Piccart

<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/committees/council/compositionandmembership/faymemberprofiles/petersaraga/>

<http://www.dndi.org/about-dndi/our-people/board-directors/marcel-tanner/>

<http://www.unis.ch/system/files/mt-cv-02-2011.pdf>

Marcel Tanner	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	
Marcel Tanner	UBS Optimus Foundation	
Marcel Tanner	European Journal of Tropical Medicine & International Health	
Marcel Tanner	University of Heidelberg	
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	E02942	https://www.linkedin.com/in/anne-inger-helmen-borge-1aa40977/
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	Norwegian Institute of Public Health	
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	University of Oslo	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Anne_Borge
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	European Journal of Developmental Psychology	
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	E03034	
Paolo Dario	E02942	http://issa.bioroboticsinstitute.it/user/56
Paolo Dario	Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna	
Paolo Dario	Zhejiang University	
Paolo Dario	Tianjin University	
Paolo Dario	Brown University	
Paolo Dario	College de France	
Paolo Dario	Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan	
Paolo Dario	EPFL	
Paolo Dario	Waseda University	
Paolo Dario	Italian Institute of Technology	
Paolo Dario	European Society on Medical and Biological Engineering	
Paolo Dario	IFRR	
Paolo Dario	International Society for Gerontechnology	
Paolo Dario	IBEC	
Paolo Dario	Filarete Foundation	
Paolo Dario	IST Advisory Group	
Paolo Dario	WEF	
Paolo Dario	E02887	
Paolo Dario	E01386	
Paolo Dario	E02942	http://www.tbvi.eu/team/genevieve-inschauspe/
Genevieve Inchauspe	Transgene	
Genevieve Inchauspe	Institut Merieux	
Genevieve Inchauspe	French National Institute of Health	
Genevieve Inchauspe	WHO	
Leszek Kaczmarek	E02942	https://ncn.gov.pl/o-ncn/rada-ncn/struktura-rady/leszek-kaczmarek?language=en
Leszek Kaczmarek	Polish Academy of Sciences	
Leszek Kaczmarek	Nencki Institute of Experimental Biology	
Leszek Kaczmarek	Polish Science Centre	
Leszek Kaczmarek	PAN	
Leszek Kaczmarek	Academia Europaea	
Leszek Kaczmarek	European Molecular Biology Organization	
Leszek Kaczmarek	International Society for Neurochemistry	
Leszek Kaczmarek	IBRO	
Leszek Kaczmarek	EMBC	
Leszek Kaczmarek	University of California	
Leszek Kaczmarek	McGill University	
Leszek Kaczmarek	University of Catania	
Leszek Kaczmarek	Temple University	
Leszek Kaczmarek	EMBO	
Leszek Kaczmarek	European Research Council	
Leszek Kaczmarek	E03093	
Marie-Paule Kieny	E02942	http://www.who.int/dg/adg/kieny/en/
Marie-Paule Kieny	WHO	
Marie-Paule Kieny	INSERM	
Marie-Paule Kieny	Transgene	
Marie-Paule Kieny	E03086	
Marie-Paule Kieny	E00761	
Lucia Monaco	E02942	http://ird-connect.eu/contacts/lucia-monaco/
Lucia Monaco	Fondazione Telethon	http://www.farmacamedicina.unroma1.it/files/CV/CV_MONACO_LUCIA_EN.pdf
Lucia Monaco	IRDiRC	
Lucia Monaco	ICORD	
Lucia Monaco	EURORDIS	
Lucia Monaco	RD-Connect	
Lucia Monaco	EuroBioBank	
Lucia Monaco	Sapienza University	
Lucia Monaco	IGBMC	
Elias Mossialos	E02942	http://www.lse.ac.uk/researchAndexpertise/experts/profile.aspx?KeyValue=e.a.mossialos%40lse.ac.uk
Elias Mossialos	LSE	https://www.linkedin.com/in/elias-mossialos-7b5b9311/
Elias Mossialos	Imperial College	http://deep.uoap.gr/attachments/ekloges12/koin.apokleimov/CV_Mossialos.pdf
Elias Mossialos	European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies	

Elias Mossialos	European Heart Journal	
Elias Mossialos	Health Systems and Reform Journal	
Elias Mossialos	Health Economics Journal	
Elias Mossialos	European Medicines Agency	
Elias Mossialos	European Observatory on the Social Situation	
Elias Mossialos	Greek Government	
Elias Mossialos	EP	
Elias Mossialos	World Bank	
Elias Mossialos	E01245	
David Norris	E02942	http://www.ru.nl/english/people/norris-d/
David Norris	Donders Centre for Cognitive Neuroimaging	https://portal.ru.nl/people/cv/102548.pdf
David Norris	Radbound University	
David Norris	Max-Planck Institute	
David Norris	ESMRMB	
David Norris	ISMRM	
Anders Olauson	E02942	http://www.eu-patient.eu/About-EPF/whoweare/board/Profile/
Anders Olauson	Agrenska Center	http://www.ehfg.org/intranet/app/webroot/uploads/cv/149_2015_cv.pdf
Anders Olauson	Eurodis	https://www.linkedin.com/in/anders-olauson-4067b746/
Anders Olauson	European Patients Forum	
Anders Olauson	ECOSOC	
Anders Olauson	CoNGO	
Anders Olauson	DG Research	
Anders Olauson	Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare	
Anders Olauson	European Patients Forum	
Anders Olauson	E03279	
Anders Olauson	E02929	
Anders Olauson	E02625	
Anders Olauson	E00761	
Anders Olauson	E03086	
Matej Oresic	E02942	http://www.symmys.fi/matej.html
Matej Oresic	Turku Centre for Biotechnology	https://www.linkedin.com/in/matej-oresic-60a218/
Matej Oresic	SWAFS	
Matej Oresic	Skolkovo Foundation	
Matej Oresic	Metabolomics Journal	
Matej Oresic	PLoS ONE Journal	
Matej Oresic	ERASysBio	
Matej Oresic	Metabolomics Society	
Matej Oresic	Zora Biosciences	
Matej Oresic	European Research Council	
Matej Oresic	Academy of Finland	
Matej Oresic	Steno Diabetes Center	
Matej Oresic	VTT Technical Research Centre of Finland	
Matej Oresic	FIMM	
Matej Oresic	E03093	
Matej Oresic	BG Medicine	
Andriana Prentza	E02942	http://www.ds.unipi.gr/en/aprentza/
Andriana Prentza	University of Piraeus	https://www.linkedin.com/in/andriana-prentza-61065614/
Andriana Prentza	PEPPOL	
Andriana Prentza	ICCS NTUA	
Andriana Prentza	Eindhoven University	
Andriana Prentza	IEEE	
Adrian Saftiou	E02942	http://www.umfcv.ro/saftiou-adrian
Adrian Saftiou	UMFCV	
Adrian Saftiou	EFSUMB	
Adrian Saftiou	EACR	
Adrian Saftiou	Gerson Lehrman Group	
Adrian Saftiou	ASGE	
Adrian Saftiou	AGA	
Adrian Saftiou	ESGE	
Adrian Saftiou	EACR	
Orla Sheils	E02942	https://www.tcd.ie/research/profiles/profile-osheils
Orla Sheils	Trinity College Dublin	https://www.linkedin.com/in/orla-sheils-2b474a38/
Orla Sheils	University of Dublin	
Orla Sheils	Journal of Endocrine Pathology	
Lora Fleming	E02942	http://www.ecshh.org/people/prof-lora-fleming/
Lora Fleming	European Centre for Environment and Human Health	https://theconversation.com/profiles/lora-fleming-123292
Lora Fleming	University of Exeter	
Lora Fleming	NIEHS	
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Anna Cabre	Max-Planck Institute	
Anna Cabre	Population Europe	
Anna Cabre	EDSD	
Anna Cabre	IUSSP	
Daniela Bankier	Seminar on Demographic Change	https://www.oecd.org/gender/Bankier.pdf
Daniela Bankier	EC	
Daniela Bankier	DG EMPL	
Daniela Bankier	Austrian Central Bank	
Daniela Bankier	DG JUST	
Celine Simonin	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Celine Simonin	COFACE	
Vit Michalec	Seminar on Demographic Change	http://www.ujc.cas.cz/zakladni-informace/pracovnici/michalec-vit.html
Vit Michalec	Czech Government	
Nina Parra	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Nina Parra	German Government	

Hede Sinisaar	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Hede Sinisaar	Estonian Government	
Tomas Milevicius	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Tomas Milevicius	Lithuanian Government	
Mary Grace Vella	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Mary Grace Vella	Maltese Government	
Sophie Martinon	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Sophie Martinon	French Government	
Robert Strauss	Seminar on Demographic Change	http://www.isgrowth.eu/2016/05/26/short-bio-of-invited-speakers/
Robert Strauss	EC	
Robert Strauss	DG EMPL	
Robert Strauss	Workshop EU and OECD	
Rebekah Smith	Seminar on Demographic Change	https://www.linkedin.com/in/rebekah-smith-182a2b2b/
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Rebekah Smith	Essex International	
Rebekah Smith	E01218	
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Olivier Tell	EC	
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Jonathan Chaloff	OECD	
Jonathan Chaloff	Censis	
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Irina de Sancho Alonso	ETUC	
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Irina de Sancho Alonso	EMPL	
Irina de Sancho Alonso	Fes-UGT	
Daniela Chio	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Daniela Chio	Italian Government	
Maro Michaelides	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Maro Michaelides	Cyprian Government	
Maro Michaelides	ECRML	http://www.coe.int/cd/web/european-charter-regional-or-minority-languages/members-of-the-committee-of-experts
Sylvain Besch	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Sylvain Besch	EMN	
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Maria Cierna	Slovak Government	
Maria Cierna	UNHCR	
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Palle Rasmussen	Aalborg University	
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Peer Ederer	Center for Strategy & Leadership	
Peer Ederer	The Lisbon Council	
Peer Ederer	McKinsey & Co	
Peer Ederer	Deutsche Bank	
Peer Ederer	Deutschland Denken!	
Peer Ederer	Zeppelin University	
Peer Ederer	European Food and Agribusiness Seminar on Demographic Change	
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Santa Ozolina	Latvian Government	
Santa Ozolina	ECDL Foundation	
Santa Ozolina	European Youth Forum	
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Eleonora Schmid	CEDEFOP	https://www.linkedin.com/in/eleonora-schmid-92253b1a/?ppe=1
Eleonora Schmid	Austrian Government	
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Maria do Carmo Gomes	OECD	
Maria do Carmo Gomes	ILO	
Maria do Carmo Gomes	GIZ GmbH	
Maria do Carmo Gomes	HELVETAS Swiss Intercooperation	
Maria do Carmo Gomes	ETF	
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Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	EC	(See CV in programme for Workshop on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD)
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	DG EMPL	
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Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	Workshop EU and OECD	
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	E01218	
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Fabian Zuleeg	Seminar on Demographic Change	http://www.epc.eu/team_details.php?tr_id=78&dept_id=3
Fabian Zuleeg	EPC	https://www.linkedin.com/in/fabian-zuleeg-a8a1644/?ppe=1
Fabian Zuleeg	Cushman & Wakefield	
Josef Bauernberger	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Josef Bauernberger	Austrian Government	
Aspassia Strantzalou	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Aspassia Strantzalou	Greek Government	
Aspassia Strantzalou	Social Protection Committee	http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_protection_committee/docs/address_list_en.pdf
Aspassia Strantzalou	WG-AGE	
Aspassia Strantzalou	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Attila Sashegyi	Seminar on Demographic Change	
Attila Sashegyi	Hungarian Government	
Ralf Jacob	Workshop EU and OECD	http://www.age-platform.eu/images/stories/Note_with_panellist_biographies_LAST.pdf
Ralf Jacob	EC	
Ralf Jacob	DG EMPL	
Ralf Jacob	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Jörg Peschner	Workshop EU and OECD	
Jörg Peschner	EC	
Jörg Peschner	DG EMPL	
Jörg Peschner	German Government	
Jörg Peschner	Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	
Jörg Peschner	2013 Demography Report	
Jörg Peschner	2015 Demography Report	
Jörg Peschner	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Per H. Jensen	Workshop EU and OECD	
Per H. Jensen	Aalborg University	
Per H. Jensen	FP7 FLOWS	
Hervé Boulhol	Workshop EU and OECD	
Hervé Boulhol	OECD	https://www.oecd.org/eco/39586503.pdf
Hervé Boulhol	Natixis CIB	
Hervé Boulhol	CDC	
Hervé Boulhol	2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	http://www.economie.gouv.fr/files/biographie_herve_boulhol.pdf
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Anna d'Addio	UNESCO	
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Anna d'Addio	KU Leuven	
Anna d'Addio	2007 Demography Report	
Anna d'Addio	2008 Demography Report	
Anna d'Addio	2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	
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		See CV in programme for Workshop EU and OECD on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD
		https://goo.gl/pXGkWo
		See CV in programme for Workshop EU and OECD on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD
		https://goo.gl/WcVi4h
		See CV in programme for Workshop EU and OECD on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD
		https://goo.gl/idPD4T
		See CV in programme for Workshop EU and OECD on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD
		https://goo.gl/Fbtr9C

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Matteo Duiella	Fondazione Rodolfo Debenedetti	
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Detlef Eckert	EC	
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Detlef Eckert	Microsoft	
Detlef Eckert	University of Siegen	
Detlef Eckert	Bremen Government	
Detlef Eckert	Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	
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Gerhard Naegele	TU Dortmund	
Gerhard Naegele	Population Europe	
Olli Kangas	Workshop EU and OECD	http://www.keb.fi/documents/10180/994031/CV_olli_kangas.pdf/45072670-b443-4daa-86f3-dae1381bc7fa
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Olli Kangas	University of Turku	
Olli Kangas	University of Helsinki	
Olli Kangas	University of Tampere	
Olli Kangas	Åbo Akademi University	
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Matteo Jessoula	University of Milan	http://www.social.unimi.it/docenti/jessoula/documenti/fil/jessoula%20CV%204_2015ITAN20pubblico.pdf
Matteo Jessoula	ESPN	
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Kene Henkens	Tilburg University	
Stefan Olafsson	Workshop EU and OECD	See CV in programme for Workshop EU and OECD on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD
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Eric Meyermans	DG EMPL	
Eric Meyermans	IMF	
Eric Meyermans	Belgian Government	
Eric Meyermans	KU Leuven	
Costas Stavrakis	Workshop EU and OECD	http://www.social-protection.org/gimi/gps/showWiki.action?d=62
Costas Stavrakis	Cyprus Government	http://actuary.eu/social-security-sub-committee/task-force-adequacy-of-pensions/
Costas Stavrakis	Social Protection Committee	http://www.actuaries.org/PBS5/Documents/0910-Report_ISSA_Ottawa.pdf
Costas Stavrakis	ILO	
Costas Stavrakis	Cyprus Association of Actuaries	
Costas Stavrakis	AWG	
Costas Stavrakis	Economic Policy Committee	
Costas Stavrakis	2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	
Costas Stavrakis	WG-AGE	
Costas Stavrakis	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Josef Wöss	Workshop EU and OECD	See CV in programme for Workshop EU and OECD on delivering longer working lives and higher retirement ages by EC and OECD
Josef Wöss	Austrian Chamber of Labour	http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=groupDetail.groupDetailDoc&id=2531&no=1
Josef Wöss	WU-Vienna	
Josef Wöss	Austrian Government	
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Alain Jousten	University of Liege	http://legacy.iza.org/en/webcontent/personnel/vtaae/977_cv.pdf
Alain Jousten	IMF	
Alain Jousten	World Bank	
Alain Jousten	OECD	
Alain Jousten	ULB	
Alain Jousten	UCLouvain	
Alain Jousten	NBER	
Alain Jousten	Tilburg University	
Alain Jousten	IIPF	
Alain Jousten	IZA	
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Patrick Aubert	French Government	http://www.crest.fr/ses.php?user=3025
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Michele Raitano	Sapienza University	
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Robert Lindley	University of Warwick	
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Robert Lindley	EU Roundtables on the Social Dialogue	
Robert Lindley	EU Competitiveness Advisory Group	
Robert Lindley	RCC	
Robert Lindley	Research Funders' Forum	
Robert Lindley	Association of Research Centres in the Social Sciences	
Robert Lindley	UK Strategic Forum for the Social Sciences	
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Axel West Pedersen	Fafo	
Axel West Pedersen	NOVA	
Axel West Pedersen	Norwegian Research Council	
Axel West Pedersen	ESPN	
Axel West Pedersen	ASISP	
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Ole Beier Sørensen	ICPM	
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Tom Dominique	Luxembourg Government	
Tom Dominique	AWG	
Tom Dominique	Economic Policy Committee	
Tom Dominique	2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	
Tom Dominique	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
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Kerstin Westphal	REGI	https://kerstin-westphal.de/person/lebenslauf/
Kerstin Westphal	DEEA	
Kerstin Westphal	IMCO	
Kerstin Westphal	S&D	
Kerstin Westphal	SPD	
Kerstin Westphal	Report on Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU	
Ursula Staudinger	EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe	
Ursula Staudinger	Columbia University	http://aging.columbia.edu/ursula-m-staudinger-phd
Ursula Staudinger	Max-Planck Institute	
Ursula Staudinger	Population Europe	
Ursula Staudinger	Jacobs University Bremen	
Ursula Staudinger	ILC	
Ursula Staudinger	WDA Forum	
Günter Stock	EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe	
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Günter Stock	Schering Ag	
Günter Stock	Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities	
Günter Stock	German Academies of Sciences	
Günter Stock	Einsteing Foundation Berlin	
Günter Stock	All European Academies	
Franck Debié	EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe	
Franck Debié	EIN	http://www.efonline.org/speaker-profile.html?id=373franck%20Debié
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Danuta Jazlowiecka	EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe	
Danuta Jazlowiecka	EP	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96781/DANUTA_JAZLOWIECKA_home.html
Danuta Jazlowiecka	EPP	
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Sari Essayah	Report on Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU	
Sari Essayah	EP	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96682/SARL_ESSAYAH_home.html
Sari Essayah	EMPL	
Sari Essayah	EPP	
Sari Essayah	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit	
Sari Essayah	ECON	
Anna Zaborska	Report on Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU	
Anna Zaborska	EP	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/23894/ANNA_ZABORSKA_home.html
Anna Zaborska	FEMM	
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Anna Zaborska	DCAR	
Anna Zaborska	DEVE	
Anna Zaborska	ITRE	
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Anna Zaborska	DMAG	
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Konstantina Davaki	Demography and Family Policies from a Gender Perspective	
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Eamonn Noonan	Migration and the EU: A long-term perspective	https://www.linkedin.com/in/eamonn-noonan-b407904/?ppe=1
Eamonn Noonan	The Campbell Collaboration	
Eamonn Noonan	Norwegian Knowledge Centre for the Health Services	
Eamonn Noonan	Irish Government	
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	EPRS	
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?	
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	EP	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/125032/RAMON+LUIS_VALCARCEL+SSO_home.html
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	PE	http://www.epgroup.eu/meg/Ramón+Luis+VALCÁRCEL+SSO

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Ramón Luis Valcárcel	DMED	
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	AGRI	
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Ramón Luis Valcárcel	CoR	
Mercedes Bresso	EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/28346/MERCEDES_BRESSO_home.html
Mercedes Bresso	EP	http://www.mercedesbresso.it
Mercedes Bresso	REGI	
Mercedes Bresso	AFCO	
Mercedes Bresso	DEEA	
Mercedes Bresso	BUDG	
Mercedes Bresso	D-UA	
Mercedes Bresso	S&D	
Mercedes Bresso	Partito Democratico	
Mercedes Bresso	CoR	
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Babette Winter	Thuringian Government	
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Michael Schneider	EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?	http://www.sachsen-anhalt-wiki.de/index.php/Michael_Schneider
Michael Schneider	Saxony-Anhalt Government	
Michael Schneider	CoR	
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José Manuel Rey Varela	EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?	http://www.xunta.gal/politica-social/biografia
José Manuel Rey Varela	Partido Popular	
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Emanuela Tassa	Demography Report 2010	
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Veronica Corsini	Demography Report 2010	
Veronica Corsini	Eurostat	https://www.linkedin.com/in/albane-gourdol-05b4b432/
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Ettore Marchetti	Demography Report 2010	
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Michel Englert	ULB	
Michel Englert	FPB Belgium	
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Dirk Moens	FOD Sociale Zekerheid	
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Jan Skorpik	WG-AGE	
Jan Skorpik	Czech Government	
Jan Skorpik	ISG	
Marek Suchomel	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	

Marek Suchomel	Social Protection Committee	
Marek Suchomel	WG-AGE	
Marek Suchomel	Czech Government	
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Torben Hede	WG-AGE	
Torben Hede	Danish Government	
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Thomas Salzmann	Social Protection Committee	
Thomas Salzmann	WG-AGE	
Thomas Salzmann	German Government	
Lauri Leppik	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	https://www.tlu.ee/en/school-of-Governance-Law-and-Society/About-us/Contact/1a336c944531d626c8d87889d16d79c72a4cccb/lauri-leppik
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Lauri Leppik	WG-AGE	
Lauri Leppik	Tallinn University	
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Robert Nicholson	WG-AGE	
Robert Nicholson	FAS	
Robert Nicholson	Irish Government	
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Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	Social Protection Committee	
Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	WG-AGE	
Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	Spanish Government	
Antonio Blazquez Murillo	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
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Antonio Blazquez Murillo	Spanish Government	
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Denis Maguain	French Government	
Denis Maguain	CNRS	
Celine Carel	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Celine Carel	Social Protection Committee	
Celine Carel	WG-AGE	
Celine Carel	French Government	
Sandra Frankic	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Sandra Frankic	Social Protection Committee	
Sandra Frankic	WG-AGE	
Sandra Frankic	Croatian Government	
Sandra Frankic	X01783	
Liljana Marusic	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
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Liljana Marusic	WG-AGE	
Liljana Marusic	Croatian Pension Insurance Institute	
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Antonella Dalle Monache	Social Protection Committee	
Antonella Dalle Monache	WG-AGE	
Antonella Dalle Monache	Italian Government	
Inese Upite	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	http://www.sev.org.gr/uploads/Pensions_Adequacy%20_Vol_1.pdf
Inese Upite	Social Protection Committee	
Inese Upite	WG-AGE	
Inese Upite	Latvian Government	
Vidija Pastukiene	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/bef2009/pdf/BEF2009_participants_list.pdf
Vidija Pastukiene	Social Protection Committee	
Vidija Pastukiene	WG-AGE	
Vidija Pastukiene	Lithuanian Government	
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Gerard Johannis	Luxembourg Government	
Gerard Johannis	Deloitte	
Adam Rezmovits	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
Adam Rezmovits	Social Protection Committee	https://www.linkedin.com/in/%C3%A8rmovits-%C3%A1d%C3%A1m-25b25193/?type=1

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Adam Rezmovits	Hungarian Government	
Adam Rezmovits	ONYF	
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	http://www.sev.org.gr/uploads/Pensions_Adequacy%20_Vol_1.pdf
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	Social Protection Committee	
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	WG-AGE	
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	Hungarian Government	
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Edward Buttigieg	WG-AGE	
Edward Buttigieg	Maltesian Government	
Malcolm Scicluna	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=search.resultNew
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Malcolm Scicluna	WG-AGE	
Malcolm Scicluna	X01783	
Malcolm Scicluna	Maltesian Government	
Malcolm Scicluna	Malta Investments Managements Company Limited	
Malcolm Scicluna	EuroMed Connect Coop	
Malcolm Scicluna	Sovereign Hotels	
Lennart Janssens	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	https://www.linkedin.com/in/ennart-janssens-96326135/?ppe=1
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Lennart Janssens	WG-AGE	
Lennart Janssens	Dutch Government	
Lennart Janssens	EC	
Lennart Janssens	DG EMPL	
Lennart Janssens	SEO Economics Research	
Johann Stefanits	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	
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Johann Stefanits	WG-AGE	
Johann Stefanits	Austrian Government	
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Wojciech Kuraszyk	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm8.nsf/buletyn.xsp?kmer=PET-4
Wojciech Kuraszyk	Social Protection Committee	
Wojciech Kuraszyk	WG-AGE	
Wojciech Kuraszyk	Polish Government	
Krzysztof Szymanski	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	http://www.sev.org.gr/uploads/Pensions_Adequacy%20_Vol_1.pdf
Krzysztof Szymanski	Social Protection Committee	
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Rute Guerra	Portuguese Government	
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Rita Figueiras	Portuguese Government	
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Ion Popescu	Romanian Government	
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Andraz Rangus	Social Protection Committee	
Andraz Rangus	WG-AGE	
Andraz Rangus	MLC Ljubljana	
Andraz Rangus	Slovenian Government	
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Slavomir Duriska	Slovakian Government	
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Marjukka Hietaniemi	Finnish Centre for Pensions	

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Italian Government
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Parma University
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EC
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E02687
E03391
X00241
DG EAC
APVV
Slovak Government
Comenius University
CREST
VEGA
EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography
EC
DG BUDG
E03345
World Bank
CCICED
LEAD International
Institute for Sustainable Communities
EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography
DG ECHO
EC
EP
EPP
Cyprus Government
OSCE
ECFR
Movement for Political Modernization and Reform
EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography
E00187
E03371
E03003
E03005
EC
DG EAC
E03339
Hungarian Government
ELTE
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Delilah Al Khudhairy	EC	http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/partners/civil_protection/forum2013_bios/Delilah_Al_Khudhary.pdf
Delilah Al Khudhairy	E00473	
Delilah Al Khudhairy	JRC Women and Science Network	
Delilah Al Khudhairy	British Gas	
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James Morrison	DG SC	
James Morrison	EEAS	
James Morrison	Ashridge	
James Morrison	Foreign and Commonwealth Office	
James Morrison	British Government	
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Monique Pariat	E00473	http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/docs/directors_general/pariat_en.pdf
Monique Pariat	DG ECHO	
Monique Pariat	EC	
Monique Pariat	DG AGRI	
Monique Pariat	DG FISH	
Monique Pariat	Italian Chambers of Commerce and Industry	
Monique Pariat	Eurochambres	
Monique Pariat	Joint Committee for equal opportunities	
Pavel Kabat	EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	http://www.iiasa.ac.at/web/home/about/leadership/director/PK_CV_Sep14_Final_2.pdf
Pavel Kabat	IIASA	
Pavel Kabat	Wageningen University	
Pavel Kabat	KNAW-Wadden Academy	
Pavel Kabat	UN SDSN	
Pavel Kabat	Alpbach-Laxenburg Group	
Pavel Kabat	KNAW	
Pavel Kabat	ESS CC	
Pavel Kabat	Dutch National Climate Research Programme	
Pavel Kabat	Dutch Delta Committee	
Pavel Kabat	IGBP	
Pavel Kabat	ILEAPS	
Pavel Kabat	BAHC	
Pavel Kabat	ISLSCP	
Olivier Onidi	EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=search.resultNew
Olivier Onidi	DG HOME	https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/cv-olivier-onid_en_0.pdf
Olivier Onidi	EC	
Olivier Onidi	E01106	
Olivier Onidi	DG MOVE	
Olivier Onidi	E02872	
Olivier Onidi	E02983	
Olivier Onidi	E03435	
Olivier Onidi	Belgacom	
Olivier Onidi	American Express	
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Klaus Rudischhauser	E01604	http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/docs/directors_general/rudischhauser_en.pdf
Klaus Rudischhauser	E03225	
Klaus Rudischhauser	E02852	
Klaus Rudischhauser	E02748	
Klaus Rudischhauser	E02694	
Klaus Rudischhauser	E02764	
Klaus Rudischhauser	DG DEVCO	
Klaus Rudischhauser	Ecoconsult	
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Mariana Kotzeva	EC	
Mariana Kotzeva	Bulgarian Statistical Institute	
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Mariana Kotzeva	University of National and World Economy	

CEU
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IIASA
UNICEF
ECDPM
EquiLibre
VID
Max-Planck Institute
INED
Wittgenstein Centre for Demographie and Global Human Capital
EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography
DG RTD
EC
E03436
Portuguese Government
Crimson Investment Management
Aguirre Newman
Eurohypo Real Estate Investment Bank
Goldman Sachs

<http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=search.resultNew>
<https://www.linkedin.com/in/moedas/?ppe=1>

Appendix F: Betweenness Centrality

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Abraham Flaxman	0
Adrian Saftiou	0
Alain Quinet	0
Alberto Musso	0
Alexandra Scheele	0
Ana Garicano SolÃ©	0
Ana Rincon-Aznar	0
Anett Ruszanov	0
Anette Borchhorst	0
Angela Maddaloni	0
Anke Lipinsky	0
Anna Grazia Laura	0
Anna Orosz	0
Anna Zaborska	0
Anne Eydoux	0
Anne Robrock	0
Anne-Karina Stocchetti	0
Annemarie Muntz	0
Annemie Drieskens	0
Apolonija Oblak Flande	0
Apostolos Dimitropoulos	0
Aulikki Nissinen	0
Barbara Jones	0
Barbara Lenz	0
Barbora Holubova	0
Beate Wieland	0
Belma Yasharova	0
Bernardo Sousa	0
Bernhard Babel	0
Bernhard Mahlberg	0
Bert Colijn	0
Bettina Haidinger	0
Birgit Garbe Emden	0
Bo Cooper	0
Carlo Galasso	0
Caroline Castongs	0
Catherine Bac	0
Celine Pereira	0
Chigako Miyata	0
Christian Bode	0
Claudia Finotelli	0
Clemens Appel	0
David Ruth	0
Dusana Findeisen	0

Eckart Bomsdorf	0
Ellen Fritsche	0
Filip D'Haene	0
Foeke de Jong	0
Francesc Aragall	0
Frederic Rupprecht	0
Frederic Vallier	0
Fredrik Andersson	0
Gabriela Cojanu	0
Geoff Dische	0
Georges de Moor	0
Gery Coomans	0
Giampaolo Lanzieri	0
Haidong Wang	0
Helmuth Cremer	0
Jackie Hunter	0
Jan Lorman	0
Jan van Gils	0
Jana Lozanoska	0
Jim Mansell	0
Joanna Tsiganou	0
John Young	0
JosÃ© Manuel Rey Varela	0
Josephine Goube	0
Juha Pesola	0
Juhani Ilmarinen	0
Julie Beadle-Brown	0
Juliet Ramage	0
Karim Azizi	0
Katarzyna Kraszewska	0
Katya Vasileva	0
Khehla David Miya	0
Kirsten Jaeger	0
Konstantina Davaki	0
Kristian Borch	0
Kristin Astgeirsdottir	0
Leocadio Manas	0
Lin Bao	0
Lora Fleming	0
Luca Boetti	0
Lucio Pench	0
Luis Moreno	0
Lynn Shotwell	0
Mar Zabala	0
Margit Kreuzhuber	0
Maria LidstrÃ¶m	0

Maria Slaveva Prohaska	0
Maria Teresa Sarmiento Pereira	0
Marianne Besselink	0
Marie van de Poele	0
Marie-Cecile Renoux	0
Marie-Eve Joel	0
Marinus Eijkemans	0
Marius Matthias Pieter Tollenaere	0
Mary Grace Vella	0
Mary Murphy	0
Mathieu Simon	0
Matti Mäkelä	0
Michael Freeman	0
Michaela Vecchi	0
Michel Feutrie	0
Mireya Serra Janer	0
Monica Marcu	0
Monika Wild	0
Muriel Desaeger	0
Natalia de Estevan-Ubeda	0
Néket Yetis	0
Owen Davies	0
Pascal Garel	0
Patrice-Emmanuel Schmitz	0
Paula Alves	0
Pedro Torrinha	0
Peer Ederer	0
Peter Selman	0
Peter Willeme	0
Petra Christa Puechner	0
Pierpaolo Dettori	0
Piotr Juchno	0
Rem Koolhaas	0
Richard Baker	0
Richard Carter	0
Richard Easterlin	0
Robert Walsh	0
Ron Kessels	0
Roza Adany	0
Salome Mbugua	0
Sarah Goddard	0
Sari Essayah	0
Sinisa Zrinscak	0
Stephen McNair	0
Steve Iliffe	0
Susana Pavlou	0

Swadhin Ghosh	0
Sylvain Besch	0
Tana Lace	0
Theo Vos	0
Thomas Westermann	0
Thomas Zwick	0
Tomi Hussi	0
Valdone Darskuvienė	0
Veronica Corsini	0
Vincent Berger	0
Wei Zhong	0
Wenshu Gao	0
Wilfried de Wever	0
William Baumol	0
Wim Overmeer	0
Wolfgang Schuster	0
Yann Bourgueil	0
Yildiz Ecevit	0
Yuan Zhaohui	0
Zaven Khachaturian	0
Zhang Tao	0
Åke Blomqvist	0
Klaus Rudischhauser	0,50989057
Luke Georgiou	1,29988137
Alfons Palangkaraya	1,56989991
Jongsay Yong	1,5962157
Dirk Moens	2,70988023
Lauri Leppik	2,70988023
Sandra Frankic	2,70988023
Liljana Marusic	2,7920527
Johannes Pöschl	3,5509029
Maro Michaelides	3,69021389
Anne Williams	3,69325726
Yoshio Higuchi	5,85472834
Nadezda Sebova	6,53629199
Johannes Beemann	7,2345948
Reinhold Achatz	7,42540513
Gwen Wolf	8,00071787
Evelyn Viertel	8,47076127
Jan Gramata	9,05935973
Matthew Notowidigdo	9,22285277
Sirlis Somer-Kull	9,28655722
Baroness Sally Greengross	11,0477826
Max Halvarsson	11,2885081
Christopher Baker	13,0666348
Gabriel Montes	13,0666348

George Gaberlavage	13,0666348
Kellie K. Kim-Sung	13,0666348
Mitja Ng-Baumhackl	13,0666348
Neal Walters	13,0666348
Sharon Hermanson	13,0666348
Babette Winter	13,36103
William Lay	13,4232612
Werner Barthel	13,9843784
James Carabott	14,5442042
Laura Kalliomaa-Puha	15,0221978
Robert Aymar	15,3993786
Matthias Weber	15,839841
Andriana Prentza	16,6351093
Günter Stock	16,9223629
Leif Kjaergaard	17,2679606
Aniko Juhasz	18,1181274
Andre Schröder	18,13457
Corina Huisman	18,3436411
Fabian Zuleeg	20,6971667
Maria Cierna	20,7005583
Jo Antoons	20,9815714
Pauline Mathewson	20,9815714
Elisabete Weiderpass	21,3652212
Celine Simonin	22,3055445
Jean J. Botti	22,3816766
Michel Neyens	24,4069979
Iva Holmerova	25,6883986
Orla Sheils	26,611538
Rose Kenny	26,611538
Dulce Rocha	27,5888063
Christian Geppert	28,2669683
Marius Láske	28,2669683
Francesco Venturini	28,3274127
Jasmina Byrne	28,7756845
Petri Lempinen	28,9945226
Svetla Tsoleva	29,0909854
Athena Linos	29,139492
Marjo-Riitta Liimatainen	30,7622842
Phyllis Gabriel	30,7622842
John Smith	31,3721178
Alexandre Affre	31,912157
Jerome Chauvin	31,912157
Eugenio Ambrosi	31,9580441
Hermann Buslei	32,0991004
Vivian Chen	32,5063595
Tanja Masson-Zwaan	32,9723489

Kirstie Wild	34,8090361
Kerstin Westphal	35,5163348
Enrique Fernandez-Macias	35,8238852
Pedro Oliveira	36,015619
Hede Sinisaar	37,0728627
Robert Lindley	37,190373
Marta Cascante	37,4862145
Anne Stenros	38,414765
Jeannette Schoorl	38,6484867
Peter Ekamper	38,6484867
Axel West Pedersen	39,102985
Joshua Salomon	39,3367167
Mary Beth Landrum	39,3367167
Tom Huddleston	39,4891863
Peter Diez	39,663833
Nicole Notat	39,7890621
Katre Pall	39,860556
Mirjam Allik	39,860556
Erik Westholm	40,7556969
Julia Schuster	43,5666382
Unni Steinsmo	44,334435
Pietro Checcucci	44,846776
Thomas Lindh	47,3277328
Benedict Clements	48,481151
Carlo Cottarelli	48,481151
David Coady	48,481151
Eva Jenker	48,481151
Izabela Karpowicz	48,481151
Kenichiro Kashiwase	48,481151
Mauricio Soto	48,481151
Frazer Macdonald	49,076154
Han Wiskerke	52,1937205
Rita Figueiras	52,8945589
Rute Guerra	52,8945589
Riikka Heikinheimo	53,4021734
Franck Debi��	53,5182686
Agnese Gaile	53,6619577
Edward Buttigieg	53,6799491
Malcolm Scicluna	53,8718609
Jorma Ollila	54,0667544
Anders Olauson	54,156553
Ole Beier S��rensen	54,7005203
Henri Lourdelle	55,5510783
Klara Foti	55,5785369
Antonio Duran	56,0670222
Ion Popescu	56,1702291

Liliane Volozinskis	56,3095462
Paul de Beer	57,406076
Nils Hubert	57,5213081
Luigi Amati	57,6064443
Dik Habbema	57,9611636
Kaushik Ghosh	58,1857377
Joop de Beer	59,2795533
Baoping Shang	61,2255644
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	61,5987886
Richard Lambert	63,2593969
Stefan Culik	64,6499001
Marcel Olde Rikkert	67,5758766
Gallina Andronova Vincelette	68,4023635
Matteo Jessoula	68,5996402
Michal Sedlacek	68,7156481
Mercedes Valcarcel	68,796411
Esko Kivisaari	69,1824744
Slavomir Duriska	69,2852959
Marcus Frequin	70,4011917
Danuta Jazlowiecka	71,4908046
Lajos Balint	71,5634695
Josef Bauernberger	71,6158313
Christine Charpail	71,9140168
Patrick Aubert	71,9140168
Astrid Linder	72,218274
Antti Syväjärvi	73,0986252
Richard Hudson	73,2107257
Renée Roodenburg	73,2294782
Yasen Yanev	75,5622526
Vit Michalec	79,4891602
Lis Witso-Lund	80,059681
Charlotte van Trier	80,3887867
Miklos Rethelyi	87,5025663
Paulo Lisboa	87,7537247
Thomas Getzen	88,3502333
Daniela Chio	89,1048586
Capitolina Diaz Martinez	89,1505739
Jordi Molas Gallart	89,7228227
Joao Caraca	90,01927
Johan Fritzell	90,1678656
Amy Finkelstein	91,5521727
Jill Rubery	92,4549859
Geraldine Healy	92,4813063
Felipe Gonzalez	93,1936714
Thomas Wieseler	94,3260581
Volker Berger	94,3260581

Gary Stanley Becker	94,3964858
Benne van Popta	96,2191787
Peter Lelie	97,506387
Albert Okunade	98,506627
Bruce Carnes	98,506627
Christian Hagist	98,506627
James Fries	98,506627
Laurence Kotlikoff	98,506627
Lukas Steinmann	98,506627
Mark Freeland	98,506627
Patrick Eugster	98,506627
Sheila Smith	98,506627
Stefan Felder	98,506627
Vasudeva Murthy	98,506627
Michael Grossman	98,832284
Martin Knapp	99,8136669
Jacob Brody	101,027185
Lois Verbrugge	101,027185
Ronan Mahieu	101,749237
Severine Feraud	101,969961
Peter Zweifel	102,925186
Nina Parra	103,141288
Silvia Herms	103,243161
Ronan Toomey	103,973603
Jos�� Manuel Olivar	104,101237
Malgorzata Sarzalska	106,30152
Allesandra Zampieri	106,58297
Delilah Al Khudhairi	106,58297
Monique Pariat	106,58297
Olivier Onidi	106,58297
Manos Matsaganis	107,635983
Bernadette Gisinger-Schindler	109,788041
Antonella Dalle Monache	110,856973
Giovanni Geroldi	110,856973
Marco Marino	110,856973
Kristina Schr��der	112,261874
Uros Prikl	112,630442
Radoslaw Mleczko	114,568673
Pavel Kabat	117,758976
Jeni Beecham	118,380063
Michiel Sweers	120,058086
Corinna Sorenson	120,273771
Pavel Trantina	120,76739
Brian Keating	123,445571
Katerina Prihodova	124,089781
Gulsun Saglam	124,83863

Stefan Olafsson	127,320576
Marek Suchomel	129,679027
Jan Skorpik	131,17389
Neil Foster-McGregor	131,538073
Robert Stehrer	131,538073
Suszy Lessof	133,423732
Attila Sashegyi	133,717044
Mihail Iliev	133,813365
Ulrich Schuh	133,939413
Regina Jensdottir	136,908433
Ales Kenda	137,669695
Hans-Peter Kohler	138,928412
Manuela Geleng	140,236132
Chantal Cases	140,886879
Anne Prevot	141,739009
Ernest Gruenberg	142,653666
Gianpiero Dalla Zuanna	142,766499
Lech Walesa	143,266537
Jan Muehlfeith	144,169957
Didier Balsan	144,272077
Annie Jolivet	145,560278
Ineke Klinge	146,925758
Elvira Gonzalez Gago	147,337076
Reelika Leetmaa	147,337076
Ruta Braziene	147,337076
Volker Schmitt	147,822015
Elisabeth Zechner	148,06477
Atsushi Seike	148,09993
Agnes Darvas	148,70853
David Stanton	149,431775
Charlotte Sachse	149,771191
Elisabetta Addis	150,618268
Bengt Jol��nsson	151,548216
Inese Upite	152,222292
Albane Gourdol	152,382764
Ulf-G. Gerdtham	153,543892
Michel Dumont	156,131621
Heikki Suomalainen	156,612226
Vladimir Sucha	156,691929
Leon Urbas	157,345523
Karin Hellqvist	157,771523
Eamonn Noonan	158,603493
Mark Rogerson	159,449593
Jana Hainsworth	160,844784
Bernard van Praag	162,193997
Diana Jakaite	163,054139

John Knights	163,867235
Luke O'Shea	163,867235
Mark Rudberg	166,942356
Muriel Boulmier	166,961278
Gaaitzen de Vries	167,140037
Jay Olshansky	167,278802
Irene Sassik	169,241273
Ursula von der Leyen	173,482566
David Prendergast	173,508203
Axel Stammberger	173,640437
Tea Petrin	173,827884
Hanneli DÄ¶hner	174,350741
Maria Chrstina Pedicchio	175,611132
Mikkel Barslund	175,996357
Mara Brugia	177,579987
Odysseas Rouskas	178,223643
Joost de Laat	178,449946
Per H. Jensen	180,429956
Rudi van Dam	180,497169
Laszlo Ulicska	180,884139
Alessandro Schiesaro	181,415447
Peter Lees Pearson	181,693375
Magdalena SapaÅ,a	181,876325
Zornitsa Roussinova	183,91467
Hugo Swinnen	184,255839
Barbara Hearing	185,057216
Anne Saint-Martin	185,501445
Thomas Milevicius	186,251194
Jonathan Grant	188,77754
Peter McDonald	192,3684
Janice Keefe	193,306877
Anne Sonnet	193,356525
Mark Pearson	193,356525
Radek Maly	193,895614
Rosy Bindi	194,376386
Sophie Martinon	196,41181
Christina Nanlohy	200,255988
Andraz Rangus	202,729087
Irena Kotovska	203,529226
Bea Cantillon	204,67276
Octavio Grandado Martinez	205,408545
Krzysztof Szymanski	205,765913
Wojciech Kuraszyk	205,765913
Lee Hammond	206,846718
Irena Topinska	208,844475
Lucia Monaco	208,923698

Sebastian Dullien	210,088388
Ä...sa Olli Segendorf	211,160083
David Cutler	213,595838
Friedrich Breyer	214,110834
Thomas Salzmann	214,755916
Simon Smith	215,86321
Alan Walker	218,465202
Miguel Angel Malo Ocana	220,397297
Eirini Kalavrou	223,049043
Dominique de Legge	224,306676
Dirk JarrÄ©	224,536695
Olivier Plasman	228,67923
Chritoph Linzbach	231,040531
HervÄ© Boulhol	231,730641
Mark Keese	231,730641
Santa Ozolina	233,122882
Johan Mackenbach	234,587156
Mercedes Bresso	236,072444
Annick Hellebuyck	236,711603
James Morrison	236,99858
Joakim Palme	237,056212
Masa Filipovic Hrast	242,471479
Liam Coen	243,924534
Pat Dolan	243,924534
Elizabeth Collett	245,233041
Geraldine Visser	247,99514
Ursula Staudinger	248,378604
Ulrike Felt	250,035479
Marco Cilento	250,472797
Kenneth Manton	251,42355
Antonio Blazquez Murillo	251,994238
Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	251,994238
Gill Ringland	252,154685
Kristian Ä–rnelius	253,34747
Sara Ä–rnhall Ljungh	253,34747
Georg Milbradt	253,714144
Peter Saraga	254,681531
Therese de Liederkerke	255,48561
Evanthia Kalpazidou Schmidt	261,778326
Hilda Romer Christensen	262,808325
Carlos Moedas	264,102925
Gerhard Naegele	264,622772
Peter Havlik	264,694144
John Morley	265,077952
Kristalina Georgieva	266,929669
Klara Simackova Laurencikova	267,901696

Stephanie Daimer	269,639184
Maurizio Ferrera	270,306207
Vanda Crnjac-Paukovic	271,888108
Robert Nicholson	273,058177
Nathalie Wuïame	274,334013
Gijs Beets	276,364732
Michael Schneider	276,85693
Laura Gaillard	279,013967
Jesus Crespo-Cuaresma	279,327604
Adam Rezmovits	281,973299
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	281,973299
Dorothea Baltruks	283,207398
Marcel Timmer	285,750929
Sigrun Matthiesen	286,693445
Elisa Garosi	287,90962
Andrew Clegg	289,132604
Claudia Villosio	290,833351
Dick van de Kaa	291,776258
Frank Vandenbroucke	292,329424
Lynn McDonald	292,978286
Christine Cassel	293,031141
Kenneth Rockwood	293,666927
Matteo Duiella	300,575766
Stephane Buffetaut	302,400898
Peter Nolan	304,00945
Martine Piccart	305,555415
Gerard Johanns	305,834486
Celine Carel	307,932065
Pieter Vanhuysse	309,441601
Georg Winckler	313,907873
Bo Malmberg	318,408306
Liisa HysÄlÄ	321,008929
Philippe Kourilsky	322,165356
Jana Kolar	323,294261
Alexia Prskawetz	323,99093
Georges Lemaitre	325,568826
Wolfgang Merz	326,306939
Nico van Nimwegen	331,874012
Egbert te Velde	333,914188
Genevieve Inchauspe	334,808773
Mariana Kotzeva	336,059539
Christof Eichert	344,339528
Gloria Origgi	344,516373
Luc Soete	344,898186
Tuula Haatainen	345,281065
Vegard Skirbekk	345,980131

Claire Annesley	348,906246
Bernd Rechel	350,25433
Richard Brookes	351,421644
Richard Goulsbra	351,421644
Palle Rasmussen	354,50608
Janos Varga	355,610967
Anne Gujon	359,197694
Kurt Deketelaere	361,781999
Marie Panayotopolous-Cassiotou	370,457876
Frank Laczko	371,938365
Shah Ebrahim	373,905909
Regina Sauto Arce	375,395706
Nicolas Gibert-Morin	378,98533
Olga Martinez de Briones	378,98533
Sonia Jemmotte	378,98533
Thomas Bender	378,98533
Frederik Lennartsson	380,689069
Yves Roland-Gosselin	384,028724
Roger M��rtvik	385,124747
Dominic Richardson	392,944606
Gillian Youngs	393,174577
Petra Schaper-Rinkel	395,910247
Bart van Ark	396,363914
Zuzanna Muskat-Gorska	401,990779
Frederick Fenech	404,471704
Ulrike Papouschek	406,199269
Alan Lopez	406,626915
Robert Leu	407,17648
Speder Zsolt	408,875887
Chris Wilson	411,622174
Annamaria Matarazzo	412,547606
Clemens Tesch-R��mer	412,806158
Alessandro Turrini	413,41166
Jerome Mercier	417,317208
Michael Schwarzingen	417,317208
Myung-Yong Um	417,317208
Pierre Moise	417,317208
Adrian Curaj	418,498817
Matej Oresic	420,890884
Marie-Paule Kieny	422,518218
Lihan Wei	424,426713
Lykke Friis	431,023632
Rebekah Smith	431,069807
Olivier Tell	431,148269
Jan van den Biesen	434,339152
Linda Pickard	437,132561

Marja JylhÄä	437,87538
Martin Hirsch	437,971198
RamÄ³n Luis ValcÄ¼rcel	437,984364
Flavia Pesce	438,079306
Kene Henkens	438,634265
Tom Dominique	438,773121
Kirk Scott	441,030838
Ester Salis	441,078661
Anna Amilon	442,845612
Anders Hingel	449,929653
Sybille Olbert Bock	455,791047
David Charles De Roure	459,017297
Konstantinos Pouliakas	466,083656
Sverker Rudeberg	466,726674
Maria Rita Testa	469,936945
John Wood	475,255253
Dimiter Philipov	476,517619
Sue Waddington	477,680366
Jonathan Chaloff	483,242562
Marc Suhrcke	485,981448
Marie Panayotopoulos-Cassiotou	490,368269
Hele Everaus	497,043886
Viktor Steiner	498,254532
Maxime Cerutti	500,086705
Lara BjÄ¼rnsdottir	500,381681
Leszek Kaczmarek	500,5076
GÄ¼nther Schmid	501,421389
Alfonso Sousa-Poza	508,264474
Gerard Cornilleau	508,867812
Kalypso NicolaÄ¼dis	511,205065
Lise Rochaix	516,985289
Daron Acemoglu	525,618767
Per Eckefeldt	528,469628
Valdis Zagorskis	531,155439
Frits Tjadens	532,930414
Frances Camilleri Cassar	533,95386
Ingrid WÄ¼nning Tschol	536,479741
Dimitar Bojilov	538,128711
Christopher Murray	538,917889
Paolo Dario	540,982346
Oliver Bontout	545,978115
Magda Zupancic	549,975755
Constance Hanniffy	551,858891
Nata Menabde	551,973987
Gemma Pinyol-Jimenez	552,017337
Eleonora Schmid	557,349734

Anna Tschaut	558,806709
Miloslav Hettes	558,853147
Jozef Niemiec	559,544538
Gilles de Robien	561,629417
Madeleine Sumption	575,973971
Tomas Milevicius	580,41339
Paul John Adamson	583,81348
Josef WÄ¶ss	584,809917
Kerstin Cuhls	584,823192
Jonathan Cave	595,298439
Gianna Zamaro	600,71328
Michal Kleiber	607,273575
Philipa Mladovsky	608,964085
Hermann Nehls	614,034223
Tarja Riihimalä^ki	616,26988
Zhang Juwei	617,67497
Liselotte Hojgaard	617,995833
Daniela Bankier	618,620493
Tine Rostgaard Phillipsen	620,447431
JÄ¶rgen RÄ¶nnest	627,698109
David King	631,170824
Michele Raitano	633,500032
Josep Figueras	645,789058
Jasper van Loo	651,900912
Ira Malmberg-Heimonen	655,576782
Eric Bonsang	657,199446
Tine Fristrup	659,685509
Ian Robinson	660,501324
Almudena Sevilla-Sanz	662,017384
Marjukka Hietaniemi	665,840162
Ralf Jacob	671,936862
Federico Gallo	676,770769
Mary McAleese	684,701345
Agnes Uhreczky	685,347415
Francoise Castex	690,717804
Irina de Sancho Alonso	694,260803
Rafael Bengoa	703,263334
Tomas Sobotka	705,858231
Felix Barajas Villaluenga	705,941861
Paraskevi Peristera	722,150078
Maria Jepsen	729,151761
Horst Soboll	731,690628
Peggy Maguire	739,320309
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	782,407926
Agneta Bladh	784,819244
Jes SÄ¶gaard	802,445805

Johann Stefanits	814,126003
Olli Kangas	816,361513
Pierre Pestieau	816,461262
Mary Daly	818,749972
Eskil Wadensj��	821,302118
Marcel Tanner	822,956783
Krzysztof Iszkowski	829,582629
Marija Mamolo	837,138046
Erik Buskens	884,972873
Aart Liefbroer	885,598623
Gina Ebner	896,609752
Pierre Mairesse	902,643135
Rie Fujisawa	904,957913
St��phane Jacobzone	904,957913
Klaus Haberkern	908,417133
Marc Szydlik	915,683394
Alexander Peine	919,455036
John Hurley	921,164764
Christian Lettmayr	932,42153
Marja Makarow	932,558971
Yvonne Doyle	932,90837
Aurelio Fernandez Lopez	935,90495
Joseph Newhouse	958,750368
Aspassia Strantzalou	962,391136
Audra Mukalauskaite	964,044254
Anita Nyberg	964,880436
Vidija Pastukiene	965,050359
Thomas Fent	969,330123
David McDaid	981,996114
J��rgen Mortensen	988,260259
Andrea Peto	1001,789
Justin Tyson	1005,46481
Joaquin Almunia	1026,81192
David Norris	1032,46727
John Bohan	1054,50031
Renate Heinisch	1056,58753
Adelina Comas-Herrera	1062,461
Jerome Glenn	1063,41651
Anna Cabre	1072,53356
Jens Dangschat	1082,40285
Paul Minty	1087,91308
Tibor Navracsics	1093,01763
Robert Strauss	1093,418
Toula Kouloumou	1097,20485
Raphael Wittenberg	1098,82027
Krzysztof Gulda	1107,02278

Yannick L'Horty	1122,61879
Orsolya Lelkes	1126,82524
Yves Chassard	1141,47048
Monika Queisser	1171,24977
Sergei Scherbov	1174,93774
Belinda Pyke	1181,83655
Claude Cahn	1195,87161
Marja-Liisa Parjanne	1201,69911
Chantal Remery	1202,3293
Lennart Janssens	1206,29956
Ana Llana-Nozal	1210,49789
Fred Mulder	1228,19225
Rajneesh Narula	1228,6308
Marc Vothknecht	1236,6852
Marijk van der Wende	1254,12751
Suzanne de Cheveigne	1259,38391
Zaneta Ozolina	1264,56156
Maya Miljanic Brinkworth	1301,81952
Johanna Lammi Taskula	1305,04115
Loes van Embden Andres	1313,03468
Nicholas Costello	1313,6279
Liisa Laakso	1348,92627
Luca Scarpiello	1353,87018
Emanuela Tassa	1387,97155
Denis Maguain	1396,62616
Mikko Myrskylä	1403,04892
Peter Piot	1404,36955
Jean-Philippe Cotis	1413,34752
Lena Treschow Torell	1415,53168
Sarah Harper	1418,63414
Christine de la Maisonneuve	1420,78175
Joaquim Oliveira Martins	1420,78175
Joan Costa-Font	1424,28422
Jerzy Ciechanski	1433,58587
Stefanos Grammenos	1461,2405
Jean-Pierre Michel	1466,78497
Francesca Colombo	1469,31463
Lisa Pavan-Woolfe	1472,41447
Joseph Troisi	1493,14704
Costas Stavrakis	1501,77335
Maria do Carmo Gomes	1508,06956
Tom Bevers	1533,13457
Willem Adema	1544,80307
Anne Glover	1554,51959
Elspeth Guild	1589,1832
Nikolaus van der Pas	1648,38619

Detlef Eckert	1658,77083
Eric Meyermans	1659,94564
Stijn Hoorens	1688,76349
Jean-Marie Robine	1689,68777
Carlos Maria Romeo-Casabona	1703,64462
Alexander Schwan	1708,45199
Etienne Sail	1708,45199
Alexandre Sidorenko	1709,93985
Rocio Lardinois de la Torre	1744,53333
Marco d'Ercole	1745,93074
Jitka Rychtarikova	1765,64995
Martin McKee	1772,81465
Giedre Kazlauskaitė	1782,31927
Mario Monti	1809,26375
Janneke Plantenga	1840,36628
Christoph Schwierz	1845,15467
Anne Gauthier	1909,8621
Eleonora Castagnone	1934,05085
GÅsta Esping-Andersen	1985,61231
Christos Stylianides	2005,77734
Beata Nagy	2088,11319
Harald Wilkoszewski	2177,80119
Alena Krizkova	2236,18427
Francesco Billari	2236,67921
Melanie Ward-Warmedinger	2249,85309
Maria Vincenza Desiderio	2260,64473
Jerome Vignon	2285,9742
Eleonora Hostasch	2306,40533
Heidrun Mollenkopf	2337,34881
Ferruccio Pastore	2360,43625
Torben Hede	2422,02195
Ileana Carmen Manu	2440,75545
Livia Popescu	2468,37334
Michel Englert	2472,61126
Montserrat Mir Roca	2551,29809
Aldo Geuna	2603,38278
Joao Medeiros	2629,40255
Alain Jousten	2711,89252
Robert Anderson	2729,12242
Linda Hantrais	2751,77997
Vladimir Spidla	2826,41761
Helen Hoffmann	2900,67468
Egbert Holthuis	2934,47164
Philipp Rother	2949,14303
Constantinos Fotakis	3061,92086
Audronele Balkytė	3104,77889

Viviana Egidì	3211,93098
Emily Grundy	3397,15587
Ettore Marchetti	3426,94486
Anne Sophie Parent	3601,39865
Lenia Samuel	3789,63522
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	3797,06497
Erika Schulz	3892,02922
Lieve Fransen	3991,778
Alain Pompidou	4231,78575
Pascaline Descy	4264,27127
Jakob von Weizsäcker	4347,76751
Matthias Mayer	4435,08796
Demetrios Papademetriou	4492,32472
Laszlo Andor	4523,91707
Manfred Horvat	4566,42426
Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdóttir	4755,77525
Georg Fischer	4825,67885
Paul Morrin	5081,45255
Maria Stratigaki	5224,40461
Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	5428,78846
James Vaupel	5466,19378
Giuseppe Carone	5630,27066
Elias Mossialos	5825,64651
	5828,09953
Petra Wilson	5984,34828
Dan Andree	6356,01575
Bernard Casey	6771,49122
Jörg Peschner	6869,67288
Anna d'Addio	10777,1615
Wolfgang Lutz	11803,0154

Appendix G: Closeness Centrality

	x
Anne Robrock	0,00033795
Chigako Miyata	0,00033795
Gabriela Cojanu	0,00033795
Marie van de Poele	0,00033795
Patrice-Emmanuel Schmitz	0,00033795
Pedro Torrinha	0,00033795
Wilfried de Wever	0,00033795
JosÃ© Manuel Rey Varela	0,0003413
Christian Bode	0,0003701
Vincent Berger	0,0003701
Tea Petrin	0,00037693
Babette Winter	0,00038745
Alessandro Schiesaro	0,00040161
Giedre Kazlauskaitė	0,00040323
Alexandra Scheele	0,00040355
Anne Eydoux	0,00040355
Barbora Holubova	0,00040355
Bettina Haidinger	0,00040355
Jana Lozanoska	0,00040355
Joanna Tsiganou	0,00040355
Maria Slaveva Prohaska	0,00040355
Maria Teresa Sarmento Pereira	0,00040355
Mary Murphy	0,00040355
Sinisa Zrinscak	0,00040355
Susana Pavlou	0,00040355
Tana Lace	0,00040355
Yildiz Ecevit	0,00040355
Masa Filipovic Hrast	0,00040519
Jan Muehlfeith	0,00040984
Michel Feutrie	0,00041288
Irena Topinska	0,00041374
Hugo Swinnen	0,00041511
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Claire Annesley	0,00041632
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Michaela Vecchi	0,00041824
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Ulrike Felt	0,00043497
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Joao Caraca	0,00043725
Adrian Saftiou	0,0004384
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Georges de Moor	0,0004384
Jackie Hunter	0,0004384
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Mathieu Simon	0,0004384
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Erik Westholm	0,00049975
Marie-Paule Kieny	0,00049975
Gillian Youngs	0,00050125
Jay Olshansky	0,00050125
Mark Rudberg	0,00050125
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Juha Pesola	0,00050531
Monika Wild	0,00050531
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Birgit Garbe Emden	0,00050659
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Mirjam Allik	0,00050736
Eamonn Noonan	0,00050891
Hermann Nehls	0,00050891
Audra Mukalauskaite	0,00050994
Mary Grace Vella	0,00050994
Peer Ederer	0,00050994
Stefan Olafsson	0,00050994
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Per H. Jensen	0,0005102
David Prendergast	0,00051046
Hede Sinisaar	0,00051073

Krzysztof Gulda	0,00051073
Michiel Sweers	0,00051073
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Michel Neyens	0,00051099
Celine Simonin	0,00051125
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Katerina Prihodova	0,00051125
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Jasmina Byrne	0,00051177
Marcel Tanner	0,00051177
Maria Cierna	0,00051177
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Marcus Frequin	0,00051203
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Tomi Hussi	0,00051308
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Diana Jakaite	0,00051335
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Werner Barthel	0,000516
Charlotte van Trier	0,00051626
Klara Foti	0,00051626
Constance Hanniffy	0,0005168
David Stanton	0,0005168
GŦnther Schmid	0,0005168
Therese de Liederkerke	0,00051706
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Iva Holmerova	0,00051733
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Michal Kleiber	0,00051733
Michal Sedlacek	0,00051733
Frederik Lennartsson	0,0005176
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Ole Beier SŦrensen	0,00051787
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Palle Rasmussen	0,00051813
Paul de Beer	0,00051813
Uros Prikl	0,00051813
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Sharon Hermanson	0,00051894
Laszlo Ulicska	0,00051921
Malgorzata Sarzalska	0,00051948
Octavio Grandado Martinez	0,00051948
Irena Kotovska	0,00051975

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Alan Lopez	0,00052002
Baroness Sally Greengross	0,00052002
Martin Hirsch	0,00052002
Regina Jensdottir	0,00052002
Zhang Juwei	0,00052002
Magda Zupancic	0,00052029
Annamaria Matarazzo	0,00052083
Olivier Plasman	0,00052083
Ursula von der Leyen	0,00052083
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Geraldine Visser	0,0005211
Hermann Buslei	0,0005211
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Bernard van Praag	0,00052138
Klara Simackova Laurencikova	0,00052165
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Josef Bauernberger	0,00052219
Lauri Leppik	0,00052219
Liljana Marusic	0,00052219
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Joop de Beer	0,00052247
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Slavomir Duriska	0,00052274
Edward Buttigieg	0,00052301
Malcolm Scicluna	0,00052301
Marja Makarow	0,00052301
Lara Björnsdottir	0,00052329
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Chritoph Linzbach	0,00052411
Liisa Hysäli	0,00052411
Albane Gourdol	0,00052493
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Wolfgang Merz	0,00052493
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Andrea Peto	0,00052826
Gerard Johanns	0,00052826
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Inese Upite	0,00052854
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Rudi van Dam	0,00052994
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Gallina Andronova Vincelette	0,00053135
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Marek Suchomel	0,00053163
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Krzysztof Szymanski	0,00053277
Mikkel Barslund	0,00053277
Peter Lees Pearson	0,00053277
Wojciech Kuraszyk	0,00053277
Bea Cantillon	0,00053305
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Erika Ildiko Lukacs	0,0005339
Jeni Beecham	0,0005339

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Peter Piot	0,0005339
Anne Prevot	0,00053419
Maxime Cerutti	0,00053419
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Yves Roland-Gosselin	0,00053533
Christine Charpail	0,00053562
Patrick Aubert	0,00053562
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Viktor Steiner	0,00053619
Jerome Glenn	0,00053677
Dirk JarrÃ©	0,00053706
Torben Hede	0,00053706
David King	0,00053735
Alexia Prskawetz	0,00053792
Alfonso Sousa-Poza	0,00053792
Ursula Staudinger	0,00053821
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Sara Ã—rnhall Ljungh	0,00053908
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Volker Schmitt	0,00053996
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Liam Coen	0,00054025
Pat Dolan	0,00054025
Kirk Scott	0,00054054
Dominique de Legge	0,00054083
Maya Miljanic Brinkworth	0,00054083
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John Knights	0,00054437
Luca Scarpiello	0,00054437
Luke O'Shea	0,00054437
Yannick L'Horty	0,00054437
Christian Geppert	0,00054466
Marius L��ske	0,00054466
Joost de Laat	0,00054496
Simon Smith	0,00054526
Dick van de Kaa	0,00054555
Marjukka Hietaniemi	0,00054555
Yvonne Doyle	0,00054555
Atsushi Seike	0,00054585
Sophie Martinon	0,00054585
Mary Daly	0,00054615
J��rgen R��nnest	0,00054645
Muriel Boulmier	0,00054705
Antonio Blazquez Murillo	0,00054735
Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	0,00054735
Michel Englert	0,00054795
Josef W��lss	0,00054885
Peter McDonald	0,00054885
Felix Barajas Villaluenga	0,00054945
Jesus Crespo-Cuaresma	0,00054945
Jozef Niemiec	0,00054975
Martin McKee	0,00054975
Claude Cahn	0,00055006
Jerome Mercier	0,00055066
Lihan Wei	0,00055066
Michael Schwarzingler	0,00055066
Myung-Yong Um	0,00055066
Pierre Moise	0,00055066
Vegard Skirbekk	0,00055127
Richard Brookes	0,00055157
Richard Goulsbra	0,00055157
Gianna Zamaro	0,00055188
Jonathan Cave	0,00055188
Tom Dominique	0,00055188
Marijk van der Wende	0,00055249
Almudena Sevilla-Sanz	0,00055279
John Hurley	0,00055279
Nico van Nimwegen	0,00055371
Jean-Pierre Michel	0,00055402
Irina de Sancho Alonso	0,00055432

Janneke Plantenga	0,00055463
Philipa Mladovsky	0,00055463
Celine Carel	0,00055494
Loes van Embden Andres	0,00055494
Thomas Fent	0,00055494
Olli Kangas	0,00055556
Maria Rita Testa	0,00055648
Federico Gallo	0,0005571
Maria Jepsen	0,0005571
Joan Costa-Font	0,00055741
Erika Schulz	0,00055772
Rajneesh Narula	0,00055772
Speder Zsolt	0,00055772
Aurelio Fernandez Lopez	0,00055804
Marja-Liisa Parjanne	0,00055835
Tomas Sobotka	0,00055835
Eleonora Castagnone	0,00055866
Carlos Maria Romeo-Casabona	0,00055897
Frits Tjadens	0,0005596
Raphael Wittenberg	0,00056022
Anne Sonnet	0,00056054
Mark Pearson	0,00056054
Rie Fujisawa	0,00056054
StÃ©phane Jacobzone	0,00056054
Anne Saint-Martin	0,00056085
Maria Vincenza Desiderio	0,00056085
Adelina Comas-Herrera	0,00056211
HervÃ© Boulhol	0,00056211
Mark Keese	0,00056211
Sergei Scherbov	0,00056243
Marija Mamolo	0,00056275
Chris Wilson	0,00056338
Ana Llana-Nozal	0,00056402
Georges Lemaitre	0,00056433
Sigrun Matthiesen	0,00056433
Gilles de Robien	0,00056561
Renate Heinisch	0,00056561
Paraskevi Peristera	0,00056593
Aart Liefbroer	0,00056593
Dominic Richardson	0,00056657
David McDaid	0,00056689
Dimiter Philipov	0,00056754
Francoise Castex	0,00056818
Jerzy Ciechanski	0,0005685
Jean-Marie Robine	0,00056883
Christine de la Maisonneuve	0,00056948

Francesca Colombo	0,00056948
Joaquim Oliveira Martins	0,00056948
Ileana Carmen Manu	0,00057045
Jonathan Chaloff	0,00057176
Tom Bevers	0,00057274
Stijn Hoorens	0,00057339
Joseph Troisi	0,00057405
Aldo Geuna	0,00057471
Denis Maguain	0,00057537
Jitka Rychtarikova	0,00057571
Costas Stavrakis	0,00057637
Manfred Horvat	0,0005767
Robert Anderson	0,00057703
Aspassia Strantzalou	0,00057904
Jean-Philippe Cotis	0,00057904
Lucio Pench	0,00057904
Sarah Harper	0,00057904
Anna Cabre	0,00058072
Marco d'Ercole	0,00058072
Alain Pompidou	0,00058207
Mikko Myrskylä	0,00058241
Regina Sauto Arce	0,00058241
Eleonora Hostasch	0,00058343
Janos Varga	0,00058445
Nicolas Gibert-Morin	0,00058445
Olga Martinez de Briones	0,00058445
Sonia Jemmotte	0,00058445
Thomas Bender	0,00058445
Christian Lettmayr	0,00058514
Allesandra Zampieri	0,00058548
Delilah Al Khudhairi	0,00058548
Monique Pariat	0,00058548
Olivier Onidi	0,00058548
James Morrison	0,00058617
Vladimir Sucha	0,00058617
Radek Maly	0,0005872
Carlos Moedas	0,00058754
Demetrios Papademetriou	0,00058789
Maria do Carmo Gomes	0,00058858
GÅsta Esping-Andersen	0,00058893
Mario Monti	0,00058893
Constantinos Fotakis	0,00058928
Willem Adema	0,00058962
Emily Grundy	0,00059032
Zaneta Ozolina	0,00059032
Alain Jousten	0,00059067

Manuela Geleng	0,00059067
Anne Gauthier	0,00059242
Mariana Kotzeva	0,00059242
Lena Treschow Torell	0,00059277
Per Eckefeldt	0,00059277
Monika Queisser	0,00059312
Kristalina Georgieva	0,00059347
Elias Mossialos	0,00059382
Maria Stratigaki	0,0005963
Matteo Duiella	0,0005963
Dan Andree	0,00059701
Rocio Lardinois de la Torre	0,00059737
Anne Glover	0,00059773
Pierre Mairesse	0,00059809
Linda Hantrais	0,00059844
Alessandro Turrini	0,0005988
Christos Stylianides	0,0005988
Harald Wilkoszewski	0,00059952
Helen Hoffmann	0,00059952
Anders Hingel	0,00059988
Olivier Tell	0,00059988
Daniela Bankier	0,00060024
John Morley	0,00060096
Vanda Crnjac-Paukovic	0,00060096
Agnes Uhreczky	0,00060168
Oliver Bontout	0,00060168
Valdis Zagorskis	0,00060241
Alexander Schwan	0,00060277
Christoph Schwierz	0,00060277
Detlef Eckert	0,00060277
Etienne Sail	0,00060277
Joao Medeiros	0,00060277
John Bohan	0,00060277
Belinda Pyke	0,0006035
Krzysztof Iszkowski	0,0006035
Jakob von Weizsäcker	0,00060386
Matthias Mayer	0,00060386
Joaquin Almunia	0,00060423
Paul Morrin	0,00060423
Petra Wilson	0,00060459
Francesco Billari	0,00060496
Lisa Pavan-Woolfe	0,00060496
Emanuela Tassa	0,00060569
Lennart Janssens	0,00060569
Anne Sophie Parent	0,00060643
Eric Meyermans	0,00060643

J�rgen Mortensen	0,00060716
Yves Chassard	0,00060753
	0,00060901
Tibor Navracsics	0,00060901
Stefanos Grammenos	0,00061087
Audrone� Balkytel�	0,00061125
Melanie Ward-Warmedinger	0,00061162
Jerome Vignon	0,000612
Nicholas Costello	0,00061237
James Vaupel	0,00061312
Nikolaus van der Pas	0,0006135
Ralf Jacob	0,0006135
Robert Strauss	0,0006135
Marc Vothknecht	0,00061576
Giuseppe Carone	0,00061614
Philipp Rother	0,00061614
Lenia Samuel	0,00061728
Paul Minty	0,00061767
Egbert Holthuis	0,00061958
Vladimir Spidla	0,0006215
J�rg Peschner	0,00062775
Ettore Marchetti	0,00062972
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	0,00063694
Georg Fischer	0,00063735
Laszlo Andor	0,00063857
Wolfgang Lutz	0,00063857
Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	0,00064267
Lieve Fransen	0,00064309
Bernard Casey	0,00065062
Anna d'Addio	0,00065445

Appendix H: Cluster Analysis Extended Network

Name	Occupation	Education	Age	Gender	Nationality	Cluster	Affiliation	Organization	Secondary Affiliation
Aurelio Fernandez Lopez	EU	Psychology	57	M	Spain	1	Dem Forum 3	SPC	
Audronė Balkytė	EU	Economics	NA	F	Lithuania	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	DG EMPL	
Costas Stavrakis	EU	NA	NA	M	Greece	1	Workshop EU OECD	SPC	
Tom Dominique	EU	Physics	NA	M	France	1	Workshop EU OECD	SPC	
Rudi van Dam	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Belgium	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	
Krzysztof Iszkowski	EU	Sociology	NA	M	Poland	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	
Paul Morrin	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Ireland	1	Dem Forum 2	SPC	Irish Government
Paraskevi Peristera	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Greece	1	Dem Forum 2	SPC	Greek Government
Giovanni Geroldi	PUB	Economics	71	M	Italy	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Italian Government
Kristian Örnelius	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Swedish Government
Marjukka Hietaniemi	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Finland	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Finnish Governemnt
Rute Guerra	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Portugal	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Portuguese Government
Johann Stefanits	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Austria	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Austrian Government
Lennart Janssens	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Dutch Government
Adam Rezmovits	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Hungary	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Hungarian Government
Gerard Johanns	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Luxembourg	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Luxembourg Government
Denis Maguain	PUB	Economics	NA	M	France	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	French Government
Dirk Moens	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	
Michel Englert	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Belgium Government
Andraz Rangus	PUB	Law	NA	M	Slovenia	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Belgium Government
Mihail Iliev	PUB	Law	NA	M	Bulgaria	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Slovenian Government
Robert Nicholson	PUB	Management	NA	M	Ireland	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Bulgarian Government
Richard Goulsbra	PUB	Mathmatics	NA	M	UK	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Irish Government
Richard Brookes	PUB	Mathmatics	NA	M	UK	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	UK Government
Rita Figueiras	PUB	Mathmatics	NA	F	Portugal	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	UK Government
Marco Marino	PUB	NA	NA	M	Italy	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Portuguese Government
Sara Örnhall Ljungh	PUB	NA	NA	F	Sweden	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	
Slavomir Duriska	PUB	NA	NA	M	Slovakia	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Italian Government
Ion Popescu	PUB	NA	NA	M	Romania	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Swedish Government
Krzysztof Szymanski	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Slovakian Government
Wojciech Kuraszyk	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Romanian Governmnet
Edward Buttigieg	PUB	NA	NA	M	Malta	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Polish Government
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	PUB	NA	NA	F	Hungary	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Polish Government
Vidija Pastukiene	PUB	NA	NA	F	Lithuania	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Maltesian Government
Inese Upite	PUB	NA	NA	F	Latvia	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Hungarian Government
Antonella Dalle Monache	PUB	NA	NA	F	Italy	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Lithuanian Government
Liljana Marusic	PUB	NA	NA	F	Croatia	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Latvian Government
Sandra Frankic	PUB	NA	NA	F	Croatia	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Italian Government
Celine Carel	PUB	NA	NA	F	France	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Croatian Government
Antonio Blazquez Murillo	PUB	NA	NA	M	Spain	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Croatian Government
Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	PUB	NA	NA	F	Spain	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	French Government
Torben Hede	PUB	NA	NA	M	Denmark	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Spanish Government
Marek Suchomel	PUB	NA	NA	M	Czech Republic	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Spanish Government
Jan Skorpik	PUB	NA	NA	M	Czech Republic	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Danish Government
Volker Schmitt	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Czech Government
Aspassia Strantzalou	PUB	NA	NA	F	Greece	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Czech Government
Malcolm Scicluna	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	Malta	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	German Government
Irene Sassik	PUB	Sociology	NA	F	Austria	1	Seminar on Demographic Change	SPC	Greek Government
Thomas Salzmann	PUB	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Maltesian Government
Anna Amilon	RI	Economics	NA	F	France	1	E02819		
Lauri Leppik	UNI	Mathmatics	52	M	Estonia	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	Austrian Government
Livia Popescu	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Romania	1	2015 Pension Adequacy Report	SPC	German Government
Pedro Torrinha	PRI	IT	NA	M	Portugal	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Marie van de Poele	PRI	IT	NA	F	Belgium	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Giedre Kazlauskaitė	PRI	Law	NA	F	Lithuania	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Wilfried de Wever	PRI	Law	NA	M	Belgium	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Patrice-Emmanuel Schmitz	PRI	Law	NA	M	Belgium	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Chigako Miyata	PRI	NA	NA	F	Japan	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Anne Robrock	PRI	NA	NA	F	NA	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Gabriela Cojanu	PRI	Public Administration	NA	F	Romania	2	COM(2015) 240 final	Unisys	
Marie-Paule Kieny	IO	Biology	NA	F	France	3	E02942		
Genevieve Inchauspe	PRI	Biology	NA	F	France	3	E02942		
Lucia Monaco	UNI	Biology	60	F	Italy	3	E02942		
Ineke Klinge	UNI	Biology	NA	F	Netherlands	3	E03034		
Marcel Tanner	UNI	Biology	65	M	Switzerland	3	E02942		
Leszek Kaczmarek	UNI	Biology	60	M	Poland	3	E02942		
David Norris	UNI	Biology	58	M	UK	3	E02942		
Matej Oresic	UNI	Biology	NA	M	Slovenia	3	E02942		
Kirstie Wild	UNI	Chemistry	NA	F	UK	3	E03034		
Fred Mulder	IO	Chemistry	NA	M	Netherlands	3	E02818		
Anke Lipinsky	UNI	Cultural Studies	NA	F	Germany	3	E03034		
Aniko Juhasz	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Hungary	3	E03034		
Tea Petrin	UNI	Economics	73	F	Slovenia	3	E02818		
Elisabetta Addis	UNI	Economics	62	F	Italy	3	E03034		
Valdone Darskuviene	UNI	Economics	56	F	Lithuania	3	E03034		
Geraldine Healy	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	3	E03034		

Gillian Youngs	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	3	E03034
Luigi Amati	PRI	Engineering	NA	F	Italy	3	E03034
Petra Christa Puechner	PRI	Engineering	NA	F	Germany	3	E03034
Astrid Linder	RI	Engineering	57	F	Sweden	3	E03034
Andriana Prentza	UNI	Engineering	NA	F	Greece	3	E02942
Gulsun Saglamer	UNI	Engineering	NA	F	Turkey	3	E03034
Jan Muehlfeith	PRI	Engineering	55	M	Czech Republic	3	E02818
Paolo Dario	UNI	Engineering	NA	M	Italy	3	E02942
Manfred Horvat	UNI	Engineering	76	M	Austria	3	E03034
Barbara Lenz	UNI	Geography	62	F	Germany	3	E03034
Suzanne de Cheveigne	RI	History	NA	F	France	3	E03034
Andrea Peto	UNI	History	NA	F	Hungary	3	E03034
Hilda Romer Christensen	UNI	History	NA	F	Denmark	3	E03034
Alessandro Schiesaro	UNI	Latin	NA	M	Italy	3	E02818
Mary McAleese	PUB	Law	66	F	Ireland	3	E02818
Tanja Masson-Zwaan	UNI	Law	NA	F	Netherlands	3	E03034
Christian Bode	IG	Law	75	M	Germany	3	E02818
Laura Gaillard	PRI	Management	NA	F	France	3	E03034
Jackie Hunter	PRI	Medicine	61	F	UK	3	E02942
Martine Piccart	RI	Medicine	64	F	Belgium	3	E02942
Elisabete Weiderpass	RI	Medicine	51	F	Brzil	3	E02942
Liselotte Holgaard	UNI	Medicine	60	F	Denmark	3	E02942
Marta Cascante	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	Spain	3	E02942
Paula Alves	UNI	Medicine	50	F	Portugal	3	E02942
Hele Everaus	UNI	Medicine	67	F	Estonia	3	E02942
Roza Adany	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	Hungary	3	E02942
Rose Kenny	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	Ireland	3	E02942
Orla Sheils	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	Ireland	3	E02942
Lora Fleming	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	UK	3	E02942
Ellen Fritsche	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	Germany	3	E02942
Mathieu Simon	PRI	Medicine	NA	M	France	3	E02942
Anders Olauson	RI	Medicine	NA	M	Sweden	3	E02942
Rafael Bengoa	UNI	Medicine	65	M	Venezuela	3	E02942
Georges de Moor	UNI	Medicine	64	M	Belgium	3	E02942
Adrian Saffiou	UNI	Medicine	47	M	Romania	3	E02942
Natalia de Estevan-Ubeda	IG	NA	NA	F	Spain	3	E03034
Evanthia Kalpazidou Schmidt	RI	Philosophy	NA	F	Denmark	3	E03034
Gloria Origgì	RI	Philosophy	NA	F	Italy	3	E03034
Vincent Berger	UNI	Physics	50	M	France	3	E02818
Paulo Lisboa	UNI	Physics	NA	M	Portugal	3	E02942
Peter Saraga	UNI	Physics	NA	M	UK	3	E02942
Agneta Bladh	PUB	Political Science	71	F	Sweden	3	E02942
Elias Mossialos	UNI	Political Science	NA	M	Greece	3	E02942
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	UNI	Psychology	NA	F	Norway	3	E02942
Peggy Maguire	IG	Public Administration	NA	F	Ireland	3	E03034
Mercedes Valcarcel	UNI	Public Administration	NA	F	Spain	3	E03034
Liisa Laakso	UNI	Sociology	58	F	Finland	3	E03034
Han Wiskerke	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Netherlands	3	E03034
Anita Nyberg	UNI	Economics	77	F	Sweden	4	E02164
Anne Eydoux	UNI	Economics	NA	F	France	4	E02164
Elvira Gonzalez Gago	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain	4	E02164
Frances Camilleri Cassar	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Malta	4	E02164
Maria Slaveva Prohaska	RI	Economics	NA	F	Bulgaria	4	E02164
Felipe Gonzalez	PUB	Law	75	M	Spain	4	Reflection Group on the Future of Europe
Jana Lozanoska	UNI	Law	NA	F	Macedonia	4	E02164
Joanna Tsiganou	UNI	Law	NA	F	Greece	4	E02164
Nathalie Wuïame	UNI	Law	NA	F	Belgium	4	E02164
Tana Lace	UNI	NA	NA	F	Latvia	4	E02164
Alexandra Scheele	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Germany	4	E02164
Bettina Haidinger	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Austria	4	E02164
Claire Annesley	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	UK	4	E02164
Irena Topinska	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Poland	4	E02164
Mary Murphy	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Ireland	4	E02164
Reelika Leetmaa	RI	Political Science	NA	F	Estonia	4	E02164
Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdóttir	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Iceland	4	E02164
Susana Pavlou	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Cyprus	4	E02164
Tine Rostgaard Phillipsen	RI	Political Science	NA	F	Denmark	4	E02164
Ira Malmberg-Heimonen	UNI	Social Work	NA	F	Norway	4	E02164
Alena Krizkova	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Czech Republic	4	E02164
Barbora Holubova	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Slovakia	4	E02164
Beata Nagy	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Hungary	4	E02164
Flavia Pesce	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Italy	4	E02164
Hugo Swinnen	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Netherlands	4	E02164
Johanna Lammi Taskula	RI	Sociology	NA	F	Finland	4	E02164
Maria Teresa Sarmento Pereira	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Portugal	4	E02164
Masa Filipovic Hrast	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Slovenia	4	E02164
Ruta Braziene	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Lithuania	4	E02164
Sinisa Zrinscak	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Croatia	4	E02164
Ulrike Papouschek	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Austria	4	E02164

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Vaira Vīke-Freiberga	PUB	Psychology	79 F	Latvia	5 Reflection Group on the Future of Europe		
Athena Linos	UNI	Public Health	F	Greece	5 E02715	E03119	E02260
Kene Henkens	RI	Sociology	NA M	Netherlands	5 Workshop EU and OECD		
Olli Kangas	RI	Sociology	NA M	Finland	5 Workshop EU and OECD		
Stefan Olafsson	UNI	Sociology	NA M	Iceland	5 Workshop EU and OECD		
Per H. Jensen	UNI	Sociology	NA M	Denmark	5 Workshop EU and OECD		
Ingrid Wünnig Tschol	Fund	Zoology	NA F	Germany	5 E02159		
Martin Hirsch	IG	Biology	53 M	France	6 E02819		
Anne Glover	PRI	Biology	61 F	UK	6 E02159	E03119	
Egbert Holthuis	EU	Business	NA M	Netherlands	6 DemForum4	DG EMPL	
James Morrison	EU	Business	NA M	UK	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DG SC	
Carlos Moedas	EU	Business	47 M	Portugal	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	E03436	
Nicolas Gibert-Morin	EU	Business	NA M	France	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	EG EMPL	
Yves Chassard	PUB	Business	70 M	France	6 DemForum1		
Gery Coomans	PRI	Demography	NA M	France	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Lin Bao	RI	Demography	NA M	China	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Christos Stylianides	EU	Dentistry	59 M	Cyprus	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DH ECHO	
Christian Lettmayr	EU	Economics	66 M	Austria	6 2013 Demography Report	2011 Communication on Migration	
Laszlo Andor	EU	Economics	51 M	Hungary	6 DemForum3	DemForum4	
Georg Fischer	EU	Economics	NA M	Austria	6 DemForum3	DemForum4	
Kristalina Georgieva	EU	Economics	64 F	Bulgaria	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DG BUDG	
Anders Hingel	EU	Economics	NA M	Denmark	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG EAC	
Melanie Ward-Warmedinger	EU	Economics	46 F	UK	6 2007 Demography Report	DG ECFIN	
Philipp Rother	EU	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 2007 Demography Report	DG ECFIN	
Giuseppe Carone	EU	Economics	NA M	Italy	6 2012 Ageing Report	DG ECFIN	
Etienne Sail	EU	Economics	NA M	Belgium	6 2015 Ageing Report	DG ECFIN	
Alexander Schwan	EU	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 2015 Ageing Report	DG ECFIN	
Christoph Schwierz	EU	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 2015 Ageing Report	DG ECFIN	
Per Eckefeldt	EU	Economics	NA M	Sweden	6 2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	DG ECFIN	
Janos Varga	EU	Economics	NA M	Hungary	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	DG ECFIN	
Alessandro Turrini	EU	Economics	NA M	Italy	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG ECFIN	
Matteo Duiella	EU	Economics	NA M	Italy	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG ECFIN	
Regina Sauto Arce	EU	Economics	NA F	Spain	6 2007 White Paper Together for Health	DG EMPL	
Joao Medeiros	EU	Economics	NA M	Portugal	6 2015 Ageing Report	DG EMPL	
Manuela Geleng	EU	Economics	NA F	Switzerland	6 2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	DG EMPL	
Radek Maly	EU	Economics	NA M	Czech Republic	6 2016 Joint EC & OECD Conference	DG EMPL	
Olga Martinez de Briones	EU	Economics	NA F	Spain	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	DG EMPL	
Constantinos Fotakis	EU	Economics	NA M	Greece	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	DG EMPL	
Robert Strauss	EU	Economics	NA M	UK	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG EMPL	
Oliver Bontout	EU	Economics	NA M	France	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG EMPL	
Eric Meyermans	EU	Economics	NA M	Belgium	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG EMPL	
Detlef Eckert	EU	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG EMPL	
Jörg Peschner	EU	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG EMPL	
Ralf Jacob	EU	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 Workshop EU and OECD	DG EMPL	
Mariana Kotzeva	EU	Economics	NA F	Bulgaria	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	Eurostat	
Enrique Fernandez-Macias	EU	Economics	NA M	Spain	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Mara Brugia	IG	Economics	NA F	Italy	6 E02174	X01803	
Konstantinos Pouliakas	IG	Economics	NA M	Greece	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
John Morley	PRI	Economics	NA M	UK	6 2015 Pension Adequacy Report	DG EMPL	
Stefanos Grammenos	PRI	Economics	NA M	Belgium	6 DemForum1		
Johannes Pöschl	RI	Economics	35 M	Austria	6 2015 Demography Report		
Ana Rincon-Aznar	RI	Economics	NA F	NA	6 2015 Demography Report		
Neil Foster-McGregor	RI	Economics	42 M	UK	6 2015 Demography Report		
Robert Stehrer	RI	Economics	49 M	Austria	6 2015 Demography Report		
Wenshu Gao	RI	Economics	NA M	China	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Wei Zhong	RI	Economics	NA M	China	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Zhang Tao	RI	Economics	NA M	China	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Peter Havlik	RI	Economics	67 M	Austria	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Yuan Zhaohui	Trade Union	Economics	46 M	China	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Jørgen Mortensen	TT	Economics	84 M	Denmark	6 2007 White Paper Together for Health	DG ECFIN	
Wim Overmeer	TT	Economics	NA M	Netherlands	6 2015 Demography Report		
Kirsten Jaeger	TT	Economics	NA F	Germany	6 2015 Demography Report		
Bert Colijn	TT	Economics	NA M	Netherlands	6 2015 Demography Report		
Vivian Chen	TT	Economics	NA F	China	6 2015 Demography Report		
Bart van Ark	TT	Economics	NA M	Netherlands	6 2015 Demography Report		
Mario Monti	TT	Economics	74 M	Italy	6 Reflection Group on the Future of Europe		
Manos Matsaganis	UNI	Economics	NA M	Greece	6 E02819	Greek Government	
Francesco Venturini	UNI	Economics	47 M	Italy	6 2015 Demography Report		
Michaela Vecchi	UNI	Economics	NA F	Italy	6 2015 Demography Report		
Marcel Timmer	UNI	Economics	NA M	Netherlands	6 2015 Demography Report		
Sebastian Dullien	UNI	Economics	NA M	Germany	6 E02819		
Jill Rubery	UNI	Economics	65 F	UK	6 E02819		
Frank Vandenbroucke	UNI	Economics	61 M	Belgium	6 E02819		
Gaaitzen de Vries	UNI	Economics	NA M	Netherlands	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Günther Schmid	UNI	Economics	75 M	Germany	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar		
Klara Simackova Laurencikova	Fund	Education	38 F	Czech Republic	6 E02819		
Sue Waddington	IG	Education	72 F	UK	6 E02174	EP	
Evelyn Viertel	IG	Education	NA F	UK	6 E02174		
Deiliah Al Khudhairy	EU	Engineering	55 F	UK	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DG JRC	

Klaus Rudischhauser	EU	Engineering	NA	M	Germany	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	E01604
Anne-Karina Stocchetti	IG	Film Directing	NA	F	France	6 DemForum1	
Vladimir Spidla	EU	History	66	M	Czech Republic	6 DemForum1	DemForum2
Pavel Kabat	RI	Hydrology	59	M	Netherlands	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	
Pierre Mairesse	EU	IT	NA	M	France	6 DemForum3	DG EAC
Tarja Riihimäki	PUB	IT	NA	F	Finland	6 2011 Communication on Migration	X01803
Joaquin Almunia	EU	Law	69	M	Spain	6 DemForum2	DG ECFIN
John Bohan	EU	Law	NA	M	Ireland	6 DemForum4	DG ECFIN
Vanda Crnjac-Paukovic	EU	Law	NA	F	Croatia	6 2015 Pension Adequacy Report	DG EMPL
Daniela Bankier	EU	Law	NA	F	Austria	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG EMPL
Eugenio Ambrosi	IO	Law	NA	M	Italy	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	
Petra Wilson	PRI	Law	NA	F	UK	6 E02942	E02769
Peter Diez	PUB	Law	NA	M	Netherlands	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	
Dulce Rocha	RI	Law	NA	F	Portugal	6 E02819	Portuguese Government
Lieve Fransen	PUB	Medicine	67	F	Belgium	6 DemForum4	DG EMPL
Nicholas Costello	EU	NA	NA	M	NA	6 DemForum4	DG EMPL
Emanuela Tassa	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	6 Demography Report 2010	DG EMPL
Marc Voithknecht	EU	NA	NA	M	Germany	6 E02819	DG EMPL
Paul Minty	EU	NA	NA	M	NA	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG EMPL
Vladimir Sucha	EU	NA	NA	M	Slovakia	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DG JRC
Allesandra Zampieri	EU	NA	NA	F	Italy	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	E00604
Heikki Suomalainen	IG	NA	NA	M	Finland	6 E02174	E00175
Liliane Volozinskis	IG	NA	NA	F	Lithuania	6 E02174	E00175
Hermann Nehls	Trade Union	NA	NA	M	Germany	6 2013 Demography Report	E02415
Petri Lempinen	Trade Union	Philosophy	NA	M	Finland	6 E02174	E00175
Zaneta Ozolina	UNI	Philosophy	NA	F	Latvia	6 E02159	E02548
Lena Treschow Torell	RI	Physics	71	F	Sweden	6 E02159	
Nikolaus van der Pas	EU	Political Science	74	M	Germany	6 DemForum2	DemForum3
Lucio Pench	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Italy	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG ECFIN
Monique Pariat	EU	Political Science	NA	F	France	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DG ECHO
Valdis Zagorskis	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Latvia	6 2015 Pension Adequacy Report	DG EMPL
Jerome Vignon	EU	Political Science	72	M	France	6 DemForum1	DG EMPL
Lisa Pavan-Woolfe	EU	Political Science	NA	F	Italy	6 DemForum1	DG EMPL
Belinda Pyke	EU	Political Science	NA	F	UK	6 DemForum2	DG EMPL
Sonia Jemmotte	EU	Political Science	NA	F	UK	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	DG EMPL
Thomas Bender	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	6 Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar	DG EMPL
Olivier Onidi	EU	Political Science	NA	M	France	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	DG HOME
Tibor Navracscis	EU	Political Science	51	M	Hungary	6 EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	E00187
Agnes Uherezsky	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Hungary	6 DemForum4	E03295
Helen Hoffmann	IG	Political Science	NA	F	UK	6 E02174	X01803
Maria Stratigaki	PUB	Political Science	NA	F	Greece	6 E03034	DG EMPL
Matthias Mayer	TT	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	6 E03253	
Maurizio Ferrara	UNI	Political Science	62	F	Italy	6 E02819	E01680
Joakim Palme	UNI	Political Science	59	M	Sweden	6 E02819	
Lenia Samuel	EU	Public Administration	71	F	Cyprus	6 DemForum3	DG EMPL
Olivier Tell	EU	Public Administration	NA	M	France	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG JUST
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	EU	Sociology	65	M	Denmark	6 Seminar on Demographic Change	DG EMPL
Michel Feutrie	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	France	6 E02174	
Anette Borchhorst	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Denmark	6 E02819	
Ettore Marchetti	EU	Statistics	NA	M	Italy	6 Demography Report 2010	DG EMPL
Pascaline Descy	EU	Education	NA	F	Belgium	7 COM(2015) 240 final	DemForum3
Regina Jensdottir	EU	Law	NA	F	Iceland	7 DemForum4	
Katya Vasileva	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	
Monica Marcu	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	
Katarzyna Kraszewska	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	DemForum3
Veronica Corsini	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	Demography Report 2010
Piotr Juchno	EU	NA	NA	M	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	DemForum3
Sylvain Besch	EU	NA	NA	M	Luxembourg	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	E01906
Apolonija Oblak Flande	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	DemForum2
Pavel Trantina	EU	Political Science	42	M	Czech Republic	7 DemForum4	Demography Report 2010
Zornitsa Roussinova	EU	Political Science	NA	F	Bulgaria	7 DemForum4	2008 Demography Report
Giampaolo Lanzieri	EU	Statistics	NA	M	Italy	7 Demography Report 2010	Seminar on Demographic Change
Albane Gourdol	EU	Statistics	NA	M	France	7 Demography Report 2010	E02819
Jasper van Loo	IG	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Eleonora Schmid	IG	Education	NA	F	Austria	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Birgit Garbe-Emden	IG	Linguistics	NA	F	Germany	7 DemForum4	
Juliet Ramage	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	7 DemForum4	
Celine Simonin	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Jana Hainsworth	IG	Political Science	NA	F	UK	7 DemForum3	Seminar on Demographic Change
Santa Ozolina	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Latvia	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	Demography Report 2010
Luca Scarpello	IG	Political Science	NA	M	Italy	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	Seminar on Demographic Change
Rebekah Smith	IG	Political Science	NA	F	UK	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	Demography Report 2010
Willem Adema	IO	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	7 DemForum2	DemForum4
Monika Queisser	IO	Economics	NA	F	Germany	7 DemForum3	DemForum4
Miguel Angel Malo Ocana	IO	Economics	51	M	Spain	7 DemForum4	
Gallina Andronova Vincelette	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	7 DemForum4	Seminar on Demographic Change
Georges Lemaitre	IO	NA	NA	M	Canada	7 DemForum4	
Phyllis Gabriel	IO	NA	NA	F	NA	7 2007 White Paper Together for Health	
Marjo-Riitta Liimatainen	IO	NA	NA	F	NA	7 2007 White Paper Together for Health	Seminar on Demographic Change

Jonathan Chaloff	IO	NA	NA	M	NA	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Pat Dolan	IO	Political Science	NA	M	Ireland	7 DemForum4	
Jasmina Byrne	IO	Political Science	NA	F	UK	7 DemForum4	
Harald Wilkoszewski	IO	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	7 Demography Report 2010	
Peer Ederer	PRI	Business	NA	M	Germany	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Rainer Münz	PRI	Demography	NA	M	Austria	7 DemForum2	
Eleonora Hostasch	PUB	Business	73	F	Austria	7 DemForum2	E02547
Marianne Besselink	PUB	Business	NA	F	Netherlands	7 DemForum4	
Renée Roodenburg	PUB	Cultural Studies	NA	M	Netherlands	7 E02556	
Gianpiero Dalla Zuanna	PUB	Demography	57	M	Italy	7 E01906	
Marja-Liisa Parjanne	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Finland	7 E01906	
Michiel Sweerts	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	7 E01906	
Magda Zupancic	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Slovenia	7 E02556	
Charlotte van Trier	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Netherlands	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Åsa Olli Segendorf	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Sweden	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Matti Mäkelä	PUB	History	NA	M	Finland	7 DemForum4	E02603
Kristin Astgeirsdottir	PUB	History	NA	F	Iceland	7 DemForum4	Demography Report 2010
Vít Michálec	PUB	Language	38		Czech Republic	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	E01906
Johannes Beemann	PUB	Law	57	M	Germany	7 DemForum4	E01906
Audra Mukalauskaitė	PUB	Medicine	57	F	Lithuania	7 E01906	E02556
Jerzy Ciechanski	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	7 DemForum2	Demography Report 2010
Felix Barajas Villalunga	PUB	NA	NA	M	Spain	7 DemForum2	Seminar on Demographic Change
Ileana Carmen Manu	PUB	NA	NA	F	Romania	7 DemForum2	
Charlotte Sachse	PUB	NA	NA	F	Austria	7 E01906	
Dimitar Bojilov	PUB	NA	NA	M	Bulgaria	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Toula Kouloumou	PUB	NA	NA	F	Cyprus	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Katerina Prihodova	PUB	NA	NA	F	Czech Republic	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Chritoph Linzbach	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Mirjam Allik	PUB	NA	NA	F	Estonia	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Eirini Kalavrou	PUB	NA	NA	F	Greece	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Laszlo Ullcska	PUB	NA	NA	M	Hungary	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Michel Neyens	PUB	NA	NA	M	Luxembourg	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Diana Jakaite	PUB	NA	NA	F	Latvia	7 E01906	Demography Report 2010
Frederik Lennartsson	PUB	NA	NA	M	Sweden	7 E01906	
Ales Kenda	PUB	NA	NA	M	Slovenia	7 E01906	
Frazer Macdonald	PUB	NA	NA	M	UK	7 E01906	E01906
Marcus Frequin	PUB	NA	NA	M	Netherlands	7 DemForum4	
Maya Miljanic Brinkworth	PUB	NA	NA	F	Malta	7 DemForum4	
Elisabeth Zechner	PUB	NA	NA	F	Austria	7 E02556	
Peter Lelie	PUB	NA	NA	M	Belgium	7 E02556	
Stefan Culik	PUB	NA	NA	M	Czech Republic	7 E02556	
Lis Witso-Lund	PUB	NA	NA	F	Denmark	7 E02556	
Sirilis Somer-Kull	PUB	NA	NA	F	Estonia	7 E02556	
Axel Stammberger	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	7 E02556	
Odysseas Rouskas	PUB	NA	NA	M	Greece	7 E02556	
Anna Orosz	PUB	NA	NA	F	Hungary	7 E02556	
Ronan Toomey	PUB	NA	NA	M	Ireland	7 E02556	
Agnese Galle	PUB	NA	NA	F	Latvia	7 E02556	
Thomas Milevicius	PUB	NA	NA	M	Lithuania	7 E02556	
James Carabott	PUB	NA	NA	M	Malta	7 E02556	
Nadezda Sebova	PUB	NA	NA	F	Slovakia	7 E02556	
Karin Hellqvist	PUB	NA	NA	F	Sweden	7 E02556	
Gwen Wolf	PUB	NA	NA	M	UK	7 E02556	
Attila Sashegyi	PUB	NA	NA	F	Hungary	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Josef Bauernberger	PUB	NA	NA	M	Austria	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Maro Michaelides	PUB	NA	NA	M	Cyprus	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Daniela Chio	PUB	NA	NA	F	Italy	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Mary Grace Vella	PUB	NA	NA	F	Malta	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	2008 Demography Report
Sophie Martinon	PUB	NA	NA	F	France	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Hede Sinisaar	PUB	NA	NA	F	Estonia	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Nina Parra	PUB	NA	NA	F	Germany	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Maria Cierna	PUB	Philosophy	NA	F	Slovakia	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Miloslav Hettes	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	Slovakia	7 E01906	
Simon Smith	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	UK	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	ESF
Olivier Plasman	PUB	Public Administration	NA	M	Belgium	7 E1906	
Katre Pall	PUB	Sociology	NA	F	Estonia	7 E1906	
Maria do Carmo Gomes	PUB	Sociology	NA	F	Portugal	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
James Vaupel	RI	Demography	72	M	US	7 DemForum1	
Wolfgang Lutz	RI	Demography	61	M	Austria	7 DemForum1	
Tomas Sobotka	RI	Demography	43	M	Czech Republic	7 DemForum4	
Anne Gauthier	RI	Demography	NA	F	France	7 DemForum4	
Mikko Myrskylä	RI	Demography	NA	M	Finland	7 Demography Report 2010	
Dimitar Philipov	RI	Demography	NA	M	Bulgaria	7 Demography Report 2010	
Peter Ekamper	RI	Demography	NA	M	Netherlands	7 Demography Report 2010	
Anna Cabre	RI	Demography	NA	F	Spain	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Sigrun Matthiesen	RI	Journalism	NA	F	Germany	7 Demography Report 2010	
Julia Schuster	RI	NA	NA	F	NA	7 Demography Report 2010	Demography Report 2010
Jeannette Schoorl	RI	NA	NA	F	Netherlands	7 Demography Report 2010	E01218
Gijs Beets	RI	NA	NA		Netherlands	7 Demography Report 2010	DemForum4

Pietro Checucci	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Italy	7 DemForum4	E00602
Nico van Nimwegen	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Netherlands	7 Demography Report 2010	
Irina de Sancho Alonso	Trade Union	Political Science	NA	F	Spain	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Fabian Zuleeg	TT	Economics	NA	M	UK	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Stijn Hoorens	TT	Management	NA	M	Netherlands	7 DemForum4	
Tom Huddleston	TT	Political Science	NA	M	UK	7 DemForum4	
Svetla Tsolova	TT	Public Administration	NA	F	Bulgaria	7 2007 White Paper Together for Health	
Jitka Rychtarikova	UNI	Demography		F	Czech Republic	7 DemForum1	
Francesco Billari	UNI	Demography	47	M	Italy	7 DemForum4	
Irena Kotovska	UNI	Demography	NA	F	Poland	7 DemForum4	
Kirk Scott	UNI	Demography	NA	M	UK	7 DemForum4	E01218
Alfonso Sousa-Poza	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	7 E01906	
Bernard Casey	UNI	Economics	NA	M	UK	7 DemForum3	
Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Poland	7 DemForum4	
Thomas Zwick	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	7 DemForum4	Demography Report 2010
Marc Suhrcke	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	7 2007 White Paper Together for Health	
Hans-Peter Kohler	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	7 Demography Report 2010	
Palle Rasmussen	UNI	Education	NA	M	Denmark	7 Seminar on Demographic Change	
Liam Coen	UNI	NA	NA	M	Ireland	7 DemForum4	
Linda Hantrais	UNI	Political Science	74	F	UK	7 E01906	
Ursula Staudinger	UNI	Psychology	58	F	Germany	7 EPRS Roundtable	
Speder Zsolt	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Hungary	7 DemForum4	
Viviana Egidi	UNI	Demography	71	F	Italy	8 JPI-MYBL	
Eskil Wadensjö	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	8 JPI-MYBL	
Sybillie Olbert Bock	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Francesc Aragall	IG	Education	NA	M	Spain	8 JPI-MYBL	
Tine Frstrup	UNI	Education	NA	F	Denmark	8 JPI-MYBL	
Leon Urbas	UNI	Engineering	NA	M	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Stephen McNair	TT	English	NA	M	UK	8 JPI-MYBL	
Erik Buskens	UNI	Epidemiology	55	M	Netherlands	8 JPI-MYBL	
Gina Ebner	IG	Gender Studies	NA	F	Austria	8 JPI-MYBL	
Leocadio Manas	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	Spain	8 JPI-MYBL	
Marja Jylhä	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Finland	8 JPI-MYBL	
Johan Fritzell	UNI	Gerontology	NA	M	Sweden	8 JPI-MYBL	
Heidrun Mollenkopf	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Peter Nolan	UNI	Industrial Relation	NA	M	UK	8 JPI-MYBL	
Pascal Garel	IG	Law	NA	M	France	8 JPI-MYBL	
Annemie Driessens	IG	Law	NA	F	Belgium	8 JPI-MYBL	
Esko Kivisaari	IG	Mathematics	NA	M	Finland	8 JPI-MYBL	
Alexandre Sidorenko	PRI	Medicine	NA	M	Ukraine	8 JPI-MYBL	
Yann Bourgueil	RI	Medicine	NA	M	France	8 JPI-MYBL	
Carlo Galasso	IG	NA	NA	M	Italy	8 JPI-MYBL	
Anett Ruszanov	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	8 JPI-MYBL	
Anna Grazia Laura	IG	Political Science	74	F	Italy	8 JPI-MYBL	
Dorothea Baltruks	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Pieter Vanhuyse	IO	Political Science	42	M	Belgium	8 JPI-MYBL	
Orsolya Lelkes	IO	Political Science	NA	F	Hungary	8 JPI-MYBL	
Luis Moreno	UNI	Political Science	66	M	Spain	8 JPI-MYBL	
Alexander Peine	UNI	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Clemens Tesch-Römer	UNI	Psychology	NA	M	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Antti Syväjärvi	UNI	Psychology	NA	F	Finland	8 JPI-MYBL	
Frederic Vallier	IG	Public Administration	NA	M	France	8 JPI-MYBL	
Montserrat Mir Roca	Trade Union	Public Administration	NA	F	Spain	8 JPI-MYBL	
Hanneli Döhner	IG	Sociology	NA	F	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Lynn McDonald	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Canada	8 JPI-MYBL	
Janice Keefe	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Canada	8 JPI-MYBL	
Jens Dangschat	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	8 JPI-MYBL	
Maria Rita Testa	RI	Demography	NA	F	Italy	9 2007 Demography Report	
Eckart Bomsdorf	UNI	Demography	NA	M	Germany	9 2007 Demography Report	
Peter McDonald	UNI	Demography	NA	M	Australia	9 2007 Demography Report	
Thomas Westermann	EU	Economics	55	M	Germany	9 2007 Demography Report	
Angela Maddaloni	EU	Economics	NA	F	Italy	9 2007 Demography Report	
Alberto Musso	EU	Economics	NA	M	Italy	9 2007 Demography Report	2007 Demography Report
Anna d'Addio	IO	Economics	NA	F	Italy	9 2007 Demography Report	
David Ruth	PRI	Economics	NA	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Hermann Buslei	RI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	9 2007 Demography Report	
Thomas Lindh	RI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	9 2007 Demography Report	
Alexia Prskawetz	RI	Economics	50	F	Austria	9 2007 Demography Report	
Vegard Skirbekk	RI	Economics	NA	M	Norway	9 2007 Demography Report	E02161
Joop de Beer	RI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Erika Schulz	RI	Economics	NA	F	Germany	9 2007 Demography Report	
Jonathan Cave	TT	Economics	NA	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Jonathan Grant	TT	Economics	NA	M	UK	9 2007 Demography Report	a lot more
Viktor Steiner	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	9 2007 Demography Report	
Janneke Plantenga	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Joost de Laat	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Almudena Sevilla-Sanz	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain	9 2007 Demography Report	
Bernhard Mahlberg	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Austria	9 2007 Demography Report	
Jesus Crespo-Cuaresma	UNI	Economics	41	M	Spain	9 2007 Demography Report	

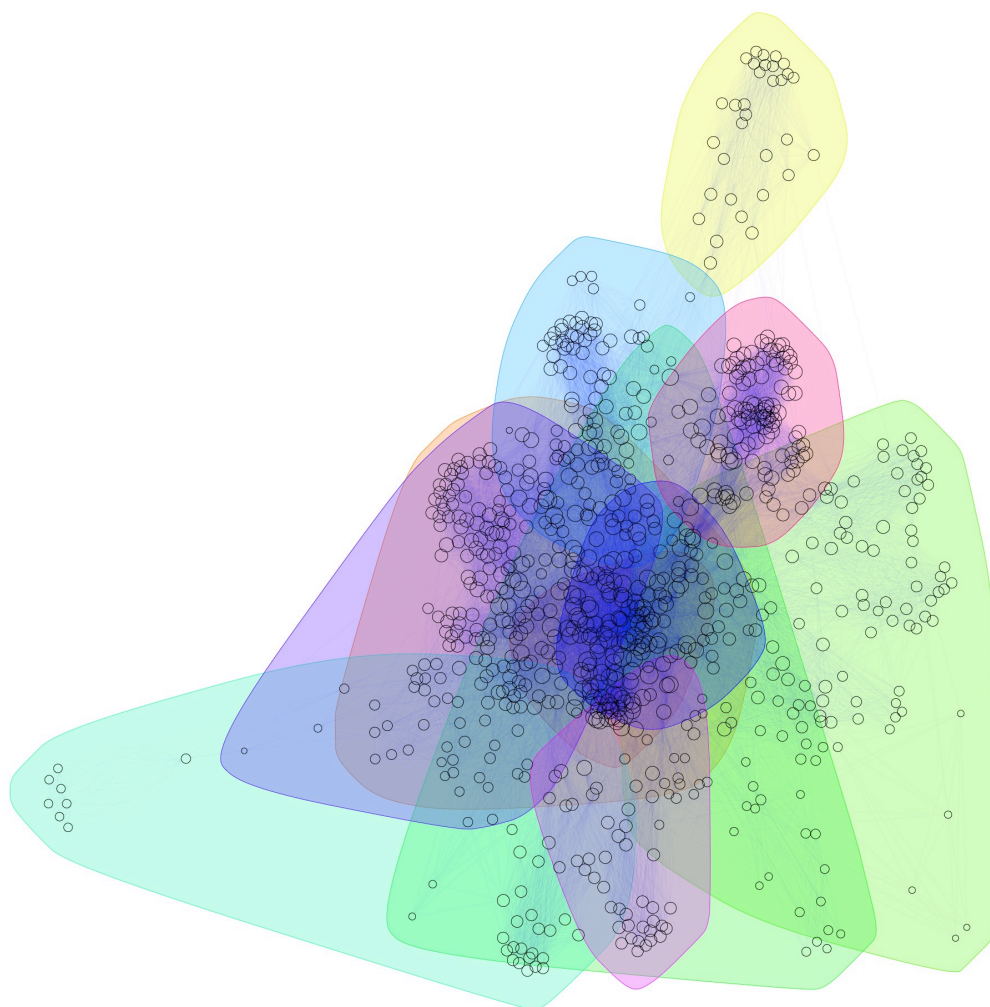
Paul de Beer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Richard Easterlin	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Gary Stanley Becker	UNI	Economics	86	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Sharon Hermanson	IG	Gerontology	NA	F	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Iva Holmerova	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Czech Republic	9 2007 Demography Report	2007 Demography Report
David McDaid	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	UK	9 2007 Demography Report	
Chris Wilson	UNI	History	NA	M	UK	9 2007 Demography Report	2008 Demography Report
Thomas Fent	RI	Mathematics	NA	M	Austria	9 2007 Demography Report	DemForum1
Sergei Scherbov	RI	Mathmatics	65	M	Russia	9 2007 Demography Report	
Federico Gallo	TT	Mathmatics	NA	M	NA	9 2007 Demography Report	2008 Demography Report
Marie-Eve Joel	UNI	Mathmatics	NA	F	France	9 2007 Demography Report	
Frederick Fenech	UNI	Medicine	83	M	Malta	9 2007 Demography Report	
Peter Lees Pearson	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK	9 2007 Demography Report	
Egbert te Velde	UNI	Medicine	78	M	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Max Halvarsson	Fund	NA	NA	M	Sweden	9 2007 Demography Report	
Gabriel Montes	IG	NA	NA	M	NA	9 2007 Demography Report	
Mitja Ng-Baumhackl	IG	NA	NA	NA	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Kellie K. Kim-Sung	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	9 2007 Demography Report	
Baroness Sally Greengross	IG	NA	82	F	UK	9 2007 Demography Report	
Werner Barthel	RI	NA	NA	M	NA	9 2007 Demography Report	
Dick van de Kaa	RI	NA	NA	M	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Jakob von Weizsäcker	EU	Physics	47	M	Germany	9 2007 Demography Report	2008 Demography Report
John Hurley	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Ireland	9 2007 Demography Report	
Neal Walters	IG	Political Science	NA	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
Christopher Baker	IG	Public Administration	NA	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	
George Gaberlavage	IG	Public Administration	NA	M	US	9 2007 Demography Report	2008 Demography Report
Aulikki Nissinen	UNI	Public Health	77	F	Finland	9 2007 Demography Report	
Chantal Remery	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Aart Liefbroer	UNI	Sociology	58	M	Netherlands	9 2007 Demography Report	
Corina Huisman	RI	Demography	NA	F	Netherlands	9 2008 Demography Report	
Marija Mamolo	RI	Demography	NA	F	NA	9 2008 Demography Report	
Peter Selman	UNI	Demography	NA	M	UK	9 2008 Demography Report	
Marco d'Ercole	IO	Economics	NA	M	Italy	9 2008 Demography Report	
Ulrich Schuh	PUB	Economics	48	M	Austria	9 2008 Demography Report	
Jeni Beecham	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	9 2008 Demography Report	
Martin Knapp	UNI	Economics	65	M	UK	9 2008 Demography Report	
Jim Mansell	UNI	Education	NA	M	UK	9 2008 Demography Report	
Bo Malmberg	UNI	Geography	NA	M	Sweden	9 2008 Demography Report	DemForum1
Corinna Sorenson	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	US	9 2008 Demography Report	
Philippa Mladovsky	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	Czech Republic	9 2008 Demography Report	
Marinus Eijkemans	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9 2008 Demography Report	
Julie Beadie-Brown	UNI	Psychology	NA	F	UK	9 2008 Demography Report	
Johan Mackenbach	UNI	Public Health	NA	M	Netherlands	9 2008 Demography Report	
Dik Habbema	UNI	Statistics	NA	M	Netherlands	9 2008 Demography Report	E01684
Dominic Richardson	IO	Political Science	41	M	UK	9 DemForum4	EPIC
Konstantina Davaki	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Greece	9 Demography and Family Policies from a Gender Perspective	
Anne Gujon	RI	Economics	NA	F	France	9 EC KCMD	
Kaushik Ghosh	RI	Economics	NA	M	India	10 2015 Ageing Report	
Elisa Garosi	EU	NA	NA	F	Italy	10 DemForum1	
Robert Anderson	EU	NA	NA	M	UK	10 DemForum1	
Richard Baker	Fund	Management	NA	M	UK	10 DemForum1	
Claude Cahn	IG	Law	NA	M	France	10 DemForum1	
Jan van Gils	IG	NA	NA	M	Netherlands	10 DemForum1	Economic Adjustment and Changing Employment Structure joint seminar
Marie-Cecile Renoux	IG	NA	NA	F	France	10 DemForum1	E00470
Mar Zabala	IG	NA	NA	F	Spain	10 DemForum1	
Loes van Embden Andres	IG	NA	NA	F	Netherlands	10 DemForum1	
Roger Mörtvik	IG	Political Science	NA	M	Sweden	10 DemForum1	DemForum3
Therese de Liedekerke	IG	Political Science	53	F	Belgium	10 DemForum1	
Caroline Castongs	IG	Public Health	NA	F	Netherlands	10 DemForum1	DemForum4
Anne Sophie Parent	IG	Translation	NA	F	Canada	10 DemForum1	
Frank Laczko	IO	Political Science	NA	M	Hungary	10 DemForum1	
Luca Boetti	PRI	Engineering	NA	M	Italy	10 DemForum1	
Laura Kalliomaa-Puha	PRI	Law	NA	F	Finland	10 DemForum1	
Pierpaolo Dettori	PRI	NA	NA	M	France	10 DemForum1	
Swadhin Ghosh	PRI	NA	NA	M	India	10 DemForum1	
Georg Milbradt	PUB	Economics	72	M	Germany	10 DemForum1	
Bernardo Sousa	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Portugal	10 DemForum1	
Ursula von der Leyen	PUB	Medicine	59	F	Germany	10 DemForum1	
Dominique de Legge	PUB	NA	65	M	France	10 DemForum1	
Octavio Gradado Martinez	PUB	Philosophy	58	M	Spain	10 DemForum1	
Tuula Haatainen	PUB	Political Science	57	F	Finland	10 DemForum1	
Rosy Bindi	PUB	Political Science	66	F	Italy	10 DemForum1	
Lisa Hysäli	PUB	Public Health	69	F	Finland	10 DemForum1	
Capitolina Diaz Martinez	PUB	Sociology	64	F	Spain	10 DemForum1	
Juhani Ilmarinen	RI	Health Sciences	72	M	Finland	10 DemForum1	
Geraldine Visser	RI	Gerontology	NA	F	Netherlands	10 DemForum1	
Maria Jepsen	Trade Union	Economics	NA	F	Denmark	10 DemForum1	
Zhang Juwei	TT	Demography	NA	M	China	10 DemForum1	
Geoff Dische	UNI	Communication	NA	M	UK	10 DemForum1	

Bernard van Praag	UNI	Economics	78 M	Netherlands	10 DemForum1			
Erik Westholm	UNI	Geography	NA M	Sweden	10 DemForum1			
Shah Ebrahim	UNI	Medicine	NA M	UK	10 DemForum1			
Yves Roland-Gosselin	UNI	NA	NA M	France	10 DemForum1			
Mary Daly	UNI	Sociology	NA F	Irish	10 DemForum1			
Francoise Castex	EU	Education	61 F	France	10 DemForum2	DemForum3		
Marie Panayotopoulos-Cassiotou	EU	History	65 F	Greece	10 DemForum2			
Renate Heinisch	EU	Pharmacy	80 F	Germany	10 DemForum2			
Klara Foti	EU	Economics	NA F	Ireland	10 DemForum2			
Muriel Boulmier	IG	Law	NA F	France	10 DemForum2			
Dirk Jarré	IG	Law	NA M	Germany	10 DemForum2			
William Lay	IG	NA	NA M	UK	10 DemForum2			
Maxime Cerutti	IG	Political Science	NA M	France	10 DemForum2			
Anne Williams	IG	Social Work	NA F	UK	10 DemForum2			
Joseph Troisi	IO	Sociology	NA M	Malta	10 DemForum2			
Mark Rogerson	PRI	Economics	NA M	UK	10 DemForum2			
Foeke de Jong	PRI	Management	NA F	Netherlands	10 DemForum2			
Uros Prikl	PUB	Economics	45 M	Slovenia	10 DemForum2			
Tom Bevers	PUB	Economics	NA M	Belgium	10 DemForum2			
Jan Gramata	PUB	Engineering	NA M	Slovakia	10 DemForum2			
Michal Sedlacek	PUB	Film Directing	NA M	Czech Republic	10 DemForum2			
John Knights	PUB	Geography	NA M	UK	10 DemForum2			
Gilles de Robien	PUB	Law	76 M	France	10 DemForum2			
Stephane Buffetaut	PUB	Law	64 M	France	10 DemForum2			
Clemens Appel	PUB	Law	64 M	Germany	10 DemForum2			
Maria Lidström	PUB	Law	NA F	Sweden	10 DemForum2			
Christof Eichert	PUB	Law	NA M	Germany	10 DemForum2			
Thomas Wieseler	PUB	NA	NA M	Germany	10 DemForum2	E02556		
Annamaria Matarazzo	PUB	NA	NA F	Italy	10 DemForum2			
Volker Berger	PUB	NA	NA M	Germany	10 DemForum2			
Bernadette Gisinger-Schindler	PUB	NA	NA F	Austria	10 DemForum2			
Yasen Yanev	PUB	NA	NA M	Bulgaria	10 DemForum2	E01218		
Luke O'Shea	PUB	Political Science	NA M	UK	10 DemForum2			
Agnes Darvas	PUB	Political Science	64 F	Hungary	10 DemForum2			
Lara Björnsdóttir	PUB	Social Work	NA F	Iceland	10 DemForum2			
David Stanton	PUB	Sociology	60 M	Ireland	10 DemForum2			
Henri Lourdelle	Trade Union	NA	NA M	France	10 DemForum2	DemForum3		
Jozef Niemiec	Trade Union	Romanic Philology	62 M	Poland	10 DemForum2			
Tomi Hussi	TT	Management	NA M	Finland	10 DemForum2			
Yoshio Higuchi	UNI	Business	NA M	Japan	10 DemForum2			
Dusana Findelsen	UNI	Philosophy	NA F	Slovenia	10 DemForum2	DemForum2	E01218	
Gøsta Esping-Andersen	UNI	Political Science	70 M	Denmark	10 DemForum2			
Bea Cantillon	UNI	Political Science	NA F	Belgium	10 DemForum2			
Constance Hanniffy	EU	Sociology	NA F	Ireland	10 DemForum3			
Lee Hammond	IG	Education	NA M	US	10 DemForum3			
Monika Wild	IG	Health Management	NA F	Austria	10 DemForum3			
Jørgen Rønne	IG	NA	NA M	Denmark	10 DemForum3			
Gianna Zamaro	IO	Economics	NA F	Italy	10 DemForum3			
David Prendergast	PRI	Anthropology	NA M	UK	10 DemForum3			
Annemarie Muntz	PRI	Law	NA F	Netherlands	10 DemForum3			
Jan Lorman	PRI	NA	NA M	Czech Republic	10 DemForum3			
Anne Prevot	PUB	NA	NA F	France	10 DemForum3			
Brian Keating	PUB	NA	NA M	UK	10 DemForum3			
Filip D'Haene	PUB	NA	NA M	Belgium	10 DemForum3			
Radoslaw Mleczko	PUB	NA	NA M	Poland	10 DemForum3			
Miklos Rethelyi	PUB	Physics	78 M	Hungary	10 DemForum3			
Andre Schröder	PUB	Political Science	48 M	Germany	10 DemForum3	E02415	E00191	E02822
Kristina Schröder	PUB	Political Science	40 F	Germany	10 DemForum3			
Beate Wieland	PUB	Sociology	58 F	Germany	10 DemForum3			
Chantal Cases	RI	Economics	61 F	France	10 DemForum3			
Sarah Harper	RI	Ethnography	NA F	UK	10 DemForum3			
Juha Pesola	Trade Union	NA	NA M	Finland	10 DemForum3			
Atsushi Seike	UNI	Economics	63 M	Japan	10 DemForum3			
Alan Walker	UNI	Gerontology	NA M	UK	10 DemForum3			
Alexandre Affre	IG	Ecology	NA M	France	10 E01218			
Benne van Popta	IG	Economics	65 M	Netherlands	10 E01218			
Silvia Herms	IG	Finance	NA F	Spain	10 E01218			
Belma Yasharova	IG	Law	NA F	NA	10 E01218			
Jerome Chauvin	IG	Law	NA M	France	10 E01218			
Pedro Oliveira	IG	Law	NA M	Portugal	10 E01218			
Sarah Goddard	IG	Psychology	NA F	UK	10 E01218			
Rocio Lardinois de la Torre	IG	Political Science	NA F	Spain	10 E02174			
Danuta Jazłowiecka	EU	Engineering	60 F	Poland	10 EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe	DemForum3		
Franck Debié	EU	Geography	NA M	France	10 EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe			
Günter Stock	Fund	Physiology	NA M	Germany	10 EPRS Roundtable Debate: Demographic Change in Europe			
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	EU	Philosophy	62 M	Spain	10 EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?			
Mercedes Bresso	EU	Economics	73 F	Italy	10 EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?			
Magdalena Sapała	EU	Political Science	NA F	Poland	10 EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?			
Babette Winter	PUB	Chemistry	63 F	Germany	10 EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?			

José Manuel Rey Varela	PUB	Law	42 M	Spain	10 EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?		
Michael Schneider	PUB	Social Science	63 M	Germany	10 EU Cohesion: How Can EU Regions Meet the Demographic Challenges?	E01236	
Eamonn Noonan	EU	History	NA M	Ireland	10 Migration and the EU: A long-term perspective		
Sari Essayah	EU	Economics	50 F	Finland	10 Report on Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU		
Kerstin Westphal	EU	Child Care	54 F	Germany	10 Report on Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU	DemForum3	
Anna Zaborska	EU	Medicine	68 F	Slovakia	10 Report on Demographic Change and its Consequences for the Future Cohesion Policy of the EU	DemForum2	
Margit Kreuzhuber	IG	Business	40 F	Austria	11 E03253	E01218	European (Seminar on)E02915
Nils Hubert	IG	Business	NA M	Germany	11 E03253	X01784	
Barbara Jones	UNI	Economics	NA F	UK	11 E03253		
Claudia Villoso	IG	Economics	49 F	Italy	11 E03253		
Elspeth Guild	UNI	Law	NA F	UK	11 E03253	E01918	
Sverker Rudeberg	IG	Law	NA M	Sweden	11 E03253	X01784	
Christina Nanlohy	IG	Law	NA F	Netherlands	11 E03253		
Marco Cilent	Trade Union	Law	NA M	Italy	11 E03253		
Ferruccio Pastore	IG	Law	51 M	Italy	11 E03253		
Jo Antoons	PRI	Law	NA F	Belgium	11 E03253	E02232	
Pauline Mathewson	PRI	Law	NA F	Australia	11 E03253		
Bo Cooper	PRI	Law	NA M	US	11 E03253		
Robert Walsh	PRI	Law	NA M	Australia	11 E03253		
Ron Kessels	PRI	Law	NA M	Australia	11 E03253		
Khehla David Miya	PRI	Law	NA M	South Africa	11 E03253		
Owen Davies	PRI	Law	NA M	UK	11 E03253		
Ian Robinson	PRI	Law	NA M	UK	11 E03253		
Marius Matthias Pieter Tollenaere	PRI	Law	NA M	Belgium	11 E03253		
Zuzanna Muskat-Gorska	Trade Union	Law	NA F	Poland	11 E03253		
Elizabeth Collett	TT	Law	NA F	UK	11 E03253	E00602	
Ana Garicano Solé	PRI	Law	NA F	Spain	11 E03253		
Mireya Serra Janer	IG	Law	NA F	Netherlands	11 E03253		
Salome Mbugua	IG	Philosophy	NA F	Ireland	11 E03253		
Claudia Finotelli	IG	Philosophy	NA F	Italy	11 E03253		
Gemma Pinyol-Jimenez	UNI	Political Science	NA F	Spain	11 E03253		
Severine Feraud	IG	Political Science	NA F	French	11 E03253		
Lynn Shotwell	IG	Political Science	NA F	US	11 E03253		
Ester Salis	IG	Political Science	NA F	Italy	11 E03253		
Demetrios Papademetriou	TT	Political Science	71 M	Greece	11 E03253	EC Knowledge Centre for Migration and Demography	
Maria Vincenza Desiderio	TT	Political Science	NA F	Italy	11 E03253	E00602	
Paul John Adamson	IG	Political Science	NA M	UK	11 E03253		
José Manuel Olivar	IG	Political Science	NA M	Spain	11 E03253		
Madeleine Sumption	UNI	Political Science	NA F	UK	11 E03253		
Eleonora Castagnone	IG	Sociology	NA F	Italy	11 E03253		
Mary Beth Landrum	UNI	Biology	NA F	UK	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Sheila Smith	UNI	Business	NA F	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Haidong Wang	UNI	Demography	NA M	China	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Emily Grundy	UNI	Demography	62 F	UK	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Jay Olshansky	UNI	Demography	63 M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Jean-Marie Robine	RI	Demography	NA M	France	12 2012 Ageing Report	E01684	
Kenneth Manton	UNI	Demography	70 M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Patrick Eugster	PRI	Economics	NA M	Switzerland	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Lukas Steinmann	PRI	Economics	NA M	Switzerland	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Peter Zweifel	UNI	Economics	71 M	Switzerland	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Michel Dumont	PUB	Economics	NA M	Belgium	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Peter Willeme	PUB	Economics	NA M	Belgium	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Mark Freeland	PUB	Economics	NA M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Christopher Murray	UNI	Economics	NA M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Theo Vos	UNI	Economics	NA M	Netherlands	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Christine de la Maisonneuve	IO	Economics	NA F	France	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Joaquim Oliveira Martins	IO	Economics	NA M	Portugal	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Vasudeva Murthy	UNI	Economics	NA M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Albert Okunade	UNI	Economics	NA M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Jean-Philippe Cotis	PUB	Economics	59 M	France	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Joseph Newhouse	UNI	Economics	75 M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Pierre Moise	IO	Economics	NA M	Canada	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Laurence Kotlikoff	UNI	Economics	66 M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Christian Hagist	UNI	Economics	NA M	Germany	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
David Cutler	UNI	Economics	52 M	US	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Jerome Mercier	IO	Economics	NA M	Canada	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Ana Ulena-Nozal	IO	Economics	42 F	Spain	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Stefan Felder	UNI	Economics	NA M	Switzerland	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Joan Costa-Font	UNI	Economics	NA M	Spain	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Friedrich Breyer	UNI	Economics	NA M	Germany	12 2015 Ageing Report	2012 Ageing Report	
Eric Bonsang	UNI	Economics	NA M	Belgium	12 2015 Ageing Report		
Stéphane Jacobzone	IO	Economics	NA M	France	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Lise Rochaix	UNI	Economics	59 F	France	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Jongsay Yong	UNI	Economics	55 M	Australia	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Alfons Palangkaraya	UNI	Economics	NA M	US	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Ronan Mahieu	RI	Economics	NA M	France	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Robert Leu	UNI	Economics	NA M	Switzerland	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Yannick L'Horty	UNI	Economics	NA M	France	12 2012 Ageing Report		
Justin Tyson	IO	Economics	NA M	UK	12 2012 Ageing Report		

Mauricio Soto	IO	Economics	NA	M	Colombia	12	2012 Ageing Report
Baoping Shang	IO	Economics	NA	M	China	12	2012 Ageing Report
Kenichiro Kashiwase	IO	Economics	NA	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Izabela Karpowicz	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	12	2012 Ageing Report
Eva Jenker	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	12	2012 Ageing Report
David Coady	IO	Economics	NA	M	UK	12	2012 Ageing Report
Benedict Clements	IO	Economics	NA	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Carlo Cottarelli	IO	Economics	NA	M	Italy	12	2012 Ageing Report
Michael Grossman	UNI	Economics	75	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Ulf-G. Gerdtham	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	12	2012 Ageing Report
Francesca Colombo	IO	Economics	NA	F	Italy	12	2012 Ageing Report
Rie Fujisawa	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	12	2012 Ageing Report
Josep Figueras	IO	Economics	NA	M	Spain	12	2012 Ageing Report
Pierre Pestieau	UNI	Economics	73	M	Belgium	12	2012 Ageing Report
Helmuth Cremer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Raphael Wittenberg	UNI	Economics	NA	M	UK	12	2012 Ageing Report
Adelina Comas-Herrera	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain	12	2012 Ageing Report
Richard Carter	UNI	Economics	80	M	Canada	12	2012 Ageing Report
Åke Blomqvist	UNI	Economics	75	M	Canada	12	2012 Ageing Report
William Baumol	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Gerard Cornilleau	RI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Didier Balsan	IG	Economics	NA	M	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Karim Azizi	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Matthew Notowidigdo	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Amy Finkelstein	UNI	Economics	43	F	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Daron Acemoglu	UNI	Economics	49	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Steve Iliffe	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12	2015 Ageing Report
John Young	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12	2015 Ageing Report
Andrew Clegg	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12	2015 Ageing Report
Jean-Pierre Michel	UNI	Gerontology	NA	M	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Michael Freeman	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Joshua Salomon	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Bernd Rechel	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	Germany	12	2015 Ageing Report
Lihan Wei	IO	Health Policy	NA	F	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Frits Tjaden	IO	Health Policy	NA	M	Netherlands	12	2015 Ageing Report
Thomas Getzen	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12	2012 Ageing Report
Bengt Jönsson	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	Sweden	12	2012 Ageing Report
Antonio Duran	PRI	Health Policy	NA	M	Spain	12	2012 Ageing Report
Suszy Lessof	IO	Health Policy	NA	F	NA	12	2012 Ageing Report
Linda Pickard	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	UK	12	2012 Ageing Report
Jes Søgaard	UNI	Health Sciences	NA	M	Denmark	12	2012 Ageing Report
Fredrik Andersson	UNI	IT	NA	M	Sweden	12	2012 Ageing Report
Abraham Flaxman	UNI	Mathematics	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Bruce Carnes	UNI	Mathematics	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Alan Lopez	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Australia	12	2015 Ageing Report
Martin McKee	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK	12	2015 Ageing Report
Yvonne Doyle	PUB	Medicine	NA	F	Ireland	12	2015 Ageing Report
Christine Cassel	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Mark Rudberg	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
James Fries	UNI	Medicine	79	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Kenneth Rockwood	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Canada	12	2015 Ageing Report
Marcel Olde Rikkert	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Netherlands	12	2015 Ageing Report
Michael Schwarzingen	IO	NA	NA	M	NA	12	2015 Ageing Report
Frederic Rupprecht	NA	NA	NA	M	NA	12	2012 Ageing Report
Alain Quinet	NA	NA	NA	M	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Catherine Bac	NA	NA	NA	F	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Celine Pereira	NA	NA	NA	F	France	12	2012 Ageing Report
Jacob Brody	UNI	Physics	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Ernest Gruenberg	UNI	Psychiatry	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Zaven Khachatryan	PRI	Psychology	NA	M	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Nata Menabde	IO	Public Health	57	F	Georgia	12	2012 Ageing Report
Myung-Yong Um	UNI	Social Work	NA	M	South Korea	12	2015 Ageing Report
Lois Verbrugge	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	US	12	2015 Ageing Report
Marc Szydlik	UNI	Sociology	52	M	Germany	12	2012 Ageing Report
Klaus Haberkern	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	12	2012 Ageing Report

Appendix I: Cluster Analysis Model



Appendix J: Actor Attributes Entire Network

Name	Occupation [EC, RI (rese	Education (Economics, P	Age (specific	Gender (M/F	Nationality (C	Cluster
Aurelio Fernandez Lopez	EU	Psychology	57	M	Spain	1
Paul Morrin	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Ireland	1
Paraskevi Peristera	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Greece	1
Giovanni Geroldi	PUB	Economics	71	M	Italy	1
Kristian Örneelius	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	1
Marjukka Hietaniemi	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Finland	1
Rute Guerra	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Portugal	1
Johann Stefanits	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Austria	1
Lennart Janssens	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	1
Adam Rezmovits	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Hungary	1
Gerard Johanns	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Luxembourg	1
Denis Maguain	PUB	Economics	NA	M	France	1
Anna Amilon	RI	Economics	NA	F	France	1
Dirk Moens	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	1
Michel Englert	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	1
Andraz Rangus	PUB	Law	NA	M	Slovenia	1
Mihail Iliev	PUB	Law	NA	M	Bulgaria	1
Robert Nicholson	PUB	Management	NA	M	Ireland	1
Richard Goulsbra	PUB	Mathmatics	NA	M	UK	1
Richard Brookes	PUB	Mathmatics	NA	M	UK	1
Rita Figueiras	PUB	Mathmatics	NA	F	Portugal	1
Lauri Leppik	UNI	Mathmatics	52	M	Estonia	1
Audronė Balkytė	EU	Economics	NA	F	Lithuania	1
Marco Marino	PUB	NA	NA	M	Italy	1
Sara Örnhall Ljungh	PUB	NA	NA	F	Sweden	1
Slavomir Duriska	PUB	NA	NA	M	Slovakia	1
Ion Popescu	PUB	NA	NA	M	Romania	1
Krzysztof Szymanski	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	1
Wojciech Kuraszyk	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	1
Edward Buttigieg	PUB	NA	NA	M	Malta	1
Erika Ildiko Lukacs	PUB	NA	NA	F	Hungary	1
Vidija Pastukiene	PUB	NA	NA	F	Lithuania	1
Inese Upite	PUB	NA	NA	F	Latvia	1
Antonella Dalle Monache	PUB	NA	NA	F	Italy	1
Liljana Marusic	PUB	NA	NA	F	Croatia	1
Sandra Frankic	PUB	NA	NA	F	Croatia	1
Celine Carel	PUB	NA	NA	F	France	1
Antonio Blazquez Murillo	PUB	NA	NA	M	Spain	1
Maria Teresa Quilez Felez	PUB	NA	NA	F	Spain	1
Torben Hede	PUB	NA	NA	M	Denmark	1
Marek Suchomel	PUB	NA	NA	M	Czech Republ	1
Jan Skorpik	PUB	NA	NA	M	Czech Republ	1
Volker Schmitt	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	1
Aspassia Strantzalou	PUB	NA	NA	F	Greece	1
Costas Stavrakis	EU	NA	NA	M	Greece	1
Tom Dominique	EU	Physics	NA	M	France	1
Malcolm Scicluna	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	Malta	1
Rudi van Dam	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Belgium	1
Krzysztof Iszkowski	EU	Sociology	NA	M	Poland	1
Livia Popescu	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Romania	1
Irene Sassik	PUB	Sociology	NA	F	Austria	1
Thomas Salzmann	PUB	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	1
Pedro Torrinha	PRI	IT	NA	M	Portugal	2
Marie van de Poele	PRI	IT	NA	F	Belgium	2
Giedre Kazlauskaitė	PRI	Law	NA	F	Lithuania	2
Wilfried de Wever	PRI	Law	NA	M	Belgium	2
Patrice-Emmanuel Schmitz	PRI	Law	NA	M	Belgium	2
Chigako Miyata	PRI	NA	NA	F	Japan	2
Anne Robrock	PRI	NA	NA	F	NA	2
Gabriela Cojanu	PRI	Public Administration	NA	F	Romania	2
Marcel Tanner	UNI	Biology	65	M	Switzerland	3
Genevieve Inchauspe	PRI	Biology	NA	F	France	3
Leszek Kaczmarek	UNI	Biology	60	M	Poland	3
Marie-Paule Kieny	IO	Biology	NA	F	France	3
Lucia Monaco	UNI	Biology	60	F	Italy	3
David Norris	UNI	Biology	58	M	UK	3
Matej Oresic	UNI	Biology	NA	M	Slovenia	3
Ineke Klinge	UNI	Biology	NA	F	Netherlands	3
Fred Mulder	IO	Chemistry	NA	M	Netherlands	3
Kirstie Wild	UNI	Chemistry	NA	F	UK	3
Anke Lipinsky	UNI	Cultural Studies	NA	F	Germany	3
Tea Petrin	UNI	Economics	73	F	Slovenia	3
Elisabetta Addis	UNI	Economics	62	F	Italy	3
Valdone Darskuvienė	UNI	Economics	56	F	Lithuania	3
Geraldine Healy	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	3
Aniko Juhasz	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Hungary	3
Gillian Youngs	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	3
Paolo Dario	UNI	Engineering	NA	M	Italy	3
Andriana Prentza	UNI	Engineering	NA	F	Greece	3
Jan Muehlfeith	PRI	Engineering	55	M	Czech Republ	3
Luigi Amati	PRI	Engineering	NA	F	Italy	3

Manfred Horvat	UNI	Engineering		76	M	Austria	3
Astrid Linder	RI	Engineering		57	F	Sweden	3
Petra Christa Puechner	PRI	Engineering	NA	F		Germany	3
Gulsun Saglamer	UNI	Engineering	NA	F		Turkey	3
Barbara Lenz	UNI	Geography		62	F	Germany	3
Suzanne de Cheveigne	RI	History	NA	F		France	3
Andrea Peto	UNI	History	NA	F		Hungary	3
Hilda Romer Christensen	UNI	History	NA	F		Denmark	3
Alessandro Schiesaro	UNI	Latin	NA	M		Italy	3
Christian Bode	IG	Law		75	M	Germany	3
Mary McAleese	PUB	Law		66	F	Ireland	3
Tanja Masson-Zwaan	UNI	Law	NA	F		Netherlands	3
Laura Gaillard	PRI	Management	NA	F		France	3
Liselotte Hojgaard	UNI	Medicine		60	F	Denmark	3
Rafael Bengoa	UNI	Medicine		65	M	Venezuela	3
Jackie Hunter	PRI	Medicine		61	F	UK	3
Georges de Moor	UNI	Medicine		64	M	Belgium	3
Marta Cascante	UNI	Medicine	NA	F		Spain	3
Paula Alves	UNI	Medicine		50	F	Portugal	3
Hele Everaus	UNI	Medicine		67	F	Estonia	3
Roza Adany	UNI	Medicine	NA	F		Hungary	3
Rose Kenny	UNI	Medicine	NA	F		Ireland	3
Martine Piccart	RI	Medicine		64	F	Belgium	3
Anders Olauson	RI	Medicine	NA	M		Sweden	3
Adrian Saftiou	UNI	Medicine		47	M	Romania	3
Orla Sheils	UNI	Medicine	NA	F		Ireland	3
Lora Fleming	UNI	Medicine	NA	F		UK	3
Ellen Fritsche	UNI	Medicine	NA	F		Germany	3
Mathieu Simon	PRI	Medicine	NA	M		France	3
Elisabete Weiderpass	RI	Medicine		51	F	Brzil	3
Natalia de Estevan-Ubeda	IG	NA	NA	F		Spain	3
Evanthia Kalpazidou Schmidt	RI	Philosophy	NA	F		Denmark	3
Gloria Origgi	RI	Philosophy	NA	F		Italy	3
Paulo Lisboa	UNI	Physics	NA	M		Portugal	3
Peter Saraga	UNI	Physics	NA	M		UK	3
Vincent Berger	UNI	Physics		50	M	France	3
Elias Mossialos	UNI	Political Science	NA	M		Greece	3
Agneta Bladh	PUB	Political Science		71	F	Sweden	3
Anne Inger Helmen Borge	UNI	Psychology	NA	F		Norway	3
Peggy Maguire	IG	Public Administration	NA	F		Ireland	3
Mercedes Valcarcel	UNI	Public Administration	NA	F		Spain	3
Han Wiskerke	UNI	Sociology	NA	M		Netherlands	3
Liisa Laakso	UNI	Sociology		58	F	Finland	3
Anita Nyberg	UNI	Economics		77	F	Sweden	4
Anne Eydoux	UNI	Economics	NA	F		France	4
Elvira Gonzalez Gago	UNI	Economics	NA	F		Spain	4
Frances Camilleri Cassar	UNI	Economics	NA	F		Malta	4
Maria Slaveva Prohaska	RI	Economics	NA	F		Bulgaria	4
Felipe Gonzalez	PUB	Law		75	M	Spain	4
Jana Lozanoska	UNI	Law	NA	F		Macedonia	4
Joanna Tsiganou	UNI	Law	NA	F		Greece	4
Nathalie Wuïame	UNI	Law	NA	F		Belgium	4
Tana Lace	UNI	NA	NA	F		Latvia	4
Alexandra Scheele	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		Germany	4
Bettina Haidinger	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		Austria	4
Claire Annesley	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		UK	4
Irena Topinska	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		Poland	4
Mary Murphy	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		Ireland	4
Reelika Leetmaa	RI	Political Science	NA	F		Estonia	4
Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdottir	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		Iceland	4
Susana Pavlou	UNI	Political Science	NA	F		Cyprus	4
Tine Rostgaard Phillipsen	RI	Political Science	NA	F		Denmark	4
Ira Malmberg-Heimonen	UNI	Social Work	NA	F		Norway	4
Alena Krizkova	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Czech Republ	4
Barbora Holubova	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Slovakia	4
Beata Nagy	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Hungary	4
Flavia Pesce	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Italy	4
Hugo Swinnen	UNI	Sociology	NA	M		Netherlands	4
Johanna Lammi Taskula	RI	Sociology	NA	F		Finland	4
Maria Teresa Sarmiento Pereir	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Portugal	4
Masa Filipovic Hrast	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Slovenia	4
Ruta Braziene	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Lithuania	4
Sinisa Zrinscak	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Croatia	4
Ulrike Papouschek	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Austria	4
Yildiz Ecevit	UNI	Sociology	NA	F		Turkey	4
Rem Koolhaas	IG	Architecture		72	M	Netherlands	5
Anne Stenros	PRI	Architecture	NA	F		Finland	5
Alain Pompidou	UNI	Biology		75	M	France	5
Maria Chrstina Pedicchio	UNI	Biology		64	F	Italy	5
Marja Makarow	TT	Biology	NA	F		France	5
Kristian Borch	UNI	Biology	NA	M		Denmark	5
Peter Piot	UNI	Biology	NA	M		Belgium	5
Richard Hudson	PRI	Business	NA	M		US	5
Rajneesh Narula	UNI	Business	NA	M		Netherlands	5
Kerstin Cuhls	RI	Business	NA	F		Germany	5

David King	UNI	Chemistry		78 M	UK	5
Leif Kjaergaard	PRI	Chemistry		71 M	Denmark	5
Unni Steinsmo	PRI	Chemistry		63 F	Norway	5
Jana Kolar	PRI	Chemistry	NA	F	Slovenia	5
Georg Winckler	UNI	Economics		74 M	Austria	5
Luc Soete	UNI	Economics		67 M	Belgium	5
Aldo Geuna	UNI	Economics		52 M	Italy	5
Jordi Molas Gallart	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Spain	5
Jorma Ollila	PRI	Economics		67 M	Finland	5
Wolfgang Merz	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Germany	5
Marius Lüske	IO	Economics	NA	M	Germany	5
Anne Saint-Martin	IO	Economics	NA	F	France	5
Christian Geppert	IO	Economics	NA	M	Germany	5
Mark Keese	IO	Economics	NA	M	Australia	5
Mark Pearson	IO	Economics	NA	M	UK	5
Robert Lindley	UNI	Economics	NA	M	UK	5
Mikkel Barslund	TT	Economics	NA	M	Denmark	5
Malgorzata Sarzalska	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Poland	5
Michele Raitano	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Italy	5
Patrick Aubert	PUB	Economics	NA	M	France	5
Alain Jousten	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	5
Annie Jolivet	RI	Economics	NA	F	France	5
Christine Charpail	RI	Economics	NA	F	France	5
Anne Sonnet	IO	Economics	NA	F	Belgium	5
Hervé Boulhol	IO	Economics	NA	M	France	5
Marijk van der Wende	UNI	Education	NA	F	Netherlands	5
Nicole Notat	Trade Union	Education		70 F	France	5
Lech Walesa	PUB	Electrics		74 M	Poland	5
Jan van den Biesen	PRI	Engineering	NA	M	Netherlands	5
Jean J. Botti	PRI	Engineering		60 M	Germany	5
Lajos Balint	RI	Engineering		71 M	Hungary	5
Nüket Yetis	TT	Engineering		67 F	Turkey	5
Reinhold Achatz	PRI	Engineering	NA	M	Germany	5
Muriel Desaeager	PRI	Engineering	NA	F	Belgium	5
Adrian Curaj	PUB	Engineering		59 M	Romania	5
Luke Georgiou	UNI	Engineering		62 M	UK	5
Michal Kleiber	UNI	Engineering	NA	M	Poland	5
Barbara Hearing	PRI	Environmental Sciences		64 F	Switzerland	5
Jerome Glenn	TT	Futurist		72 M	US	5
Riikka Heikinheimo	Fund	Genetics	NA	F	Finland	5
Anna Tschaut	RI	Geography	NA	F	Germany	5
Ole Beier Sørensen	Pension Fund	Geography	NA	M	Denmark	5
Gerhard Naegele	UNI	Gerontology	NA	M	Germany	5
Richard Lambert	PRI	History		72 M	UK	5
David Charles De Roure	UNI	IT	NA	M	UK	5
Carlos Maria Romeo-Casabona	UNI	Law		65 M	Spain	5
Kurt Deketelaere	RI	Law	NA	M	Belgium	5
Wolfgang Schuster	PUB	Law		68 M	Germany	5
Josef Wöss	IG	Law		60 M	Austria	5
Annick Hellebuyck	IG	Management	NA	F	Belgium	5
Philippe Kourilsky	PRI	Medicine		75 M	France	5
John Wood	UNI	Metallurgy		68 M	UK	5
Apostolos Dimitropoulos	UNI	NA	NA	M	Greece	5
Robert Aymar	RI	Physics		81 M	France	5
Dan Andree	RI	Physics	NA	M	UK	5
Krzysztof Gulda	RI	Physics	NA	M	Poland	5
Ulrike Felt	UNI	Physics		60 F	Austria	5
Joao Caraca	Fund	Physics	NA	M	Portugal	5
Gill Ringland	PRI	Physics	NA	F	UK	5
Horst Soboll	IG	Physics		72 M	Germany	5
John Smith	UNI	Political Science	NA	M	UK	5
Petra Schaper-Rinkel	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Austria	5
Stephanie Daimer	RI	Political Science	NA	F	Germany	5
Lykke Friis	UNI	Political Science		48 F	Denmark	5
Kalypso Nicolaïdis	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Greece	5
Matthias Weber	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Germany	5
Axel West Pedersen	RI	Political Science	NA	M	Norway	5
Matteo Jessoula	UNI	Political Science	NA	M	Italy	5
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	PUB	Psychology		79 F	Latvia	5
Athena Linos	UNI	Public Health		F	Greece	5
Stefan Olafsson	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Iceland	5
Kene Henkens	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Netherlands	5
Olli Kangas	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Finland	5
Per H. Jensen	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Denmark	5
Ingrid Wünnig Tschol	Fund	Zoology	NA	F	Germany	5
Anne Glover	PRI	Biology		61 F	UK	6
Martin Hirsch	IG	Biology		53 M	France	6
Yves Chassard	PUB	Business		70 M	France	6
Melanie Ward-					http://www.cae-eco.fr/IMG/pdf/Chassard.pdf	
Warmedinger	EU	Economics		46 F	UK	6
Carlos Moedas	EU	Business		47 M	Portugal	6
Laszlo Andor	EU	Economics		51 M	Hungary	6
Tibor Navracsics	EU	Political Science		51 M	Hungary	6
Gery Coomans	PRI	Demography	NA	M	France	6
Lin Bao	RI	Demography	NA	M	China	6

Delilah Al Khudhairy	EU	Engineering		55	F	UK	6
Mara Brugia	IG	Economics	NA		F	Italy	6
Stefanos Grammenos	PRI	Economics	NA		M	Belgium	6
Christos Stylianides	EU	Dentistry		59	M	Cyprus	6
Kristalina Georgieva	EU	Economics		64	F	Bulgaria	6
Sebastian Dullien	UNI	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6
Manos Matsaganis	UNI	Economics	NA		M	Greece	6
Jill Rubery	UNI	Economics		65	F	UK	6
Frank Vandembroucke	UNI	Economics		61	M	Belgium	6
Mario Monti	TT	Economics		74	M	Italy	6
Fritz von Nordheim Nielsen	EU	Sociology		65	M	Denmark	6
Christian Lettmayr	EU	Economics		66	M	Austria	6
Vladimir Spidla	EU	History		66	M	Czech Republ	6
John Morley	PRI	Economics	NA		M	UK	6
Joaquin Almunia	EU	Law		69	M	Spain	6
Lenia Samuel	EU	Public Administration		71	F	Cyprus	6
Jerome Vignon	EU	Political Science		72	M	France	6
Jørgen Mortensen	TT	Economics		84	M	Denmark	6
Mariana Kotzeva	EU	Economics	NA		F	Bulgaria	6
Manuela Geleng	EU	Economics	NA		F	Switzerland	6
Regina Sauto Arce	EU	Economics	NA		F	Spain	6
Olga Martinez de Briones	EU	Economics	NA		F	Spain	6
Vanda Crnjac-Paukovic	EU	Law	NA		F	Croatia	6
Daniela Bankier	EU	Law	NA		F	Austria	6
Allesandra Zampieri	EU	NA	NA		F	Italy	6
Emanuela Tassa	EU	NA	NA		F	NA	6
Belinda Pyke	EU	Political Science	NA		F	UK	6
Lisa Pavan-Woolfe	EU	Political Science	NA		F	Italy	6
Monique Pariat	EU	Political Science	NA		F	France	6
Sonia Jemmotte	EU	Political Science	NA		F	UK	6
Francesco Venturini	UNI	Economics		47	M	Italy	6
Michaela Vecchi	UNI	Economics	NA		F	Italy	6
Johannes Pöschl	RI	Economics		35	M	Austria	6
Ana Rincon-Aznar	RI	Economics	NA		F	NA	6
Neil Foster-McGregor	RI	Economics		42	M	UK	6
Robert Stehrer	RI	Economics		49	M	Austria	6
Marcel Timmer	UNI	Economics	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Wim Overmeer	TT	Economics	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Kirsten Jaeger	TT	Economics	NA		F	Germany	6
Bert Colijn	TT	Economics	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Vivian Chen	TT	Economics	NA		F	China	6
Bart van Ark	TT	Economics	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Egbert Holthuis	EU	Business	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Wenshu Gao	RI	Economics	NA		M	China	6
Yuan Zhaohui	Trade Union	Economics		46	M	China	6
Konstantinos Pouliakas	IG	Economics	NA		M	Greece	6
Gaaitzen de Vries	UNI	Economics	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Wei Zhong	RI	Economics	NA		M	China	6
James Morrison	EU	Business	NA		M	UK	6
Zhang Tao	RI	Economics	NA		M	China	6
Peter Havlik	RI	Economics		67	M	Austria	6
Nicolas Gibert-Morin	EU	Business	NA		M	France	6
Günther Schmid	UNI	Economics		75	M	Germany	6
Georg Fischer	EU	Economics	NA		M	Austria	6
Per Eckefeldt	EU	Economics	NA		M	Sweden	6
Radek Maly	EU	Economics	NA		M	Czech Republ	6
Etienne Sail	EU	Economics	NA		M	Belgium	6
Alexander Schwan	EU	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6
Christoph Schwierz	EU	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6
Sue Waddington	IG	Education		72	F	UK	6
Evelyn Viertel	IG	Education	NA		F	UK	6
Klara Simackova Laurencikova	Fund	Education		38	F	Czech Republ	6
Joao Medeiros	EU	Economics	NA		M	Portugal	6
Philipp Rother	EU	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6
Anne-Karina Stocchetti	IG	Film Directing	NA		F	France	6
Giuseppe Carone	EU	Economics	NA		M	Italy	6
Pavel Kabat	RI	Hydrology		59	M	Netherlands	6
Enrique Fernandez-Macias	EU	Economics	NA		M	Spain	6
Tarja Riihimäki	PUB	IT	NA		F	Finland	6
Petra Wilson	PRI	Law	NA		F	UK	6
Janos Varga	EU	Economics	NA		M	Hungary	6
Constantinos Fotakis	EU	Economics	NA		M	Greece	6
Oliver Bontout	EU	Economics	NA		M	France	6
Dulce Rocha	RI	Law	NA		F	Portugal	6
Eugenio Ambrosi	IO	Law	NA		M	Italy	6
Peter Diez	PUB	Law	NA		M	Netherlands	6
Alessandro Turrini	EU	Economics	NA		M	Italy	6
Lieve Franssen	PUB	Medicine		67	F	Belgium	6
Heikki Suomalainen	IG	NA	NA		M	Finland	6
Liliane Volozinskis	IG	NA	NA		F	Lithuania	6
Eric Meyermans	EU	Economics	NA		M	Belgium	6
Detlef Eckert	EU	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6
Matteo Duiella	EU	Economics	NA		M	Italy	6
Jörg Peschner	EU	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6
Ralf Jacob	EU	Economics	NA		M	Germany	6

Hermann Nehls	Trade Union	NA	NA	M	Germany	6
Anders Hingel	EU	Economics	NA	M	Denmark	6
Petri Lempinen	Trade Union	Philosophy	NA	M	Finland	6
Zaneta Ozolina	UNI	Philosophy	NA	F	Latvia	6
Lena Treschow Torell	RI	Physics		71 F	Sweden	6
Nikolaus van der Pas	EU	Political Science		74 M	Germany	6
Matthias Mayer	TT	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	6
Helen Hoffmann	IG	Political Science	NA	F	UK	6
Robert Strauss	EU	Economics	NA	M	UK	6
Klaus Rudischhauser	EU	Engineering	NA	M	Germany	6
Pierre Mairesse	EU	IT	NA	M	France	6
John Bohan	EU	Law	NA	M	Ireland	6
Agnes Uhreczky	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Hungary	6
Nicholas Costello	EU	NA	NA	M	NA	6
Maurizio Ferrera	UNI	Political Science		62 F	Italy	6
Joakim Palme	UNI	Political Science		59 M	Sweden	6
Maria Stratigaki	PUB	Political Science	NA	F	Greece	6
Marc Vothknecht	EU	NA	NA	M	Germany	6
Paul Minty	EU	NA	NA	M	NA	6
Olivier Onidi	EU	Political Science	NA	M	France	6
Valdis Zagorskis	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Latvia	6
Thomas Bender	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	6
Lucio Pench	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Italy	6
Olivier Tell	EU	Public Administration	NA	M	France	6
Michel Feutrie	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	France	6
Anette Borchhorst	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Denmark	6
Ettore Marchetti	EU	Statistics	NA	M	Italy	6
Vladimir Sucha	EU	NA		M	Slovakia	6
Eleonora Hostasch	PUB	Business		73 F	Austria	7
Marianne Besselink	PUB	Business	NA	F	Netherlands	7
Peer Ederer	PRI	Business	NA	M	Germany	7
Renée Roodenburg	PUB	Cultural Studies	NA	M	Netherlands	7
	PRI	Demography				7
Gianpiero Dalla Zuanna	PUB	Demography		57 M	Italy	7
James Vaupel	RI	Demography		72 M	US	7
Jitka Rychtarikova	UNI	Demography		F	Czech Republ	7
Wolfgang Lutz	RI	Demography		61 M	Austria	7
Francesco Billari	UNI	Demography		47 M	Italy	7
Tomas Sobotka	RI	Demography		43 M	Czech Republ	7
Anne Gauthier	RI	Demography	NA	F	France	7
Irena Kotovska	UNI	Demography	NA	F	Poland	7
Kirk Scott	UNI	Demography	NA	M	UK	7
Mikko Myrskylä	RI	Demography	NA	M	Finland	7
Dimiter Philipov	RI	Demography	NA	M	Bulgaria	7
Peter Ekamper	RI	Demography	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Anna Cabre	RI	Demography	NA	F	Spain	7
Willem Adema	IO	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Alfonso Sousa-Poza	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	7
Marja-Liisa Parjanne	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Finland	7
Michiel Sweers	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Bernard Casey	UNI	Economics	NA	M	UK	7
Monika Queisser	IO	Economics	NA	F	Germany	7
Miguel Angel Malo Ocana	IO	Economics		51 M	Spain	7
Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Poland	7
Thomas Zwick	IOI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	7
Gallina Andronova Vincelette	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	7
Magda Zupancic	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Slovenia	7
Marc Suhrcke	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	7
Hans-Peter Kohler	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	7
Fabian Zuleeg	TT	Economics	NA	M	UK	7
Charlotte van Trier	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Netherlands	7
Jasper van Loo	IG	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Åsa Olli Segendorf	PUB	Economics	NA	F	Sweden	7
Pavel Trantina	EU	Political Science		42 M	Czech Republ	7
Palle Rasmussen	UNI	Education	NA	M	Denmark	7
Matti Mäkelä	PUB	History	NA	M	Finland	7
Kristin Astgeirsdottir	PUB	History	NA	F	Iceland	7
Sigrun Matthiesen	RI	Journalism	NA	F	Germany	7
Vit Michalec	PUB	Language		38	Czech Republ	7
Johannes Beermann	PUB	Law		57 M	Germany	7
Pascaline Descy	EU	Education	NA	F	Belgium	7
Birgit Garbe Emden	IG	Linguistics	NA	F	Germany	7
Stijn Hoorens	TT	Management	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Audra Mukalauskaite	PUB	Medicine		57 F	Lithuania	7
Jerzy Ciechanski	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	7
Felix Barajas Villaluenga	PUB	NA	NA	M	Spain	7
Ileana Carmen Manu	PUB	NA	NA	F	Romania	7
Charlotte Sachse	PUB	NA	NA	F	Austria	7
Dimitar Bojilov	PUB	NA	NA	M	Bulgaria	7
Toula Kouloumou	PUB	NA	NA	F	Cyprus	7
Katerina Prihodova	PUB	NA	NA	F	Czech Republ	7
Chritoph Linzbach	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	7
Mirjam Allik	PUB	NA	NA	F	Estonia	7
Eirini Kalavrou	PUB	NA	NA	F	Greece	7
Laszlo Ulicska	PUB	NA	NA	M	Hungary	7

Michel Neyens	PUB	NA	NA	M	Luxembourg	7
Diana Jakaite	PUB	NA	NA	F	Latvia	7
Frederik Lennartsson	PUB	NA	NA	M	Sweden	7
Ales Kenda	PUB	NA	NA	M	Slovenia	7
Frazer Macdonald	PUB	NA	NA	M	UK	7
Marcus Frequin	PUB	NA	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Georges Lemaitre	IO	NA	NA	M	Canada	7
Maya Miljanic Brinkworth	PUB	NA	NA	F	Malta	7
Juliet Ramage	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Liam Coen	UNI	NA	NA	M	Ireland	7
Elisabeth Zechner	PUB	NA	NA	F	Austria	7
Peter Lelie	PUB	NA	NA	M	Belgium	7
Stefan Culik	PUB	NA	NA	M	Czech Republ	7
Lis Witso-Lund	PUB	NA	NA	F	Denmark	7
Sirlis Somer-Kull	PUB	NA	NA	F	Estonia	7
Axel Stammberger	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	7
Odysseas Rouskas	PUB	NA	NA	M	Greece	7
Anna Orosz	PUB	NA	NA	F	Hungary	7
Ronan Toomey	PUB	NA	NA	M	Ireland	7
Agnese Gaile	PUB	NA	NA	F	Latvia	7
Thomas Milevicius	PUB	NA	NA	M	Lithuania	7
James Carabott	PUB	NA	NA	M	Malta	7
Nadezda Sebova	PUB	NA	NA	F	Slovakia	7
Karin Hellqvist	PUB	NA	NA	F	Sweden	7
Gwen Wolf	PUB	NA	NA	M	UK	7
Phyllis Gabriel	IO	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Marjo-Riitta Liimatainen	IO	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Julia Schuster	RI	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Jeannette Schoorl	RI	NA	NA	F	Netherlands	7
Gijs Beets	RI	NA	NA	F	Netherlands	7
Regina Jensdottir	EU	Law	NA	F	Iceland	7
Katya Vasileva	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Monica Marcu	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Katarzyna Kraszewska	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Veronica Corsini	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Zornitsa Roussinova	EU	Political Science	NA	F	Bulgaria	7
Piotr Juchno	EU	NA	NA	M	NA	7
Attila Sashegyi	PUB	NA	NA	F	Hungary	7
Josef Bauernberger	PUB	NA	NA	M	Austria	7
Maro Michaelides	PUB	NA	NA	M	Cyprus	7
Daniela Chio	PUB	NA	NA	F	Italy	7
Jonathan Chaloff	IO	NA	NA	M	NA	7
Mary Grace Vella	PUB	NA	NA	F	Malta	7
Sophie Martinon	PUB	NA	NA	F	France	7
Hede Sinisaar	PUB	NA	NA	F	Estonia	7
Tomas Milevicius	PUB	NA	NA	M	Lithuania	7
Celine Simonin	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Nina Parra	PUB	NA	NA	F	Germany	7
Maria Cierna	PUB	Philosophy	NA	F	Slovakia	7
Linda Hantrais	UNI	Political Science	74	F	UK	7
Miloslav Hettes	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	Slovakia	7
Jana Hainsworth	IG	Political Science	NA	F	UK	7
Tom Huddleston	TT	Political Science	NA	M	UK	7
Pat Dolan	IO	Political Science	NA	M	Ireland	7
Jasmina Byrne	IO	Political Science	NA	F	UK	7
Sylvain Besch	EU	NA	NA	M	Luxembourg	7
Giampaolo Lanzieri	EU	Statistics	NA	M	Italy	7
Harald Wilkoszewski	IO	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	7
Santa Ozolina	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Latvia	7
Luca Scarpiello	IG	Political Science	NA	M	Italy	7
Irina de Sancho Alonso	Trade Union	Political Science	NA	F	Spain	7
Simon Smith	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	UK	7
Rebekah Smith	IG	Political Science	NA	F	UK	7
Ursula Staudinger	UNI	Psychology	58	F	Germany	7
Svetla Tsolova	TT	Public Administration	NA	F	Bulgaria	7
Olivier Plasman	PUB	Public Administration	NA	M	Belgium	7
Katre Pall	PUB	Sociology	NA	F	Estonia	7
Pietro Checucci	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Italy	7
Speder Zsolt	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Hungary	7
Nico van Nimwegen	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Netherlands	7
Maria do Carmo Gomes	PUB	Sociology	NA	F	Portugal	7
Albane Gourdol	EU	Statistics	NA	M	France	7
Apolonija Oblak Flande	EU	NA	NA	F	NA	7
Eleonora Schmid	IG	Education	NA	F	Austria	7
Viviana Egidi	UNI	Demography	71	F	Italy	8
Eskil Wadensjö	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	8
Sybille Olbert Bock	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Germany	8
Tine Frstrup	UNI	Education	NA	F	Denmark	8
Francesc Aragall	IG	Education	NA	M	Spain	8
Leon Urbas	UNI	Engineering	NA	M	Germany	8
Stephen McNair	TT	English	NA	M	UK	8
Erik Buskens	UNI	Epidemiology	55	M	Netherlands	8
Gina Ebner	IG	Gender Studies	NA	F	Austria	8
Leocadio Manas	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	Spain	8
Marja Jylhä	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Finland	8

Johan Fritzell	UNI	Gerontology	NA	M	Sweden	8
Heidrun Mollenkopf	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Germany	8
Peter Nolan	UNI	Industrial Relation	NA	M	UK	8
Pascal Garel	IG	Law	NA	M	France	8
Annie Drieskens	IG	Law	NA	F	Belgium	8
Esko Kivisaari	IG	Mathematics	NA	M	Finland	8
Yann Bourguet	RI	Medicine	NA	M	France	8
Alexandre Sidorenko	PRI	Medicine	NA	M	Ukraine	8
Carlo Galasso	IG	NA	NA	M	Italy	8
Anett Ruszanov	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	8
Pieter Vanhuyse	IO	Political Science		42 M	Belgium	8
Luis Moreno	UNI	Political Science		66 M	Spain	8
Alexander Peine	UNI	Political Science	NA	M	Germany	8
Anna Grazia Laura	IG	Political Science		74 F	Italy	8
Clemens Tesch-Römer	UNI	Psychology	NA	M	Germany	8
Antti Syväjärvi	UNI	Psychology	NA	F	Finland	8
Montserrat Mir Roca	Trade Union	Public Administration	NA	F	Spain	8
Frederic Vallier	IG	Public Administration	NA	M	France	8
Orsolya Lelkes	IO	Political Science	NA	F	Hungary	8
Dorothea Baltruks	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Germany	8
Lynn McDonald	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Canada	8
Janice Keefe	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Canada	8
Jens Dangschat	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	8
Hanneli Döhner	IG	Sociology	NA	F	Germany	8
Eckart Bomsdorf	UNI	Demography	NA	M	Germany	9
Maria Rita Testa	RI	Demography	NA	F	Italy	9
Peter McDonald	UNI	Demography	NA	M	Australia	9
Peter Selman	UNI	Demography	NA	M	UK	9
Corina Huisman	RI	Demography	NA	F	Netherlands	9
Marija Mamolo	RI	Demography	NA	F	NA	9
Anne Gujon	RI	Economics	NA	F	France	9
Viktor Steiner	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	9
Hermann Buslei	RI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	9
Jonathan Cave	TT	Economics	NA	M	US	9
Jonathan Grant	TT	Economics	NA	M	UK	9
Janneke Plantenga	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Netherlands	9
Joost de Laat	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	9
Almudena Sevilla-Sanz	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain	9
Bernhard Mahlberg	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Austria	9
Thomas Lindh	RI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	9
Jesus Crespo-Cuaresma	UNI	Economics		41 M	Spain	9
Alexia Prskawetz	RI	Economics		50 F	Austria	9
David Ruth	PRI	Economics	NA	M	US	9
Paul de Beer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	9
Vegard Skirbekk	RI	Economics	NA	M	Norway	9
Joop de Beer	RI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	9
Richard Easterlin	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	9
Gary Stanley Becker	UNI	Economics		86 M	US	9
Jeni Beecham	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	9
Martin Knapp	UNI	Economics		65 M	UK	9
Marco d'Ercole	IO	Economics	NA	M	Italy	9
Ulrich Schuh	PUB	Economics		48 M	Austria	9
Erika Schulz	RI	Economics	NA	F	Germany	9
Jakob von Weizsäcker	EU	Physics		47 M	Germany	9
Thomas Westermann	EU	Economics		55 M	Germany	9
Anna d'Addio	IO	Economics	NA	F	Italy	9
Angela Maddaloni	EU	Economics	NA	F	Italy	9
Jim Mansell	UNI	Education	NA	M	UK	9
Bo Malmberg	UNI	Geography	NA	M	Sweden	9
Sharon Hermanson	IG	Gerontology	NA	F	US	9
Iva Holmerova	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Czech Republ	9
David McDaid	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	UK	9
Corinna Sorenson	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	US	9
Phillipa Mladovsky	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	Czech Republ	9
Chris Wilson	UNI	History	NA	M	UK	9
Federico Gallo	TT	Mathematics	NA	M	NA	9
Thomas Fent	RI	Mathematics	NA	M	Austria	9
Marie-Eve Joel	UNI	Mathematics	NA	F	France	9
Sergei Scherbov	RI	Mathematics		65 M	Russia	9
Frederick Fenech	UNI	Medicine		83 M	Malta	9
Peter Lees Pearson	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK	9
Egbert te Velde	UNI	Medicine		78 M	Netherlands	9
Gabriel Montes	IG	NA	NA	M	NA	9
Mitja Ng-Baumhackl	IG	NA	NA	NA	US	9
Kellie K. Kim-Sung	IG	NA	NA	F	NA	9
Max Halvarsson	Fund	NA	NA	M	Sweden	9
Werner Barthel	RI	NA	NA	M	NA	9
Baroness Sally Greengross	IG	NA		82 F	UK	9
Dick van de Kaa	RI	NA	NA	M	Netherlands	9
Marinus Eijkemans	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9
Alberto Musso	EU	Economics	NA	M	Italy	9
Dominic Richardson	IO	Political Science		41 M	UK	9
Neal Walters	IG	Political Science	NA	M	US	9
John Hurley	EU	Political Science	NA	M	Ireland	9
Konstantina Davaki	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Greece	9

Julie Beadle-Brown	UNI	Psychology	NA	F	UK	9
Christopher Baker	IG	Public Administration	NA	M	US	9
George Gaberlavage	IG	Public Administration	NA	M	US	9
Aulikki Nissinen	UNI	Public Health		77 F	Finland	9
Johan Mackenbach	UNI	Public Health	NA	M	Netherlands	9
Chantal Remery	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Netherlands	9
Aart Liefbroer	UNI	Sociology		58 M	Netherlands	9
Dik Habbema	UNI	Statistics	NA	M	Netherlands	9
David Prendergast	PRI	Anthropology	NA	M	UK	10
Yoshio Higuchi	UNI	Business	NA	M	Japan	10
Babette Winter	PUB	Chemistry		63 F	Germany	10
Sari Essayah	EU	Economics		50 F	Finland	10
Geoff Dische	UNI	Communication	NA	M	UK	10
Zhang Juwei	TT	Demography	NA	M	China	10
Alexandre Affre	IG	Ecology	NA	M	France	10
Uros Prikl	PUB	Economics		45 M	Slovenia	10
Tom Bevers	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	10
Mark Rogerson	PRI	Economics	NA	M	UK	10
Georg Milbradt	PUB	Economics		72 M	Germany	10
Maria Jepsen	Trade Union	Economics	NA	F	Denmark	10
Bernardo Sousa	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Portugal	10
Bernard van Praag	UNI	Economics		78 M	Netherlands	10
Chantal Cases	RI	Economics		61 F	France	10
Atsushi Seike	UNI	Economics		63 M	Japan	10
Gianna Zamaro	IO	Economics	NA	F	Italy	10
Benne van Popta	IG	Economics		65 M	Netherlands	10
Kaushik Ghosh	RI	Economics	NA	M	India	10
Kerstin Westphal	EU	Child Care		54 F	Germany	10
Danuta Jazlowiecka	EU	Engineering		60 F	Poland	10
Francoise Castex	EU	Education		61 F	France	10
Lee Hammond	IG	Education	NA	M	US	10
Ramón Luis Valcárcel	EU	Philosophy		62 M	Spain	10
Jan Gramata	PUB	Engineering	NA	M	Slovakia	10
Luca Boetti	PRI	Engineering	NA	M	Italy	10
Marie Panayotopoulos-Cassiot	EU	History		65 F	Greece	10
Sarah Harper	RI	Ethnography	NA	F	UK	10
Michal Sedlacek	PUB	Film Directing	NA	M	Czech Republ	10
Silvia Herms	IG	Finance	NA	F	Spain	10
John Knights	PUB	Geography	NA	M	UK	10
Erik Westholm	UNI	Geography	NA	M	Sweden	10
Anna Zaborska	EU	Medicine		68 F	Slovakia	10
Alan Walker	UNI	Gerontology	NA	M	UK	10
Monika Wild	IG	Health Management	NA	F	Austria	10
Juhani Ilmarinen	RI	Health Sciences		72 M	Finland	10 http://www.juhaniilmarinen.com/background/
Mercedes Bresso	EU	Economics		73 F	Italy	10
Renate Heinisch	EU	Pharmacy		80 F	Germany	10
Gilles de Robien	PUB	Law		76 M	France	10
Stephane Buffetaut	PUB	Law		64 M	France	10
Clemens Appel	PUB	Law		64 M	Germany	10
Muriel Boulmier	IG	Law	NA	F	France	10
Maria Lidström	PUB	Law	NA	F	Sweden	10
Christof Eichert	PUB	Law	NA	M	Germany	10
Dirk Jarré	IG	Law	NA	M	Germany	10
Claude Cahn	IG	Law	NA	M	France	10
Laura Kalliomaa-Puha	PRI	Law	NA	F	Finland	10
Annemarie Muntz	PRI	Law	NA	F	Netherlands	10
Belma Yasharova	IG	Law	NA	F	NA	10
Jerome Chauvin	IG	Law	NA	M	France	10
Pedro Oliveira	IG	Law		M	Portugal	10
José Manuel Rey Varela	PUB	Law		42 M	Spain	10
Foeke de Jong	PRI	Management	NA	F	Netherlands	10
Tomi Hussi	TT	Management	NA	M	Finland	10
Richard Baker	Fund	Management	NA	M	UK	10
Ursula von der Leyen	PUB	Medicine		59 F	Germany	10
Shah Ebrahim	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK	10
Klara Foti	EU	Economics	NA	F	Ireland	10
Thomas Wieseler	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	10
Annamaria Matarazzo	PUB	NA	NA	F	Italy	10
Volker Berger	PUB	NA	NA	M	Germany	10
Bernadette Gisinger-Schindler	PUB	NA	NA	F	Austria	10
William Lay	IG	NA	NA	M	UK	10
Henri Lourdelle	Trade Union	NA	NA	M	France	10
Yasen Yanev	PUB	NA	NA	M	Bulgaria	10
Pierpaolo Dettori	PRI	NA	NA	M	France	10
Swadhin Ghosh	PRI	NA	NA	M	India	10
Jan van Gils	IG	NA	NA	M	Netherlands	10
Yves Roland-Gosselin	UNI	NA	NA	M	France	10
Dominique de Legge	PUB	NA		65 M	France	10
Marie-Cecile Renoux	IG	NA	NA	F	France	10
Mar Zabala	IG	NA	NA	F	Spain	10
Loes van Embden Andres	IG	NA	NA	F	Netherlands	10
Anne Prevot	PUB	NA	NA	F	France	10
Juha Pesola	Trade Union	NA	NA	M	Finland	10
Brian Keating	PUB	NA	NA	M	UK	10
Jan Lorman	PRI	NA	NA	M	Czech Republ	10

Filip D'Haene	PUB	NA	NA	M	Belgium	10
Radoslaw Mleczko	PUB	NA	NA	M	Poland	10
Jørgen Rønne	IG	NA	NA	M	Denmark	10
Elisa Garosi	EU	NA	NA	F	Italy	10
Magdalena Sapala	EU	Political Science	NA	F	Poland	10
Constance Hanniffy	EU	Sociology	NA	F	Ireland	10
Dusana Findeisen	UNI	Philosophy	NA	F	Slovenia	10
Octavio Grandado Martinez	PUB	Philosophy		58 M	Spain	10
Franck Debié	EU	Geography	NA	M	France	10
Miklos Rethelyi	PUB	Physics		78 M	Hungary	10
Günter Stock	Fund	Physiology	NA	M	Germany	10
Gøsta Esping-Andersen	UNI	Political Science		70 M	Denmark	10
Maxime Cerutti	IG	Political Science	NA	M	France	10
Luke O'Shea	PUB	Political Science	NA	M	UK	10
Agnes Darvas	PUB	Political Science		64 F	Hungary	10
Bea Cantillon	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Belgium	10
Rocio Lardinois de la Torre	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Spain	10
Tuula Haatainen	PUB	Political Science		57 F	Finland	10
Roger Mörtvik	IG	Political Science	NA	M	Sweden	10
Frank Laczko	IO	Political Science	NA	M	Hungary	10
Therese de Liederkerke	IG	Political Science		53 F	Belgium	10
Rosy Bindi	PUB	Political Science		66 F	Italy	10
Andre Schröder	PUB	Political Science		48 M	Germany	10
Kristina Schröder	PUB	Political Science		40 F	Germany	10
Eamonn Noonan	EU	History	NA	M	Ireland	10
Sarah Goddard	IG	Psychology	NA	F	UK	10
Caroline Castongs	IG	Public Health	NA	F	Netherlands	10
Liisa Hysäla	PUB	Public Health		69 F	Finland	10
Jozef Niemiec	Trade Union	Romanic Philology		62 M	Poland	10
Geraldine Visser	RI	Gerontology	NA	F	Netherlands	10
Michael Schneider	PUB	Social Science		63 M	Germany	10
Anne Williams	IG	Social Work	NA	F	UK	10
Lara Björnsdóttir	PUB	Social Work	NA	F	Iceland	10
Joseph Troisi	IO	Sociology	NA	M	Malta	10
David Stanton	PUB	Sociology		60 M	Ireland	10
Mary Daly	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Irish	10
Beate Wieland	PUB	Sociology		58 F	Germany	10
Capitolina Diaz Martinez	PUB	Sociology		64 F	Spain	10
Robert Anderson	EU	NA	NA	M	UK	10
Anne Sophie Parent	IG	Translation	NA	F	Canada	10
Margit Kreuzhuber	IG	Business		40 F	Austria	11
Nils Hubert	IG	Business	NA	M	Germany	11
Barbara Jones	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK	11
Claudia Villosio	IG	Economics		49 F	Italy	11
Elspeth Guild	UNI	Law	NA	F	UK	11
Sverker Rudeberg	IG	Law	NA	M	Sweden	11
Christina Nanlohy	IG	Law	NA	F	Netherlands	11
Marco Cileto	Trade Union	Law	NA	M	Italy	11
Ferruccio Pastore	IG	Law		51 M	Italy	11
Jo Antoons	PRI	Law	NA	F	Belgium	11
Pauline Mathewson	PRI	Law	NA	F	Australia	11
Bo Cooper	PRI	Law	NA	M	US	11
Robert Walsh	PRI	Law	NA	M	Australia	11
Ron Kessels	PRI	Law	NA	M	Australia	11
Khehla David Miya	PRI	Law	NA	M	South Africa	11
Owen Davies	PRI	Law	NA	M	UK	11
Ian Robinson	PRI	Law	NA	M	UK	11
Marius Matthias Pieter Tollen	PRI	Law	NA	M	Belgium	11
Zuzanna Muskat-Gorska	Trade Union	Law	NA	F	Poland	11
Elizabeth Collett	TT	Law	NA	F	UK	11
Ana Garicano Solé	PRI	Law	NA	F	Spain	11
Mireya Serra Janer	IG	Law	NA	F	Netherlands	11
Salome Mbugua	IG	Philosophy	NA	F	Ireland	11
Claudia Finotelli	IG	Philosophy	NA	F	Italy	11
Gemma Pinyol-Jimenez	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	Spain	11
Severine Feraud	IG	Political Science	NA	F	French	11
Lynn Shotwell	IG	Political Science	NA	F	US	11
Ester Salis	IG	Political Science	NA	F	Italy	11
Demetrios Papademetriou	TT	Political Science		71 M	Greece	11
Maria Vincenza Desiderio	TT	Political Science	NA	F	Italy	11
Paul John Adamson	IG	Political Science	NA	M	UK	11
José Manuel Olivar	IG	Political Science	NA	M	Spain	11
Madeleine Sumption	UNI	Political Science	NA	F	UK	11
Eleonora Castagnone	IG	Sociology	NA	F	Italy	11
Josephine Goube	IG	Urban Studies	NA	F	France	11
Mary Beth Landrum	UNI	Biology	NA	F	UK	12
Sheila Smith	UNI	Business	NA	F	US	12
Haidong Wang	UNI	Demography	NA	M	China	12
Emily Grundy	UNI	Demography		62 F	UK	12
Jay Olshansky	UNI	Demography		63 M	US	12
Jean-Marie Robine	RI	Demography	NA	M	France	12
Kenneth Manton	UNI	Demography		70 M	US	12
Patrick Eugster	PRI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	12
Lukas Steinmann	PRI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	12
Peter Zweifel	UNI	Economics		71 M	Switzerland	12

Michel Dumont	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	12
Peter Willeme	PUB	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	12
Mark Freeland	PUB	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Christopher Murray	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Theo Vos	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	12
Christine de la Maisonneuve	IO	Economics	NA	F	France	12
Joaquim Oliveira Martins	IO	Economics	NA	M	Portugal	12
Vasudeva Murthy	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Albert Okunade	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Jean-Philippe Cotis	PUB	Economics		59 M	France	12
Joseph Newhouse	UNI	Economics		75 M	US	12
Pierre Moise	IO	Economics	NA	M	Canada	12
Laurence Kotlikoff	UNI	Economics		66 M	US	12
Christian Hagist	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	12
David Cutler	UNI	Economics		52 M	US	12
Jerome Mercier	IO	Economics	NA	M	Canada	12
Ana Llana-Nozal	IO	Economics		42 F	Spain	12
Stefan Felder	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	12
Joan Costa-Font	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Spain	12
Friedrich Breyer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	12
Eric Bonsang	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	12
Stéphane Jacobzone	IO	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Lise Rochaix	UNI	Economics		59 F	France	12
Jongsay Yong	UNI	Economics		55 M	Australia	12
Alfons Palangkaraya	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Ronan Mahieu	RI	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Robert Leu	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	12
Yannick L'Horty	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Justin Tyson	IO	Economics	NA	M	UK	12
Mauricio Soto	IO	Economics	NA	M	Colombia	12
Baoping Shang	IO	Economics	NA	M	China	12
Kenichiro Kashiwase	IO	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Izabela Karpowicz	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	12
Eva Jenker	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	12
David Coady	IO	Economics	NA	M	UK	12
Benedict Clements	IO	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Carlo Cottarelli	IO	Economics	NA	M	Italy	12
Michael Grossman	UNI	Economics		75 M	US	12
Ulf-G. Gerdtham	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	12
Francesca Colombo	IO	Economics	NA	F	Italy	12
Rie Fujisawa	IO	Economics	NA	F	NA	12
Josep Figueras	IO	Economics	NA	M	Spain	12
Pierre Pestieau	UNI	Economics		73 M	Belgium	12
Helmuth Cremer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Raphael Wittenberg	UNI	Economics	NA	M	UK	12
Adelina Comas-Herrera	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain	12
Richard Carter	UNI	Economics		80 M	Canada	12
Åke Blomqvist	UNI	Economics		75 M	Canada	12
William Baumol	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Gerard Cornilleau	RI	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Didier Balsan	IG	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Karim Azizi	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12
Matthew Notowidigdo	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12
Amy Finkelstein	UNI	Economics		43 F	US	12
Daron Acemoglu	UNI	Economics		49 M	US	12
Steve Iliffe	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12
John Young	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12
Andrew Clegg	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12
Jean-Pierre Michel	UNI	Gerontology	NA	M	France	12
Michael Freeman	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12
Joshua Salomon	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12
Bernd Rechel	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	Germany	12
Lihan Wei	IO	Health Policy	NA	F	US	12
Frits Tjadens	IO	Health Policy	NA	M	Netherlands	12
Thomas Getzen	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12
Bengt Jönsson	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	Sweden	12
Antonio Duran	PRI	Health Policy	NA	M	Spain	12
Suszy Lessof	IO	Health Policy	NA	F	NA	12
Linda Pickard	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	UK	12
Jes Søgaaard	UNI	Health Sciences	NA	M	Denmark	12
Fredrik Andersson	UNI	IT	NA	M	Sweden	12
Abraham Flaxman	UNI	Mathmatics	NA	M	US	12
Bruce Carnes	UNI	Mathmatics	NA	M	US	12
Alan Lopez	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Australia	12
Martin McKee	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK	12
Yvonne Doyle	PUB	Medicine	NA	F	Ireland	12
Christine Cassel	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	US	12
Mark Rudberg	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	US	12
James Fries	UNI	Medicine		79 M	US	12
Kenneth Rockwood	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Canada	12
Marcel Olde Rikkert	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Netherlands	12
Michael Schwarzingger	IO	NA	NA	M	NA	12
Frederic Rupprecht	NA	NA	NA	M	NA	12
Alain Quinet	NA	NA	NA	M	France	12
Catherine Bac	NA	NA	NA	F	France	12

Celine Pereira	NA	NA	NA	F	France	12
Jacob Brody	UNI	Physics	NA	M	US	12
Ernest Gruenberg	UNI	Psychatry	NA	M	US	12
Zaven Khachaturian	PRI	Psychology	NA	M	US	12
Nata Menabde	IO	Public Health		57 F	Georgia	12
Myung-Yong Um	UNI	Social Work	NA	M	South Korea	12
Lois Verbrugge	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	US	12
Marc Szydlík	UNI	Sociology		52 M	Germany	12
Klaus Haberkern	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	12
Bernhard Babel	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA NA	

Appendix K: Demography Reports Actor Attributes

Name	Occupation	Education	Age	Gender	Nationality	Cluster	Univeristy	Country	Continent
James Vaupel	RI	Demography	72	M	US		7 University of St. Gallen	Switzerland	Europe
Wolfgang Lutz	RI	Demography	61	M	Austria		7 Loughborough University	UK	Europe
Tomas Sobotka	RI	Demography	43	M	Czech Republic		7 MPIDR	Germany	Europe
Peter Ekamper	RI	Demography	NA	M	Netherlands		7 Charles University	France	Europe
Dimiter Philipov	RI	Demography	NA	M	Bulgaria		7 VID	Austria	Europe
Mikko Myrskylä	RI	Demography	NA	M	Finland		7 Bocconi University	Italy	Europe
Marija Mamolo	RI	Demography	NA	F	NA		9 VID	Austria	Europe
Corina Huisman	RI	Demography	NA	F	Netherlands		9 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Maria Rita Testa	RI	Demography	NA	F	Italy		9 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Jitka Rychtarikova	UNI	Demography		F	Czech Republic		7 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Francesco Billari	UNI	Demography	47	M	Italy		7 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Peter Selman	UNI	Demography	NA	M	UK		9 VID	Austria	Europe
Peter McDonald	UNI	Demography	NA	M	Australia		9 VID	Austria	Europe
Eckart Bomsdorf	UNI	Demography	NA	M	Germany		9 MPIDR	Germany	Europe
Robert Stehrer	RI	Economics	49	M	Austria		6 University of Pennsylvania	US	North America
Neil Foster-McGregor	RI	Economics	42	M	UK		6 MPIDR	Germany	Europe
Ana Rincon-Aznar	RI	Economics	NA	F	NA		6 University of Groningen	Netherlands	Europe
Johannes Pöschl	RI	Economics	35	M	Austria		6 University of Vienna	Austria	Europe
Erika Schulz	RI	Economics	NA	F	Germany		9 University of Vienna	Austria	Europe
Joop de Beer	RI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands		9 NIESR	UK	Europe
Vegard Skirbekk	RI	Economics	NA	M	Norway		9 wiiv Vienna	Austria	Europe
Alexia Prskawetz	RI	Economics	50	F	Austria		9 University of Perugia	Italy	Europe
Thomas Lindh	RI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden		9 DIW	Germany	Europe
Hermann Buslei	RI	Economics	NA	M	Germany		9 Utrecht University	Netherlands	Europe
Alfonso Sousa-Poza	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland		7 Leiden University	Netherlands	Europe
Hans-Peter Kohler	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany		7 LSE	UK	Europe
Marcel Timmer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands		6 LSE	UK	Europe
Francesco Venturini	UNI	Economics	47	M	Italy		6 MPIDR	Germany	Europe
Martin Knapp	UNI	Economics	65	M	UK		9 VID	Austria	Europe
Jeni Beecham	UNI	Economics	NA	F	UK		9 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Gary Stanley Becker	UNI	Economics	86	M	US		9 Erasmus MC	Netherlands	Europe
Richard Easterlin	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US		9 Newcastle University	UK	Europe
Paul de Beer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands		9 University of Kent	UK	Europe
Jesus Crespo-Cuaresma	UNI	Economics	41	M	Spain		9 LSE	UK	Europe
Almudena Sevilla-Sanz	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain		9 University of Kent	UK	Europe
Joost de Laat	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands		9 University of Kent	UK	Europe
Janneke Plantenga	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Netherlands		9 Crawford School of Public Policy	Australia	Europe
Viktor Steiner	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany		9 VU Amsterdam	Netherlands	Europe
Jim Mansell	UNI	Education	NA	M	UK		9 University of Chicago	US	North America
Bo Malmberg	UNI	Geography	NA	M	Sweden		9 University of Southern California	US	North America
Iva Holmerova	UNI	Gerontology	NA	F	Czech Republic		9 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Philipa Mladovsky	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	Czech Republic		9 NIDI	Netherlands	Europe
Corinna Sorenson	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	US		9 IIASA	Austria	Europe
David McDaid	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	UK		9 VID	Austria	Europe
Sigrun Matthiesen	RI	Journalism	NA	F	Germany		7 Utrecht University	Netherlands	Europe
Sergei Scherbov	RI	Mathmatics	65	M	Russia		9 University of Amsterdam	Netherlands	Europe
Thomas Fent	RI	Mathmatics	NA	M	Austria		9 University of Malta	Malta	Europe
Marie-Eve Joel	UNI	Mathmatics	NA	F	France		9 Charles University Prague	Czech Republic	Europe
Egbert te Velde	UNI	Medicine	78	M	Netherlands		9 Dauphine University Paris	France	Europe
Peter Lees Pearson	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK		9 LSE	UK	Europe
Frederick Fenech	UNI	Medicine	83	M	Malta		9 Kuopio University	Finland	Europe
Gijs Beets	RI	NA	NA		Netherlands		7 University Cologne	Germany	Europe
Jeannette Schoorl	RI	NA	NA	F	Netherlands		7 VID	Austria	Europe
Julia Schuster	RI	NA	NA	F	NA		7 VID	Austria	Europe
Dick van de Kaa	RI	NA	NA	M	Netherlands		9 VID	Austria	Europe
Werner Barthel	RI	NA	NA	M	NA		9 Vienna University	Austria	Europe
Linda Hantrais	UNI	Political Science	74	F	UK		7 Uppsala University	Sweden	Europe
Julie Beadle-Brown	UNI	Psychology	NA	F	UK		9 Stockholm University	Sweden	Europe
Johan Mackenbach	UNI	Public Health	NA	M	Netherlands		9 University of Oxford	UK	Europe
Aulikki Nissinen	UNI	Public Health	77	F	Finland		9 University College Utrecht	Netherlands	Europe
Nico van Nimwegen	RI	Sociology	NA	M	Netherlands		7 University of Groningen	Netherlands	Europe
Aart Liefbroer	UNI	Sociology	58	M	Netherlands		9 Utrecht University	Netherlands	Europe
Chantal Remery	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	Netherlands		9 DIW	Germany	Europe
Dik Habbema	UNI	Statistics	NA	M	Netherlands		9 DIW	Germany	Europe

Appendix L: Ageing Reports Actor Attributes

Name	Occupation	Education	Age	Gender	Nationality	Cluster	UNI/RI	Country	Continent
Mary Beth Landrum	UNI	Biology	NA	F	UK	12	University of Queensland	Australia	ANorth Americatralia
Sheila Smith	UNI	Business	NA	F	US	12	National University of Singapore	Singapore	Asia
Emily Grundy	UNI	Demography	62	F	UK	12	Inje University	South Korea	Asia
Kenneth Manton	UNI	Demography	70	M	US	12	University of Melbourne	Australia	Australia
Jean-Marie Robine	RI	Demography	NA	M	France	12	Pantheon-Sorbonne University	France	Europe
Jay Olshansky	UNI	Demography	63	M	US	12	LSE	UK	Europe
Haidong Wang	UNI	Demography	NA	M	China	12	LSE	UK	Europe
Alfons Palangkaraya	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	Toulouse 1 University Capitole	France	Europe
Ronan Mahieu	RI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	University of Liege	Belgium	Europe
Kaushik Ghosh	RI	Economics	NA	M	India	10	University of Aberdeen	UK	Europe
Daron Acemoglu	UNI	Economics	49	M	US	12	Stockholm School of Economics	Sweden	Europe
Amy Finkelstein	UNI	Economics	43	F	US	12	University of Southern Denmark	Denmark	Europe
Matthew Notowidigdo	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	Linköping University	Sweden	Europe
Karim Azizi	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	University of Zurich	Switzerland	Europe
William Baumol	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	University of Zurich	Switzerland	Europe
Åke Blomqvist	UNI	Economics	75	M	Canada	12	Université Evry Val d'Essonne	France	Europe
Raphael Wittenberg	UNI	Economics	NA	M	UK	12	University of Bern	Switzerland	Europe
Helmuth Cremer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	INSEE	France	Europe
Pierre Pestieau	UNI	Economics	73	M	Belgium	12	INED	France	Europe
Ulf-G. Gerdtham	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Sweden	12	Paris School of Economics	France	Europe
Yannick L'Horty	UNI	Economics	NA	M	France	12	DIW	Germany	Europe
Jongsay Yong	UNI	Economics	55	M	Australia	12	University of Liege	Belgium	Europe
Lise Rochaix	UNI	Economics	59	F	France	12	University of Konstanz	Germany	Europe
Eric Bonsang	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Belgium	12	University of Barcelona	Spain	Europe
Friedrich Breyer	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	12	University Basel	Switzerland	Europe
Joan Costa-Font	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Spain	12	University of Leeds	UK	Europe
Stefan Felder	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	12	University of Leeds	UK	Europe
David Cutler	UNI	Economics	52	M	US	12	University College London	UK	Europe
Christian Hagist	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Germany	12	Radboud University	Netherlands	Europe
Laurence Kotlikoff	UNI	Economics	66	M	US	12	Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg	Germany	Europe
Joseph Newhouse	UNI	Economics	75	M	US	12	LSHTM	UK	Europe
Albert Okunade	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	LSE	UK	Europe
Erika Schulz	RI	Economics	NA	F	Germany	9	LSHTM	UK	Europe
Richard Carter	UNI	Economics	80	M	Canada	12	University of Zurich	Switzerland	Europe
Adelina Comas-Herrera	UNI	Economics	NA	F	Spain	12	MIT	US	North America
Michael Grossman	UNI	Economics	75	M	US	12	MIT	US	North America
Robert Leu	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Switzerland	12	Northwestern University	US	North America
Vasudeva Murthy	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	Princeton University	US	North America
Theo Vos	UNI	Economics	NA	M	Netherlands	12	University of Western Ontario	Canada	North America
Christopher Murray	UNI	Economics	NA	M	US	12	MIT	US	North America
Peter Zweifel	UNI	Economics	71	M	Switzerland	12	Temple University	US	North America
Steve Iliffe	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12	City University of New York	US	North America
Andrew Clegg	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12	Duke University	US	North America
John Young	UNI	Geriatrics	NA	M	UK	12	Swinburne University of Technology	US	North America
Bengt Jönsson	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	Sweden	12	Dalhousie University	Canada	North America
Linda Pickard	UNI	Health Policy	NA	F	UK	12	Harvard University	US	North America
Thomas Getzen	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12	Harvard University	US	North America
Bernd Rechel	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	Germany	12	Harvard University	US	North America
Joshua Salomon	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12	Stanford University	US	North America
Michael Freeman	UNI	Health Policy	NA	M	US	12	John Hopkins University	US	North America
Jes Søgaard	UNI	Health Sciences	NA	M	Denmark	12	Boston University	US	North America
Fredrik Andersson	UNI	IT	NA	M	Sweden	12	Harvard University	US	North America
Bruce Carnes	UNI	Mathematics	NA	M	US	12	University of Memphis	US	North America
Abraham Flaxman	UNI	Mathematics	NA	M	US	12	Creighton University	US	North America
Marcel Olde Rikkert	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Netherlands	12	University of Chicago	US	North America
Kenneth Rockwood	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Canada	12	University of Chicago	US	North America
James Fries	UNI	Medicine	79	M	US	12	University of Oklahoma	US	North America
Mark Rudberg	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	US	12	University of Chicago	US	North America
Christine Cassel	UNI	Medicine	NA	F	US	12	University of Illinois	US	North America
Martin McKee	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	UK	12	Harvard University	US	North America
Alan Lopez	UNI	Medicine	NA	M	Australia	12	University of Washington	US	North America
Jacob Brody	UNI	Physics	NA	M	US	12	University of Washington	US	North America
Ernest Gruenberg	UNI	Psychiatry	NA	M	US	12	University of Washington	US	North America
Myung-Yong Um	UNI	Social Work	NA	M	South Korea	12	University of Washington	US	North America
Lois Verbrugge	UNI	Sociology	NA	F	US	12	University of Washington	US	North America
Klaus Haberkern	UNI	Sociology	NA	M	Germany	12	University of Maryland	US	North America
Marc Szydlík	UNI	Sociology	52	M	Germany	12	University of Michigan	US	North America

Appendix M: Primary Expert Groups

Code	Name	DG primary	DG secondary
E02942	Health, Demographic Change, and Wellbeing	DG RTD	DG CNECT
E03034	Horizon AG Gender	DG RTD	
E01906	EG on Demographic Issues	DG EMPL	DG ECFIN DG EAC DG GROW ESTAT DG FISMA DG REGIO DG SANTE DG HOME DG JUST
E02556	EY2012 Active Ageing	DG EMPL	
E01218	Committee in the area of supplementary pensions	DG EMPL	
E03253	EG Economic Migration	DG HOME	DG ECFIN DG EAC DG EMPL DG GROW DG RTD
E02174	WG on the Implementation of the Action Plan on Adult Learning	DG EAC	
E02159	European Research Area Board	DG RTD	
E02715	European Forum on Forward looking activities	DG RTD	
E03227	Key-long term transformations in research innovation and higher education	DG RTD	
E02818	High level group on modernization of higher education	DG EAC	
E02819	EG on Social investment for growth and cohesion	DG EMPL	
E02164	Network of experts in gender equality social inclusion health and long-term care	DG JUST	
E03484	HLG on maximizing the impact of EU research and innovation programmes as part of the interim evaluation of horizon 2020	DG RTD	
	Reflection Group	European Council	
	DemForum1	DG EMPL	
	DemForum2	DG EMPL	
	DemForum3	DG EMPL	
	DemForum4	DG EMPL	
http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=502&eventsId=239&furtherEvents=yes	Seminar	DG EMPL	
http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=88&eventsId=1020&furtherEvents=yes	Workshop	DG EMPL	
https://europa.eu/epc/working-group-ageing-populations-and-sustainability_en	Working Group on Ageing Populations and Sustainability (AWG)	DG ECFIN	
	Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography	JRC	All EC services plus Eurostat

Appendix N: Secondary Expert Groups

Code	Name
E00761	AG Theme Health
E02887	Horizon CONNECT ICT
E01386	AG ISTAG Technology
E03093	Horizon AG Science with and for society
E03086	Horizon AG International Cooperation
E01245	Labor Market Management
E03279	Horizon EG Scientific Panel for Health
E02929	Impacts, challenges, and limitations of EU-funded public health research
E02625	eHealth Task Force Expert Group
E02769	eHealth Stakeholder Group
E02915	EG for the evaluation of the overall performance of the EIP concept and approach
E02415	EG on European Quality Assurance in Vocational Education and Training
E00191	Copenhagen Coordination Group
E02822	EFA VET Strategic Partnerships Experts HUMAN CAPITAL
E00602	European Integration Network
E03010	Horizon AG Protection and Security
E03404	HOME Multi-annual financial framework 2014-2020 EG
E02464	EG Single Market Informal Dialogue Group
E01918	EG on the policy needs for data on crime and criminal justice
E02557	European Network on free movement of workers within the EU
X01784	Advisory Committee on the free movement of workers
E02232	Contact Group Return Directive
X01803	Advisory Committee for Vocational Training
E02655	WG on professional development of VET Trainers
E00175	Education and Training Coordination Group
X03428	European Platform for undeclared work
E02251	European Credit for vocational education and training users' group
E03119	RISE Research, Innovation and Science
E02787	European Research and Innovation Area Board
E01566	European Group on Ethics in Science and New Technologies High Level
E03436	Open Science Policy Platform
E02841	KET's High Level Commission Expert Group
E02388	High Level Expert Group on Scientific Data
E02963	Horizon AG Future and Emerging Technologies
E01946	Expert AG for the FP7 People Programme
E03272	High Level Expert Group for the FP7 ex-post evaluation
E02548	Ethical and regulatory challenges to science and research policy at the global level
E02986	Horizon AG Access to risk finance
E02974	Horizon AG on innovation in SME's
E03091	Horizon EG on cultural heritage
E02814	Consultative and supportive group for the enterprise europe network
E02588	EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region
E02547	EG in the youth policy fields
E01236	Network of nongovernmental experts in the fight against poverty and social exclusion
X01211	Comité consultatif por la sécurité et la santé sur le lieu de travail
E02884	EG on the rights of the child
X00229	EUROGUIDANCE
X00233	Europass - National Europass Centres
E01910	EG on the implementation of the lifelong learning programme
E00251	Agences du programme jeunesse en action
E02454	WG on languages in education and training
E01259	High level group on disability
E03295	Stakeholder consultation group for consumer rules for online digital purchases
E02603	Commission EG on the evaluation of the implementaioin of the EU drugs strategy 2005-2012
E00470	Commission EG on integrated product policy
E03325	Multistakeholder group on comparison tools
E03327	Multistakeholder group on environmental claims
E02587	Erasmus mundus selection board
E01680	High level AG of societal policy analysis
E02939	Horizon AG for food security sustainable agriculture marine and maritime research and the bioeconomy
E03385	Research innovation and science policy experts
E03332	Horizon EG on strategic foresight for R&I policy
E03490	Horizon Commission EG on research innovation and science policy
E03383	Commission EG for the interim evaluation of FET flagships
E02260	EG EU school food scheme
E02293	EG on ERA indicators and ERA monitoring
E02161	Network of experts in employment and gender equality issues
E03005	ET 2020 WG on vocational and educational training
E03130	European Crowdfunding Stakeholders' Forum
E02952	Horizon AG for the Marie Skłodowska-Curie actions on skills training and career development
E02924	Horizon AG for Societal challenge 5 climate action environment ressource efficiency and raw materials
E02960	Horizon EG on research infrastructures
E03188	Platform for the development of cooperative intelligent transport systems in the EU
E02940	Horizon AG on european research infrastructures including elnfastructures
E02698	Année euro-chinoise du dialogue interculturel
E02969	Horizon AG for the societal challenge 4 on smart green and integrated transport 2014-2020
E00698	Helsinki Group on gender in research and innovation
E02982	Horizon AG Space
E02951	Horizon AG Europe in a changing world inclusive innovative and reflective societies
E02981	Horizon AG on Energy
E02950	Member States' group on key enabling technologies
E02158	EG on diversified funding streams for university based research: impact of external project based funding on financial management of research in universities
E02962	Horizon AG for nanotechnologies advanced materials biotechnology and advanced manufacturing and processing
E02101	OMC WG of Member States' experts
E02847	Expert Panel on Effective ways of investing in Health
E02995	ET 2020 WG on Adult Learning
E03485	HL Expert Group on Sustainable Finances
E02687	Sino European Panel on Land and Soils
E03391	HLSG of the European Innovation Partnership on Raw Materials
X00241	Points de Contacts dans le domaine culturel
E03345	HLG of Independent Experts on Monitoring Simplification for Beneficiaries of the structural and investment funds
E00187	Groupe permanent sur les indicateurs et critères d'évaluation en éducation (SGIB)
E03371	ET2020 WG on promoting citizenship and the comon values of freedom, tolerance, and non-discrimination through education
E03003	ET2020 WG on Schools
E03339	HLG on Sport Diplomacy
E03340	HLG on grassroots sports
E00473	Expert Group on Civil Protection Permanent Network of National Correspondents
E03435	HLEG on information systems interoperability
E02983	HL Platform of Raul Infrastructure Managers in Europe
E02872	European Network of Rail Regulatory Bodies
E01106	Best Practice in Road Safety
E01604	EU Member States Experts Group on Global Health, Population and Development
E03225	Policy Coherence for Development EG
E02852	EU Platform for blending in external cooperation
E02748	EU EG with MS on Private Sector Development in Third Countries
E02694	EG to assess costs and benefits of establishment EU Platform for External Cooperation and Development
E02764	Scientific Advisory Board on EU Development Policy
X01783	Advisory Committee for the Coordination of Social Security Systems

Appendix O: Professor Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak; Warsaw School of Economics

Ole: So, let's jump right into it. Starting with some easy questions, would you agree that it's the right approach to look at the European Commission within the EU when we talk about demographic change and the governance of demographic change?

Agnieszka: Well I think it is because it is common European phenomenon, and some coordination, discussing the issue, and policy exchange which is a part of what the European Commission is doing, it is absolutely okay.

Ole: Well, that's good to hear then. Also, we saw you were participating in certain events organized by the European Commission. Could you just, from the top of your head, point to some of the events that you have perceived as being important also for external actors to come in and provide some input for the demographic debate.

Agnieszka: Well, definitely the demographic fora. I think there were like two or three, and I definitely participated in two of them. So, this is focused purely on demographics but also it's interrelated because the Commission is also trying to work on the impact of population ageing. So this is the reports of the working group and presentations of these reports, discussions in the Social Protection Committee and some of the workshops organized. I don't know. Pension adequacy issue, which is, again, not pure demographics but it is related to demographics. And also, again this is not organized by the Commission, but also supported by the Commission, some of the meetings of the Population Europe Network that are happening in Brussels, and I also participated I think in three or four of these events of Population Europe which are [indistinct] and supported by the Commission. So, these are the events that I recall as the ones that I recall as important.

Ole: We are happy to hear that. It very well aligns with our view. I would like to hear a bit about these demographic forums. I think the most recent one was in 2013. So, how was your general and overall impression of these forums? Was it just a get together of all the experts, talking about very different things, or was it in a very structured ways, and producing new policy ideas, and getting them through to the politicians?

Agnieszka: Well, I mean, I think it also mattered. Because, first of all, it wasn't just a gathering of experts because there were experts, there were policy makers, and also representatives of various non-governmental organizations. So, I think, first of all, it was a forum where these different groups could meet, discuss, and present their views and opinions on population ageing and demographic changes. So, I think that was the most important. It's the forum of the dialogue and not only of expert exchange, which I think, was important. And, well, I don't have the impression that it directly fed into certain policies but definitely it feeds into the overall approach to demographics: Things, values, policy initiatives that are done by the Commission such as Social Investment, I think, it was partially [based] on the discussions in the forums. The pillar that is discussed right now. I think it is a continuous investment, I would say, of time and the resources of experts and policy makers in discussing these issues, and follow-ups in governing that could point out to the most important issues. Also, due to the post-crises situation, really [ramping] some of the issues. But I think the most important thing was that it actually gathered values, groups of stakeholders that don't meet regularly to discuss the demographic issue, and I think, I mean, the next forum. There is a break, which worries me a little bit. The last one was, as you mentioned, in 2013 and we have 2017, and we have to [indistinct] more regularly. I think the time that has passed from the last one is a bit too long.

Ole: Okay, so that was actually my follow-up question because do you know anything about this? Why has there been this long break?

Agnieszka: Well, I can only guess. It's always, I mean, when you have a policy initiative like this, it is a mixture of individuals involved and topics, which are important. So, sometimes the institutional knowledge is past [on] when people move around, and then the Commission people move around. So, the person that was responsible for the forum - as you know - it was Julie Zoterberg [05:24], and I think that, maybe, he got involved in other activities, and because of that there was no follow-up or maybe there was lost interest by the Commissioners in the top peak. I think in general, again not about the forum, but when I talk to the people in the Commission, they say that, for example, with people in the ageing working group reports, because they show that the situation is more or less, I mean, the countries did reforms that stabilized public finances, there is no such big pressures to discuss pension policies in the context of population ageing. So, maybe because of that and

because of the crises, and all the issues related to migrants, the topic of demographic change gets less attention. But that's just some of the thoughts, not confirmed but thoughts.

Ole: Well, we are happy to hear your thoughts as well. So, let's talk about the Social Protection Committee for a moment, if you like. I think, it's been a couple of years since you have been affiliated with that, right? 2007 to 2009.

Agnieszka: 2009 is when I left, yes.

Ole: So, can you give us an impression of how is demographic change taken up in the SPC? Is it more of an background factor, or is it more taken up deliberately? Or.

Agnieszka: Oh..it's more a background factor because, I mean, the Social Protection Committee focuses on topics which are social-policy related. So, this is social inclusion and health, and pensions. And obviously, pensions - especially pensions - are underlined with the demographic change. It's rather a context than an issue by itself, which was discussed by the SPC. I worked there, and right now when I look at what SPC produced, I think it is again very much related to rather current issues related to social policies, social inclusion, poverty, than population or demographic change.

Ole: And in terms of the outputs that you produced at the SPC, how does that exactly work? So, you come with you expertise from the Polish side to the SPC, you were representing Polish interests?

Agnieszka: Yes, I was the Polish member of the SPC but I also was the Deputy [indistinct] of the SPC. So, that means that within the bureau of the SPC we discussed some of the overall context of the documents that were presented. That equaled opinions of the SPC presented to the EPSCO council, and that's a part of the Committee work to discuss documents that are proposed by the Commission, to present opinions on various issues, and also of course, I mean, when I worked there it was before the European Semester kicked in. So, an important part of the work of the SPC was to prepare the national reports on social inclusion, pension, and health. I also worked in the indicators subgroup. So, we devoted a lot of time to discuss indicators, which are used by the SPC in the work

on health and pensions, and social inclusion. This was the type of work, and again, the demographic situation was a context. So, some of the demographic indicators are used by the SPC in the reports, and that was the begin of the preparation of the adequacy assessment report. That was leading into that. We also had peer-reviews of the policies and discussions on that, and also there were some peer-reviews organized on various topics by the SPC on the part of the Open Method of Coordination. So, again, various topics were discussed sometimes related, policy-related, to demographic factors such as, I don't know, work-life balance, and in the context of supporting family policies and fertility levels.

Ole: Okay, this is also a bit the direction I tried to go here because as far as I understand the SPC is composed of national experts, right?

Agnieszka: Well, actually, experts but delegated mainly by the ministries. So, this is more like civil servants who are experts but first of all they are civil servants.

Ole: Yes but this is what I mean. Because what I think then is, does the SPC also take up a role to bring ideas together because different countries perceive different possible solutions as more appropriate, and then bringing together these ideas and also facilitating interdisciplinary discourse.

Agnieszka: Yes, of course I mean this is the core of the Open Method of Coordination, which is about exchanging views, opinions, and policies. So, a part of the work in SPC network is that also you know when we discuss national policies which are related to social protection we can always ask our peers about their experiences, how they solve certain issues. So, this is a kind of, not only formal but also informal network that allows to exchange various opinions, to participate in discussions related to topics which are covered by the SPC.

Ole: And, you yourself are an economist. When you look back at your time at the SPC, is that mostly composed of economists or is there a diversity of backgrounds?

Agnieszka: No, I think it's less economists. There were a few economists in the Committee but I think there were a lot of people who were not economists. I don't know, you know, with civil servants you never know because they have different backgrounds but no, economists were

definitively not the core. In the subgroup [ed's note: the indicators subgroup], though it was mainly people that were economists, actuaries or statisticians. So, this was a different group but the SPC is [composed] more of policy-oriented people.

Ole: Actually, I would also like to look at the OECD for a second. Because you were also affiliated for different projects with the OECD as far as I understand, right?

Agnieszka: I was in the employment, labor, social affairs committee and I headed the working group on social issues questions.

Ole: Exactly, and what we learned throughout these interviews is also that especially the DG EMPL is collaborating a lot with the OECD on these issues. You were also involved in some of this collaborative work, is that true?

Agnieszka: I was involved first in promoting cooperation between the EC and the DG EMPL in particular and the OECD which is related mainly to this adequacy report [ed's note: the Pension Adequacy Report], and projecting replacement levels. That was a discussion that started when, basically around the 2004-2005 Council projected pension adequacy. Initially, it was done by the national institutions. So, we had real problems to compare the indicators, and the idea was, I mean, the definition of a good indicator is that it is comparable, based on common methodology and so on. And it was the time also when the OECD developed its model to project pension levels that was published in "Pensions at a Glance". So, in a way that was a good combination of the OECD expertise in knowledge and to provide a common framework to discuss adequacy. So, indeed, yes I was very much supporting this approach that was finally taken. And, of course, within the OECD as a part of my work in ASAF and in the Working Party, I also provided the information to the OECD, I reviewed the outcomes of the model and the assumptions they had used for Poland, and obviously I was involved in discussing the content of the [indistinct: 14:50] in various ways. And as part of the ASAF numbers [indistinct] as an expert I was asked to review and to provide comments to some of the working papers that then fed into the Pensions at a Glance, most importantly.

Ole: Okay, one thing I would be interested in is the nature of the collaboration. Is it only focusing on the DG EMPL sector or does it also involve other units of the Commission that are related to

demographic change? So, we see a lot of DG ECFIN involvement for example in the debate.

Agnieszka: Well, I didn't follow everything. So, I don't know whether the OECD cooperates in other areas as well. Definitely, again, the ECFIN focuses more on the issues related to stability of public finances. Well, the OECD, they do have some work and expertise on pension related issues including pension-funds management and things related to what is done by DAF [the OECD equivalent of DG ECFIN]. In the [OECD] Commission they don't focus on long-term stability as such, that is my impression that less work is done by the OECD in this field. So, they did do some work in the past but right now they focus more on the pensions and the adequacy and also on the management of assets of pension funds and pension systems. This is more third pillar related; occupational pension related issues as well. I am not sure but I presume there is some cooperation between DAF and DG ECFIN. As I was involved more on the social policy issues that was not something I followed very closely.

Ole: Okay, I think, I would like to go a bit more into your personal expertise, and what you have done. So, in very short terms, your areas of expertise - you are of course a highly distinguished expert on pensions systems - but apart from that, could you give a short description of your areas of expertise?

Agnieszka: Well, when I was in the SPC, at the same time, my core work - so, this was a part of my work as a head of economic analysis and forecasting department in the ministry of labor and social policy which means that I covered this field of the labor market, social inclusion, pensions, to some extent health care as well. So, pensions are my core interest and also research-wise right now. The labor market and life-course developments are also a part of it. And also at the ministry, I worked on the issues of family policy, work-life-balance and gender issues. So, this is a part again over the past 8 years, I have been involved in educational research - so I study links between education and labor markets; life-long learning about learning, well, various things. I am a life-course person right now, I would say. I focus on people, so this is my focus. I don't like to look at the financial issues, institutions, if they are not related to what happens to people when from the moment they start their education and involvement with social policies and other things.

Ole: It is a very interesting thing, I think, when we read your CV for example, you are bridging so many different fields. How do you perceive this in general. I mean, when you now also are researching educational matters, how do you perceive these - say borders - between the different fields. Is there a lot of interdisciplinary approaches going on? Especially when we talk about education and lifelong-learning and pension systems?

Agnieszka: Well, my overall perception is that, unfortunately, the borders are still there but I think there is more and more awareness that this kind of life-course approach is absolutely necessary. That's why I like the whole social investment issue because it actually shows that this is an important thing what happens from early years with people because it affects their later lives. So, this is definitely needed. I think there is still - I mean, people tend to focus on very narrow things, which is never good and that should be changed. But my overall perception is that there is still siloes and people are locked, and this kind of bridging thing is important but still undervalued.

Ole: Is this bridging thing also something where for example Population Europe comes in or is this more specifically focused on the hardcore demographics?

Agnieszka: No, the Population Europe is very broad because that's basically a network that tries to promote demographic research in various areas and obviously because it is very wide and includes various partners. We are involved in many issues. So, when we now look at what population Europe is doing for example in the fertility database it focuses on family policies, migrant policies, labor market policies, pension policies, social protection policies. So, this is very broad and I think this is the kind of approach that is important when we think the demographic issue because it focuses on very different issues.

Ole: And would you say that Population Europe has been successful in advancing this interdisciplinary approach and breaking down borders between fields?

Agnieszka: It's difficult to say. It's always a struggle because when you do something like bridging, by definition it's very difficult to attract attention of specific institutions that could be supportive in developing such a network and supporting such a network. But I think that Population Europe was successful; that it managed to attract attention. It definitely managed to integrate demographic

researchers in Europe, and I also think it allowed to open a little bit the interchange - which is also important - between the old member states and the researchers in the old Europe sort of and the new Member States where the demographic changes are even more pronounced when we look long-term. So, this is also a value of it: it broadens the regional, geographical [core].

Ole: And except for Population Europe, would you say there is other institutions that try to facilitate this more interdisciplinary approach to the demographic challenge?

Agnieszka: Well, I mean, I could think about a few. For example, when you - there is a project and a surveyed SHARED, this is a survey on health, ageing and retirement in Europe which is right now coordinated by the Max-Planck Institute and headed by professor Axel Borsch-Supran, and SHARED by definition is interdisciplinary. So, it focuses on the older people. However, it looks into inter-generational relations, health, ageing issues, retirement, employment, social activities. So, I would say again this is interdisciplinary very much. And I have also been involved with some of the SHARED activities and I know that they do struggle with this fact that because of this interdisciplinarity sometimes within the disciplines they say "this is another discipline. It is not our field and such and such". This is quite absurd I must say but this is definitively the kind of network that was established long ago, which goes even beyond Europe because we have participation of Israel, people from the US are involved in the scientific boards. So, this is quite broad. There is another network which is led Prof. [indistinct] and Andy Mason on national transfer grants and this is also looking at the distribution of transfers between different generations which are affected by demographic changes, and the NTA network covers over 60 countries right now. We have also a European Network, again, right now surrounded within the framework 7 project, which is led by Alexia Fürnkranz-Prskawetz from Vienna. So, there are various networks within research that we have that actually focus on various aspects of demographic issues. Definitively, within various projects like - so this is again a way of networking - for example there was a project for families and societies that was also funded from the 7th framework programme. We gathered a network that focused on the family, work-life balance, and the family changes and community structures, which is a part of demographic change. So, I think that there are various kinds of networks that emerge, appear, and builds this kind of an all-European discussion between the researchers like the SPC and other fora do it for policy.

Ole: Now you mention the MPIDR, the VID and so on. So, when we look at our network we see these hubs - as MPIDR, as NIDI etc. - how is that working for you, or what is the advantage of working for a university vis-à-vis working for a research institute?

Agnieszka: Well, I mean, there is teaching involved. I don't know whether it is an advantage but it least you can actually influence the more young researchers that are involved in discussing the policy issues, which is always, you know, it is kind of an advantage that it is easier to build and develop teams when you work in the university. There is also some stability that universities does [sic!] because - you know - research institutes are very much based on project funding which means that if there are projects the situation is stable. But when there are no projects there is a problem. With the university there is a stable funding for the university work related mainly to didactics and education and projects - I mean when there is a problem that there are no projects then of course that's an issue but it's not like life or death or making ends meet or not making ends meet. However, we still do struggle with getting funding for certain projects, which are important. But then, one of the projects, which again is a network within this generation and gender programme that is also UN based and covers issues related to demographic developments including fertility and, then, the beginning of the demographic development in the life-course perspective - that just came to my mind - I think that universities also have advantages with relation to the administrative structure which are more broad than the ones in the regular research institute. It has pros and cons. I mean, bureaucratic structures can be offensive but on the other hand, sometimes, when we don't have these kind of structures, it can be very difficult to participate in projects that require a lot of bureaucracy. So, I think it is also an advantage. And, of course, the track records, if you are in the university you have all the support of the institutional structure of universities when you apply. So, this is another important factor in getting the projects and gaining networks: it counts!

Ole: Very interesting. But you are collaborating with MPIDR for instance through Population Europe and also on more specific projects?

Agnieszka: That's mainly Population Europe. I am in the alliance on that part. I mean, it depends on the project. So, right now we are starting a project on the issue population ageing in the Baltic Sea region. So, this is just the beginning. We did it. Within the network we also organized some events like reviving the population wave conference that was organized in Poland. I am also part of

the Polish SHARED team. That means that I cooperate with Max Planck and Axel Borsch-Supran on SHARED. So, this is again Max-Planck but different leg of Max-Planck I would say. Also, within our university - not me personally but - we were also involved and got a grant for two years from the European Doctoral School of demography and that also involved cooperation with some of the Max-Planck Institute. So, for instance, Prof. Vaupel was, or is, our lecturer in the EDSD programme, which is sort of shifting from one university to another for three years.

Ole: Just, maybe, a last question on the research institutes or maybe the broader interaction. Because now we have talked to some of the people from MPIDR, Vienna, not yet from NIDI. Our impression so far is this: People know each other, it's a very relaxed atmosphere, many people are friends and so on. Does that translate to how you perceive this interaction?

Agnieszka: Of course. This is, I mean, when you work in certain networks, when you do projects together, when you meet for different events, obviously you develop a network. So, it's always better to work in an environment where people like each other than when people don't like each other. So, there is a matter a tendency to perform sort of research teams amongst people and institutions that like to cooperate with each other. And there are certain networking activities that are important. These include of course all the seminars and conferences. Now, there is also the EAPS which is led by NIDI and that means every two years demographers from all over Europe - but not only Europe - meet in the European Population Conferences. There are also more international conferences where people meet. So, every five years there is an international population conference led by the IOSSP and again that's also a networking event. It is actually the next of these conferences where I will speak in Capetown in October and we already discuss amongst various people that we actually will be in Capetown. So there will be another chance to discuss, to have not only formal but also informal discussions. When you think about NIDI and European demographers - now, this is funny - there is a for example I never participated, I want to finally apply and go - there is a APOP conference which is held annually in Friend hubs when people combine and present their research and skiing. So, you know, this is the kind of event that brings people together.

Ole: Okay, we obviously also look at different levels of actors when we look at networks, and one thing we haven't really seen in this network is private actor involvement, or at least not to the extent

that we maybe had expected. How is your experience with private actors participating actively in the debate but also maybe in terms of providing funding?

Agnieszka: That's probably the most difficult and, again, there are - in the issues of pensions - there is probably some of the involvement, and we do see reports that are produced by leading financial global institutions like AXA or the ARRIVA group that is doing such work. There are all sorts of specific pension related events like the - I can't remember the name - Pension Forum or something which is organized with the participation of private institutions. However, it focuses more on the management of pension issues. There is some demographic component because of, obviously, the topic is related but it's more focused on networking on the side of institutions. In Poland, we had some cooperation with our Pension Fund association. So, they did provide funding for some of the reports that were focusing on the functioning of the pension system in the context of population ageing but it's not like a significant involvement, and especially after the crisis because the financial situation of these private financial institutions became worse, of course. So, the funding became more difficult to gather and get. So, this is more like - it is not very [wrapped]. There is some dialogue but yeah.

Ole: Okay, and relatedly: Maybe also more specifically in Poland, how is the situation of NGOs in this context? Is there some engagement from the side of NGOs?

Agnieszka: Hm..that's, well, I am trying to think. In the demographic are I think not very much but on the social policy related issues, especially social inclusion, then we have some activities like the AIPN network, which is cooperating, with some of the NGOs in Poland. Then, on the family support we have many organizations that work in promoting family-related policies like the one that achieved a lot is the family union 3+. They promote policies that support large families including like the large families card, which became the national project coordinated by the Ministry of Labor. So, there is involvement related to issues related to people and how people live in the society rather than demographic development as such.

Ole: Okay, and is that also the same what you experienced in the European structure?

Agnieszka: Well, in the European governance structure, there are some umbrella organizations that are involved in the dialogue and discussions. The European Protection Network, the AGE Platform is quite strong in voicing the issue of population ageing. These are the ones coming to my mind. There is in the UK [John Hallarand]. I think it's partially an NGO, which is supporting the European Social Network.

Ole: Okay, that's it from my side. Frederik probably has some follow-ups.

Frederik: Yes, at least one. I was wondering, for instance, when you participated in forums and give speeches about the pension systems and reforming pension systems, but where also other subfields like gender, work-life-balance, and migration also are addressed. Do you feel that your POV in terms of pensions resonates better with politicians? Are they open to more solutions? And do you see a difference in terms of how solutions are perceived?

Agnieszka: Compared to what?

Frederik: Compared to other sub-fields in demographic change such as migration being a solution or focus on human capital.

Agnieszka: Actually, the solution is to combine everything. So, it is not that the one policy should be more important than another one. And ageing, because of my field of expertise I participate more in discussions on pension-related issues or educational related issues. Less on migrants which I am not a specialized on. Of course, I have friends who focus on migration, and I try to follow at least a bit to know what is happening in the area but my approach to the subject. So, I think, again, in every area people are heard on this by different policy makers and that's - I can't say. There are politicians with different focuses and when we talk to each other, I can address those that are more interested in pensions, and others are more interested in migrants. I wouldn't say there is one field, which is more or less than another one. Definitively, pension was a topic when, a few years back, people saw that pension systems are the threat of losing financial stability and that was the way of pension reforms [around]. Right now, when we look at the topic of pensions, I think it gets less attention than it used to. I think there specific issues like the gender pensions gap or the coverage or

providing minimum protection like social pensions, which becomes a subject that is more discussed. That changes with time.

Frederik: That was the only follow-up.

Appendix P: Demetrios Papademetriou, Migration Policy Institute

Frederik: How did you become member of an EC expert group? Did you approach the Commission or was it the other way around?

Demetrios: I know nothing about it. I get invited. The Commission, the High Level either the DG or Commissioners and all that and I look at my calendar and my agenda and if I have the time and the topic is interesting etc. I participate. I don't think that I am in any systematic way part of an expert group that I know is an expert group that offers advice. I do those things as an individual, primarily, because what I do for a living is indeed offering advice to governments and the Commission and to presidencies of the EU etc. And when I say as a person, I am guessing that half of it is as an individual but of course for a per cent in my organisations both MPI and MPI Europe. The other half is with a team of people from MPI or MPI Europe and with network you would say. I call it a stable of experts from different parts of the world not just the EU that write for us and participate in roundtable for us etc. So if the top expert on topic A is an Australian we are basically going to reach out to that Australian and ask him/her to write and participate if at all possible in those discussions. I am trying to indicate that I am almost a step removed from being a formal member of some sort of an expert group. I get consulted a lot.

Frederik: But you still participate directly in the meetings for instance on economic migration and demographic issues?

Demetrios: Yeah. I did a keynote address at the Commission when the new Centres of Excellence on Migration and Demography (read: Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography/KCMD) was created exactly a year ago give or take a day or two. It was all the Commissioners there they said but Commissioners say, which is nothing, and then there was all these other people from different parts of the Commission, maybe about 8 or 10 different services at the level of DG or Deputy DG, and I was the keynote that basically discussed what I thought the New Centre of Excellence (KCMD) should do. Then about two months ago, again give and take a week or two, they had their first formal meeting in Ispra, Italy where the Joint Research Centre

(JRC) is and I was the invited guest outside of the group that manages the demography part of it. The guy who manages it is Wolfgang Lutz from Austria. So he had a team of demographers there and there was a team, 2 or 3 people from the Commission and lots of people from the JRC and all these other things and I was the outside invited guest to basically help develop the agenda on migration because all the people who were there were doing demography. And the Centre is supposed to be a centre on migration and demography so I was the outside expert maybe because I had helped launch it. Maybe because they thought I maybe had something to say and it was a very intense three days because in addition to the presentations everyone made, the second half of the meetings (one and a half days) I was at the table sometimes worry that I pontificate too much but I was at the table in the front and I was pontificating with different other people on a variety of topics. What I was trying to do was to connect demography to migration. Because Wolfgang (Lutz) and co. are the best demographers, Wolfgang is the best demographer in the world. Formal demographer. And I mean in the world because he is also a member of the Academy of Sciences in the US (read: National Academy of Sciences) etc. so I have nothing to add to the demography end of it. I don't understand mathematics and econometrics, well, you no what I am right? But I do have a bit of experience with migration and how to connect it to (demography) and rethink the relationship because I have been involved with Commission products and efforts in the past fifteen years now from the early stages from trying to put demography on the agenda and the early papers talking about the need that migration needs demography would create and that does go back fifteen years ago it was in 2002. I had evaluated the papers worked with the office of the papers and worked with DGs all of that work was done which today would be DG Labour and Social Affairs (read: DG EMPL), I am not quite sure exactly what there formal names are any longer because they change them a little bit over time. So I have done this now for a long time, I know the people, when you get to be old, you guys are young, and considering that everybody goes up because they are permanent civil servants they go up they start as deputy something then they become unit directors then they become directors then they become deputy director generals then the become DGs. And I have always been a, I don't want to overemphasise this, an "adviser" in quotes of every Commissioner on migration since the very beginning starting with Antonio Vitorino when he was the first actual Commissioner on migration and the first DG on HOME who was Adrian Fortescue whom I knew when

he was on the cabinet of Mr Delors. So being in the business for a long time creates relationships, which become mutually dependent and consulted. I have always had a passion I guess, for both a comparative aspect, a transatlantic aspect but also European work. So this is the story of how I get involved in these matters.

Frederik: How well do you think the bridging of migration to demographic change resonates with EC officials?

Demetrios: Senior EC officials at the level of the President of the EC, Commissioner and many DGs, not all DGs because some DGs are very thoughtful, and MS at the levels of ministers and heads of ministries and departments have moved over the past fifteen years from a position that was not refined at all that basically said: Demography will be destiny and we have to take more and more and more. And politically, this had been very convenient for these people who were representing particularly Commission agencies to basically say we need more and more and more. This also coincided with the papers that the UN Population Division under Joseph Chamie who basically forced the issue on the global agenda circa 2002 2003 and Joe and I travelled together and agreed and disagreed in all them panels because I have always been a very cautious person and I am also a bit contrarian. So when everybody says this has to happen I start thinking harder and I am thinking “Yeah it has to happen but it has to happen intelligently and slowly in a way the receiving labour market can accommodate and the answer to demographic deficit cannot just be migration. It has to be all sorts of other things and the remainder is migration”. You have to do all sorts of changes and adaptations. And you have to do harder things than simply bring more people which Commissioners and the EU thinks is an easy thing but I have never met a public official of a MS thinking that is the easy thing to do. That is the most difficult thing to do because it implies that government is forcing a change to society that the society may not be prepared for. So I have always been a conservative voice on this. Understanding that there are certain things we need to do because of demography. But before we get to excited about demography, we have to make changes and the adaptations that are necessary and, this is where both governments and the EU fails completely, you have to engage your public in a conversation, a systematic on-going conversation, about the changes that you are introducing and why you are doing that and how to basically prepare the society and

communities in which people will settle for more migration which is inevitable anyway. This is what I have spent most of my last of the last fifteen years or so trying to help people understand in the EU.

Frederik: How has that changed recently? Nowadays when people hear about migration they probably instantly associate it with the recent refugee crisis we have at the moment in Europe. Is it a more difficult message to deliver (read the bridging of migration and demographic change) than it was five or ten years ago?

Demetrios: Yes. And that is a big topic. I have given many lectures and sat around lots of semi cabinet and truncated cabinet conversations and behind closed doors and given a lot of testimonies/advice in groups of policy makers and members of parliament in many countries. We have also written and delivered papers on several topics along these lines to ministers and state secretaries that basically give them what their options are and to understand these options. I don't work with every country in the same way but there are four or five very large countries some very small countries that I have on-going relationships and conversations with about these very issues. I don't know what they take out of these conversations but I know that in two or three cases that I written cabinet papers suggesting a way to open to migration and I see the results a year later or a year and a half later that the paper the cabinet considered indeed has been adopted in some form. I am not saying "you have to do eleven things" and then a year later number one, two, three, four, five. But how to think about the issues, how to open up to migration and what it is that you need to be thinking about whether to put the labour market front and centre and all these other things. And those things, there are several countries in Europe that have, I am trying to be very careful here, that have asked systematically over time for my advice and they have followed to a certain degree that advice. Sometimes they like what I say and sometimes they hate what I say. But I have always been an independent person and my institutions both here (read Washington D.C.) and in Europe (read MPI Europe in Brussels) I have set them up as places that are independent. We are not there to please politicians or commissioners or whatever it is and I think even when they hate what we say they appreciate that we have to say what we think is correct from our perspective. Our perspective tends to be, or at least my perspective and hopefully I have taught my colleagues to have the same perspective, the perspective

tends to be sort of thoughtful, deep knowledge and independence in what we think the data and evidence tells us and how to understand this in a national or European context. And we do this for maybe fifteen plus countries including Canada, Mexico and countries here in this part of the world and in the Asian part of the world. And we are responsible for the ASEAN opening to migration when moved in December 15 to create an Asian economic community. So I was there, chairing ministerial etc. etc. and discussing with them how to think, not only about the cost and benefits of more movement but also how to do the movement itself because I personally tend also to be a technician. The how-to is about understanding the context and the history and institutions of a country, how societies develop and then give an advice that is relevant to that society. You are not going to tell the Germans to give up their training system, apprenticeship and mentoring system and all that. There are people who will tell them that “open up!”. Denmark for that matter, those things go back 50, 100, 150 years ago in the case of Germany they are going to be laughed out of the room if you don’t show that you understand enough about what is going on.

Frederik: So it is about tailor suiting your advice the specific country or region?

Demetrios: Absolutely. And we also run small groups of meetings. For instance... And you have to understand that I am 71,5 years old so the we here is mostly my colleagues with my advice. But in Europe... Elizabeth Collett is head of MPI Europe, which is an independent sister institution rather than some sort of a European branch of MPI. It is a foundation under Belgian law but has a relationship to us (read MPI) in the sense that I for a bit longer will continue to be president of MPI Europe. But two of the most interesting things that MPI Europe does is one deal with something we call integration futures, which is people that are head of the integration departments in 6-10 European countries, it is mostly the same but sometimes you get additional members so it is Austria, Germany, and Belgium and Poland etc. etc. that are the DGs of the integration branch within the ministry people who have to develop policy with a small p and execute or implement policy. And they come together two or three times a year, we write papers the is a one day discussion and the we typically try not to... virtually all the papers although they are not particularly good... virtually all the papers that we put on the table for discussion get published. It takes a month or two or

three because we have a deeper editorial process which means that we have 20 papers on the pipeline.

Frederik: Do you publish your papers independently or as part of journals?

Demetrios: No. Here is another... and I have paid a penalty for this so I am not going to be up front about it. All the publication that we do although they are all refereed... first of all they are discussed and edited heavily within MPI and MPI Europe. Then they are discussed in a half a day or one-day session by experts. Then they get edited again they go for review on the outside by one or two outside people and then we publish it. I know that occasionally I have written for other publications and some of my colleagues here in Washington write occasionally for other publications e.g. book chapters. But my priority and the priority I think I have conveyed to my colleagues here and there is that this is a freestanding think tank. Everything that we do is supposed to promote the ideas of that think tank and those ideas are best promoted when we publish, write and publish for the think tank. We don't want to wait for a year or a year and a half for a major publication. I must say, and this is an admission of something, I have very little patience for people who will spend first 5 pages telling us things we don't really want to know about their methodology. Because that is what you do when you write to the Academy because that establishes that this is a legitimate finding or for that matter for theory if you are smart enough and big enough here you can discuss theory but theory is not saying I am going to attach my thinking to the thinking of this major theoretician in the UK or in Denmark or in the US. We skip all of that. We read the material and we understand it and when useful in order to make the argument we will cite it and follow it but this is policy research that I am describing. With an emphasis on policy. It is about solving problems putting puzzles together and offering advice the people may or may not take. Sorry that I talk too much on this.

Frederik: No that is perfectly fine. As you said, you are very policy solutions oriented and we have had interviews with other demographers on this issue as well and we kind of get the impression that, and especially among demographers, not all of them are as solutions oriented but more concerned with providing information and

forecasting. Is that also your impression when you attend events or forums or meetings?

Demetrios: Alright. The best demographers...

Frederik: Like Wolfgang Lutz

Demetrios: Like Wolfgang Lutz. He is my hero on this. If I want to really remember again the formal demography and how to think about it, I go to his writings. I have the volume over here a thousand pages and I keep it for... anyway... Most demographers don't have the, I have to be careful here, they don't have the training or they are not as well trained as Wolfgang is in the sense that what Lutz has going for him is an experience of 30 years or 35 years of always trying to figure out is the best way the formal demographer can use in order to improve of the standard assumptions of demography when you measure deaths and births and things like that. And the latest thing he has come out with that will be published soon he is introducing an additional variable as part of this EC centre (KCMD) additional variables that can be incorporated into our thinking of all demographic projections for essentially the whole world, one country at a time it is extremely useful. But formal demographers don't care much about how you might take or not take what it is they are offering in order to solve the particular problem because they are creating a new framework a theoretical way of thinking on these issues and the necessary mathematics that will make other formal demographers understand it and move the ball forward. I am a user or consumer of demographic literature as I am a consumer of economics, I don't understand the maths but I understand the method. So I am letting other demographers or econometricians say what they need to say about the method. Let them disagree this way I can learn. So my job is to interpret these things. MPI and some other places like the MPI is what I call bridging institutions. Their purpose in life is to take knowledge from the Academy or any other source, generate our own knowledge because we also do a lot of data analysis and connect those in the interest or suggesting ways to solve the particular... Anyway, so that is how I use this literature. We are in parallel universes that are not fully parallel otherwise we would never meet. They are parallel but coming closer together and our job is to bring the two together and the job of academics and researchers, like you, is to produce more

research and then we marry the two and we tell people what we think the results or the outcomes of that marriage are.

Frederik: I want to go back to MPI Europe. You mentioned that it was established as a fund under Belgian law. Right?

Demetrios: It is a foundation.

Frederik: When we looked it up ourselves we stumbled upon the MPI in Washington being labelled as a think tank whereas MPI Europe is labelled as an independent research institute. Is there a distinction...

Demetrios: There is a distinction without a difference. This, believe me, killed us trying to establish the place because we had to hire lawyers here and there to make sure that the institution over there would meet every letter of Belgian law which may have been a big mistake from my part. I should have started this in Denmark or in the Netherlands and open an office in Brussels but we all make mistakes. Crazy system. You don't understand what crazy system is. And of course translating what the requirements are – you can't because there is no English equivalence to the craziness of Belgian labour law on foundations so we had to be established as a foundation da, da, da, da. Informally we called it a think tank. I think many of the other places in Europe whether it is the EPC they also call themselves, I think informally, think tanks. Also Bruegel and things like that. But I don't know if formally they refer to themselves as think tanks. It may be that they refer themselves to something similar that you saw for MPI Europe. The work is identical. You know what I mean. The ambitions are identical. MPI Europe is not large enough, and I don't think in here that I am speaking out of turn, because who the hell knows. I don't think we will ever become large enough. The ambition, which were my ambitions, and Liz of course has worked with me before I created/founded the institute for her, she had already worked for me as a Brussels representative for 3 or 4 years I think. So I know Liz, we have worked very closely, she has learned a lot of things and she is just a powerful voice in Brussels. And she is the person that must be consulted. In that sense, in two senses, MPI Europe is somewhat different than MPI in Washington which is an organisation that has about 35 people and has an office in New York and a couple of other tiny

offices where there is one or two people, in the US. I founded this organisation by taking my team out of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which is a major think tank in Washington. And I joined it in 1992, I think, after 4 years in the government, in the US government, been in charge of the labour department and about 8 years later or 8,5 years later I needed more room. I had already 9 people and we were already twice the size of all any other program at the Carnegie Endowment so we decided to, or I decided that we were going to create MPI and the Carnegie Endowment said “We will launch you, we will take credit for you”. Which was exactly right and correct. So to be absolutely honest what I tried to do was to copy the lessons that I learned in 8 years of working in the Carnegie Endowment, which is how, do you going to always be independent. The ability to, for me, the perfect report or the perfect advice is when both the left and the right attack you. Then you know you have done it exactly right. Increasingly as the institute grew we did much more research work. So it is always advice and understanding systems. It is research and the results of that research together with the research of the Academy or the research community translated into things that the government should consider and holding the hands of governments.

Frederik: And how does that articulate into your funding strategy and is there a difference between MPI and MPI Europe in terms of funding?

Demetrios: You are asking this question because you that the US is unique. I have never accepted money from the US government. Not interested. I have lived the previous 20 years every time I go to Europe and people would say “ah you are an agent of the US government or you are a CIA agent”. I was born in Greece and every time I go and visit my family there they all say “you are CIA, aren’t you?”. So I made a decision a long, long time ago that we are going to have a hands-off relationship with the US government. Let them consult with us and we will tell what we think they should do and we testify, you have to testify, I have testified 30-40 times before the US Congress and my colleagues have done at least that and many more. So we are always consulted but we don’t take money from them. But in the US we have something different, which is US Foundations. If I were to sort of, of the top of my head, say where the funding comes from and I talk about MPI Europe following this. The US funding 60-65 % of it comes through large grants multiyear and repetitive, I

take pride of the fact that I have never lost a foundation and foundations have supported me and given me the money to start MPI back in 2000 by supporting us through today in 2-3 years grants and these are big amounts of money. So 4 or 5 foundations spend somewhere in the neighbourhood of 4-5 millions a year on MPI. And then we have sort of things like ones that you do. Sort of research grants where we are part of a team somebody has reached out to us and they say we have this work we will do x, y and z and we also need to do a migration component and we have to an analysis. There are some smaller foundations that say could you 3 or 4 papers on this kind of topic and tell us how you want to spend it (read: the money). The big advantage of the big funders is that... this is what we in Washington or in think tanks call core funds. They are funds that are given to us and for us to invest they way we see necessary. I have always said that if you are going to have a think tank and us to respond to the wishes of foundations and governments and all that go and get yourself a job at elsewhere it is an easier life. I always want to have a think tank that sets its own goals and decides on what is important and invest in steering around the corner trying to figure out what is the issue that nobody is thinking about and certainly no one is analysing that 3 years from now or 18 months from now is going to be in the headlines. That is the difference between an independent think tank for me and something else. And then... so if these research grants and relations give us another 15 or 18 % the remaining 10-12 %, but no country can give more than 0.5 % of the institutes budget, is through fees that countries pay to the institute in order to be a part of some of the processes some of the roundtables that I convene. The lead such organisations is the Transatlantic Council on Migration, which is something that is already 10 years old maybe 11 and there are 6/7 European countries and 2 North American countries and another country that pay somewhere between 50 75 thousands dollars or euros it doesn't really matter for the relationship and for coming around the table when the Transatlantic Council meets which of course then creates the conditions and the opportunity for them to say "hey Demetri we need this. Can you help us solve this?". So it is a membership of sorts but it is one that basically deepens relationships. And the interesting thing is that as you know governments always change and once more I have never lost a government as a result of that. So Germany can change government or the Netherlands or whatever and within 3 months of a new government people say could you come and talk to us. That is what we created here. I tried to recreate that in Brussels and everybody told me that this

couldn't be done, that European foundations don't give core support. But I am a stubborn old man so for the first couple of years this institute had to put major investments in MPI Europe and we always had a combination of funding there. I give you examples: We always have a Commission project there. We are not large enough there, 6 or 7 people, so we don't have the infrastructure to be the lead or to be a major partner in one of those projects. But we typically are the policy partner and we have done this 6-8 times. We write some papers and publish them etc. etc. So that is a small part of the money. The other one is, people come to us and say would you look into this and do some research. We have relationships with several institutions across Europe that basically asks us to do that. The third part of money comes from people who come around processes that are unique to MPI Europe the integration futures and another small group that we have that has been looking at the migration crisis where senior people from your government and the person responsible for that is part of and their counterparts from Austria and all these other places, Italy and all that that produces very little money. But over the last year or two, as the crisis that we are talking about became the all-consuming crisis foundation comes to us, European foundations come to us and say "we hear that you are the people who are thinking about these things. Write us a small proposal" we only write small proposal. None of the European proposals of five million and one pages. Our big proposals for a million dollars are 10-15 pages and proposals for the MPI Europe tend to be essentially the same, 10 to 15 pages, for much less money. So when I have 4 or 5 foundations in the past year and a half that have given general support, another way of saying core funds, its general support; just keep on doing what you are doing and here is a 100,000. Thing that Liz and me were told can't happen in Europe happened in Europe. So we have 4 or 5 European foundations maybe 6 that have put enough money for the institute to become more and more financially independent from MPI. It has always been independent from MPI. Don't pay attention to titles. I surrender all of my authority as president to Liz. If Liz doesn't want something I am not going to do it. If Liz want something I will say yes ma'am. So this is just to satisfy our board here in Washington, that basically say that over the past 7 years we have spent so much money because Demetri is crazy. So we need to have some idea of financial control. You don't need that any longer because now MPI Europe is self-sufficient in financing. We always do some, what I call back of the house things like the books are done by Belgian companies but they are finalised here in Washington. Europe is

building the infrastructure for running programs and things like that but that is very new, only a couple of months new but everything else up until now... you know all of this ridiculous financing rules that the EU Commission grants require were done here. So there is still this back of the house work that gets done here and I don't know what my successor, this institution will have a new president on august 1st. So I have committed to do some more things for Liz and MPI Europe and for the Transatlantic Council but I have served my time as they say. I still have all of the curiosity that I always had but I no longer think institutionally or want to think institutionally about these issues.

Frederik: In terms of the length of the reports that you produce is that because there is no need to write long reports – policymakers don't read them or is it because you want to provide a clear-cut message to policymaker.

Demetrios: It is both. I have perfected the system. In the US but in Europe even more perhaps nobody reads. So for you when you write your report and all that, maybe some of your colleague will read it. If you are lucky – but nobody reads. We moved from 30 page reports to 15 page reports. The presidents of think tanks in Washington has a informal group and we meet once a year then we move to 6-8 page reports. Then we move to 2 pages and the conclusion is always the same: nobody reads it but a 2 pager some sort of a young assistant will read it. It is a terrible thing to say and I don't know what that says about my life. So I was motivated by three things: As a think tanker what mattered all the time is knowing your audience. You have to write for an audience. So once we felt comfortable that we knew 20 years ago who the audience was. Then we had to write in ways that that audience can absorb what it is that we say. Hence all of the paragraphs and the highlighted texts that tells you in 5 words what the paragraph says. This way somebody, a young person, can boss you have to read this or that is what MPI or Demetri are saying about this. And then the Commissioner can look at a document that is 12-14 pages in no more then 15 minutes and know exactly what it is that we are saying. All the bullet points starting with a 2 page executive summary and then the conclusion repeating some of the key points of the executive summary and then the text giving guidance as to how to think about the issue, what the key takeaways are. It is something that I, I don't say invented but, certainly for MPI and for more of the think tanks here and elsewhere always come up

to me and say we are copying you. Before you know we have to go out of business because everybody is copying us. So knowing your audience, write in a completely accessible language. What is the sense? The first thing that these people hear and previous think tanks and the US government did to me is they took away all of my pros. No reference to mythology. No references to Kant and other philosophers. No references to anything. Straight, simple, direct language. Second requirement is you have to have fully accessible text. The third requirement is you have to get insight or you know the heads of the people that have to make the decisions and know what is really bothering them. So you have to really address an issue. I will give you an example: I choose the topic for the Transatlantic Council meetings 8 months before the meetings take place because we have to write papers, hire papers, go and do all sorts of things and then have the meeting. I know it is luck rather than anything else but since I always tried to get into the heads of the people who have to make hard decisions. I never had to change or modify the topic of the meeting in the Transatlantic Council. Never. Because everybody came around the table because they knew that that was the issue of the day. And today knowing that 6 or 8 months ahead of time is not always as easy as it may sound. So that is the third thing, always try to understand and analyse and write papers and that is when all of these best thinkers come in. For at least half of the papers we put on the table and then publish a few months after that are outside papers.

Frederik: But do you think that this clear-cut message and strategy of delivering such a message is something that distinguishes you and MPI in general from demographers affiliated with universities and research institutes. Maybe because they are capable of interested...

Demetrios: It is not that they are not capable. We have different audiences. You guys are young scholars. Your future, whether you like it or not, at least for the next 10 years is determined by senior people in your field. If you are at a university, it will be determined by the regular faculty. The faculty that votes. If you are going to make a name for yourself, you have to go like this and like that to the big names in the field. So you are targeting the people that are important to and your future etc. etc. until you become 40 years old and you are independent and you are a big shot you can say from now on the hell with you. I think that my problem has always been that I never

wanted to work for anybody so I decided to work for myself. It is a joke but for me I don't have anybody that I need to satisfy. You could say that I have to satisfy this audience that we have of 100 or 200 senior people. But when everybody is your boss, nobody is your boss. So we have that luxury which I have created and I do hope that this institute and MPI Europe will continue. And this is again part of the milk and water that we drink. This you need to imbue, you know the leaders of an organisation and through them to the rest of the organisation with these kinds of ideas. MPI and MPI Europe is completely flat. Yeah there are people who have titles you know director of this or that but guess what director of this or that the only thing they do more than anybody else is that they have to work much harder in order to get money and do all this other stuff. But otherwise, an analyst here or a senior policy analyst or even an associate policy analyst has as much authority because we train people to hell and the mentoring that takes place in this institution takes place nowhere else and nowhere else and I have checked this with my colleagues in other think tanks. Because they hire senior people while we train people to become senior scholars. Massive difference. That is how it has worked for us. There is a new management here about 2 months from now and Liz is fairly independent and will become even more so in the next year or so. Maybe they will have a different motto or sort of a different vision, which is fine, institutions need to change. Change is always good for institutions. This is why we write. Some of my colleagues have made it to a bad habit, I think, of producing very large reports. I think that producing very large reports loosens the requirement that you have to speak to your audience. And the way I have compromised with them and them with me is that we can produce a long report but then we are going to produce a 6-8 pager that will also be distributed. So this this is a way to split the difference but it all comes down to audiences. We have different, fundamentally different audiences.

Ole: One thing I was thinking about when we were mentioning the research institutes for demographers in Europe and actually they have set up this Population Europe thing to communicate their policies..

Demetrios: And I have participated. I mean I get their publications and newsletters. And that is very important.

Ole: Have you also have had experience with working together with them on projects with the MPI?

Demetrios: Probably not. I am thinking of the institutions that we have done collaborative research with, European institutions, and there is Oxford and several of other places. Groups whether its disembedded from the very beginning with the thing that Renus Pennings (??) who started... all you guys have acronyms... I am trying to remember the damn acronyms... it's a challenge. But anyway, we haven't really worked directly with the demographers that are concentrated around that. I have been asked a couple of times by some of the major population journals to write something short even. And I haven't. and the reason I haven't is that I am a maniac when it comes to my commitment to this institute and anything that would take me away from what I have to do everyday work 12-14 hours always begging for money, that is the downside of not having the Commission giving 3-5 billion euros grants, that and leading an institution building the infrastructure, mentoring and personally mentoring young people, travelling in order to give speeches, and I give probably 15-25 of them every year many of them behind closed doors, the others I am trying to keep myself open to invitations in major addresses, public addresses at universities because I don't want to be completely agnostic or to say somehow that community I am cut off from. Already this year I did major lectures at College de Mexico, one at UCLA, one at UC Davis and one at Columbia. And I will do 5-6 clearly I do the major universities but that's life. And in Europe I tend to do mostly things in Brussels which means Commission related in one way or another and then outside of them and Brussels it tends to be sort of a smaller audience but I have decision to speak about all those things. What I need to say yes to and what I need to say maybe another time and when I say no. 10 days ago I was at the Marshall Center, the NATO headquarters for the senior seminar so I spent half a day there. For me this is useful, this is required public education and education of policy makers what an institution like us is supposed to do both here and there. I do an awful lot of work with Berlin, Austria. These are countries where we do a lot and some is public some is not. Last year I spent a day and a half in front of several committees at the Bundestag all of it not open to the public. I don't mind these things and some people hate me, some people love me. But they all keep inviting me back. Each one of those generate... that is the problem with giving lectures, each lecture generates 3 invitations and I can afford to do that now

more and after August 1st I should be able to afford to do that more. But I live in Washington, my life is in Washington. In the past several years I have crossed the Atlantic 20 times a year and I have tried every possible thing. Come for 3 days, come for 7 days and do 3 things, spent 2 months in Brussels and then work out of Brussels. This is ok for people in your age but for me it is not as easy. I don't know whether I answered your question.

Ole: Well a bit. I think the reason why I am asking is because when I was looking at the homepage of MPI Europe there was presentation of different projects you have running and one of the being the UPSTREAM if I am not mistaken? I just saw that that was a collaboration going on with the French demographic research institute the INED.

Demetrios: That is correct. INED is a repeated collaborator of ours. This is part of the network of scholars that we have. So if there is something INED can do, we ask them to do it. And vice versa. This is about mutual responsibilities we are all a brotherhood or sisterhood, we are working in the same field. It makes no difference that you are a demographer and I God only knows what. So we don't have a systematic relationship with a demographic institute. That is true and we have lots of trained demographers on staff here but not in Europe. We have some notable demographers on staff here. And none as formal demographer, you know formally trained demographers as there are in Europe. So we have probably two senior people who are PhDs in demography and 3-4 other who are masters in demography. So here we do a lot of demographic research. We know the data systems in the US we don't know the data systems in Europe. The interesting thing is that there is an awful lot of back and forth in terms of research projects between here and Europe. Several of the people who are at MPI are actually Europeans. So if you are a European you have a double appointment. You are a residence here but you are also appointed by MPI Europe. So depending on the project and the expertise it requires etc. etc. some of the work may be done here or vice versa.

Frederik: So there is a blurred line...

Demetrios: Very much so. I don't think MPI Europe will ever have 15 analysts. It would have to be an upside down world for this to happen. So I think we will stay somewhere under 10 but that is deceptive because you could say that there are another 6-8 people here that they collaborate with on a project-by-project basis and vice versa. Sometimes people come to us and they say can you look at this issue and can you introduce a Transatlantic component. And we charge our time so people, not I because I don't collect money from MPI Europe, but if somebody here works on a project for MPI Europe they charge their time to them and vice versa.

Appendix Q: Professor James Vaupel, MPIDR

Ole: [explains the network structure and methodology] So being central on this visualization already is a good thing but it doesn't necessarily mean that they are powerful or influential. For this, we used different centrality measures based on network theory. So, you see quite a few people visualized as central in this graph.

Vaupel: Influential! Sure, there are people who are influential but I am not influential. I just influence in an indirect way.

Ole: Yes. So, this is what we mean by being influential. It is that a person that is positioned well in the network has the capacity to control the flow of information and/or resources. Whether this holds true is what we are testing in the field of demographic change.

Vaupel: So where is the data coming from?

Ole: [explains the data collection]. Besides using data from forums, conferences, and EC documents, we are also using EC expert groups. The expert group on demographic change and wellbeing would be an example of this.

Vaupel: On demographic change and wellbeing? That sounds important! Who is in there?

Ole: If I remember correctly, it is among others Rainer Münz

Vaupel: Hm..

Ole: It might also be Wolfgang Lutz from Wittgenstein [which is not true] but I would have to look it up.

Vaupel: Lutz would be good! Lutz really is a smart guy and he is interested in politics.

Ole: Yes, that is our impression but maybe we can come back to Lutz and the Wittgenstein Centre later. Going back to the network, we see some clustering among sub-fields. [Indicating different sub-fields]

Vaupel: So, whom are you working with on this project?

Ole: This project is being steered by Prof. Tsingou and Prof. Seabrooke is heading the Enlighten Project at CBS but it is a collaboration among different universities.

Vaupel: Okay, now I understand better.

Ole: So, we are looking into the network dynamics in the governance of demographic change at the European level. We are not demographers but have spent the last three months or so studying the process, and what we have heard so far is that some sub-fields are rather marginalized while others are much more central. Fertility would be an example of a rather marginalized group.

Vaupel: Fertility? Well, there has been a lot of discussion about fertility. It is one of the main reasons for the German Angst. The fertility rate is only 1.3.

Ole: Okay, let me phrase it differently, in the political arena, addressing fertility is a difficult topic and hence it doesn't get the attention that it maybe deserves. But that is something we want to find out.

Vaupel: It is certainly the case that over the last couple of decades, Denmark has taken a series of steps to make it easier for young couples to have children. Parental leave, more flextime, leave of absence. So, Danish fertility is quite high and the reason is that young couples can have children without damaging their career or financial wellbeing too much. It is possible to combine childbearing and jobs. In Germany, it is much harder.

Ole: My impression is also that it is much harder to have the political discourse about raising the fertility rate in Germany because of its history.

Vaupel: That's true. But [this is certainly] about why the fertility rate is so low in Germany and also in Italy. Spain is also very low. So, these are concerns in these countries. Spiegel has a cover story with a baby on the front page under the heading: "Is this the last German baby?". Because when you project the low fertility rate for Germany, the country is pretty much gone in a hundred years. So, it has gotten media attention and there have been attempts to address the issue of daycare for example and to give longer leaves of absence. I always thought low fertility was a major issue in the debate.

Ole: Yes, as a problem of course. But in terms of a solution, that is to increase fertility rates, not

so much as far as we understand?

Vaupel: Okay, so when I am asked about this in Germany, I say: Imitate Denmark! I mean..this is the solution! Or Sweden. It's quite simple. You just have to invest more resources and helping other people. The other solution that I suggested - that has gotten a little press in Denmark - is redistributing work so that people work fewer hours for a longer time and that would help young people a lot. And there would be more resources to be spent on young people when we work longer. So, instead of spending money on people of my age who are retired, you make people of my age work. So, there has been some discussion about that.

Ole: Could you explain the concept of redistributing work a bit more closely?

Vaupel: So, the basic idea is that..the simplest way to think about this is to do a little bit of arithmetic, and I did this and presented this to some conferences. And the editor of Politiken - his name is Emil or something - wanted me to write something about it but I never got around to do it, actually. But I hired a postdoc who may be here today, and he took my calculations and brought them up-to-date so we will send something to Politiken. So, anyway, there is a simple idea and a bit more complicated idea. The simple idea is: Denmark has some 5.5 mio. people. How many people work? Turns out, only 47% work. So you multiple 5.5 mio with 47 % and you get the amount of people that actually work. And then, Denmarks Statistik publishes the total number of hours that people work each year, and they are very good with this. So, it is people actually sitting at the desk, driving the truck - actually working and not on sick leave or taking care of babies or something. So, you can take the number of people that work and the number of hours they work and you can do some division and figure out how many hours people work. Turns out - I don't remember the numbers exactly - for Denmark as a whole, for the entire population I think the number is 13 hours. But anyway, but you only see 47% of people work. So the people who do work [indistinct] you get up to 27-28 as the number of average hours per week that people who work work. It's not 37, much less! Why is it not 37? People have some 6 weeks vacation and then there is all sorts of holidays - Christi Himmelfart and Pinse - and then people are allowed to take time off when they have sick children or parents or something. And people have sick leave. So the 37 comes down to 32-33, and then the 32-33 comes down to 27 because people work part time. So, if instead of 47% of Danish people working you could bring it up to 52 % - you could raise it 10 % - then you could cut the working week by 10 % because

the total amount of work is the hours worked per week times the number of people working. So thereby you could cut the official work week from 37 to 32 hours which translates into an actual work week of 25 hours. And raising the amount of people working from 47% to 52 % is actually quite easy. Of course, there will be opposition because you have to get people in their sixties to work. If you get most people in their sixties to work - even if it's only part time - then you could increase the workforce by 10 %. You don't have to ask young people to work more. And then you don't have to get young people out of the universities faster and that kind of stuff. But that sort of stuff would of course help too. But if you cut the workweek then there can be more part time work and you could have young people that want to have a family more time for their families. That's the simple idea.

Frederik: So it is about work life balance.

Vaupel: Yes. And that's going to be in Kronikken in Politiken eventually. But the more complicated idea is this. As we live longer and longer, life expectancy stagnated for a while in Denmark but now it's going up again, and around the world it's going up with something like 2.5 years per decade in the countries in the [developed] west. So, what that means actually - as Steinmeier said - is that half of the babies born today are going to live to the age of 100 and the same is true for Denmark. You are just going to have more years of your life where you could work. And if then the life expectancy goes to a hundred then the age of retirement would be 85.5 [referring to the idea to fix the retirement age at life expectancy minus 14.5 years], okay? This is long term, the next 100 years but still. As you live longer and longer, if you just have a constant average number of years of retirement - I don't know where 14.5 years did come from - but something like 15 on average, then you have a number of years more where you could work. And the reason for life expectancy to go up is because we live longer and healthier - it's hard to live a long time when you're sick. Dementia is being postponed to higher ages, and most diseases are being postponed to higher ages. You still get sick at the end of your life but you have a longer period of healthy life. So, people can work longer. Gradually, the age of retirement could go up using this life expectancy minus 14.5 years for example and then you have more years! But we don't need all that extra work unless you want to be even richer than Danes are today. If Danes want to be approximately as rich as today and maybe a little richer because of productivity gains, then the amount of work that you will have to do over your life will not go up

as fast as life expectancy minus 14.5 – so you could reduce the work week. One of my PhD students did some calculations about this and about how much you could reduce the workweek each year based on how much life expectancy is going up and to gradually move towards a system where you spread the work of your life over more years. The total outcome of the economy would still be the same – in fact a little bit higher because of productivity gains. So, this is the more complicated idea.

Ole: It is very interesting because what I hear when you are saying this is: I don't have to work as many hours per week. Do you feel that you are getting more attention when you are talking to for example politicians about this concrete idea? Because it – maybe – is also taking away this fear [commonly associated with raising the retirement age]?

Vaupel: Yeah..I don't think..my influence has been very indirect. There has been some stories and newspaper articles about the redistribution of work, and us living longer and longer, and the average Danish baby being able to celebrate its 100th birthday and so on. So indirectly I contribute through facts but I don't think I had any real influence. I'd like to have some influence. So yesterday [...] I finished a draft for a large grant application and sent it to the dean of the university. I pointed out that – surprisingly - demographers and actual statisticians devote very little attention to forecasting. Very little. A lot of demographers won't do forecasting because it is not scientific. And the number of people working on better methods for forecasting around the whole world is..there is a group in Australia, there is a group in the US, there is two groups in England, there is a group in the Netherlands, and there is us in Odense. And that's it in terms of forecasting. But forecasting how long we are going to live is clearly very important for societies. It is important for individuals to make informed decisions, it is important for business organizations in terms of personnel policies and what kind of products to make. It's important for pension companies, it's important for the government. So, I proposed to the rector yesterday that he could give me enough money so that we could set up a serious forecasting group here, and be very specific about that we would forecast longevity in Denmark using the world's best methods. Right now, there is no serious forecasting about longevity in Denmark nor in any other country. There is something called the “dreamteam”. Have you come across it?

Frederik: The dream model?

Vaupel: No, the dream team. Two years ago, we had a meeting at ATP which is the Danish pension company, and we talked about forecasting longevity in Denmark and there were a couple of people there from the dream team. Apparently, the Danish government has hired the dream team to do longevity forecast for the government. But they don't know what they are doing.

Frederik: They don't apply the right methods?

Vaupel: No, they are not demographers. I think they are economists or even lawyers maybe. They apply very standard methods. [pauses] They are nice people, very nice people. I don't want to be critical of them in terms of their personnel. They want to do good but they are not expert enough to apply the best methods, and they've told me that they would like us to help them. So I don't want to be too critical. But [what I hear] is that we are doing too many other things and this no research project: you can't publish a forecast for Denmark in Science Magazine. So, I asked the rector whether he would fund this even though we can't publish although it is very applied, but because it is important for Denmark. So I proposed two things: I proposed first of all that we take life span and longevity forecasting seriously and have a group of people applying the best models but also to think seriously about different kinds of forecasting. You can focus on life expectancy at birth, you can focus on remaining life expectancy at age 65, you can focus on men and women separately or combine them, you can focus on a specific period - so say year 2025: Given the death rates in 2025, how long will a 65-year-old live at those death rates? And then you can do it on a cohort basis. Somebody who is 65 in 2025 will be 85 twenty years later, so you have to project the cohort experience. So, it's complicated and also you would want know what's going to happen with smoking in Denmark and what's going to happen with obesity in Denmark. You want to know about dementia in Denmark, cancer in Denmark..it's complicated! It would take a team of 10-12 people full-time to come up with a good forecast each year.

And then the other thing is: what should you forecast? And for what purpose? So, I also proposed that we find out what the government is thinking about changes in the retirement age – what I think is life expectancy minus 14.5 years but I'm not sure. And then we do an analysis of how sensible that is compared to alternatives. Why not 15? Or 14? Why should it be life expectancy at birth, or should it be life expectancy at 65, or should it be the age where on average people have 14.5 years left? You know – there is lots of different ways of formulating

this. So, we want to do a policy brief on that topic so that we can have influence on Danish policy by coming up with a better set of forecasts and coming up with some discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of one kind of retirement rule compared to another kind of retirement rule. So, we'll see what happens.

Frederik: In terms of funding, is that solely through the SDU [the university]?

Vaupel: Well, rector of course wants to have some kind of Nordea foundation or something but this is something we haven't gotten into.

Ole: Let's move quickly to the robustness test of our network analysis. Do you agree that the EU is the main place for the facilitation of the political discourse about demographic change?

Vaupel: Yeah, absolutely!

Ole: So, what are the most important within the EU in terms of demographic change?

Vaupel: Well, there is a population forum each year and I went to two of them. So, the people organizing that are certainly very interested in that.

Ole: The demographic forums?

Vaupel: Yes. And then, well, part of the problem is that my main job is to do research and to help doctor students. I don't really have that much time that I spend trying to influence policy. Should I go to another meeting in Brussels or should I talk a bit more with one of my PhD students? And I usually choose the latter. So, there is not very much incentive for researchers to get involved in this. That's why I wrote to rector yesterday and said: Let me set up the program and I'll try to get something going that actually would be helpful but it's not something that will get into a good journal, and it's not going to help our research output. But it would be a service to the country of Denmark. If you want people to get more involved there has to be some sort of reason to do that. But they do have these demographic forums, and there is lots of other things happening. I wanted to help facilitate communication between the demographic community and the policy community so I set up something called Population Europe. I don't know whether you have seen it?

Frederik: Yes, of course.

Vaupel: I am on the board of trustees or something. It's one of these European organizations with all sorts of titles. Population Europe was established ten years or something and I see it as one of the main ways that demographers in Europe contribute to the policy debate in Europe. But that's main perspective.

Ole: That reflects very well with what we see in our network.

Frederik: Francesco Billari for example is one of the main persons in our network.

Vaupel: Yes absolutely! He is a remarkable person. He was professor at Oxford and because of Brexit he moved back to Italy and now he is Dean and Vice-Chancellor at Bocconi. He is a very very smart and influential demographer. So he is involved in Population Europe but other people are too. You can just look it up on the homepage.

Ole: The purpose when you set this organization up was to facilitate the dialogue between demographers and policy-makers?

Vaupel: Yes, that's a nice way to say it. Helping demographers to communicate their findings to the public and to the policy-makers. There is not a whole lot of dialogue. It's more communication although Population Europe organizes some meetings and there is some dialogue at some of these meetings, and they try to bring politicians together with academics.

Ole: You also organize conferences, don't you?

Vaupel: Yes, Population Europe does quite a lot actually. It's a consortium of the leading demographic research centers in Europe and so there is lots of people who contribute. My role is – together with Frans Willikens who at the time was the director of NIDI the die Dutch center on demography – and I paid for the secretary in Berlin. The MPIDR in Rostock subsidized and still subsidizes this. But then the secretary has become better at raising money, especially from the European Union, so now they pay for a good part for themselves.

Ole: This is interesting. If I remember rightly, Allianz is also contributing?

Vaupel: Yes, a little bit. Allianz has a yearly conference and they give a price. So, Population Europe helps Allianz organize conferences.

Ole: What is your impression of corporate actors in the debate? We haven't seen as much as we maybe would have expected in our analysis?

Vaupel: No, that's not true completely. The largest insurance company in the world is AXA. It's based in Paris. The previous president of AXA set up something called the AXA Foundation. And the AXA Foundation gives 20 million Euros a year to research related to risk, and one of the risks that they are interested in is longevity risk. You know, it's bad for pension companies if people live longer – it's a risk. So, increasing longevity is a risk. Anyway, I got a grant from AXA in the area of longevity risk and that's happen to pay for some of the work that's being done here on forecasting. And then there is a smaller insurance company – a reinsurance company – called SCORE, and they also have a fund. The company is also based in Paris. And they help support research on demographic change. In fact, one of our doctoral students is being supported by SCORE. So, it's not a whole lot of money but it's something. But you are talking more about companies being politically involved?

Ole: Yes, both actually. We have seen Allianz as a sponsor of Population Europe and the yearly Berlin conference, and AXA we haven't seen that much.

Vaupel: Okay, so the president of AXA - his name is Henri de Castries – was president for a long time, and he was very outspoken. In fact, he told me once that he was asked to become Minister in the cabinet but he turned it down. He was outspoken about that people had to recognize that they had to work more and work more years of their life, and that the retirement age couldn't be cut down any more. So, he was very outspoken about this in the French press. You may have seen in the paper this morning the Bilderberg conference was just held. Have you heard about that?

Frederik: Yes we have.

Vaupel: So, he invited me to come to a Bilderberg conference and the Queen of Spain came up to me and thanked me for my talk and other people too. He was in charge of organizing this particular meeting together with a guy from a fund in Switzerland, and they made demographic change one of the topics of this meeting. So, there are people in the industry that try to get the word out.

Ole: This is interesting to hear. Maybe our expectations in terms of private sector involvement was a little skewed as we come from our previous research about financial regulation and tax regulation where private interests of course are the main players. So, the role that private actors take on here is mostly to provide funding for research?

Vaupel: Yes, I guess. But there are private executives like him that say that the age of retirement can't be cut – even in Germany. Corporate executives say that in public.

Ole: One thing that we are really interested in is the diversity of sub-fields. How does this play out when you meet your colleagues? I wonder if people are able to combine different sub-fields, or whether the language of the different aspects is so specialized that research is going on in silos?

Vaupel: Demography is a small discipline. There are maybe 1,500 researchers in the world who work on these issues. And most of these demographers specialize in something. Like I specialize in longevity, and Tomas Sobotka specializes in fertility. But of course we talk and Tomas Sobotka – whom you are meeting in Vienna – is trying to integrate thinking about fertility, migration and mortality into a single frame. So, he is working on to try to get an overview over how these factors fit together to influence population structure.

Ole: This also relates to something that we thought about when we saw the organizational structure of the ViD, the Wittgenstein Centre, and the IIASA where we didn't really know why it is organized in that way.

Vaupel: It's money. It's where the money is. Wolfgang Lutz managed to couple together massive funding from several places. So, he has an umbrella organization that is pretty big. But the component parts are all modest, and that's because where the funding was.

Ole: When you talk about funding. Do you see that it is easier to get funding for certain aspects of the field? Lutz for example is talking a lot about human capital. I could imagine that this is an area where it is easier to receive funds?

Vaupel: It's hard to get funding! Vienna has succeeded in getting some ERC grants and that's a very important source of funding. The MPIDR has permanent funding from the Max-Planck Society. It's not necessary for us to raise money. INED in Paris – the French Institute for

Demography – they have permanent funding from the government although the funding has been cut and there has been a reorientation towards sociology but still – there is permanent funding. The Dutch institute NIDI – which is another very important demographic institute – they get some support from the Academy of the Netherlands. It's not all they need but they get some support, and because they have an alliance with Groningen University they have a core of what's guaranteed. And then, Barcelona also has an important institute and they also get funding from the government as well as from ERC money.

Ole: You are also part of the ERC, aren't you?

Vaupel: I was. I mean, I was the chair of one of the panels but not anymore.

Ole: In terms of the policy attention that the topic has received. Do you think that there has been a change over the last couple of years? Especially since the financial crisis?

Vaupel: It's hard for me to answer. As I said before, my main job is to do research and to help younger researchers. I don't devote a lot of my time to keeping up with the policy discussions. I have the impression that Population Europe is doing very well, so the discussion must still be going on. If that's true that's the discussion has not gone down.

Ole: One of the reasons I am asking is because you were talking about the Demographic Forums, and the last one was held in 2013. Since then, nothing in that direction has developed.

Vaupel: Sometimes, a group of people gets together and they get together again, and at some point there is just no more to say. Because demographic change is gradual, there is not something new to say every year. So, there is no need to have annual meetings. In fact, I think the basic questions and policy solutions are clear. Something should be done to enable younger people to have the number of children they would like to have without barriers in their way as they have in Germany. So there should be better daycare, parental leave of absence and financial support. In fact, ideally, having a baby should not cost parents anything financially because the baby is good for society not just for the parents. Of course the parents should take care of the baby but it should not penalize parents financially for having a baby seems to me. So I would be in favor of much much much bigger childcare subsidies to parents – to mothers – you don't want to give money to fathers. So, that's clear it should be done but it costs money, and where is the money

going to come from? So that's younger people and fertility.

In terms of survival, longevity, and mortality: it's clear – not a 100 % - but it's likely that we are going to live longer and we are going to live longer something like 3 months per year on average, so something has to be done to raise the retirement age. And something has to be done to have more flexible work hours and more part time work because older people – if they do work – they might not want to work 37 hours a week but rather 20 hours a week. So, there should be some labor market reforms to help older people stay active, and encourage older people to stay active.

And then, there's migration. And migration is a very difficult topic. It certainly gets a lot of attention. There is two problems with migration. There is the flow of migrants and then there is the assimilation of migrants. In the US this has been easy. The US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have assimilated migrants without too much trouble but Europe is having a hard time assimilating migrants. So, you [addressing Ole] are from Germany and I'm from the US – so we are both migrants. [recalls a story where a taxi driver in Denmark was ranting about migrants but did not realize that Vaupel himself also was a migrant, referring to the cognitive trap in Europe where the term migrants is associated with brown people]. It's really hard – even for Denmark as a liberal country it's been hard – to assimilate migrants. The flow of migrants last year, especially for Germany it was very disruptive – Germany can't have that kind of flow of migrants on a long term basis. It really changes the nature of society enormously – that's a big issue too. I think the issues are recognized in the discussion. It's pretty clear what has to be done about fertility – it costs money. It is pretty clear what has to be done about old age – it's just a lot of opposition to it. And then, it's much less clear what has to be done about migration and how to assimilate migrants.

Frederik: So the solutions are there but they are not politically popular?

Vaupel: The solutions for fertility and the solutions for old age, yes. But for old-age it's politically unacceptable and for fertility it's too expensive. Migration is more complicated. It's not clear what the best solution is. It's not clear how many migrants a country can accept each year.

Ole: It's an issue that raises a lot of fear.

Vaupel: You don't want to encourage far-right and far-left parties to rise. So, that's hard. And the assimilation is hard. But one of my PhD students now works for the defense department in Germany, and she was asked by the minister of defense what my recommendation would be to the minister of defense, and I said: It's very simple. The minister of defense should be in favor of raising the retirement age. The reason for that is very simple. The budget of Germany can be thought of as being divided into two parts: There's the money that is being spend on old people, and there's the money that is being spend on everything else. Everything else: Education, research, defense, highways. So the more money they spend on old people, the less money there is for everything else because it's really hard to raise taxes any more. Taxes are already so high. In order to have money for defense you'll have to cut subsidies for older people. But you don't want to give older people less money when they retire – that doesn't make any sense because these people need to have an income. So, she can't cut payments to older people. The only thing to do is to raise the age of retirement. Seems to me that everybody – Minister of Research, Minister of Education, Minister of Defense, Minister of Transportation – they all should be in favor of raising the age of retirement so that they have more money for themselves. A main reason for that there is not enough money to be spend on kids is because the money is being used for old people.

Frederik: So you said, there is no need to have demographic forums every year. But has the perception towards demographic change and the solutions changed throughout the years or has it always been to raise the retirement age, and to incentivize fertility?

Vaupel: As soon as there has been a baby bust in many countries, people recognized that something has to be done to help younger people to have the number of people that they want have, and action has been taken as I said. Sweden and Denmark have been very sensible in making it easier to have children. Germany has not done very much. They have done something but not as much as they should. And Germany also has a major psychological problem with “Rabenmutter” [a mom that works is a crow].

Ole: Yes, I believe that the idea about how a family should function is still very conservative in Germany.

Vaupel: In West Germany! The east is much better. It is hard to change that attitude. [Recalling

an anecdote about a young couple moving to Denmark due to better reconciliation between family and work life]. So, these things have been clear since the 1980's and it gets clearer and clearer as the consequences of lower birthrates are being felt. Now there are not enough young workers. The fact that the age of retirement has to go up, that's also been clear for decades. Biedenkopf – the minister [of Saxony] – has been saying this since the late 1980's [indistinct]. As soon as demographers recognize that life expectancy is going up, then if you let people retire at 65, the period of retirement gets longer and longer and that's not sustainable. So – this has been known for decades.

Ole: You said that public opinion is not keeping up with the facts.

Vaupel: Yes, that's true. The public has not been educated. My impression is that the heads of government – at least the heads of the Baltic states – know about this, and my impression is that people like Steinmeier and Merkel know it too. People in Brussels understand this too. It is just a question of educating and giving the public the facts that they need so that you can have a dialogue with the public. This is the case that we are actually having – some sort of dialogue – trying to persuade people that it is just not socially responsible for a person to retire with 62.

Ole: But isn't that also one of the really interesting aspects of your idea about spreading out the working hours over a longer period of time? When talking about raising the retirement age, people feel that something is being taken away from them while your idea is much more of a give and take approach.

Vaupel: Yes, exactly. This is the reason why I thought about it. I figured.. just as you said. People don't like when something's being taken away from them, so you have to give them something when you take something away. And one thing you can do is to make them feel badly about retiring early and make them feel good about working longer because then they are socially responsible – give them a sense of participating in society and not being a drain on society and helping younger people instead of hurting younger people. But even better would be something like: you will have to work longer but you will have to work fewer hours a week, and we'll give you more time for your family. And when the kids are old enough and they don't want to see you anymore then you have to work.

Ole: Do you then make use of an organization like Population Europe to frame the discussion in

a way that is more accessible to the public?

Vaupel: Yes, that's what Population Europe is supposed to do. As I said, I'm devoting some time to talk to you but I don't devote a lot of my time to try to influence policy. I talk to reporters occasionally. I used to talk to reporters more but now just occasionally. And as I said I asked the rector to give me money not for research but for applied work here in Denmark. If we get this money – and this is something for the board of governors to decide, how applied should this university be and how much should this university try to help the society of Denmark – then I spend some more time on this. If not, I write more articles for Nature Magazine.

Frederik: Is it your impression that it is generally harder to conduct applied research rather than to research for publications?

Vaupel: Yes. I don't know about CBS but KU, AU and SDU want to first of all have a good teaching program because most of the money that comes to the university comes because of teaching. So, that's very important. Secondly, they want to publish good research. Universities are ranked and doing things to advise the government or to give information to the people of Denmark is not something that is being rewarded. At least usually. When a younger person comes up for promotion, let's say the person is adjunct professor and must be associate professor, you look at how good he is at teaching and if he has written good articles. It doesn't matter a whole lot whether the person has been in the newspaper. Sure, something might be said about it but it's not an important consideration.

Frederik: So, when we see the Wittgenstein Centre and the VID as highly central in the network is that because they don't have to focus as much on publishing in the right papers and more on the relevant research that is being demanded by politicians?

Vaupel: Even Max-Planck which has a generous and fixed budget – it goes up with inflation – [is in a similar situation]. When I was Director I decided that we should pay our tithe, so we should devote ten percent of our budget on helping society somehow. Broadly speaking, I used some of that ten percent to set up the European Doctoral School of Demography which would educate the next generation of demographers, and I used some of the money to subsidize Population Europe, and then we also have a press officer who tries to get us into the newspapers and we have a webpage. So, ten percent were spent on some outreach activities. But I'm not sure

what's going to happen in Rostock now. The ten percent might get reduced to five percent. The Max-Planck Society in Munich – they of course like when we get into the newspaper – but that doesn't increase our budget. They don't give us extra money to have a press officer. It comes out of our combined budget.

Frederik: So, you have a fair amount of independence, and no predefined goals or something?

Vaupel: No no. What we're required to do is that once every two or three years we are evaluated by an external committee of professors that care about research. So, they look at our research and that's our evaluation. If the evaluation says that this is one of the absolute best, top demographic research institutes in the world then the president says "great". He doesn't praise because that's what we are supposed to be but the money keeps coming. So to avoid a budget cut, you'll just have to be very very good in terms of research output. And the fact that we set up Population Europe is mentioned but it's not important. It's icing on the cake, or guf on the ice cream.

Ole: On a more general note – I think we already touched upon this – the collaboration between the different research institutes and most of you are affiliated with Population Europe..

Vaupel: Yes, and we all go to the same meetings. And someone who takes a PhD here goes off to Vienna and the other way around. So, we all work closely together. There is also the EAPS which Billari is the president of. Then there is the European Doctoral School of Demography that the leading demographic research centers in Europe help to sponsor, and then of course Population Europe and every other year a meeting by the EAPS. And lot's of conferences. I'm going to Barcelona next week because I'm the chair of the evaluation committee in Barcelona. So we evaluate each other and give each other high grades. The demographic community is very small. The European Doctoral School of Demography is a one-year program for 20 PhD students from all over Europe and that's about the size of it. Something like 20 people get a PhD in demography each year so it is really small. CBS is much much bigger.

Ole: But is there a strict distinction between the disciplines or do you also see people with for example economics backgrounds being increasingly involved in the debate?

Vaupel: Well no.. demographers have had some influence in research in economics, and research in economics had some influence on demography, for example population economics

or labor economists, and there are economists who come to annual meetings of for example the Population Association of America. In Europe there is the EAPS and there is a separate organization of population economists, so there are two separate organizations in Europe but in America it's combined. So, sure there is dialogue between demographers and economists, and one of my PhD students has a masters degree in economics and now he's going to improve himself by becoming a doctor in demography. We begun to work with some of the economists here at the university. There is certainly connections between the two groups but naturally the connections among demographers are much much more intensive then they are between the demographers and economists. And then there are also connections between demographers and sociologists. But again at a lower levels. Other links are with people in geography for example, and planning. We are not enemies, and we talk. But it's just that we publish in different journals and have somewhat different interests.

One of the things that I am trying to do here at the SDU, and again this is sensitive and shouldn't get into the newspaper until it happens, I am trying to set up a five faculty institutions that will worry about the causes and consequences of longer and healthier lives. And the university of southern Denmark has five faculties and what the rector wants is to facilitate more cross talk among the five faculties including research and teaching. So, I'm hoping that the university will approve of this. Right now we are at the Max-Planck Odense Center and this center would expand into this new institution and become much bigger. It's hard to package everything into neat little packs so I'll give you a fun little story. So, how do you get the engineers involved? Turns out that the engineers here in Odense have decided to focus all of their available resources on robots and drones. They want to become the robots and drones center in Denmark. But it turns out that there's a field of engineering called reliability theory which focuses on how to make products reliable and give them a long and healthy life. So they look at causes of death and causes of failure. People who developed reliability theory, a certain aspect of which is failure time theory, is virtually identical mathematically to survival analysis which is used in demography. So I had a look at some books on reliability theory and I could have written these books, or I could give a course on these books because the mathematics is the same. So, we are going to do the "causes and consequences of longer and healthier lives mostly for humans but also for robots and drones". And then we've got the engineers.

And then the biologists are into something called conservation biology concerned about endangered species. Turns out that extinction of a species is a demographic process: the death rate exceeds the birth rate long enough so that the species goes extinct. So, you have to study the death rate and the birth rate and think about what you can do to change them. That's very similar to demography, so we are going to do "causes and consequences of longer and healthier lives mostly for humans but also for robots and drones, and also for endangered species". And then we have the five but the mathematics is the same, and of course these topics will – especially conservation biology has a lot of public policy because lots of people care about it – provide for another way to get into the newspaper.

Appendix R: Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner, DG EMPL

Ole: So, let's just jump right into it. From your point of view, what were the most important access points for external actors when they wanted to contribute to the demographic debate?

Laszlo: Can you repeat it?

Ole: The most important access points for external actors when they wanted to contribute to the demographic debate.

Laszlo: At the European Commission or in the European Union in general?

Ole: The Commission.

Laszlo: Of course, DG EMPL is the main agent. It also depends on the timing because there are times when demography as a topic becomes very interesting and trendy and there are other times when it's not so interesting. I think in name there has been one unit where demography was among other things - I think with active ageing - in the title of a unit. But if we could look at the organigram of the DG EMPL - if you want I look it up - it's not sure you'll find it. Have you looked into this?

Frederik: Yes, we have an organigram for this.

Laszlo: And did you find the word demography somewhere?

Ole: No, not explicitly.

Laszlo: Hm..you have social protection systems, disability. Let me see. First of all, now the organigram is much more confused than before. But I think this is the point. It was seen as something that doesn't need to be highlighted.

Ole: So, as far as I understand, there are different subgroups working on this. I think we saw D2, Social security coordination a number of times but it's a bit dispersed among the units, right?

Laszlo: Yes. And this was not the case before. So, we had a directorate for the social affairs which still exists but for example social security coordination aspects are highlighted by D2. So, social protection systems - yes, it's social investment strategy, disability and inclusion, and that's it. So, the whole story of active ageing and demography and pensions doesn't seem to there, which is - I think - a pity. I mean, in the previous period, I think, to work on pension and active ageing was very important. You probably researched this. In the previous Commission, especially in this portfolio, the Europe 2020 strategy was the fundamental framework, and demography was exactly the topic which connected the sustainability and the inclusive growth. Because the changing patterns of demography and longevity and the labor market - all together - pose a major sustainability - issue for the European Union. And that has implications for the labor market but also social security systems but more broadly I think it also justifies greater efforts on social investment and youth employment. Because in some countries where we can speak about a demographic decline, or demographic crisis, depending on the intensity of the problem, whether it is fast burning or slow burning, there is a combination of low birth, lower life expectancy, and outward migration of the young generation, the young workers. For example, in the Baltic countries or Romania or large parts of Poland, if the young generation in large numbers moves out, then, of course, the young Latvians, the young Romanians, will be born elsewhere. Which is good for the UK, because now names like Yacek are very common in the UK for children but these babies will not be born in Poland. Obviously, you can say this is a matter of individual choice if those young people want to be born [sic!] in the UK, okay they will be born in the UK but at the end of the day very important political players will decide that this is a major issue. If, for example, in Poland major political forces decided that this is an issue, then they want to have a more balanced demographic development, then the European institutions cannot say that this is a non-issue, and just a matter of individual choices.

Ole: Well, I think now you have already touched upon many aspects of what we wanted to talk about. If, for a moment, we could stick to the testing of the theory. You were mentioning that, of

course, DG EMPL was the most important department of the Commission but if you could just, for the record, mention if other departments engaged in the debate.

Laszlo: Yes. I mean, DG ECFIN is a crucial player and maybe you should know that regarding on the work on pensions, there was a major dispute between DG ECFIN and DG EMPL primarily because DG ECFIN didn't want a White Paper on Pensions. Why did they not want a White Paper on Pensions? Because they produce an annual Ageing Report and the Ageing Report from their side covered the most important issues. Of course, it does not cover all the issues which are important for the European Union. For example, the connection between pensions and poverty or the gender aspects or the issues of the mobility; how the increasing mobility impacts on pensions systems? Of course, these issues cannot be covered by ageing alone. So, at the end of the day, in 2012, five years ago, we did have a White Paper on Pensions, but it was not obvious that we would reach that point. The fact that in that year we had this "European Year on Active Ageing and Solidarity between the Generations" was helpful because I was responsible for that, and without this White Paper we would have had very little concrete elements for this debate which was actually managed by Denmark at the beginning of the Danish presidency, and then the Cypriot presidency. Now, the full story of the White Paper goes that in the year 2010, one of the first things we launched was a Green Paper on Pension in order to facilitate the debate. And on the Green Paper, the three of us worked together: Olli Rehn, Michel Barnier - who is now the Brexit negotiator, and myself. And there was full agreement between DG EMPL, DG ECFIN and DG MARKT - DG Internal Market, that these aspects have to be present. Why was Barnier there? Because he was responsible for regulating finance and the security of - you know - the long-term financial investment, which is also the basis for pension, belong to him. So, he had a regulatory involvement in this but as a person responsible for the single market he was also interested in the mobility issues aspect. So, in 2010 there was still this agreement that this should happen and in order to move towards a White Paper, my intention was in 2011, to adopt a new Communication of Demography. This ambition was supported by the Hungarian presidency, maybe not exactly for the same reasons but the Hungarian presidency also wanted a Communication on Demography. They hosted a big conference, maybe you find materials of this summit. Mr. Orban personally attended this, which was interesting because this was the only Presidency event which he attended in person apart from the European Council. So, the Prime Minister took a strong interest in the issue of demography, and he already said at that time that there

are serious issues here but he would exclude two types of solutions to the demographic crises; one of them is immigration and the other one is cloning.

Ole: What was the second one?

Laszlo: Cloning.

Ole: Oh [laughing]. I see. Okay.

Laszlo: So, he more or less equated migration with cloning. But more interestingly, this demographic communication did not happen. There was a College debate, and the majority of the College would have welcomed it, I think by that time Barroso, Catherine Day (editor's note: former secretary-general under Barroso), who also were responsible for the overall agenda. Day did not want to promote this that much, and maybe that was also a way to weaken the chance of having the White Paper on Pensions. So, there was no Demographic Communication but eventually, the White Paper was published in February 2012, and what we did with the demographic materials, we integrated it in the Social Investment Package. So, if you look through the Social Investment Package, you will find a staff working document on Demography that was more or less the intellectual and analytical basis for DG EMPL to support the policies on pensions, which was serious because country-specific recommendations were also provided in the area of pensions but also it supported the push for tackling child poverty and establishing a European platform for investing in children (editor's note: EPIC). Now, as you can hear, this is a very economic language but that was, and I think it still remains, the approach of the Commission that, yes, you can have broader responsibilities but at the end of the day the Commission's responsibility is economic growth and job creation, and then you have to practically justify everything with growth and job creation.

Ole: Well, again, several things. I think, I want to come back to the Investment Package in a few minutes if that's okay with you. Because I have two more questions in terms of, well, this robustness test. So, one thing I would like to hear is this. We saw some of the expert groups concerned with the demographic topic in the European Commission. Is that something that you had some involvement with?

Laszlo: Expert Groups? We had a social investment expert group. Is there another one?

Ole: Yes. There is one on demography, wellbeing and health I believe, and then there are more specifically focused ones in terms of economic migration, pensions..

Laszlo: I don't remember meeting those people. There were some connecting projects. A kind of connecting project was under the umbrella of social innovation. Something that was managed by Neelie Krues (ed. note: DG Competition under Barroso) and John Dalli (ed. note: DG Health and Consumer Policy). Active and healthy ageing project. I think when you Google "Active and healthy ageing" that was a kind of social innovation project in which the Commissioner responsible for the digital agenda played a strong role. So, I could imagine, Neelie Krues was by the way the oldest of the Commissioners, [connection problems; indistinct].

Ole: I think we have some connection problems. I can't hear you. We'll call again. [connection is reset].

Ole: Laszlo, can you hear us.

Laszlo: Did you lose me? I was talking about Neelie Kruus.

Ole: Yes. We could hear you up until you said that she was the oldest of the Commissioners.

Laszlo: Yes. Addressing demographic questions and connecting it with the digital agenda. That's the essential point. So, maybe, if there was this other expert group, they might also have been working in that context. But the point, which might be interesting although I must say I saw very little output, what was called the BEPA, the President's think-tank (ed. note: now, it's called EPSC). It's not called BEPA anymore. It's got a different name and Ann Mettler is the leader of this. But previously with Barroso it was called the BEPA; B-E-P-A, and they may have also been involved in researching demography and social innovation. BEPA.

Ole: So is this similar to the one with [REDACTED]? Do you know him, the demographer?

Laszlo: [REDACTED]?

Ole: [REDACTED]. Because there is a personal advisory group to President Juncker in which he is involved.

Laszlo: Yes yes. [REDACTED]?

Ole: Yes. He is.

Laszlo: [REDACTED] I think I know him. Have you spoken with him?

Ole: No not yet. We have an appointment with him in, well, ten days maybe.

Laszlo: Ah..so you will go.

Ole: Yes, we have the opportunity to go to the Commission so that's exciting.

Laszlo: That's good. When do you go?

Frederik: Monday the 3rd but we also have some interviews on the 28th, Wednesday next week with some EC officials.

Laszlo: Monday the 3rd?

Frederik: Yes, Monday the 3rd with [REDACTED].

Ole: Perfect. I think that was it in terms of our robustness testing, so I would like to go back to the Social Investment Package. So, you talked about the Staff Working Document. The preparation of which, did you also have external involvement of demographers for that?

Laszlo: Yes, to the extent that we needed external experts in order to hammer out this whole

concept of social investment. There was about a dozen experts in the social investment experts group (ed's note: E02819) and I am not sure if there was an actual demographer but people who had been working in connection with demography maybe Matsaganis, for example, from Greece was among those. So, Manus Matsaganis, let me see. So, in a way by that time this was the stronger area of, I mean there was a reasonable in-house knowledge in EMPL and then ECFIN managed to put together what was necessary.

Ole: Now that you are mentioning ECFIN again, was there cooperation with ECFIN in the preparation of the SIP or was that only DG EMPL?

Laszlo: There was a lot more on pensions before, so one year before. On pensions, the ECFIN was, I would say, very significant contribution. On the SIP, I think, the ECFIN only wanted to check if we are not bringing things which would cost too much. That is normally an ECFIN concern. Of course, social investment has a cost but in a way the philosophy was about choosing the priorities rather than spending more.

Ole: Okay, because also when I read about the SIP, you know, you read about the productive functions of social policy, seeing it as an investment. So, I believe you could interpret it in a way that kind of looks like a challenge to the austerity based policy approach.

Laszlo: Well, of course. We had to, you know we were working with the ministers who were by 2012 and 2013 practically devastated. You can imagine that in most European countries, not so much in Denmark which was not suffering so much, but the majority still, these people were hungry for something that would support their end in domestic discussions and proof that for a sustained welfare function and welfare states, they have to continue to invest, they have to choose new priorities, there are ways to learn from other countries, and there are European priorities like tackling child poverty, and they can also take advantage of the financial instruments of the EU. Because that was also part of the package to, for example, to stimulate the building of child care facilities by using the European Social Fund and the Regional Fund. If you want country examples, this was an important issue vis-à-vis the Czech Republic which didn't want significant investment in child care, it was a very conservative government at that time, at least from this point of view. We thought about them a lot. So, this type of stimulus was very important. And then, you have, the

point in having these packages means that exactly you can present something which is complex. You have a broader framework, you have an analytical support, you have policy guidance which is connected with the European Semesters. So you have a vision to annualize the exercise and not just an one-off document but keep coming back to it, and also highlight something with the social economy and demonstrate the financial instruments. Of course, that was also important because it coincided with the end-game of the budget debate. In 2013, under the Irish presidency, I would say there were three important steps from my POV: One of them was the adaptation of the SIP and the Irish hosted a big conference on this in an Irish College in Leuven (?).

The second one is the adoption of the Youth Guarantee as a Council Recommendation in April, and the third one is to finish the MMF, the seven-year budgetary framework, in which the social dimension was strengthened because we managed to have a minimum for the European Social Fund, which never existed before. We managed to have a minimum share for social investment/social cohesion purposes in the Social Fund at the level of 20%. So, in comparison to the labor market privateers, are you still there?

Ole: Yes.

Laszlo: And we saved some smaller instruments as well like the Globalization Adjustment Fund of which Denmark is one of the big beneficiaries by the way. So, the Irish presidency was very very good. But, by the way, just coming back, because we didn't complete the European [Year]. That also produced the active ageing index, which was in my view important. It is so important that in September there will be a big conference in Portugal about this. So, the worked together with the UN. I would say that this part of the work, maybe that's the explanation that we didn't see too many demographers in that period, that a joint work was carried out between the European Commission and the United Nations in Vienna, and that work - by the end of that year - produced the Active Ageing Index which I presented in Cyprus at the closing conference of the European Year. And now, from completely unknown people, I received an invitation, unfortunately I cannot go to this event in Lisbon, but it's a very interesting one, and that will, you know, look back at the use and the application of this Active Ageing Index in these five years. I actually attended a conference in Vienna on demography but - if you force me I can find it, the materials, somewhere. I couldn't give you the date and the venue immediately.

Ole: That would be good!

Laszlo: A very important demographic conference in the context of this was held in Vienna more or less half way in the [process]. So, it was launched in Copenhagen by Mette Frederiksen and who was the other minister? The social affairs minister? She later became the justice minister.

Frederik: Ah..Karen Hækkerup.

Laszlo: Yes. She was the one. They were both present at the launch and there were some intermediate events during the year, like the one in Vienna, and then at the end closing in Cyprus. It was very interesting, to be honest, because you had this flavor that..you know..the year has a long title but Denmark was slightly biased for Active Ageing, Cyprus was slightly biased for solidarity between the generations. But you know, both should be seen as very important.

Ole: In terms of the index, what do you use it for afterwards? Of course, comparison between countries can be helpful and giving incentives to improve on the performance, I guess?

Laszlo: Yes, but employment was only one leg. I think it was very important in this index, which is very complicated I have to tell you, that you should only, the longer working life is only one point here. Another important [point] is how you maintain the reliable safety net for the elderly, and the third one, which was called the Autonomous living, and also for me it took some time to understand this aspect, and the details but I think this was also very important and not only an issue for the Commission but the UN also picked this up. And this is how the digitalization came in, and how you organize communities, and how you ensure that the retirees learn ICT for example, or in a small town that there are places where they can go and use the internet if they don't have one at home. So, this was quite a complex thing, and it was not only an instrument to push for a higher retirement age but also to push for - you know - the building communities, and ensuring that the elderly, which will live longer than the previous generation, remain autonomous, connected, and in a way this is also an issue of sustainability. People do not immediately fall into a situation where the community needs to support them. You are old, you are no longer active on the labor market but you can still take care of yourself for quite long.

Ole: I think digitalization - also personally I think it's a very interesting topic. How is your impression of that apart from autonomous living? Has digitalization also entered the debate in terms of increased productivity, robotics revolution etc.? Has that been taken account of?

Laszlo: Well, at that time, 5 years ago, I would say that the robotics question was not so much in the forefront of the debate. Of course, Europe2020 had a very important part on digitalization but it was all seen as a great opportunity and an imperative to invest more in broadband, and ensure that Europe will not have isolated pockets and small regions where things are not accessible either for businesses or society, and we thought that the EU is less advanced in this than the USA or Japan, and there was a need for investing in connectivity and there is a need to feel close to a million vacancies which were there. So, the type of thinking was exactly the opposite of the last two years because now, what you see, is that "Oh, so many jobs, millions of jobs will be destroyed by the robots". Five years ago, what people thought about, was that the economy needs a lot more programmers, the economy needs a lot more people who are knowledgeable about ICT, and you have to train these people because there is a shortage of them. Right? So, it was more seen as an opportunity and the big demand for ICT specialists, or at least people that are knowledgeable about this.

Ole: Maybe on a side note because you just mentioned the opportunity aspect - how important is it from your POV in framing also the demographic debate as an opportunity rather than a challenge?

Laszlo: Well, we did our best to kind of highlight the positive side because from the very start of the discussion I was part of in 2010 on the Green Paper, indeed there was this fear that out of this whole discussion only bad news can come out. And the bad news would be that you would have to live longer and your pension will be less, and all this. So, you had to clarify this first of all: There is a bigger picture and we should all be happy that we have a longer life which allows for more healthy living, and also to work longer. So, working longer should not only be seen as a necessity but also as an opportunity where we continue earning a work income and also spend more. Also, have more holidays abroad. So, it's many good news in this, of course. The necessity will be not only to retire later but to plan a different kind of career. That was one of the key messages: If previously people worked 35 or 40 years, now very easily many people will have to work 50 years. Maybe not immediately but in 10 years time there will be many many people who when they retire, they will

realize, they worked 45 or 50 years. And, certainly, what emerged before as a kind of cliché becomes a reality for the majority of the working people that you need to have several phases of your career, and then after the peak of the career you may easily have a second career, or a period where you will not earn as much as before but still from a working career you can support yourself and support your family. To think about the lifecycle was a part of this effort and I think we installed this also in the Social Investment Package.

Ole: So, one thing we heard repeatedly when talking to other actors involved in the demographic debate was that public opinion is constantly lagging behind the demographic facts in terms of pensions for example: It's a fact that we will have to work longer when we live longer but still, in public opinion this is a problem. Do you have the impression that this got better throughout the years? That public opinion is more adapting to the idea that you have to work longer?

Laszlo: Well, I would say as you see it in France because, you know, France in 2011 found it very very hard to reform the pension system and to increase the retirement age just very modestly, and then of course, Francois Hollande didn't want to generate too much conflicts about this but these issues will come back to France. So, I think this type of discussion and the maturity of the society and the political leadership will be tested in such cases. It is definitely true that when it is an issue of employers and employees, this remains a very difficult task, and employee organizations find the whole concept of active ageing very suspicious. Very suspicious.

Ole: Is it only the concept of...

Laszlo: How is it in Denmark?

Ole: It's always difficult. I think more open to active ageing than to raising the retirement age but you are (referring to Frederik) the expert on Denmark. I am German so I wouldn't know.

Laszlo: Yes, and you know at that time, if you look at the texts that we had and produced, you always have to make two connections beyond what we already discussed. Number one is lifelong learning and take it seriously. And number two the occupational safety and health. It is not only the public health system which we have to look at but the health and safety at the workplace on which the European Union on which the European had played or has had played a very important role. This is not something that really makes the EU popular in all countries but this is, I would say, a

necessity. These are in a way the two necessary pillars of the active ageing from the side or from the perspective of the employees. You have to invest in these two areas, lifelong learning, and people should experience that they have regular opportunities to learn something newly during the career. Not only when they are unemployed but also when they are in employment, and then they can participate in further learning and make themselves competitive for another cycle. And then health and safety is important not only if something falls on your head when you work in construction but also, you know, computing. Excessive computing also brings health risks to your eyes and to your wrists. So, this type of new risk have to be [eluded] but if people feel that their occupational health has been looked after, they will be more confident in looking forward to a longer working life.

Ole: Well, is it your impression that all countries support the fact that the Commission is taking on these issues, or would they rather keep them to themselves"?

Laszlo: Hm...I would say that probably one of the reasons that we eventually did not publish the Communication and why it was not on the agenda, is that..there are various types of fears, and I think now the number one fear is mobility and migration. You know, demography is not only about the birth rate. On birth rates you could stress more than before that you have to support mothers and the Social Pillar Communication, and they also came forward with the proposal to reconcile work and family life, and this is kind of recycling previous stories. One of them is on the maternity leave, and the other is on the working time. The working time Directive which was about to be revised in 2012 but eventually it wasn't. So, they are re-launching these discussions which matter for demography. On the one hand, there could be easy aspects but there are very difficult aspects which is intra-European mobility and inward migration from other countries, and how integration of migrants is supposed to play a role and this is of course where it will be very hard to bring the Member States into a common denominator. You can have very polarized views because different countries are differently affected by intra-EU mobility. You know, people leave the Eastern countries and they move to what are the Western countries and the North. They are unevenly affected by immigration from third countries and refugees and all this, and finally, I would say, there are big cultural differences because if you ask the Dutch they would insist on all different types of families because they are very liberal on allowing for different kinds of families and a very broad concept of the family [indistinct]. The current Hungarian Government and maybe a few others, in Poland for example, they would certainly resist. They would not recognize the same

things as family what for example the Dutch or Luxembourg would accept. So, this is also a part of the story because you can't have a demography Communication without speaking about family and how you speak about families also affects the support.

Ole: Maybe one related question to this: In terms of the network analysis that we did, we see of course these major hubs in Europe with regard to research institutes with lots of people sitting in Vienna, many sitting in the Netherland at the NIDI institute, then you have the INED in France, and you have the Max-Planck in Rostock and so on. Does that also reflect into how these countries are engaged in the debate? So, is Austria for example a major player and really active in bringing forward policy proposals?

Laszlo: Well, ex ante, I mean the countries do not need to play a role. They [have the last word] in the debate. I would say that first of all you have the countries that are reluctant to play a role in anything which is social, like the UK and very often Hungary but on this particular issue they would have liked to [participate] just in order to generate a more supportive language on family policy and pro-childbirth policies from the EU. Maybe that's why it was resisted at that time by some people in the Commission. So, I think all countries, not entirely evenly, but all countries are affected by some key issues. Longer life - there are no exceptions there - in all countries the life expectancy is increasing, and I think there might be just a very few countries where you wouldn't have a shrinking workforce. I really wonder about the UK but they are leaving anyhow. But in most countries now it is true - country by country - that more people are leaving the workforce every year than those that are joining the workforce. So, you have a shrinking workforce as compared to a growing inactive population. Inactive primarily on the side of the elderly and not the children. So, these are shared problems, and I think on the expert level, most countries would agree, that things get polarized is the internal migration, the approach to the external migration, and - let's say - the cultural divide between different countries and nations.

Ole: One thing that we haven't talked about so far are these Demographic Forums which we have seen.

Laszlo: What exactly?

Ole: The Demographic Forums. There were four demographic forums organized by the EC, I think you opened two of them in 2010 and 2013 maybe. Could you maybe give us an idea of how these forums worked, how you used them for policy proposals later on..

Laszlo: Well you should..have you come across the name of Ralf Jacob? He is not anymore but he was..he is a German economist. He was the head of unit which was responsible for these issues, and definitely you should find him somewhere in the Organigram. He should still be there. Where exactly I don't know. But Ralf clearly knows about the past. He is..maybe he is in the analysis. Frederik: I think..he popped up in our analysis.

Laszlo: He must.

Frederik: Yes, certainly. We have come across that name, yes.

Laszlo: He must be somewhere around. But the other one who was the Director for these issues is now retired: Lieve Fransen. She is Flemish. You would also find her. Lieve Fransen.

Ole: Yes. We already have talked to her. We talked to her last week.

Laszlo: Yes. I mean from the point of view of organization and how they shaped the agenda, they would know more, and then how they cooperated between the different services. Becasue, again, it is at the level of services when they have to connect to ECFIN, DG Health and various other organization. I can't find Ralf Jacob. He might have left because sometimes there is a rotation between.. I would imagine that he might have left.

Ole: Well, I think that we can find him.

Laszlo: Yes, definitely. People might rotate but they don't change their email address. So, your email address remains no matter what DG you are in.

Ole: Yes, well, there is one last topic that I would like to address. Maybe Frederik has some follow-

ups. In terms of, how does day-to-day politics affect the prioritization of demographic change? You already said "slow-burning crises", so when you have acute crises popping up, the interest is not so much there but in terms of topics within the demographic debate? So, do you see certain topics - maybe.. we heard that 2008-2010 was a good time to talk fertility in the European debate. So, from your point of view, was there a changing emphasis?

Laszlo: Well, let's be honest, I mean, there are a few countries which can influence the EU agenda more forcefully than others. And then, if they are interested in something in Berlin, then something will happen in Brussels, right? And, this is not a stereotype but this is the reality. And also, the ups and downs of demography is also [connected to] what Germany believes, and I would say that in this period, even if it was not pushed into the top level as such, there were many other aspects that Germany wanted and supported and connected to this question. Number one, I would say, the mobility because Germany has a labor shortage despite even if they have now the fantastic refugee issue, they still have a labor shortage, and they needed people from other countries. But at the same time, Ursula von der Leyen, who is now the defense minister, previously she was the labor and social minister, she was doing her utmost to introduce more positive attitudes to family policies, and that also made some impact although EU politicians didn't very much like it when they said it from Brussels. That, you know, in Germany you should reconcile better the work and family life and support the mothers who are working. Then they said "Oh, the Commission is interfering with issues of subsidiarity". So, you know, they accept it as long as something is not very explicit, right? So, this is where you have to appreciate that demography at the political level is not the same as demography at the expert level. The politicians have, I would say, a lot more sensitivity, and then they have to know how they want to treat something before the public eye, or just address problems without making it too explicit. There is another issue, which is typical EU, when specific countries want to promote a best practice. If I am good at something, I will try to use the EU to highlight that I am good. On these issues that we speak about, I would say that the experience of France and Sweden have been very good because France and Sweden made a lot of progress with providing childcare and reconciling work and family life for women, and that also showed on demography. That more women work than in other countries, and more babies [are] born than in other countries. Especially, in the Franco-German comparison this is very striking. So, obviously when you ask von der Leyen or whoever is the Minister - now it's Andrea Nahles - they would surely not be against more babies born in Germany. But they also know that this cannot be turned around very quickly,

and they also know that this cannot be - I would say - an issue for a nanny state. You see the concept: So, you cannot micromanage from the Bundesministry that people should have more children. So, you have to facilitate very very gently and otherwise they plan to manage their labor market and to import the workforce.

Ole: I think that's it from my side.

Frederik: Yeah, I think I have only one question and it's regarding when you turn to external experts providing knowledge. Do you see..was there a difference in terms of types of experts who were better at providing feasible political solutions that also were easier for you to address and not just for instance forecasting and providing data but providing solution? Do you see, for instance, a difference between demographers and economists, or was there a pattern in terms of that?

Laszlo: Well, I would say that you can..I mean it depends on what is the priority of the day and what kind of projects you are working on. So, when we worked on the Social Investment Package for about two years, we had a social investment expert look in which a couple of people were more knowledgeable about demography as well but when it's done it's done. You know? The papers should have its own life and occasionally there is a conference or there is a forum and you call people together but if there is nothing on the agenda which would require a new contribution, then it is recycling. Then it is bureaucratic routine. So, the Commission doesn't need a constant input. A semi-constant input is provided through the agencies which is like [Dublin?] quite close to the question of demography where you have the Eurofund analyzing the quality of work and the quality of life, and labor conditions and living conditions, and then they can absorb analysis from other fora but what exists in Europe is United Nations in Vienna, and then if there is a need you can collaborate with [them]. And then, I forgot the name, but in the Netherlands there is another important center for demography, which I think is a regular contributor to European debates.

Ole: NIDI?

Laszlo: Sorry?

Ole: The NIDI Institute?

Laszlo: Maybe. I was just vaguely in touch with some people there.

Frederik: Alright. And just finally, also in terms of private interests in this field because it appears to us that, I mean, there is probably no huge financial rewards related to demographic change, but we do not see that many private actors involved in the process. I mean, we see the Allianz insurance company focusing on having their own demography award but what is your take on the private sector actors involvement?

Lazlo: Yes, pension. I mean, when you include pensions in the broader debate, there is a big pension industry, where you have the annual fora. I also was once or twice in meetings with the pension industry. I remember a meeting in Amsterdam and another one in Manchester just with the British pension providers. So, definitively in countries where private pensions play a greater role, and that's the UK, that's the Dutch, that's Germany, Sweden. So, in these countries the private pension industry is very strongly involved in demographic questions. I mean, childcare is normally not a private business. So, it's state agencies that play a role. Yeah, maybe the health sector but no.. I couldn't give you immediate examples on that either. Let me tell you something: There is one dimension which we haven't mentioned. It was interesting. CSR, corporate social responsibility. Because CSR activities do have a connection because on the one hand it's a CSR activity to take care of retirees or the older workers: make the workplace better for the older workers but sometimes also for the children of the employees, and sometimes to help expecting mothers, women who will give birth or have given birth recently, so there are several groups of employees or former employees which form part of CSR activities. And CSR Europe, which is an umbrella organization in Brussels, did play a part. There was one major interlocutor which is the AGE Platform in Brussels. Maybe, when you go you'll meet the leader. So, they of course were constant partners whenever there is any type of conference which is connected loosely with ageing, the AGE Platform is there. But CSR Europe was not very far. CSR Europe. They wanted to play a role and they also organized their own conference on ageing. And there is a number of very simple issues, which you don't see in your everyday life because you are very young. That, for example, older people need a different handheld telephone with bigger buttons and all this. You have a lot of innovations which business is doing simply because there is a market but these things need to be

invented. Whether it is technology or organizing things differently. So, CSR Europe you can also look into.

Ole: We will. Oh, and we have gone a bit over time I guess so we will stop here but thank you so much for taking the time.

Laszlo: Of course. And as you progress we can come back either in email or if necessary Skype, or if we are lucky maybe in Brussels.

Appendix S: Lieve Fransen, Former Social Policy Director, DG EMPL

Frederik: Explaining ENLIGHTEN and our research on demographic change focusing on the network structures surrounding the field.

Frederik: Do you agree that the EC is the right institution to look as our starting point at or do you see the policy of demographic change in a European context being MS driven?

Lieve: Well, maybe I should... I told you I left the Commission 2 years ago and I am now working still on social policy and a range of things but as independent but in 2011 and 2012 I prepared actually a communication on demographic change and I was tempting to ageing, demographic change, mobility, migration, future trends for financing of education, health care in that context. But that was stopped although, a lot of the MS wanted this. The Danish government and the Dutch government were very interested to have this kind of approach. But that was stopped because the Commission and the central office of the Secretary General, first of all for two reasons, officially; because demography was not something supposed to be dealt with in social policy, so it was not my domain (they said), which is okay, and then the migration issue, they felt that we should not talk about migration because it was politically so explosive. So there is, finally, when we finalized the Social Investment Package. I mean, I first finalized a White Paper on pensions. And there, there is a lot of cause of ageing and then I was also in charge of the EY on Active Ageing so there was all the time ageing, ageing, ageing... But very much from the perspective of pensions and then also on the perspective of how do we deal with long-term care and things like this. So very much social oriented. And migration was too much of a hot potato and mobility also from the perspective of social protection and the portability of social services and benefits. And there, Denmark and some other MS, the British and the Swedes did not really want to talk about portability of some of the social benefits and services. So there were too many hot potatoes. So at the end demography became a little bit of an annex to the Social Investment Package and was lost in the whole thing. And then migration exploded in everybody's face after I left, basically. I think Europe was not prepared, and is still not dealing with this properly. I mean, some MS are do-

ing better than others but the Commission, in my opinion, did not do a good job in preparing MS for the difficulties but also for the possible benefits of having young migrant populations and some of them actually quite well educated even to come the European countries as migrants and refugees and then also the mobility. I call mobility internally in Europe and migration external. So internally in mobility it was one of the reasons why we had major problems with the UK all the time and it is one of the excuses for the Brexit discussion, actually. So that is why I said I might not be the right person to talk to because I wanted to put a communication on demography and did not really succeed in doing that. So finally, I worked on the Social Investment Package and social policy and even that was quite difficult because calling social policy an investment and not a cost was difficult. But there I had a good expert group with several people supporting that and I am still working with them.

Frederik: That is also our impression that migration has definitely been downgraded but the interesting thing about demographic change is that it seems to us that solutions can be addressed on a broad spectrum because you can focus different sub fields such as human capital, education, active ageing (as you mentioned). Is that also your impression that the focus on different solution has changed throughout the years in terms of addressing feasible solution or is the discussion more or less focusing on the same things?

Lieve: But in a way, we should have... The setup in Europe, I am not sure how well you know how the Commission is working, but the EC has a central office that is headed by the Secretary General, and then the different sectorial offices. And during that time when I was dealing with social policy, I had a lot of discussions with the DG ECFIN because I was also in charge of the European Semester, the European 2020 and I had all the time to discuss and come to agreements and disagreements with DG ECFIN. And over that period, the Secretary General always took the side of the DG ECFIN. Partially because, they were the first ones to seriously increase their power after the crisis in 2008 and 2009 trying to save the Euro and things like this. So they became a very powerful organization within the Commission and the Secretary General should have brought together a team of people from different DGs in a way but they did not succeed in doing that because in demography you, I am not very keen in doing very academic demography studies. I was more interested in see what are the

forecasts and what needs to be done to prepare the policy environment, the budget so more practical consequences of demographic change but also including the mobility and migration in the demographic change because to me that is part of modern demography studies in a way.

Frederik: So what you are saying is that Commission is to be characterized by having silo structures where the level of information exchange is not performed adequately between the different DGs?

Lieve: The information exchange... I was working daily with DG ECFIN, but I think you have that in all of the... I mean I think Denmark is better than a lot of countries in that but you always have different sectorial departments the ministry of health, the ministry of... and in a way I was already able as the social policy director to bring health and education and pensions together so that was quite a lot already. And we had to debate and discuss... So in the Semester exercise you always have the ECFIN to discuss but you always need to have somebody who brokers the differences. And what I am saying is not that we did not communicate and did not exchange information but the powers were given so that the ECFIN won in all of the debates and they were not ready to accept a communication or a position paper on demography, migration and mobility because they were basically setting up their own powers in the Semester and focusing very much on the now and the urgent issues on stabilizing the Euro, stabilizing the budget of the countries year by year so they did not have this long-term perspective.

Frederik: The Commission issued a Green Paper in 2005 on how to confront demographic challenges and in the wake of that we saw 4 forums on arranged on demographic change with the latest being held in 2013, and then, at least in our impression, is that demographic change does not feature prominently on the Commission's agenda. Is that also your impression?

Lieve: It is true. I started in that job (Social Policy director) in 2011. One of the first things Commissioner Andor wanted to do was to have a new communication on demography so I wrote that but it was never accepted. And he was also not powerful enough. But the Commissioner himself wanted this very much and several MS sup-

ported that and other DGs so we had a lot of meetings within the DGs were research was supporting. I think most of the departments that were ready to go into more long-term perspectives and forecasting rather than dealing with the fire and dealing with the crises. I mean, ECFIN was dealing with the crisis, rightly so probably, but I think we could have done better because then the next urgent crisis of migration... nobody was prepared.

Frederik: Regarding external actors, when addressing demographic change, whom did you normally turn to? Demographers? Economists?

Lieve: Well before I arrived, we had these meetings that you are aware of on demography and that was demographers. I went to the first meetings of these groups. I had one from my staff attending all these meetings. But I felt that the meetings I went to were not policy oriented very academic.

Frederik: In terms of only providing forecasts and future trends?

Lieve: It was very much demographers but without policy implications. So they had interesting discussions but if you do not do anything with it, to me that is more important to keep that in the academic sphere but I see more the role of the Commission is to see what kind of policy consequences and advice and preparation can be done with it. So that was not the case.

Frederik: What about private sector actors? Because, as we see it, demographic change is not affiliated with huge financial rewards. But then again we do see some private interests present in the debate for instance the German insurance company Allianz. What is your impression of that?

Lieve: Yeah we should have probably... But you know, the whole thing was... I agree I did not try to work with the private sector because it was already so difficult inside the Commission. It was killed basically.

Frederik: But did representatives from the private sector approach you?

Lieve: No.

Frederik: Regarding the Academics. Were they active in approaching you (the Commission) or was it more the other way around?

Lieve: Well academics because we had discussion groups already. They had every year a meeting. I went to some of the meetings but it was totally stale discussion.

Frederik: But did you have the impression that certain fields within academia were better in providing feasible solutions to the problem? For instance demographers? Economists?

Lieve: It was always non-solution oriented, non-policy oriented. And it was different entities bring different experiences. I went to one of the meetings, the first meeting I went to, I think was in Finland where there was only old people nobody there anymore to take care of the old people so they had to import nurses from Russia. So there was a sterile discussion about figures and statistics. People were not facing reality that was quite urgent. What do you do? You have to reinvest majorly in that area so that you attract new young people also to be there. So I was more interested to have real discussions on what to do with it. I was yesterday in Bologna because I am discussing social infrastructure investments with President Prodi, in Bologna yesterday, and they explained to me also that there is a whole range of mountain areas there where very few people still lives there and only a few older people because there is no economic activity there, there is no other activity there to attract young people. So what do you do with it? So I am more interested in how do you deal with that? Is there a possibility to reinvest there? Or is there a possibility to do some teleservices? There are a lot of new technologies that you can do to at least connect these people virtually with services in Bologna and things like this. But that did not really take place. But it could have taken place in my opinion. I still remember the Dutch ministry coming to me and say we really need this. And it is rare MS come to the Commission and say we need this and you can do this. So in a way it was a missed opportunity to bring that debate also and include mobility and migration in all this. Because they all felt they wanted this from the Commission.

Frederik: But given your current role as an external advisor for instance for the EPC, and we saw that you recently published a report on social investment, is it something you still push for that the EC should focus on and address political solutions to demographic change?

Lieve: I am for the moment working for a range of actors, not only working for the EPC, I have a High Level Taskforce that I am chairing and trying to get more social infrastructure investments organized with private banks with investors and the public sector. So that is a major thing that I am not doing with the EPC. So I am not really focusing on that because for the moment the Commission is fire fighting urgent crises because there is no preparation for it. There will be urgent crises all the time going from one thing to another. If you do not prevent it you do not prepare. I am still a doctor you prevent things then you have to deal with the worst-case scenarios. So I am not doing anything specifically on that. I think it could come from groups like you and your studies and showing once the Commission is... But I think we need another leadership in the Commission for that. So for me it would be... I am very opportunistic from that. I am trying to steer social infrastructure package under this Commission but in the Commission there should be a group that works on forecasting and large trends. There is a new team that is working on the or supposed to work on that in the Commission (ESPN) as an internal think tank. They could do things like this. But then they have no powers over the different departments. So it is a think tank without impact on services in a way.

Frederik: So it does not translate into real power?

Lieve: No.

Ole: Just following up on that, I think this is what we have seen in the current administration I think because there is advisory group directly advising Juncker and there is a high level person whom is a demographer himself, [REDACTED], so based on that it seemed to us that there is a basic interest from his side (Juncker) in demographic issues because it is a really exclusive group, I think. But your impression is not like that?

Lieve: That is what I said, I am not the right person anymore because that new group came... I have seen some of the because I am working still with several departments of the Commission of course. But I am not following in detail. And there new people and all of the old people were dismissed. There is a new team that was set up by Juncker himself. But my experience is, I see some them regularly but they do not have impact on what the services are doing. So they do some studies and some papers and some of them better than others. But you do not really know who is using them. But you might know something different. I am not really the right person to judge on that anymore. I do not work directly with them anymore. I can only tell you how it was when I was there

Appendix T: Dr. Tomas Sobotka, Wittgenstein Centre

Ole: explaining the network and Tomas' position.

[Robustness test]

Ole: Do you agree with the general assumption that the EU is the main hub for facilitating the political discourse about demographic change?

Tomas: The question is whether I agree that this is the right level to look at?

Ole: Yes.

Tomas: Of course, it is. But if you would argue that it is the right level to look at national governments I would also agree because there are these two main bodies acting and interacting with each other and there are lots policy initiatives which mostly come from the European Union and which are proposed by the European Commission for instance. But at the same time the national playing fields remain very important. Either in accepting the changes and proposals which are kind of pushed and proposed by the European Union or in pushing for changes in policies by making new proposals and also framing the national debates and discussions. So, I think both levels are very important and it makes sense - definitively - to look at the EU level.

Ole: In terms of..well, we have seen you have been participating in a few events at the European level. Could you point to some important access points for you in the European Union. For example, we have seen these Demographic Forums.

Tomas: Yes, I think I participated in one of the forums only, and I didn't have time to participate in another that I was invited to. I think the basic idea was good and laudable because they had an idea at that time to focus on younger adults and the financial crisis and the consequences of the financial crisis for young adults. What necessarily happens in many of these fora is that they become a little bit diffuse: You have a very different structure of sections where it is sometimes difficult to make a clear connecting line 03:49 between different sections and between different discussions. Also, the danger sometimes of these fora - not the danger but a little bit a waste of energy is that in some of

the sections it happens often to be the experts talking to each other rather than having real and deep interaction between policy makers and experts about different issues. So, it was organized in a kind of classic form: You're asked to prepare a 15-minute presentation and then there is a short discussion which is never long enough, and then the next presentation comes. Not knowing exactly the mechanisms how the European Commission takes care of that, I don't know how much of that is taken as a good feedback for the Commission's work. For instance, how many materials are really somehow influenced by some of the debates and discussion? So, that part of the process I don't know. But I would see some effort that combines a really useful setup and the topics were also selected with sometimes having too many things to discuss. Too many experts - you know - talking to each other sometimes. But it's difficult to think of an ideal setup for such an event.

Ole: Well, now you already a lot of topics that we also have been looking at. One of them is this extreme diversity of topics being talked about in the demographic field. Yourself are combining a few of them, I think: not only fertility but you are also looking at migration. Is there more of your main topics?

Tomas: Well. Fertility and migration are definitely the main topics I've been looking at. A little bit population changes, population declines and increases - especially in central and eastern Europe where this is an important phenomenon. Well, that's about the main topics I've been looking at broadly speaking, touching of course inter-generational inequality and a bit on that perspective.

Ole: Yes, I saw your paper on the post-crisis situation of young people and how it translates to fertility. So, you perceive this extreme diversity of topics at conference to make it hard at these conferences to find some common ground or to integrate solutions? Because these conferences were set up in the first place to get some policy proposals out, right? So, it is hard to integrate these different aspects into concrete policy proposals?

Tomas: Especially the broader you make a topic, the less focused such a conference or forum is. Definitely, it gets more difficult. I think the ideal setup for policy makers - if I were a policy maker - at any level would be to try to have really focused meetings: You identify an issue, you identify a problem, you try to invite - you don't invite 200 experts - you invite maybe ten or 15. You make sure there is a diversity of views, and maybe engage NGO's and enough policy makers. Make

enough time for discussion and make sure that the experts give you some sort of materials. At least, one or two statements of basic points. Then you can combine not only their speeches and presentations but also their key points and try to draft some policy proposals based on this.

Ole: I think what you are outlining there is actually closely resembled in these expert groups at the European Commission. Are you aware of these? There a few of them touching upon demographic change, and two or three directly targeting demographic change as a topic.

Tomas: So, I have never looked into them very closely; I don't even know the names of the expert groups - maybe you can tell me.

Ole: Of course - but it is very interesting. There is one that is called "Health, demographic change, and wellbeing", and then there is one called "demographic issues" which - I think - is a high level group. And then there is one that is a bit more abstract "Forum on forward looking activities", and then there is a lot more going into the specifics like economic migration, health, active ageing and this sort of stuff where we see lots of discussion going on which is clearly related to demographic change and also in their mandates they are mentioning demographic change. What we do not see that much is too many demographers in there. We see a lot of health experts instead. And then, there is one group that provides direct information to Juncker and we see one demographer in there. In that group, demography only is one among many issues and we see [REDACTED] in there. Maybe on a side note: Do you know [REDACTED]?

Tomas: I met him once or twice. He used to work - I think - 20 years ago for our institute even. He comes from Austria. I know there have been some disputes and disagreements and he left for other positions and for some other career path.

Ole: It's because we saw him working for [REDACTED], and we saw that this very building [at the WU Vienna where the VID is situated] is a major building of [REDACTED], so we were wondering whether he was working in this close proximity to you?

Tomas: He worked for [REDACTED] for a long time but we haven't had a collaboration with him since he left the institute about 20 years ago.

Ole: You mentioned the NGO engagement previously. From your point of view, and also when you were taking part in these conferences: Is there a lot of NGO involvement going on?

Tomas: I think not so much. Because there is not so many NGOs [in this area]. Well, there would be NGOs touching migration issues. I don't have a really good overview over that because I look mostly at migration from the perspective of population changes which is not the main focus of NGOs. As far as fertility is concerned, it's kind of interesting that, when you read newspapers, journals, follow the media, it seems that many people think that fertility, population decline and the future of human reproduction, that these issues are really important but there are not so many NGOs dealing with these topics. I think, you don't have so awfully many NGOs which you can take on board with this. When there are NGOs, of course, some of them are ideologically colored because you have groups that are close to churches and religious organizations, especially when it comes to some [indistinct] issues like abortion and assisted reproduction; things which relate to human rights then you will have more activity of some NGOs. I know that my colleagues working in the project called "Families and Societies" that this project has been actively engaged with a NGO - I think it's called Federation of Large Families which represents the interests of families with many kids, defined freely I think - so when you have three kids or so. So, it's not really like a very strong part of these interactions mostly. At least not as far as I have seen.

Ole: So, you are also talking about youth, the youth's opportunities and intergenerational justice. Do you see any youth organizations that are tackling these issues at the European level?

Tomas: That's a good question. I'm sure there are some but I cannot think of any specific names or organizations.

Ole: Because we haven't seen any, and from our perspective as young adults it would be great to have some.

Tomas: That's right. Thinking of Eastern European countries - that's moving away from the EU, it's more a mandate of UNFPA, United Nations Population Fund for instance, which organizes now and then events in central eastern Europe and western Asia, then they try to invite young people to

represent different countries and different interest groups but even then, they usually draw young people from organizations which are interested in human rights and democracy movements and pro-European movements. Because there are no organizations in these countries dealing especially with inequalities or the economic situation of young peoples or opportunities, things like that.

Ole: That's interesting. Well, when we look at NGOs, we of course also look at private sector involvement. How is your experience with that? Is that mostly in terms of providing funding, or are there also private actors that are really engaged in the policy debate?

Tomas: 14:26 I think, very little. There are some exceptions. In Germany, for instance, it is an established thing that some big foundations which are linked to companies and firms, they provide significant amount of funding but also organize events and conferences. And they are occasionally interested in demographic changes. So, you mentioned the Allianz Award. Allianz is obviously one of these companies which take demographic change seriously. It is closely related to the insurance business and it even makes very much sense. They were coordinating and sponsoring an event called "Berlin Demographic Forum" which takes place every year in Berlin and discusses demographic issues, invites experts from all around the world and try to focus on different issues every year. Jacob's Foundation is another example of such an actor. I was once part of a project sponsored by Jacob's foundation. We were working on a series of papers and books and booklets addressing demographic change in Germany essentially and in German speaking countries. Essentially, is low fertility a threat to our societies? How societies can cope with low fertility? What's the way towards the future? Are there good policies to use? And then, of course, these companies are very smart. They organize events, they invite ministers, they invite the German President and they present a book, they make a series of high-level presentations, they speak to the media - so I have seen a couple of companies doing this.

Frederik: But only in Germany?

Tomas: I think in Britain there are some and in Nordic countries definitively as well, and in Austria you mentioned [REDACTED] being involved with [REDACTED]. So, you can identify players in a number of countries. In Spain, I was once talking at an event organized by one of the leading banks..I try to remember the name of the bank..maybe I remember in a while. But I have these

experiences from a number of countries. So, banks obviously are also in this business, and in this case, they were sponsoring seminars and inviting experts. Then, they were making short - or not so short - videos from all these talks and experts putting them online, and sponsoring some publications as well. 17:24 These kinds of involvements are there. I don't think it's very costly for these companies. I think for some of them it will be part of their PR and of being more visible in society. But at least take a message from this - that some companies take demographic change seriously, and see a reason to sponsor conferences and events, and to sponsor some documents and discussion.

Ole: Well, we were talking to James Vaupel of the MPIDR last week and he had a similar take on that. So, I think that's it for testing the robustness of the theory, and now we would like to hear a bit more about your work. So, this idea of recombining fertility with other aspects of demographic change, why is it that you introduced that idea?

Tomas: Well, I would have to go down how I came up studying fertility some - I don't know - 15 years ago, when I was working on my PhD, and then you have to consider the context where I was growing up: It was the Czech Republic after the breakdown of the Communism system, and what happened with fertility rates is that they plummeted after the breakdown of Communism they went down very fast. Local experts and demographers were very much engaged in a debate, why is it so? And at that time, the debate [bordered] essentially between two main big arguments. One big argument is centered upon economic insecurity: suddenly you have unemployment which didn't exist before, there are plenty of people who suddenly start to have a very low salary, a lot of economic inequalities pop up, private sector starts appearing with high level managers getting their salaries, some of the social policies had been scaled down or abandoned - so that was one big group of explanations.

The other big group of explanations was centered on value changes and new opportunities. So basically, young people suddenly could start travelling to the West, anywhere they wanted, they could start studying for many many years which there were not so awfully many university students before and this whole education expanded. You could start a business, you could engage in many hobbies in which you could not engage so easily in before. So, you could do so many things that suddenly - you know - starting a family or having kids started to sound a little bit boring at the young age to do [sic]. When I looked at these trends, I also observed discussions which were

present in Western countries, and they very much discussed the concept of postponing family formation, and at the same time there were new methods and measures being discussed in demographic research: How can you account for that [postponement of family formation]? So, we had our period fertility indicators, which sometimes showed extreme low fertility levels, and at one year in the Czech Republic the indicator suggested that women had 1.1 babies on average but it's like when you measure your speed, you travel with a car you measure actual speed, you try to estimate how soon you will reach your destination 200 km away based on the speed you go now. So, this is not a very precise way of doing that. When you stop at a traffic light your speed is zero but - you know - eventually there will be a green light and you will start moving again. So, because women suddenly stopped having babies at young ages, the women not having babies at young ages weren't yet old enough to start having them when they are 30 or 35. So, you had this period of a big gap in birth rates which made local experts and demographers very concerned but when I looked at these new methods and tools of analyzing it, I saw that part of the explanation is not because women would completely stop having babies but because they are shifting them in their life-course towards much later ages. So, this is how I jumped into the field, I started studying this, I started writing papers in some local discussions, and somehow the topic stayed with me until now.

Ole: Now we saw EURREP.

Tomas: Yes, EURREP is one of these big projects. There are these ERC grants which are supposed to finance the real top-level researchers. They have some great advantages: They go after individuals, so you get a grant as an individual researcher, and you have five years and you build up your team. There are enough resources to build up your research team, and in theory you have enough time and resources to focus on a topic for a long period of up to five years. So, we are studying several aspects of fertility rates, reproduction and demographic changes in Europe. But we started a lot of things and maybe we were too ambitious. Many of the publications we are still working on even after the project has finished. We can continue for years.

Ole: In that EURREP project, you are collaborating with the Max-Planck Institute for Demographic Change?

Tomas: On databases, yes. That is a very specific long-standing collaboration. Demographers work with a lot of data. At the same time, some of the data is less easy available than the other data, and we love precise data and detailed data. So, something that I was involved in even before the project was an effort to put together a detailed, high-quality database on several aspects of fertility and birth rates with different indicators. But really high-quality, documented, detailed data where you can get information on long-term changes in fertility in different countries, especially rich countries because these are good data-collecting countries. And Max-Planck Institute is a prime place for financing, supporting data collection and data development. They have a mortality data base in similar design running for quite some time, so in collaboration with them we launched this human fertility database, and we are still very heavily involved in updating it and collecting data trying to get new countries in. And the main aspect, which we didn't have good data on was to get information on fertility rates by birth order. So, often when you look at publications and many of the papers it's all together. They say women have 1.7 children on average and you can see how it moves by age but we think it's key to understand human decision making to see how people move from zero to one. How often, and when, they move from first to second child, and so on and so forth. So, we look at fertility as a chain of decisions where you start with zero, that is childless, and then at the end of the day you end up maybe still childless.

Ole: I would like to go a bit back into this network thing. So, you are collaborating with the MPIDR, you work for the VID and the Wittgenstein Institute - which we would like to come back later to in terms of the structure -

Tomas: Yes, everybody has problems understanding that. [indistinct] are asking us all the time.

Ole: So, you also took your PhD at Groningen, which is closely related to the NIDI institute.

Tomas: Yes, there are close links to the NIDI institute. So, I've been also engaged with people from there.

Ole: So, it is basically, like you all know each other in the demographic field. It's a close community.

Tomas: Yes, definitely. When you are in this business for a long enough time - you know the number of middle and high-level demographers that are in fertility changes in Europe than you have a few hundred max. Then you have local demographers who are not so build into these international networks - who might not be as often at international conferences and so on - so I skipped the local ones. And the European Population Association, I think, has about 1,500 members. So, this gives you an idea of the size of the demographic community in Europe broadly speaking including some sociologists and economists interested in population issues. 26:48 So, I keep meeting, especially at the higher level of better known names, I keep meeting the same colleagues at the different meetings and conferences. Informally, we work very seamlessly with each other and it's a very fun experience. You know, last week I was in Berkeley at a workshop, and what happens is that I pop out of the airport, I go to buy my tickets for the train from San Francisco to Berkeley, and next to me stands [Michaela Kreinfeld] from Germany coming from Berlin and coping with the ticket machine, going to the same workshop, and last time I met here was maybe in a completely different setup and country. So, you keep meeting, not regularly but irregularly, the most important demographers from the field at very special places with Hawaii, Berkeley, Korea, or Europe as well of course. It's a very fun experience. I can tell you. And the good thing is that mostly we have very good relations with each other. Maybe unlike in bigger fields, there is not much rivalry between demographers, at least not in fertility research. And the general spirit is more of cooperation and collaboration. For me it is very nice although it maybe can create a little bit of a bubble as well. So, there is a drawback but I am very positive about this aspect.

Ole: You mentioned economists also operating in this field. Do you also have frequent contact to some of the same economists that are interested in the field and looking at demographic change?

Tomas: That's a good question. It's difficult to say because there are economists who are completely incorporated within demographics. Even in my team, a colleague who graduated from economics but was then working on demographic issues, and then she kind of continues a demographic career. These people are often very important bridge builders because they publish papers which are a little bit [cled] in an economic jargon, they know they economic theories and they know the colleagues from population economics. But here at the institute, we even have a group on population economics looking very explicitly into the issues of intergenerational accounting and long-term consequences for populations in different countries and demographic

trends. So that's another level, which is really the key level, that you have people working on projects which combine the works of economists and demographers. And since they also publish in the kind of journals such as Population Economics and sometimes mainstream economic journals, they kind of really provide a bridge between demographers and economics. So, I am not really in contact or in touch with many economists outside the field of demographics. Those that are engaged in the field of demographics - one way or another - but people who have projects like this - like my colleague Alexia Fürnkranz-Prskawetz - good people, they are the main people who bridge the two fields and provide a lot of contacts with the Swiss economists.

Ole: It is because we recognized that in at least one of your articles you used the language of opportunity costs and more economics language. Do you feel that this makes it easier maybe also for decision-makers or politicians to apprehend what you are doing?

Tomas: I think it's a kind of part of our demographic baggage. Demography doesn't have many theories by itself. So, there are a few very general demographic theories either based on how to deal with specific methodological [life tables] or very general views of long term global trends and demographic transitions. But outside of that, when we want to explain [how] to tackle demographic phenomena, we borrow theories from many other disciplines. And I have to say, economic theories are very prominent in here brought by both demographers but especially by those who have backgrounds in economics. So, since we are exposed to that from early on, from our student years, we very seamlessly speak about tradeoffs between quality and quantity of children, opportunity cost of childbearing - so these terms are very commonly used. People use them in presentations, they go back and cite Gary Becker who wrote about the economics of families, and borrow arguments from his theories. So, it's part of our baggage and that's why we use this terminology. Not to please the economists, or to make ourselves easily understood but it's already part of our thinking.

Ole: Is this something that also distinguishes the Wittgenstein Centre from other institutes like the MPIDR which takes a broader stance on demographic issues, whereas the Wittgenstein Centre which directly incorporates human capital, which of course, is an economic idea?

Tomas: I think, the Wittgenstein Centre really has a strong focus on human capital. A lot of that boils down to Wolfgang Lutz who has been doing longstanding research on the interaction between

education and demographic change and demographic behavior. I think the origins of that come really from studying education. Human capital, of course, comes as a broader concept later on but he always considered education as a key and neglected dimension in population research. There was a typical obsession where demographers always divide everything by age and sex. [indistinct] You divide populations by age and sex and you see a lot of variation and behavior, and all [indistinct] rates are of course different ages. But he argued strongly - like two decades ago - that education is the neglected dimension which needs to be incorporated and studied more than some other dimensions that you could think of like urban/rural differences and so on and so forth. And he was pushing for that very strongly and mostly first in the context of developing and lower-income countries. He's the head of the group of Population Researchers at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, IIASA in Luxembourg, which is like 20 km from here, and their mandate is to do global research. So, they don't really focus much on Europe. They do a lot of projects with middle- and low-income countries, or projects on the global scale including climate change. Starting from this kind of orientation on education came a broader idea of integration of population research in Vienna with a more defined focus on human capital, broadly speaking. This is how we came to the structure to the Wittgenstein Centre, and this is how or why many of us came to study a lot of aspects of education. How it influences our behavior and demographic trends.

Ole: I have to say it was extremely interesting to read because it just feels like it makes completely sense. And also, because when we started looking into demographic change - so we are not experts by any means - some 3.5 months ago maybe and tried to read as much as possible. So, the first impression you get is..okay..we are basically f*cked. And then you start digging a bit further into it and you look at the human capital aspect, and also your work on youth and maybe decrease uncertainty for the youths, then it becomes much more a discourse about how do we want to live in the future which is much more attractive in my eyes than this dystopian idea. Is this something that you experience when you integrate these different concepts that it also becomes more accessible to the public?

Tomas: I think it really depends on the public because - of course when you start speaking about education you cannot just say education or human capital. You also have to start thinking about different social groups in a broader sense: how do they behave; how is their behavior framed by local environments; what the future can bring for them; and how can we think of policies that also

take into account that people are different. We are different groups in every population in every country and I think if you explain in this way, it resonates well with most people and with most experts but we still have a number of - I don't want to say experts - especially the older generation of - you know - journalists, politicians, even some demographic experts: they are quite obsessed with the big numbers and the big trends. They don't look so much into sub-groups or sub-populations. They look at the general trends and they make a projection of the future, and these are the proverbial projections when the last Japanese will switch off the light and when the last Latvian will disappear; what happens when there is no one in the labor force to take care of the army or the elderly. So, this kind of mechanistic thinking still per means some of the work of a number of especially older demographers. Partly, maybe, our methodology is to be blamed because we work primarily with numbers, and these numbers make it very attractive and easy to make all kinds of projections for all [the] population. You know, it is fun to deal with scenarios and make all kinds of models. One of the basic concepts in demography is called replacement-level fertility, and that has done - it has done a lot of good - but it has done a lot of bad because this obsession with some level of fertility, which if retained for a long time maintains the replacement of the population at a level where it is now, assuming there is no migration and mortality doesn't change - it's deeply stuck in our minds and this number for low-mortality countries, 2.1 or 2.07 if you want to be precise, often serves as a yardstick. Are we doing well? Are we not doing well? If you are at 2.1 everyone congratulates you. If you are at 2.2 it still looks fantastic. If you are at 1.9 it still sounds okay. If you are at 1.3 it sounds very bad. As I said, it is a period number. It doesn't really tell much about cohort behavior unless you calculate it for cohorts, and even for cohorts it doesn't take into account migration. It doesn't take into account that some people are more productive, and there are many aspects in our society which influence our future.

Ole: I think I have two questions for this. So, one is do you think that this also translates into the policy focus. I mean, if politicians talk about this it is mostly in terms of raising the retirement age which, again, resonates difficult with the general public because they might feel that something is being taken away from them, and this in turn makes it difficult to politically. So, do you think that by introducing new variables into the concept that it is being more accessible? Have you experienced that you have been approached by people saying "hey - this is actually really good for us and for doing policy"?

Tomas: I think it definitely helps when you frame some of your discussions around education and social status differences in working age and retirement ages and so on. I think it was France which introduced the concept of how many years you need to work to be able to retire which really does make sense. Because when you think about the lower educated people, they often start working when they were 17 or 18. At the age of 65 they are really just tired and I think they really deserve to be retired. When you think of more educated elites - people getting to their PhDs - they often start real productive work when they are 27, 28. It would be quite unfair to put us on the same retirement scheme or schedule as someone who started working 10 years earlier. Not even speaking about house differences or the fact that people who are in low-level professions often have to do a lot of manual work. Trying to introduce this in a sensible way in political discourse, and frame some discussion around that does make sense but some of these discussions are clouded by [indistinct] misconception. The misconception is that fertility rates can offset population ageing. And that's completely wrong. It is completely wrong because the main engine of population ageing is the fact that we live by two to three months longer every year. Even if women start to have 3 or 4 babies now, and they continue to doing so every year, these babies 60 years from now, 70 years from now they will be retired, and maybe they will be having much much longer lives than we have. That's something that politicians are often not able to say clearly and without any ambiguity to the public. We live much much longer and it's absolutely unsustainable to keep people retiring at the age of 60 when they are likely to live to the age of 90. Fertility change may slow or speed this process up a little bit - as can migration. But it doesn't stop it. And this is something that demographers sometimes do not communicate clearly enough. There are some demographers who talk a lot about fertility and some of them - maybe they cannot even make a good calculation - so, they believe that fertility is perhaps the key component there. And then politicians are often a bit muddled about it, and they argue and if they could switch to this argument and of course they can come but there are different educational and social groups that will be very helpful of course.

Ole: The second question that popped into my mind - it's more a personal note because I find it interesting - is about all this talk about automation and the robotic revolution - this is not really incorporated into demographic research, is it?

Tomas: Not yet. And I think that part of it is that demographers like to have both feet on the ground and work with data which we can trust and analyze, and it's very difficult for us to deal with futures

which are extremely uncertain. Now, robotics can change our lives in so many different ways. It's really difficult to envision how for instance the basic shapes of demographic behavior can change because of that. People slow down reproduction or reproduce less or as much as they produce now, or the other option you know. What does it do with mortality? Maybe, it will help further increasing our life expectancy and longevity. What effect of that some people being redundant and unable to have a decent [indistinct]. What it will mean with maybe more social stratification and differences between different groups of people, and the ability to have a family? But it is a lot of speculation and difficult to get to the hard numbers.

Ole: Okay, of course. That was just on a side note. Let's get back to the real stuff. Could you just quickly explain to us this Wittgenstein/Vienna institutional arrangement? So, everybody that is working at Wittgenstein is also working at the VID.

Tomas: So, Wittgenstein is a virtual structure. We have three real institutions in Vienna dealing with population and demographic change. IIASA I mentioned - it's not really Vienna but 20 km from here - we have the VID which is located in this building - with some 40 employees so we are a big institution for studying populations, and then a smaller group of people here at the university - one floor up from us - six, eight, 10 people including PhD students who also work on demographic issues. The idea was to provide some formal connection between these three institutions. Not only because Wolfgang Lutz happens to lead each of them to some extent but also because he thought that it will make people communicating and collaborating more, and it will help us bureaucratically with some issues like ups and downs in external funding, and some other practical issues. He thought that some level of integration, the vertical institutions and creating this vertical structure of the Wittgenstein Centre, will really be useful and help us cooperating and coordinating our work.

Ole: In terms of funding, do you see that it is easier to receive funding when you talk about something like human capital development rather than the more general work with statistics?

Tomas: Well, we have two main sources of external funding besides our internal funding which is really important and in our case, is from the Austrian Academy of Sciences. There is a dedicated amount of money which can be changed every few years based on external evaluations but also based on some internal discussion at the Academy of Sciences. But the main criteria should be

scientific. We can speak any terms we like but at least in theory the main criteria should be: Do we do relevant research in terms of publications and impact. But of course, the visibility in policy discussions, especially at the national level in this case are taken - if not explicitly then implicitly - into account. And then, we have two main sources of external funding: the Austrian Research Foundation is really important for us but then the criteria should be strictly scientific, and the external funding, the main source, is the ERC, the European Research Council grants to excellent researchers. And then again, science should be the main criteria: Your past performance and how convincing you are about your research proposals. At least we have never thought about strategically picking up our orientation, using certain terms more than others would help us to get more funding. I don't know, honestly.

Ole: It is interesting for us because when we talked to James Vaupel for example, he was very explicit about that he basically didn't care about things making it into the newspapers. He found it nice of course, but it was no priority for him because it didn't help his research.

Tomas: I think we do care. First of all because we are still an institution which has strong links with Austria. Some people -you know - are occasionally invited to provide some advice or collaborate with some ministries. This is a small country. When your research is covered in a newspaper article, it's kind of noticed. And the academy has some sort of press service where they collect all the examples, cases when VID is mentioned and when our research is mentioned. So, it's important but we also feel that the things we are doing on fertility and family change that we know that it can affect policy discussions, and that our expertise has some influence on policies, and we think - as far as we believe that what we do is a good research based on reasonably good data, and that we have something interesting to say - it's quite often a natural thing to do to support all kinds of ways how our research can be visible in the media. So, I try to have an open-door policy to media as much as I can. So, every time somebody sends me an email we can speak.

Ole: Also, we appreciate that!

Tomas: [laughing] yes yes you are also part of that! We have our datasheets that we try to disseminate widely and we have our website and sometimes newsletters and things like that. We have also Population Europe for that. I don't know whether you have come across that.

Ole: It's good you're mentioning it. I was just writing it down. I would be interested in hearing your take on that because you mentioned the interdisciplinarity also with regard to the setup of this institution. So, the basic purpose of Population Europe is to facilitate this interdisciplinary approach?

Tomas: I think the basic aim of Population Europe is to improve the visibility of demographic research in Europe; to coordinate some of the efforts that demographers make, especially with respect to policy makers - a kind of policy advice or the basic, you know, results of our research providing it in an accessible way to the public. So, it is not so much about interdisciplinary research and it's more about the visibility of demographers and their research, and the coordination between them. So, many demographic centers - I don't know maybe 25 or 30 - across Europe are part of this Population European Network. And Population Europe helps us to - you know - to provide digest of our research. They put together some policy making documents or overviews for policy makers. They also organize targeted events including events in Brussels. Like short workshops, conferences, launches, breakfasts with policy makers which are quite targeted. This would be this format that I quite like. And not only in Brussels. So, they do it in different countries, especially when money is available. For instance, the Hungarian government says they are interested in one aspect of demographic change, and they are willing to sponsor a workshop. Then, Population Europe is happy to step in, organize a workshop, call experts from several European countries because many demographers are part of this network, and we are quite responsive to this, and then they have a targeted one-day workshop in [indistinct] or something and that I have also experienced.

Ole: So, do you feel this is more of a dialogue between policy-makers and Population Europe?

Tomas: I hope that they help to promote some dialogue although I don't really see how it is shaped in specific countries when they do these country-specific events. But I think it is very important because in some countries - and again, you can think of an example of Hungary - the politicians are quite close-minded. They live in a certain context, they think we have our existing set of policies. They don't understand some of the EU initiatives and trends in the EU policies, and having international demographers coming in and talking about some of the issues, some of the challenges, and some of the policy-related concepts, sometimes helps to get through with some of the messages to the local policy-makers. So, I think this role is very good. The other role of Population Europe was - when I say it very sort of simply - to lobby for demographic research. Imagine, that the

European Commission for instance defines priorities, which should be priorities in the research agenda for the next five to ten years. Then, Population Europe can step in, look at these priorities, and say: You don't cover well these areas of population ageing and health, or any other research which we think is important. So, it is also a lobby for us. Something to coordinate our efforts and make us visible a little bit on the European scene.

Ole: This would be interesting, actually. Would you have the impression that the interest from the European Commission has changed over the years? That it maybe has been a hot topic prior to the crisis and then after the crisis not so much?

Tomas: I think the interest is certainly shifting. I wouldn't say that the Commission completely lost interest in demographic issues but - again I have to say I don't follow closely all these policy discussions - but I thought there was a lot of interest in fertility around 2008 up to 2010 - also in demographic reports or population report; I think it's called demographic report. They were sponsoring, or asking some of my colleagues to help them drafting some parts and provide data. And then there was the crisis as you mentioned, and the interest shifted more towards the economic crisis and its consequences. Then, it shifts a little bit more towards ageing. So, we still keep demography in and, of course, now there is the migration crisis. There is a strong interest in migration. So, Wolfgang Lutz has been part of a new initiative of the European Commission - I think he was even one the people first suggesting it - to have a dedicated research group at one of the research centers in Ispra, Italy which would be looking at long-term consequences of international migration, and especially the education/human capital aspect of that. So, several of the researchers from Vienna actually now are relocated to Ispra, Italy to European Commission linked research institution looking at the consequences of migration. So, shifts are clearly there. It doesn't mean demographers are out of the picture but low-fertility is not so high on the research agenda as it was - I don't know - seven years back.

Ole: Frederik, you had a follow-up question.

Frederik: Yeah, I was just wondering, in the beginning we talked about these demography forums and you said they weren't that focused and rather defused but did you feel that after these forums you had an access point to EC politicians, or didn't it help in getting access to policy-makers?

Tomas: I think, I see it more the other way around. I think it's not our role as researchers to try to have access to politicians, and I never in my life tried to access any politician with any proposal or initiative. I think politicians should be driven by their views of what issues they need to deal with, and their ideologies, and try to access us for expert views. So, I am more like a passive actor in this, unless of course I am called by Population Europe or someone who wants to initiate an event. It's not that I don't believe that we shouldn't - when we are convinced that there is an important message we have. I think we should get this message out, and loud. But then, we have the institutions like Population Europe to do that. So, individual demographers, I don't know, really, demographers, if they would be there by their own initiative. Trying to make policy initiatives or to make contact to politicians and to get access to them. Unless, they need funding! [laughing]. You can, okay, access a ministry where you know that they have some funding and they could consider your agenda as important, and that concerns especially our big data collection activity. So, we had these big surveys - the biggest is generation and gender program, or generation and gender survey: a panel study of family dynamics, intergenerational relations and fertility, and it's very difficult to get it funded on a national level. So, then local demographers in different countries they do their best including they use their contacts with of these politicians to try to solicit funding to make this happen. So, this is the case when you get in contact with politicians sometimes.

Ole: This is also a bit inspired by an interview we did yesterday with a previous member of the Commission of Barroso, working in the employment section, and her take on this was that it is really difficult to push for social investment aspects for example - especially also when we talk about youth - because, well, basically there is an internal competition between the DG EMPL and the DG ECFIN. In fact, it's not so much a competition because DGEMPL always loses and DG ECFIN always wins. Well, this is also a bit the conclusion which we have come to so far. And then she said it's really problematic because it would be so nice for them to have some backup from other sides. Because you don't really have the private sector involved, you don't have many NGO's involved, and, well, academics want to publish. So, they don't really try to get involved in the policy process, and don't really put forward their policy ideas although they maybe have all the expertise to do so. So, she felt there definitely a need for more engagement but of course I don't know whether researchers are the right ones to target. But anyhow, this is more my personal take on it now and the reason why we ask. But also, I think we have come through the questions.

Tomas: But I think that one thing that we are learning is more or less to make our research more easily digestible and more visible. Not only Population Europe but I see more demographers engaged in writing short pieces, being engaged in all kinds of newsletters, media appearances, and twitter things, blogs. But much much less than economists and much much less than people from some of the other disciplines. We are not so many but in Europe there are also language barriers and other barriers. So, something which is very common in the US - that demographers, or the social scientists, are able to write very nice books about stuff like inter-generational change; how are societies changing in terms of different generations of income with completely different experiences in terms of education, early life-course, family formation, what does it mean for the future and so on. There are wonderful books from US social scientists. There are very very few, if any, books on Europe on these things. And if there are, they are sort of heavy scientific books which are not very easy to read. So, that's our creative deficit both in terms of bigger publications but also short newsletters. We are not trained to write in a beautiful language - journalistic style, easy and clear messages and that's a deficit where I think we should do much more in the future; to improve our visible and to get these politicians maybe in DG EMPL or policy makers more [indistinct] to our arguments or more materials to draw from.

Ole: I have to be honest here - so about 4 or 5 months ago I basically didn't know anything about demographic change. I did a year of studies in geography where touched upon the topic but apart from that nothing and I really think this is our issue and we have to talk about this and especially the young people have to talk about it. Of course, that also requires that we change our minds and that our politicians change their minds in terms of how this is addressed. This can't continue to be a talk centered upon that we have to spend less and to spend less.

Tomas: But you know, the problem - pragmatically speaking - is of course also that the main electorate are old people - the most disciplined and the one that is increasing demographically. So, politicians are not so motivated to revise their policies or target their policies towards the younger generations, and you see it in British elections as well, you know. Things like subsidies for heating, monthly supplements you get with your retirement pension so that you can safely heat your apartment. This was the concept 50 years ago. No one can touch them because they are afraid of losing the election. There are things like paying huge tuition fees at universities: you can increase

them three times - who cares? These people don't vote so much. So, from the point of pragmatically thinking politicians who need to be re-elected. How do they approach them? And it's difficult really to push them on the agenda.

Ole: That's true of course. We see that also. Of course, we try to push our friends to vote but you know, sometimes it's hard.