Demographic Change and Employment

Path Dependencies and Institutional Logics in the European Commission

Foverskov, Lea

COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
SOLBJERG PLADS 3
DK-2000 FREDERIKSBERG
DANMARK

WWW.CBS.DK

ISSN 0906-6934

Print ISBN: **978-87-93956-58-2**
Online ISBN: **978-87-93956-59-9**

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND EMPLOYMENT: PATH DEPENDENCIES AND INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

PhD Series 24.2020

Lea Acre Foverskov

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND EMPLOYMENT

PATH DEPENDENCIES AND INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

CBS PhD School | **PhD Series 24.2020**

CBS COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Demographic Change and Employment

Path dependencies and institutional logics in the European Commission

Lea Acre Foverskov

Supervisors:

Eleni Tsingou

Janine Leschke

CBS PhD School

Copenhagen Business School

Lea Acre Foverskov
Demographic Change and Employment:
Path dependencies and institutional logics
in the European Commission

1st edition 2020
PhD Series 24.2020

ISSN 0906-6934

Print ISBN: 978-87-93956-58-2
Online ISBN: 978-87-93956-59-9

The CBS PhD School is an active and international research environment at Copenhagen Business School for PhD students working on theoretical and empirical research projects, including interdisciplinary ones, related to economics and the organisation and management of private businesses, as well as public and voluntary institutions, at business, industry and country level.

English abstract

Europe is experiencing a "demographic crisis" because of population ageing. The economic old age dependency ratio, defined as the inactive aged 65 and above relative to the employed aged 20-64, was 43.1 in 2016 and is projected to increase to 68.5 by 2070. Such changes will particularly affect employment and social policy fields but there is little literature on how policymakers approach this issue. As the executive branch of the European Union and an important ideational agenda-setter, the dissertation investigates the European Commission's approach to demographic change. Specifically, I examine how ideas and institutions govern the Commission's construction of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy. Applying ideational and institutionalist theories, a framing paper and three papers address the subject using qualitative analyses of publicly available reports on employment and social issues and interviews with Commission officials. The findings suggest that the Commission faces a politicised institutional context that seems to limit the capacity for innovative thinking on demographic change. The strength of existing policy ideas on the labour market, especially the importance of economic growth and increasing employment rates of underrepresented labour market groups, creates a path dependency that makes it difficult for the Commission to innovate ideationally. In the case of active ageing, which the final paper explores, I use institutional logics to explain why the Commission has difficulty bridging traditional dividing lines between economically oriented and socially oriented ideas, but also under what conditions the different ideas tend to win. In conclusion, the dissertation suggests that not only institutional constraints but also the slow-burning nature of the demographic crisis is influencing the Commission's ability to innovate ideationally on the topic. The finding is important for our understanding of how policymakers address other slow-burning crises.

Dansk resumé

Europa gennemgår en "demografisk krise" på baggrund af befolkningsaldring. Forholdet mellem antallet af inaktive ældre over 65 år og antallet af dem i arbejde mellem 20 og 64 år var 43,1 i 2016 og forudsiges at stige til 68,5 i 2070. Sådanne forandringer vil særligt påvirke arbejdsmarkedet og socialpolitik, men der er ikke meget litteratur, der undersøger, hvordan de politiske beslutningstagere adresserer emnet. Som den udøvende arm af den Europæiske Union og en vigtig idémæssig spiller, som er med til at sætte dagsordenen, undersøger afhandlingen den Europæiske Kommissions indstilling til demografiske forandringer. Specifikt undersøger jeg, hvordan idéer og institutioner styrer Kommissionens konstruktion af demografiske forandringer i kontekst af arbejdsmarkeds- og socialpolitik. Et rammesættende dokument og tre artikler undersøger emnet ved hjælp af idémæssige og institutionelle teorier. Metodisk benytter afhandlingen sig af kvalitative analyser af offentligt tilgængelige rapporter om arbejdsmarkeds- og sociale forhold samt interviews med embedsmænd i Kommissionen. Resultaterne antyder, at Kommissionen står overfor en institutionel kontekst, som tilsyneladende begrænser kapaciteten for innovativ tænkning om demografiske forandringer. Stærke idéer om arbejdsmarkedspolitik, særligt vigtigheden af økonomisk vækst og af at øge beskæftigelsesniveauet, skaber en stiafhængighed, som gør det svært for Kommissionen at innovere idémæssigt. I sagen om aktiv aldring, som den sidste artikel undersøger, bruger jeg institutionelle logikker til at forklare, hvorfor Kommissionen har svært ved at bygge bro over traditionelle skel mellem økonomisk-orienterede og socialt-orienterede idéer, men også under hvilke forhold de forskellige idéer har tendens til at vinde frem. Afslutningsvist antyder afhandlingen, at ikke kun institutionelle begrænsninger, men også den langsomtbrændende demografiske krise, påvirker Kommissionen's evne til at innovere idémæssigt. Resultatet er vigtigt for vores forståelse af, hvordan de politiske beslutningstagere adresserer andre langsomtbrændende kriser.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation has been a red thread through my life for the past five years, a project to which I returned again and again. Although I saw it more as a treacherous cliff in a stormy sea for much of the project, I have increasingly come to realise that it was a lifeboat. I am now ready to come ashore. For me to have made it this far, however, would not have been possible without the extraordinary support – professionally and personally – from colleagues, friends, and family.

First, I wish to thank my supervisors. Both are strong role models who have made professor while I was on my PhD journey. For always being ready to read the latest draft, providing help and guidance on journal submission options, and navigating the literature on the European Union, I am grateful to Janine Leschke. For giving me the support that I needed – whether emotionally, with administrative challenges, or by pushing me forwards – I am grateful to Eleni Tsingou. You have shown me how professionalism and empathy go hand-in-hand. I could not have done this without you.

Second, my work was supported by the project "European Legitimacy in Governing through Hard Times" (#649456-ENLIGHTEN), a European Commission Research and Innovation action under the Horizon 2020 Framework Programme 2015–2018. I wish to thank both the European Commission for granting the funding, and the international group of researchers and administrators working on this project for an excellent and stimulating research environment. In addition to my supervisors, I extend special thanks to the ENLIGHTEN-team at CBS: Lonni Faulch, Leonard Seabrooke, Duncan Wigan, Martin Bæk Carstensen, and Cornel Ban.

Third, I wish to thank the people who travelled with me on the PhD journey. A special thanks to Louise Graulund Bøttkjær, who has become a close friend. Also thanks to Mart Laatsit for the hours spent at the Black Diamond and for our friendship. Thanks for the laughs and the discussions on office politics and methodology to Christian Hendriksen, Rasmus Corlin Christensen, Saila Stausholm, Jacob Hasselbalch, and Nicholas Haagensen. Although many would call me lucky for having a single office for the first years of my PhD journey, I was happy to gain wonderful office mates late in the process. Thank you to Joachim Delventhal, Katrine Maria Lumbye, Søren Lund Frandsen, and Irene Pace.

Fourth, I wish to thank both the academic and the administrative staff at the Department of Organization. I do not take the support that I received for granted. The academic environment is diverse and challenging, friendly and inclusive. The administrative staff are professional and always ready to help. A special thanks to the Head of Department, Signe Vikkelsø, and the Head of Administration, Marianne Aarø Hansen.

Fifth and finally, my family has always been a very important part of my identity. My upbringing and education was privileged and full of love and support. My parents gave me the self-confidence to pursue a PhD degree, although neither of them lived to see me through it. My sister, Sika Turner, and I have a special bond, which only strengthened with our mother's passing. Thank you for always looking out for me and inspiring me. My daughter, Alba, reminds me of the important things in life and keeps me grounded. Frustrations and tiredness disappear when she asks me to build Lego towers or draw hearts. To my partner in love and in life, Rafael Acre Foverskov, there are no words to describe the love and gratitude I feel. I dedicate this dissertation to you.

Table of contents

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Europe is experiencing a "demographic crisis" because of population ageing (Demeny, 2016; European Commission, 2017). Europeans are living longer and having fewer children, resulting in fewer people of working age and higher numbers of dependants. Such dynamics are slow to take effect and slow to change. They are the result of high fertility rates in the late 1940s and 1950s (known as the baby-boom generation) followed by decades of decreasing fertility rates from the 1960s until today. Additionally, health care – both the quality of it and access to it – has improved dramatically over the past 70 years, so we are living longer. These two factors – declining fertility rates and increasing longevity (measured in terms of declining mortality rates) – lead to population ageing and shrinkage. We may consider such developments in a positive light. For example, in the context of the climate crisis, having fewer children decreases CO_2 emissions, reducing our pressure on the environment (Wynes and Nicholas, 2017). However, the main response to demographic change is a concern for the continued economic and social sustainability of our societies.

We can illustrate these concerns with dependency ratios. There are various definitions of dependency ratios. The old age dependency ratio, defined as the age group of 65 years and above relative to the working-age population of 15-64 years (Wöss and Türk, 2011: 2), was 31.4 in 2019 in the EU and is projected to increase to 54.0 by 2070 (Eurostat, 2019a).[1] However, we may also want to consider economic activity, particularly because not everyone in the working age population is in employment. The economic old age dependency ratio, defined as the inactive aged 65 and above relative to the employed aged 20-64,[2] was 43.1 in 2016 and is projected to increase to 68.5 by 2070 (European Commission, 2018d: 37).[3]

These EU-wide figures mask great variation amongst the European countries. While no EU Member State had fertility rates above the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman in 2018 (Eurostat, 2019b), some

[1] The 2019 figure includes the UK while the 2070 projection does not.
[2] Note that the definition of working-age population has changed from ages 15-64 to 20-64. Such changes to age groups influence the subsequent dependency ratios significantly (Wöss and Türk, 2011). Demographers change them to reflect new societal realities. In this case, young people stay in education for longer today than they did in the past, so demographers have increased the lower limit for the working-age population from 15 to 20 years. Note, though, that Eurostat still uses the 15-64 age group, while the European Commission, when they present their own calculations in various reports, increasingly use the age group 20-64 (see e.g. European Commission, 2017, 2018, but contrast with European Commission 2019). Thus, the change is also a matter of definition. Another example is the increase in the upper age limit of the working-age population from 64 to 74, which reflects increasing pension ages (European Commission, 2018d: 37). However, this is less commonly applied.
[3] These figures include the UK.

countries have higher fertility rates than others. Higher fertility rates postpone the tipping point at which deaths will outweigh births. France, Sweden, Denmark, and Ireland have all had fertility rates above 1.7 children per woman consistently over the last few decades. Other countries rely on high levels of immigration to sustain population growth – this includes Germany and Spain – even as they experience a negative natural change, i.e. more deaths than births (Eurostat, 2019c). Finally, several countries are already experiencing depopulation from natural change, migration flows, or both (Bulgaria, Greece, Croatia, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, and Romania) (Eurostat, 2019c). Thus, demographic change is a pertinent topic for European policymakers. Although other advanced industrialised economies, particularly Japan, are also facing demographic challenges, this dissertation limits itself to examining European Union policy responses.

So what are European Union policymakers doing to tackle demographic change? The European Union's executive branch and administrative body, the European Commission, is aware of the challenges of population ageing. Let me present a short chronology of the Commission's output on the issue. Following a Green Paper in 2005 (Commission of the European Communities, 2005), the Commission issued a Communication on demographic change in 2006 outlining an "overall strategy" to address the challenge of population ageing (Commission of the European Communities, 2006). However, the Commission has not issued a follow-up Communication (Seabrooke et al., 2019: 9–10), which is otherwise the norm if the topic still has salience within the EU system. In the Communication, the Commission committed themselves to publishing a report on the long-term sustainability of public finances based on population projections. This morphed into the Ageing Report, published every three years by the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs (European Commission, 2006, 2009a, 2012e, 2015c, 2018d). The Communication also marked the beginning of bi-annual demography forums, hosted by the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs[4] in 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2013 but then discontinued.[5]

[4] Directorate-Generals often change name and area of responsibility when a new Commission takes office. This dissertation focuses on two Directorate-Generals (or DGs) that have remained relatively stable over time, so I will not refer to such changes when it comes to them. Today's DG for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion was the DG for Employment, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunities in 2006. I will refer to it throughout as the DG for Employment and Social Affairs (DG EMPL). The DG for Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN) has not had another name in the past two decades to my knowledge.

[5] Desk research. See First European Demography Forum (https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?eventsId=120&catId=88&furtherEvents=yes&langId=en&); Second European Demography Forum (https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?eventsId=121&catId=88&furtherEvents=yes&langId=en&); Third European Demography Forum (https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?eventsId=284&catId=88&furtherEvents=yes&langId=en&), and The Fourth

Finally, the Commission – spear-headed again by the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs – also used to publish demography reports, which were follow-ups to the 2006 Communication, but they have since been discontinued (Commission of the European Communities, 2007; European Commission, 2008, 2011, 2012a, 2015a).

Thus, the only Commission initiative that remains from the 2006 Communication on demographic change is the Ageing Report, published every three years and rooted in the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN). The Commission has discontinued all other efforts for which the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs (DG EMPL) was responsible. Demographic change seems to have all but disappeared from the Commission's agenda in spite of apparent awareness of the issue.

There may be good explanations for why awareness does not lead to concrete Commission action on demographic change. The three main components of demographic change are difficult for EU policymakers to address. First, declining fertility rates have macro-level societal consequences but policymakers consider them a micro-level private matter. Directly attempting to encourage higher rates of fertility is not compatible with the principles of individual liberty and democratic values on which the EU was established.[6] Second, declining mortality rates are fundamentally a positive development and speak to the EU goal of promoting the well-being of its citizens.[7] However, EU competence only covers the field of health marginally and in spite of Commission efforts to expand EU competences, it remains a national concern (Jensen, 2016).

An important third component of demographic change is migration. While higher immigration than emigration to a region will compensate for naturally declining populations in the short run, it is not a long-term solution to demographic change for both political and practical reasons. Politically, the 2015

Demography Forum (https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?eventsId=284&catId=88&furtherEvents=yes&langId=en&) (all accessed 11 May 2020).

[6] However, populist governments of EU Member States do directly encourage couples to have more children, financially rewarding families with more children. See, for example, the Polish government's efforts at increasing fertility rates (https://www.acton.org/publications/transatlantic/2017/02/17/wealth-redistribution-wont-solve-Poland-demographic-crisis, accessed 11 May 2020) and the Hungarian government's 2019 action plan for families (https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/11/have-four-or-more-babies-in-hungary-and-youll-pay-no-income-tax-for-life.html, accessed 11 May 2020).

[7] The EU in brief, Goals and values of the EU <https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en>, last published 31 March 2020, accessed 11 May 2020.

immigration crisis and the rise of populist anti-immigration parties around Europe has made immigration from countries outside the EU a hotly contested issue (see e.g. Demeny, 2016). Additionally, the principle of intra-EU mobility has increased internal imbalances between EU Member States (Hasselbalch, 2019), so this has also become a taboo in relation to demographic change. Practically, although migrants on average have a younger age profile than receiving populations upon arrival, they also age and thus come to rely upon local welfare systems (Demeny, 2016). Thus, higher and higher levels of immigration would be required to sustain naturally declining populations, making it an untenable solution. In summary, EU policymakers are severely constrained when it comes to addressing the three main components of demographic change.

However, even though the Commission cannot directly address these components for various reasons, policymakers can influence population ageing through other policy areas. For example, childcare availability and affordability can influence fertility decisions of individuals (Thévenon, 2014), which falls into the realm of social policy and spills over into employment policy as it also affects women's employment rates. In fact, if we examine the Commission's aforementioned strategy on demographic change in the 2006 Communication, it mentions five areas for policy action that are all connected to employment and social policy (Commission of the European Communities, 2006). First, promoting "demographic renewal", which aims to increase fertility rates through e.g. improved work-life balance and increased availability of childcare. Second, increasing employment rates amongst especially the elderly but also women. Third, improving labour productivity rates. Fourth, receiving and successfully integrating immigrants. Fifth, ensuring sustainable public finances through particularly pension reforms. Furthermore, the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs was the home for the 2006 strategy's efforts, except the Ageing Report.

The five areas of policy action combined with their administrative home suggests that the Commission addresses demographic change primarily from the angle of employment and social policy. Additionally, it seems logical for the Commission to address demographic change via employment and social policies. First, demographic change will affect employment and social policy immensely, as illustrated by the dependency ratios mentioned earlier. Second, the Commission has some competence in employment and social affairs vis-à-vis Member States (Rhodes, 2015), which it does not have in e.g. health or immigration. While some of this competence is in the legal realm e.g., anti-discrimination laws at the European level

(Hartlapp et al., 2014a: 64), in the context of demographic change, the relevant competence is rooted in the soft power of benchmarking and peer review processes of the European Employment Strategy (see, e.g., de la Porte and Nanz, 2004; Mailand, 2008). This is a realm of ideas, norms, and institutions. Thus, this dissertation explores the Commission's construction of demographic change in the context of employment and social policies and subsequent policy suggestions.

I argue that to understand the Commission's construction of demographic change, we must understand the underlying *ideas* that help the Commission "reduce uncertainty, propose a particular solution to a moment of crisis, and empower agents to resolve that crisis" (Blyth, 2002: 11). I thus argue that Europe's demographic change constitutes a crisis, a situation of institutional instability where the way we think about our societies and economies no longer makes sense and we must reconfigure them. However, demographic change is a case of a slow-burning crisis (Seabrooke and Tsingou, 2019), which extends beyond normal political and business cycles (Tsingou, 2014). Because of the long timeframe, such crises are not particularly obvious and receive little attention from policymakers and publics but they require a substantial and long-term overhaul of policies. Under such conditions, we can expect actors to debate the issue by bringing up competing ideas that help interpret the situation. However, there is little evidence of competing ideas within the Commission's output on demographic change in the context of employment and social policies and the dissertation aims to help explain this puzzle.

This dissertation thus explores the following research question:

How do ideas and institutions govern the European Commission's construction of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy?

To answer this question, I have two research objectives:

1. Identify the European Commission's ideas on demographic change within employment and social policy; and
2. Explore the consequences of such ideas for the Commission's employment and social policies.

I further break down these objectives in three papers, each with its own research question(s). Table 1[8] provides an overview of the papers and their publication status.

1. How does the European Commission conceptualise the issue of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy, and what policy solutions does it offer – particularly in contrast to the OECD?
2. Having discovered that the Commission perceives underrepresented groups in the labour market, such as women, youth, and elderly, as low-hanging fruits for increasing employment rates, what discourses, frames, and policies are associated with these three groups?
    a. What are the implications of these discourses, frames, and policies for the asymmetry between economic and social policies within the Commission?
3. Specifically on the elderly, how do internal conflicts between Directorate-Generals in the Commission influence the construction of social policy issues such as active ageing and pension reform?

Table 1: Status of the papers

Paper	Title	Publication status
1	The European Commission's Ideas on Demographic Change: Institutional constraints and politicised issues	Submitted to *Social Policy & Administration*
2	The European Commission's Ideas on Integrating Underrepresented Groups into the Labour Market	Under second review at *European Politics & Society*
3	Institutional Logics in the European Commission: Competition and complementarity on active ageing and pension reform	Submitted to *Global Social Policy* following revisions based on comments from reviewers at *Comparative European Politics*

I show that ideas and institutions govern the Commission's construction of demographic change in several ways. The dissertation's first paper finds that the Commission defines demographic change in terms of existing economic ideas, potentially because of the institutional constraints of the European Union architecture. In line with this, the Commission's favoured policy solution is increasing employment rates, a policy approach originating in the European Employment Strategy. Alternative policy solutions, such as automation and immigration, are too politically sensitive for the Commission to advocate, although in

[8] Note that table numbers, figure numbers, and footnotes start over from 1 at the beginning of each of the three papers.

different ways. The Commission thus faces a politicised institutional context that seems to limit the capacity for innovative thinking on demographic change.

Having discovered that the Commission perceives underrepresented groups in the labour market, such as women, youth, and elderly, as low-hanging fruits for increasing employment rates, the second paper explores the Commission's ideas on the labour market integration of these groups. I argue that the strength of existing policy ideas on the labour market, especially the importance of economic growth and a focus on supply-side policy fixes, creates a path dependency that makes it difficult for the Commission to innovate ideationally. The findings confirm the continuation of the EU's "social asymmetry" (Scharpf, 2002), where social priorities are subordinated to fiscal priorities.

Importantly, the internal workings of the Commission also affect these processes, which I explore in a limited fashion in the second paper but more thoroughly in the dissertation's third paper. Different Directorate-Generals in the Commission hold different sets of ideas about our society (Hartlapp et al., 2014b) and so understanding what determines which ideas win is important. The existing literature on the Commission suggests that the Commission often acts in compartmentalised ways, having difficulty bridging the various departments of the Commission (Hustedt and Seyfried, 2016; Knill et al., 2018). By combining ideational and organisational institutionalist literature, I help further this literature by using institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012) to explain why the Commission, in the case of its active ageing-policy, has difficulty bridging traditional dividing lines between economically oriented and socially oriented ideas but also under what conditions the different ideas tend to win.

The dissertation proceeds as follows. In this framing paper, I set out the empirical, theoretical, and methodological background of the research. I provide the empirical background in three sections: first, a review of the literature on ideas about demographic change; second, a section on the employment and social policies at the EU-level; and, third, a review of the Commission as a potential policy entrepreneur in this policy field. Then, the theoretical section outlines the combined ideational and institutional framework applied in the dissertation. Finally, the methodological section explains and justifies the research approach chosen. Then, the dissertation's empirical contributions follow in the three papers. Finally, the conclusion puts the research into perspective and outlines avenues for future research.

Engaging with demography: studying international organisations' ideas about demographic change

This section outlines existing approaches to analysing demographic change in political economy. I show that I am not the first to analyse demographic change from an ideational angle but that the literature is nascent and the approach underexplored.

Understanding demographic change involves understanding the field of demography. At the most elementary level, demography is the study of changes to populations, primarily in terms of the three components of population change: fertility, mortality, and migration (United Nations, 2019b). Demographers also study population characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, educational attainment, and employment status (Prskawetz et al., 2018). Estimating and accurately predicting major demographic trends, such as population growth or shrinkage, population ageing, and migration is important for policymakers to be able to formulate appropriate economic and social policies. As Piketty points out:

> …it is important to decompose the growth of output into two terms: population growth and per capita output growth. In other words, growth always includes a purely demographic component and a purely economic component…
>
> (Piketty, 2017: 92)

Piketty simplifies the situation, as he emphasises later, because several different indicators go into measuring the 'demographic component' and the 'economic component' with important consequences for the results.[9] However, his main point is clear: there is a strong link between demographics and economics (see also Peterson, 2017). For example, whether potential economic growth will lead to increased standards of living requires knowledge of whether and by how much the population will grow because more people will have to share the value of the increased output if the population is growing. This kind of relationship between demographic and economic components led the Chinese state to implement the one-child policy, the infamous social engineering-experiment aimed at bringing down fertility rates, halting population

[9] For the demographic component important indicators include employment rates, the size of the working-age population, and dependency ratios (European Commission, 2018d; Peterson, 2017).

growth, and thus increase per capita income at great human cost (Greenhalgh, 2003). Importantly, and to return to the point that how we measure the demographic component is crucial, research shows that *ideas* about the demographic situation in China and the appropriate response to it were foundational to the emergence of the one-child policy (Greenhalgh, 2003). Scientists used data in a particular manner to tell a story about the population situation in China, which became built into policy. Although one might argue that the Chinese case is special, in particular because of the authoritarian political system, the story still bears an important lesson: how we analyse and subsequently interpret and project societies' demographic developments – in other words, which *ideas* underpin the analyses – may have far-reaching and significant effects.

Considering, then, the importance of ideas about demography for economic and political analyses, it is surprising that political economists have not engaged more with the issue. The limited attention paid to political demography so far (Goldstone et al., 2012; Teitelbaum, 2015) indicates an unwillingness to engage with the issue. We may think of various reasons for this: the history of eugenics associated with population policies, a belief that politics can hardly affect demographic trends, or (vice versa) that demographic changes hardly affect politics (Teitelbaum, 2015). While the first reason is notable, the history of the issue should not prevent us from analysing it. As for the last two reasons, neither are true in practice – although, ironically, such ideas will also affect demographic developments and their societal consequences, as I will argue.

This is not to say that researchers have not analysed demography. In fact, recent studies consider demography an important component of political analyses. For example, researchers have studied how states conduct demographic engineering, rearranging ethnic groups in border areas to prevent cross-border insurgencies (McNamee and Zhang, 2019). Another study shows how demography has affected the evolution of nationhood in Israel (Abulof, 2014). Such contributions are ensconced in the nascent literature on political demography, which aims to study demography as "a major driver of politics alongside classic materialist, idealist, and institutional perspectives." (Kaufmann and Toft, 2012: 4) The approach contributes to our understanding of geopolitical developments.

However, this dissertation focuses on how *ideas* about demographic changes are essential for understanding politics, suggesting a combined ideational-demographic approach. Although demographic

change is a real and tangible structural development that policymakers must respond to, the way in which said policymakers interpret and think about the demographic changes shapes their responses. We find evidence of this in the existing research, but it is rarely emphasised. For example, the paper on state-sponsored demographic engineering concludes that the findings have important consequences for international efforts to limit the practice (McNamee and Zhang, 2019). For example, international sanctions are currently in place against China for its human rights-violating treatment of the ethnic group of Uyghurs in the Xinjiang province. However, getting bordering countries, such as Afghanistan, to commit to not providing bases for insurgent groups might be more effective than sanctions. In other words, the *ideas* the international community holds on such demographic engineering do not align with the ideas held by the governments conducting the demographic engineering, and this affects international relations. Similarly, the study of the discourse on demography in Israel shows that the *idea* that the state of Israel should consist of a Jewish majority, rather than a binational state of Jews and Arabs, has been imperative for Zionists since the beginning of discussions to create a Jewish homeland (Abulof, 2014). This idea has affected Israel's geopolitical decisions such as halting military advancement in 1949 following the Arab-Israeli War in 1948. Further military advancement would have left the democratic Israel with an Arab majority in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, which ran counter to the essential Zionist idea of a Jewish majority in Israel. Thus, the importance of ideas about demography in international relations and geopolitics is evident.

Ideas about demography may traditionally have been strongly rooted in nationalism and the context of the state. However, the rise of international cooperation and the increase in the number of international organisations means that policymakers and bureaucrats at several levels increasingly deal with topics previously reserved for the national arena (see, e.g., Broome and Seabrooke, 2012; Buchanan and Keohane, 2006). Arguably, this is also the case for demography. For example, many international organisations now provide their member countries with accumulated population statistics and projections, such as the United Nations (e.g., United Nations, 2019b), the OECD,[10] and the EU.[11] Furthermore, such international organisations are increasingly the home of norm creation that affects national policymaking (Kentikelenis and Seabrooke, 2017). Researchers have analysed the strength of the EU – both in terms of its legal power

[10] See, e.g., OECD (2020), Population (indicator). doi: 10.1787/d434f82b-en (Accessed on 13 May 2020)
[11] See, e.g., Eurostat (2020), Population: demography, population projections, census, asylum & migration – Overview. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/population/overview (Accessed 13 May 2020)

(Vauchez, 2008) and its soft, ideational power (de la Porte and Heins, 2015). Finally, although demographic developments differ from country to country, the trend of population ageing prevails amongst advanced, industrialised societies, particularly in Europe.

Thus, considering these developments, I argue that it is increasingly important to study the ideas about demography expressed by international organisations to be able to understand policy developments on the topic. The international organisations do not just provide population statistics but also interpretations of such demographic indicators. Because numbers are rarely 'just numbers': for example, macroeconomic indicators carry important ideational power (Mügge, 2016). Therefore, although it is outside the scope of this dissertation to analyse the origins and ideational power of the numbers predicting demographic changes in Europe, I seek to understand what underlying worldviews and paradigms shape the interpretations of those numbers and what consequences such interpretations have for policies. Such questions relate also to the distribution of resources and power between different actors in the policy sphere: whose ideas win in the interpretation-game?

Sending and Neumann's (2006) case of international population policy in the twentieth century is an interesting example of such an analysis. They show how international population policy evolved from one focused on controlling global population growth, particularly in the Global South, to one more focused on human rights, particularly the rights of women in the face of policies attempting to control fertility. This occurred through a process of changing perceptions about non-state actors and their place in governance. So while population growth did not slow significantly in the Global South in the period examined by Sending and Neumann, ideas about population policy shifted to focus on a different concern, namely that of the rights of the individuals – women – at the receiving end of (pro- or anti-) natalist policies. This is an example of how underlying worldviews influence the interpretation of demographic statistics and subsequently affect policies aimed at controlling or mitigating demographic consequences.

Understanding policymakers' interpretation of and response to demographic change is especially important in light of current demographic developments facing advanced industrialised countries in Europe: falling fertility rates, population ageing, and increased levels of global migration. In spite of national variation, the trends are continent-wide and the consequences will affect all of Europe, changing

the European economy, social coherence, and political stability (Boussemart and Godet, 2018; Demeny, 2016).

There is hardly any research on how European policymakers are addressing this significant issue. However, the research that does exist shows that demographic change in Europe is in a policy vacuum where neither the public, interest organisations, nor European Commission bureaucrats engage with the issue (Seabrooke et al., 2019). The prioritisation of economic over social policies since the Euro crisis of 2011-12 within the Commission (Copeland and Daly, 2018; de la Porte and Heins, 2015) has led to the favouring of the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs' more economically-focused approach to demography. Their Ageing Report uses optimistic productivity growth projections that downplay the urgency of demographic change (Seabrooke et al., 2019: 7). In contrast, the more socially-focused Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs' efforts at creating a coherent demographic change-agenda were shut down (Seabrooke et al., 2019: 9). This leaves Europe in a situation where the Commission – as the important agenda-setter and information provider – cannot and does not act consistently on demographic change.

The existing research on demographic change in Europe thus points to the Commission's important role in addressing the issue – but also the Commission's relative failure to do so. My dissertation expands on this nascent literature by digging deeper into the Commission's understanding and construction of demographic change and proposed policy response. I focus on employment and social policy because the literature points to this having the greatest potential for a unified framework on demographic change. How, then, is the field of EU employment and social policy understood? I now turn to literature in this field to situate the dissertation there as well.

Employment and social policies in Europe: the little brother of economic policies

Following an introduction to EU competences on employment and social policy, this section reviews the discussions on the asymmetry between economic and social policies in the EU. Scholars have long shown the dominance of economic policies – both in terms of policy output and in terms of ideational power – over social policies in both structure and discourse of the EU. In fact, there is a "constant tension between the goal of delivering an EU-wide market order versus the desire to ensure social solidarity" (Manners and Rosamond, 2018: 32) and it is one of the key dilemmas of European studies. This backdrop is important for the dissertation, as it relates to the relative importance of certain ideas compared to other ideas in the EU system and their potential impact on the Commission's approach to demographic change.

While I generally consider employment and social policy under one umbrella in this dissertation, let us briefly explore the different EU competences in these two fields. To begin with social policy, there is little formal integration of social policy at the EU level (Leibfried, 2015). However, since the 1992 Social Protocol of the Maastricht Treaty, the European Commission has had the competence to initiate legislation on a range of employment and social issues, effectively establishing EU social policy (Menz, 2019). Furthermore, scholars argue that integration in other policy areas, particularly economic policy, has led to a situation where the EU institutions have more power over social policy than the Treaties state (Leibfried, 2015). Direct policy pressures has led to the setting of some social standards at the EU level. However, spillover from market integration and the integration of economic policies has led to pressures for convergence amongst national welfare states and severe restrictions in terms of social spending, to which I will return later (e.g. de la Porte and Heins, 2015).

Employment policy is a different matter. There is a strong legal basis for EU-level employment rights coupled with the EU-level social dialogue, instituted particularly following the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (Rhodes, 2015). Additionally, there is the European Employment Strategy and associated Open Method of Coordination, to which I return in the following paragraphs but which, however, have lost traction in recent years (Peña-Casas, 2013; Rhodes, 2015).

Although EU-level integration of employment and social policy is at different stages, scholars often consider them together as areas of EU soft law governance. Tholoniat (2009), for example, mentions the

'soft law paradox' in employment and social policy fields as the balance between the need for policy momentum and the need for institutional predictability. The differences between these two policy fields become smaller still when you compare them with the integration of economic policy at the EU-level.

Much of the literature on employment and social policies in Europe thus attempts to understand the inherent asymmetry between economic and social policy (Heidenreich and Bischoff, 2008). Further economic integration – specifically market integration and liberalisation – dominates European integration efforts and has done so since the inception of the European Economic Community (Scharpf, 2002). The six founding countries focused on economic integration during the initial negotiations leading to the Treaties of Rome and only institutionalised some social policies, specifically labour market anti-discrimination laws (Scharpf, 2002).[12] These laws remain, to this day, the strongest social competences of the EU (Hartlapp et al., 2014a: 63).[13] Later efforts to harmonise social policy have become increasingly difficult as the six founding countries both expanded their own welfare states – but in different ways – and as membership expansion led to increasingly heterogeneous Member States (Crespy and Menz, 2015; Scharpf, 2002).

This situation was exacerbated by the response to, first, the Eurosclerosis of the 1980s and, second, the Eurozone crisis in 2009-10, where economic integration accelerated and deepened while social policy-integration was left behind. The internal market programme and the commitment to a monetary union in the early 1990s constituted a deepening of economic, "market-making" policies but left social, "market-correcting" policies behind (Scharpf, 2002). The Stability and Growth Pact was introduced in 1997 to ensure compliance with the aims of the Economic and Monetary Union, EMU, placing limits on public debt and budget deficit (de la Porte and Heins, 2015). This constrains Member States in terms of social policies, especially during economic crises and recessions, as there is little leeway to increase social spending to shore up the externalities of the economic cycle (de la Porte and Heins, 2015). Although monetary policy competence now resides with the EU, fiscal policy is caught between, on the one hand, the pressures exerted by the Stability and Growth Pact on public finances, and on the other hand, the fact that fiscal policy remains a national competence (de la Porte and Heins, 2015).

[12] For a detailed walkthrough of the EU's employment policy from the 1970s to the origins of the European Employment Strategy in the late 1990s, see Goetschy (1999).
[13] See Hartlapp, Metz, and Rauh (2014a) for an analysis of recent developments on EU anti-discrimination regulation.

For various reasons, but mainly as an attempt to counter the negative effects these developments was having on the EU,[14] a "social moment" happened at the EU level (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014). The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty introduced the European Employment Strategy, prioritising a 'high level of employment' in the EU (Goetschy, 1999). Both the Commission and the Member States drove the process, which eventually also resulted in the Open Method of Coordination (de la Porte, 2011). The OMC was a novel policy instrument, most advanced in the field of employment, but extended to include other policy areas, such as poverty and social inclusion, pensions, health care, innovation, and information society (Heidenreich and Bischoff, 2008). The OMC is a soft law approach – as defined in relation to the hard law of EU legislation (de la Porte and Pochet, 2012: 336) – employing iterative benchmarking, performance evaluation, and peer review to achieve common European goals (Zeitlin, 2008). It thus allows mutual learning at the EU level in policy areas governed by the principle of subsidiarity and where Member States are so diverse as to preclude harmonisation (Goetschy, 2001: 406; Zeitlin, 2008). The impact of the OMC has been difficult to assess, arguably because it has had a very limited impact on national policymaking (de la Porte and Pochet, 2012).

The European Employment Strategy and its associated processes of the OMC were integrated into the socioeconomic "governance architecture" (Borrás and Radaelli, 2011) of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 (Velluti, 2012). The goal of the Lisbon Strategy was to make the European Union "the most competitive, sustainable, socially inclusive knowledge-based society" (Council of the European Union 2000 in Armstrong, 2012b: 217). Policy actors conceived the idea for the grandiose project at the end of the 1990s and it came to fruition at the Lisbon Summit in March 2000 (James, 2012). The strategy provided "a clear and positive link between social, employment, and economic issues and [placed] the renewal of the European social model at the heart of an integrated economic and employment strategy." (Velluti, 2012: 91) It set several quantitative goals for the EU to reach by individual Member States' efforts contributing towards the average. This included a goal of a 70 per cent employment rate, including specifically a goal of 60 per cent for women and 50 per cent for older workers (Velluti, 2012). It also set goals for childcare provision, reflecting the initial focus on gender equality that later became increasingly invisible (Rubery et al., 2003).

[14] The popular scepticism to further European integration following the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, combined with the criticisms of democratic deficit of the EU-system and high levels of unemployment, led European policymakers – particularly the President of the Commission, Jacques Delors – to further the employment agenda. (Goetschy, 1999)

In spite of the goal to integrate economic and social priorities, the main ideational narrative of the Lisbon Strategy – competitiveness – was controversial because of the emphasis on the economic aspect at the cost of the social dimension (Armstrong, 2012b; James, 2012; Velluti, 2012). Through several rounds of review and reform, including the Wim Kok and Sapir reports, the Lisbon Strategy was streamlined, intending to simplify processes and integrate economic and social goals ever more (see figure 6.1 in Velluti, 2012: 92 for an overview of the most important dates for EU employment policy 2000-2010). One of the key points here is the merging of the Employment Guidelines with the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines into a set of Integrated Guidelines for Growth and Jobs (Heidenreich and Bischoff 2008). Scholars have shown that this "integration" resulted in a reduced visibility of employment and social issues at both EU and national levels (Daly, 2007; Velluti, 2012; Zeitlin, 2008). Overall, in spite of signs of convergence on key employment indicators amongst the Member States until the Eurozone crisis (van Rie and Marx, 2012), there is consensus that the Lisbon Strategy was a failure. The EU did not achieve its targets and is not likely to have achieved them even if the Great Recession and subsequent Eurozone crisis had not taken place (Borrás and Radaelli, 2011; Leschke et al., 2015; Mailand, 2008).

The goal of increased competitiveness was carried over into the Europe 2020 strategy (Armstrong, 2012b), which signals the continued emphasis on economic aspects rather than the social dimension (Armstrong, 2012a). However, competitiveness was not included in the Europe 2020 mantra, which instead was "smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth" (European Commission, 2010b). The idea of setting quantitative targets was also carried over to Europe 2020: the overall employment rate target was set at 75 per cent (compared to 70 per cent in the Lisbon Strategy), but targets for specific labour market groups were discontinued (Armstrong, 2012b: 221). Analyses of the Europe 2020 strategy have shown that in spite of the prominent place afforded social goals, they are loose and under-elaborated without a clear model for social development (Daly, 2012). Furthermore, the austerity advocated by the economic and fiscal policies of Europe 2020 run counter to the goal of inclusive growth through poverty reduction (Leschke et al., 2015).

While some scholars argue the "social moment" of the Amsterdam Treaty disappeared already from around 2005 (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014), around the time of the mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy and the loss of visibility, most point to the Eurozone crisis as the final nail in the coffin. However, scholars debate whether the process since then has led to the EU leaving social policies behind (yet again) or whether social policies at the EU level have experienced or will experience a revival. After the initial

Keynesian, investment-focused response to the financial crash of 2008 (Schmidt, 2015: 41), the Eurozone crisis of 2010-2014 led to further deepening of the economic integration. The European Semester, launched in 2010, was a response to demand for stronger fiscal control mechanisms, particularly from the European Central Bank, as the Eurozone crisis began to unfold (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014; Schmidt, 2015: 42).

The European Semester consists of several instruments of policy coordination – for both fiscal and social policies – layered onto each other (de la Porte and Heins, 2015). On the fiscal side, the Six-Pack, Fiscal Compact, and Two-Pack, introduced 2011-2013, are all relatively strong interferences in Member States' governance. The Semester process allowed coordination and monitoring of Member States' budget and economic policies, effectively centralising powers with the Commission (Schmidt, 2015: 42). The Commission gained "quasi-independent powers" in the European Semester with "discretionary authority to enforce the various oversight functions of the macroeconomic imbalance and excessive deficit procedure" (Schmidt, 2015: 41). For the program countries receiving bailouts, the consequences of a strong centralisation and focus on numbers (the calculation of which is a disputed subject on its own) led to the Troika's enforcement of harsh austerity policies (see Helgadóttir, 2016 for an analysis of the origins of the austerity policies in an EU context; Schmidt, 2015: 42–43). In the aftermath, the IMF, as one part of the Troika, even criticised the Commission for being too focused on compliance with EU rules and thus unable to identify growth-enhancing structural reforms (Schmidt, 2015: 43). Arguably, for non-program countries, the Commission was more flexible in its interpretation of the rules (Schmidt, 2015: 43).

On the social side, the Lisbon Strategy, the subsequent Europe 2020, the Euro-Plus Pact, the Social Investment Package, and the Youth Guarantee are all weak – particularly in comparison to the fiscal instruments. They are essentially voluntary, while the fiscal instruments are anything but voluntary (de la Porte and Heins, 2015). Furthermore, the social initiatives have an underlying aim of increasing financial sustainability, thus focusing on economic aims rather than social ones (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014). Arguably, social instruments in the EU have been subjugated to economic and fiscal ones since the inception of the European Employment Strategy in the late 1990s (Goetschy, 2001: 403).

On the European Commission's role in this process, Crespy and Menz (2015) show that the Commission has employed its considerable powers to promote an agenda of liberal market building rather than social

regulation. Similarly, Menz (2019) demonstrates that the Commission crafted a strong liberal identity for social and labour market policy under the Lisbon strategy of the 2000s, while the arguably more social Europe 2020-agenda is unfocused and ultimately a 'recycling' of the liberal Lisbon strategy. Thus, scholars argue that the Commission is a powerful actor in balancing (or not) economic and social policies in the EU.

In other parts of the EU system scholars have also found that social policies lag behind economic integration. Finance ministers in the European Council are better positioned to control policy priorities in the European Semester than ministers in the Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council (Maricut and Puetter, 2018). The social Country-Specific Recommendations support market development rather than correcting for market failures (Copeland and Daly, 2018). The social investment-paradigm is absorbed into stable, neoliberal agendas focused on fiscal discipline and deregulation in the European Semester (Crespy and Vanheuverzwijn, 2019). Thus, social priorities are subordinated to fiscal consolidation (Leschke et al., 2015), emphasising the relative dominance of liberal economic ideas over approaches favouring higher levels of policy intervention.

In spite of some scholars' insistence of the possibilities for a revival of social policies in the European Semester (Zeitlin and Vanhercke, 2018), there thus seems to be agreement on the domination of economic priorities over social ones in the EU-system, fuelled by Commission entrepreneurship and the political and institutional context (Crespy and Menz, 2015). This has consequences for how I study the Commission's construction of demographic change in the employment and social policy fields. I expect some competition between economic and social ideas in the construction of demographic change, probably with economic ideas coming to dominate the construction. On the other hand, demographic change might also be an issue on which the Commission can exercise some of its famous policy entrepreneurship to show acuity on social matters with important economic consequences. Finally, it is also important to understand under which circumstances social ideas may come to dominate economic ones, as they did in Europe's "social moment" of the late 1990s.

Next, I turn to understanding the Commission's competencies and structure (again, in the context of employment and social policy) to set the stage for the analyses in the dissertation's three papers.

The Commission: a potential policy entrepreneur

This section argues for the importance of the Commission as an agenda-setting actor and occasional policy entrepreneur in the EU-system. Following a brief description of the Commission, the section discusses the literature on both the internal and external dynamics that shape the Commission's power and approach to policymaking. The section clarifies two important premises of this dissertation: that the Commission is a strong actor in the EU system – although not the only one – and that it is not a monolithic actor.

The Commission is both the executive branch of the European Union and its secretariat (Wallace and Reh, 2015). It plays a key role in the enforcement of EU rules in the Member States and demonstrates institutional creativity in handling such situations. For example, the Commission created networks at both supranational and subnational level to enforce EU rules on gender equality, a key social policy (van der Vleuten, 2005). Similarly, in ensuring the rule of law in Member States, the Commission actively draws on networks of international organisations, bypassing its institutional limits in the EU system (Coman, 2016).

In policymaking, the Commission has at least three important roles: it is an agenda-setter, an administrative knowledge-house that ensures the consistency of EU action over time, and an efficient broker between Member States and other EU actors (Tholoniat, 2009). I study it here for its agenda-setting powers and for its proven track record as a policy entrepreneur (Crespy and Menz, 2015; Knill et al., 2016) through, e.g., "the dissemination of best practices and models" (Radaelli, 2000: 38). The Commission has a role as an ideational leader in developing a European policy identity, helping to steer the Member States (Menz, 2019). On economic policy, the Commission has successfully crafted a shared "market-making" discourse, which underpins its activities (Rosamond, 2012). Relying on its administrative entrepreneurship routine (Knill et al., 2016), the Commission used its power effectively in both policy initiation and formulation on environmental policy from the 1970s and onwards (Knill et al., 2018). On employment and social policy, the Commission played an important role in the emergence of the European Employment Strategy in the 1990s by crafting a shared discourse (Rhodes, 2015: 306). Thus, scholars have demonstrated the importance of Commission policy entrepreneurship for EU integration processes, also within employment and social policy. Scholars have even occasionally heralded the Commission as a potential "social champion" of Europe because of its legal and rhetorical commitment to social rights

(Parker and Pye, 2018). Thus, the Commission has a legacy and potential for establishing strong, shared discourses in employment and social policy.

This comes with some caveats. The policy identity of the Commission on employment and social policy is currently weaker than it has been in the past, partly because the Commission has been criticised for its overreach (Menz, 2019). Furthermore, the power of the Commission is at any given time often enabled or constrained by the political factors at play in the European Parliament (a co-legislator who increasingly requests the Commission to examine an issue or propose legislation) and the Council and Member States (Wonka, 2015), which I examine in greater detail in the section on external factors.

In this dissertation, I distinguish between the political and administrative levels of the Commission. The College of Commissioners fills the political role of the EU's executive. The Commissioners are elected for five years at a time in a complex process involving both the European Council and the European Parliament (Wallace and Reh, 2015: 74). The College's priorities determine many of the Commission's daily activities (Tholoniat, 2009). The Commission also serves as the EU's administration and bureaucracy with a total staff of over 32,000 employees.[15] I focus on the European civil servants who conduct policy analyses and write reports with the purpose of analysing the construction of demographic change over time. Parts of the dissertation treat the Commission as monolithic but parts attempt to unpack the internal dynamics of the Commission. Thus, I will briefly discuss the existing literature on these dynamics. Then, considering also the importance of external dynamics on the workings of the Commission, particularly the College of Commissioners and the political leadership in Member States, I briefly examine these as well.

Internal factors: competition between DGs

The Commission consists of more than thirty Directorate-Generals and several more executive agencies and service departments.[16] Scholars argue that the Directorate-Generals (DGs) are very similar to ministries in national governments (Hustedt and Seyfried, 2016). The multitude of DGs means that issue-overlap, i.e. where an issue is addressed by several DGs, is common (Peters, 1994). On demographic

[15] European Commission (2020) HR Key Figures: Staff Members. Accessed 3 June 2020 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/european-commission-hr_key_figures_2020_en.pdf>
[16] European Commission (2020) Department and executive agencies. Accessed 4 June 2020 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/departments>

change, for example, the DG for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion (EMPL) is an important actor, as already mentioned. However, pension reform – which affects and is affected by employment policies for particularly older workers – is dealt with by the DG for Economic and Financial Affairs (ECFIN), which also publishes the Ageing Report to project how demographic change affects public budgets. Additionally, several other DGs are involved in related topics: the DG for Health and Food Safety (SANTE) promotes active and healthy ageing to ensure a longer healthy lifespan of Europeans, while the DG for Financial Stability, Financial Services, and Capital Markets Union (FISMA) regulates financial markets, including private pension funds. This results in complex dynamics and occasional competition (see, e.g., Hustedt and Seyfried, 2016).

The treatment of the Commission as anything but a monolithic actor is relatively recent. Hartlapp, Metz, and Rauh (2013, 2014b) have studied the Commission's internal workings in greater and more systematic detail than before. Focusing on both issue framing and internal decision-making structures, they show that coordination structures within the Commission favour the Secretariat-General and the lead DG on a given issue (Hartlapp et al., 2013). Generally, they find that the DGs are the most relevant actor to study inside the Commission to understand position formation (Hartlapp et al., 2014b). Based on extensive research of policy processes, they create three ideal-types of position formation that may take place within the Commission: technocratic problem-solving, ideologically-driven policy-seeking, or maximising the Commission's organisational competences (Hartlapp et al., 2014b). Finally, and interestingly, they adopt a political economy perspective to critically assess the Commission's problem-solving capacity and acknowledge the problems created by "the imbalance between market-liberal and market-intervening policies" in the EU (Hartlapp et al., 2014b: 10). I draw on Hartlapp, Metz, and Rauh's insightful research by also focusing on DGs (to which I turn next) and by following the critical political economy perspective to assess the consequences of imbalance between market-enhancing and market-correcting approaches in the EU, as discussed in the previous section. However, considering that demographic change is a socioeconomic issue with no specific policy outcome, an analysis along the lines of Hartlapp, Metz, and Rauh's would miss the mark, as they analyse policy processes of Commission proposals adopted by the Council.

Hartlapp, Metz, and Rauh were not the first to acknowledge that the Commission is not a monolithic actor. In particular, scholars have distinguished between more social and more economic actors (Crespy and

Menz, 2015: 757; de la Porte and Heins, 2015: 10; de la Porte and Pochet, 2014: 282). For example, DG EMPL is considered a social actor and DG ECFIN an economic one. While DG EMPL was in a strong position at the turn of the century, following the introduction of the European Employment Strategy and the OMC process for some social policy areas, the table turned not long after to the advantage of DG ECFIN and the associated market actors (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014). Scholars have shown that DG ECFIN's positioning leading up to the financial crisis resulted in it being centre stage during the crisis years 2008-2014 (Copeland and Daly, 2018; de la Porte and Heins, 2015; de la Porte and Natali, 2018: 836). Thus, scholars characterise DG ECFIN as a finance ministry with all the normative and cognitive ideational power that comes with that (Schön-Quinlivan and Scipioni, 2017) and emphasise the centralisation of Commission evaluation procedures in DG ECFIN (Schmidt, 2015: 43). DG ECFIN generally works with the European Central Bank and other market actors to achieve their ends (de la Porte and Pochet, 2012: 344). In contrast, DG EMPL relies on social dialogue with (weaker) social actors such as the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) as an additional tool of policymaking, which has been downplayed since the mid-2000s (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014).

Considering this evidence on the internal competition between economic and social actors within the Commission and the general focus on studying international administrations to understand their decision-making better (Knill et al., 2016), this dissertation focuses on the ideational power struggle between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN. This places the dissertation's emphasis in-between micro-level explanations focusing on bureaucrats' individual ideas and beliefs (e.g., Hooghe, 2005, 2012) and macro-level explanations of organisational structures (e.g. Nugent and Saurugger, 2002).

External factors: Commission leadership and politics in Member States

When explaining the change(s) of power positions between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN over time, scholars often rely on external factors. These include particularly the position of the Commission leadership and the political majorities in Member States (de la Porte, 2011; de la Porte and Pochet, 2014). Although the dissertation's emphasis is on the ideational positions in-between the macro-level monolithic Commission and the micro-level EU bureaucrats, I cannot single out ideational causes in the processes described here. Therefore, I will briefly review these external factors as potential important influences on the Commission.

On the Commission leadership, scholars often describe the Delors Commissions of the early 1990s as key in developing an EU-level employment and social policy (de la Porte, 2011; Goetschy, 1999). On the other hand, the scandal and resignation of the Santer Commission weakened the institution of the Commission considerably (Nugent and Saurugger, 2002), even as it oversaw the institutionalisation of the European Employment Strategy in the late 1990s (de la Porte, 2011). Scholars have described the Barroso Commissions as particularly liberal and market building in their approach to policymaking, leading to the de-prioritisation of social policies (Crespy and Menz, 2015; James, 2012). The recent Juncker Commission oversaw a centralisation of powers in the hands of the Secretariat-General (Bürgin, 2018), which meant that DG ECFIN was left in an even better position and arguably also led to a downplaying of demographic change, as it fell between the cracks of a centralised Commission policy (Seabrooke et al., 2019). Finally, the von der Leyen-Commission, which only recently took office and which is thus not part of this dissertation, includes a Vice-President of democracy and demography, charged with producing a report on the impact of demographic change on Europe and presenting a Green Paper on ageing.[17] Such political priorities may lead to changing emphases on demographic change in the European Commission.

On the other hand, the changing Presidencies of the Council and general political mood in the Council may also influence Commission action on certain policies. For example, de la Porte (2011) analyses the political party leadership in the Council as part of her exploration of the relationship between the Council and the Commission over the institutionalisation of the European Employment Strategy. Similarly, the balance between economic and social actors in the EU is influenced by the number of left-leaning governments among Member States (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014).

In summary, this dissertation emphasises the ideational factors at the meso-level of aggregate Commission bureaucrats rather than either a monolithic Commission or a micro-level of individual bureaucrats. As to factors (partially) external to the Commission, particularly the Commission leadership – the College of Commissioners – and the political positions of Member States in the Council, I mention them when relevant but do not analyse them as such.

[17] European Commission (2019) Ursula von der Leyen's Mission letter to Dubravka Šuica, Vice-President for Democracy and Demography, Brussels, 1 December 2019. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/sites/comm-cwt2019/files/commissioner_mission_letters/mission-letter-dubravka-suica_en.pdf. Accessed 10 February 2020.

An ideational and institutionalist theoretical framework

This dissertation acknowledges the history of scholarly literature on the EU. This includes the debates on European integration, focused on discovering the driving forces behind the creation of EU-level policies (Moravcsik, 1993; Rosamond, 2005), and on Europeanisation, focused on discovering the effects of European integration on Member States' policies and practices (Radaelli, 2003). In line with Radaelli (2000), I draw on a broader field of social science research in my study of the European Commission's construction of demographic change. I apply ideational and institutionalist theories to understand the processes at play in the EU, acknowledging its unique complexity but rejecting that it might be unique in its complexity.

Other scholars have employed ideational theories to explain EU policy processes. For example, Parsons (2002, 2003) shows how a particular set of ideas developed amongst French policymakers after the Second World War came to influence the institutionalised EU of today. Jabko (1999, 2006) shows how the European Commission strategically constructed the policy proposal for a European monetary union in the 1980s and 1990s, building political support through ideas. In general, Saurugger (2013) shows that ideational approaches are particularly useful in studying policymaking in the EU because of the high level of issue and institutional complexity (see also Zahariadis, 2013). As Rosamond (2020: 1) puts it, "It is no longer controversial to argue that 'ideas matter' in European integration."

However, my case is different. Demographic change exists in a policy vacuum in the European Union, i.e. there is no uptake on the issue (Seabrooke et al., 2019).[18] I study demographic change in the context of employment and social policy, which is where the European Commission most significantly addresses the issue, albeit indirectly, which allows for important insights. However, demographic change is similar to other cases where there is awareness of the issue but little policy action or advocacy, which for example climate change was until quite recently (see also Carpenter, 2007). To expand our knowledge of these policy vacuums, we can identify ideas that pertain to them and their change over time. This concerns the agenda-

[18] Seabrooke, Tsingou, and Willers (2019) analyse the evolution of policies on demography and demographic change in the Commission. This dissertation builds on their conclusion that the Commission primarily addresses demographic change through employment and social policies.

setting stage of the policymaking process, i.e. understanding which issues make it onto the political agendas of various policy entities and organisations and which do not.

Agenda-setting is a crucial stage of the policymaking process because it determines which issues are subjected to decision-making (Princen, 2007). In other words, this stage determines which issues are important enough – or sufficiently worthy of attention – to be dealt with, and in what terms. It matters not only which issues make it on to the agenda, but also their shape and form when they reach it. Understanding how policy actors conceptualise particular issues is important because "definitions define the scope of potential possible choices" (Mehta, 2010: 33), including certain policy solutions but excluding others.

As discussed in the previous section, competition between issues in the EU system is a complex topic due to the many access points available to potential policy advocates (Peters, 1994). Although the Commission has important agenda-setting powers, it does not exist in a vacuum: other EU institutions or policy actors may push the Commission to make proposals, including the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, or the Court of Justice of the European Union (Princen, 2007). Even if we only look at the Commission, its fragmented structure means that various bureaucratic actors might initiate a policy proposal (Peters, 1994: 14). Thus, agenda-setting involves both a process of competition for attention among different issues (and their policy advocates) and a process of problem definition (Béland, 2016: 739). This dissertation focuses on the process of problem definition, i.e. the Commission's construction of demographic change, specifically in the context of employment and social policies. Here, ideas play a crucial part. Let us thus begin by defining ideas.

Daniel Béland (2016: 736) defines ideas as "the changing and historically-constructed 'causal beliefs' of individual and collective actors". This gets us started. First, the definition acknowledges that ideas are not stable but changing. Second, they are historically constructed, i.e. built up over time and yet conditional on the current time. Third, ideas are 'beliefs' held by actors, whether individual or collective. This last point suggests that actors 'hold' ideas passively, i.e. they cannot do anything active with them but ideas shape their actions. This is not in line with much of the ideational literature today, which argues that actors can also use ideas more actively, as we shall see. Furthermore, the definition fails to define 'causal beliefs' and so still leaves us in the dark about what ideas are and can do. Thus, a more concise definition is necessary.

In his seminal work on ideas, Campbell provides a more detailed definition: "Ideas provide specific solutions to policy problems, constrain the cognitive and normative range of solutions that policy makers are likely to consider, and constitute symbols and concepts that enable actors to construct frames with which to legitimize their policy proposals." (Campbell, 1998: 398) This helps us understand what ideas can do. Campbell says they can do three things: they can provide solutions to problems, they constrain policymakers in terms of possible courses of action, and they enable policymakers by providing heuristics for complex problems and potential solutions.

Combining these two definitions helps us to see ideas as changing, historically contingent constructs, conditional on the current time. Ideas provide both structure and agency: they are a constraint in the sense that actors need them to handle the uncertainties of the social world – but also a resource because actors can use the ideas to influence other actors (Carstensen, 2011: 603). Thus, ideas must operate at different levels, for how can they otherwise simultaneously constrain and enable? Let us thus explore different levels and types of ideas to understand this process.

Different levels and types of ideas

Several ideational theorists have elaborated on the different levels and types of ideas. Here, I draw mainly on Jal Mehta's framework of three levels of generality because they are theoretically more parsimonious than others are and there seems to be increasing consensus on the existence of three – rather than four (cf. Campbell, 1998) – levels of ideas. Thus, Mehta (2010) progresses from the narrow to the broad in distinguishing between *ideas as policy solutions*, *ideas as problem definitions*, and *ideas as public philosophies*. As I apply the terms here, Mehta's (2010) *policy ideas* roughly correspond to Schmidt's (2008) policies and Campbell's (1998, 2004) programs; Mehta's *problem definitions*[19] correspond to Schmidt's programs and Campbell's paradigms; and Mehta's *public philosophies* correspond to Schmidt's philosophies and Campbell's public philosophies (1998) and public sentiments (2004). The various terms are confusing but I mention them here to show broad scholarly agreement on the existence of various types

[19] Scholars sometimes use 'frames' synonymously with 'problem definitions' (see, e.g., Campbell, 1998). In this paper, following Mehta (2010: 33), I consider frames to be one element in the larger battle over problem definition as frames are the packaging of ideas to legitimise them to other policymakers and to the public. However, in other parts of the dissertation I use 'frames' rather than 'problem definitions'.

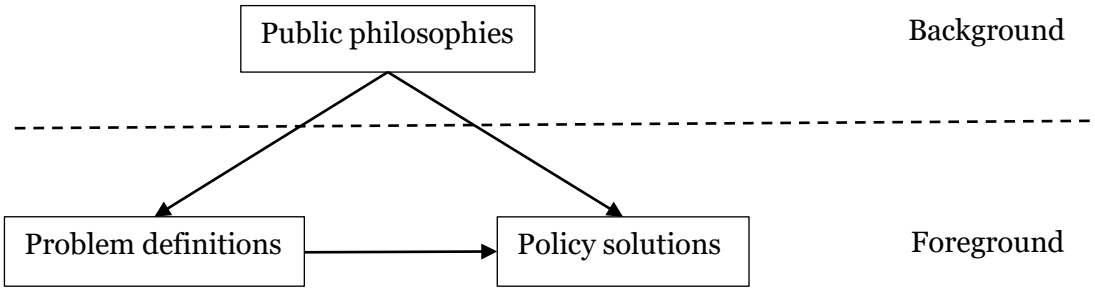
of ideas at different levels of generality. Here, I will apply Mehta's terminology but include definitions from other ideational scholars to explain the various levels of ideas.

Ideas as policy solutions are the narrowest and most specific kinds of ideas. They prescribe an actionable course of policy action (Campbell, 1998). In employment and social policy, examples include the principle of 'flexicurity', promising both flexibility in terms of liberal redundancy regulations and security in terms of e.g. income (Mailand, 2010), and 'making work pay', i.e. ensuring economic incentives for inactive or unemployed individuals to enter or re-enter the labour market (Trlifajová and Hurrle, 2018). The difference between such policy solutions and problem definitions is that ideas for policy solutions take the problem for granted – the idea then provides a solution.

However, the problem to which we need a solution does not appear out of thin air. Thus, debates often focus on *ideas as problem definitions,* which are particular ways of understanding complex – but specific – issues (Mehta, 2010). For example, what causes unemployment: rigid labour market regulation, insufficient financial incentives, or a lack of jobs? The answer to such a question will limit the possible policy solutions. Therefore, problem definitions are broader than policy solutions. Problem definitions do not automatically lead to certain policy solutions, as there are several solutions available within each definition, which policy makers may then also contest (Mehta, 2010).

Finally, *ideas as public philosophies* are the unconscious lenses through which people see the world (Schmidt, 2016: 320). They are the core principles and unquestioned assumptions about the society and the market in the background of policy debates, unconsciously defining the purpose of government (Mehta, 2010: 27). These "infuse" the ideas at the other levels, i.e. problem definitions and policy solutions, but while problem definitions and policy solutions sit in the foreground of policy debates, policymakers debate ideas as public philosophies less regularly. They "generally stay in the 'background' as underlying assumptions, deep philosophies, or taken-for-granted ideas that are rarely questioned or contested except in times of crisis." (Schmidt, 2016: 320) The extent to which policymakers regularly debate and contest the ideas in policy debates is thus the main determinant of whether an idea is in the foreground or the background. Arguably, we can also see background ideas as more constraining and foreground ideas as more enabling, but this is a generalisation and may not hold in all cases. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between the three levels of ideas.

Figure 1: The relationship between ideas as policy solutions, problem definitions, and public philosophies[20]



We also need to address the distinction between cognitive and normative arguments (Campbell, 1998). Cognitive arguments are outcome-oriented, causal guidelines for political action based on "principles and norms of relevant scientific disciplines or technical practices" (Schmidt, 2016: 324). Normative arguments, on the other hand, are value-focused legitimations of policies (Campbell, 1998) that refer to the appropriateness of the political action (Schmidt, 2016). Arguably, ideas – and the discourse that conveys ideas – are stronger when the cognitive and normative ideas are complementary (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004: 201). However, Mehta denies that the distinction is relevant for analytical purposes. He argues that policy actors apply both kinds of ideas in "mutually reinforcing" ways (Mehta, 2010: 33), which makes it irrelevant to attempt to distinguish between them. I follow Mehta's approach in this dissertation although I acknowledge the distinction between the two kinds of arguments.

Discourse or the location of the exchange of ideas

Having thus defined ideas as providing actors with both constraining and enabling specific policy ideas, broader problem definitions, and background public philosophies, let us examine how such ideas specifically influence policy and policymakers. Here, we must allow for the exchange of ideas between policy actors. Ideational theory (defined only as identifying and classifying ideas) cannot really help us move forwards here as it does not hold analytical tools for understanding the context(s) in which ideas are

[20] Adapted from figure 1 in the second paper in this dissertation, *The European Commission's Ideas on Integrating Underrepresented Groups into the Labour Market*. In the paper, I use 'discourse' rather than 'public philosophies', 'frames' rather than 'problem definitions', and 'policy ideas' rather than 'policy solutions'. This inconsistency in term usage reflects my increasing theoretical sophistication, which evolved during the course of the PhD study, as I wrote the papers before the framing paper at hand.

exchanged or discuss how or under which conditions actors may hold or use ideas. Thus, other terms are necessary to understand how ideas might matter.

In defining the context(s) in which ideas are exchanged, Mehta (2010: 35) distinguishes between arenas where political decisions are at stake (political, decision-making arenas) and arenas where they are not (the media, academic literature). However, this distinction does not show how these two arenas influence each other in important ways. More useful is Schmidt's (2008: 310) distinction between the coordinative discourse of "ideational generation and contestation" (Carstensen and Schmidt, 2016: 325) between policy actors, and the communicative discourse between political actors and the public. Schmidt describes ideas as "the substantive content of discourse" and discourse as "the interactive process of conveying ideas" (Schmidt, 2008: 303). In other words, actors express ideas through discourse in certain institutionally determined settings, and it is in this process that ideas come to influence policymaking: "[d]iscourse helps create an opening to policy change by altering actors' perceptions of the policy problems, policy legacies and 'fit', influencing their preferences, and, thereby, enhancing their political institutional capacity to change." (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004: 188) Thus, specifying the context in which policymakers exchange ideas is important for understanding ideas' potential influence on policymaking.

This dissertation focuses on the coordinative discourse between policy actors. The EU's coordinative discourse is generally stronger than its communicative discourse, which generally takes place between national governments and the public (cf. Schmidt, 2014). Although the European Commission, amongst other European institutions, has been attempting to increase their communicative discourse with the public, "[t]he main thrust of the EU Commission's policy discourse…remains in the co-ordinative realm, addressed to the networks of governmental and non-governmental actors involved in policy construction at the EU level" (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004: 199). Thus, I consider the Commission's (and other organisations') written reports to be a form of communication with other policymakers, be they stakeholders or other interested parties. It contains expressions of ideas at all three levels and is thus part of the coordinative discourse amongst policy actors.

The link between ideas and institutionalism

Over the past two decades, scholars have shown the academic fruitfulness of considering ideas and institutions together (Béland, 2005, 2016; Blyth, 2002; Campbell, 1998, 2002, 2004). For example, Campbell (1998: 378) brought together insights from historical and sociological institutionalism to develop his typology of ideas, which later informed Mehta's three levels of ideas. Campbell (1998) shows how both historical and organisational institutionalist traditions have a "theory of constraint" which explains how policymakers are limited in their range of possible policy routes or actions. However, the two institutionalisms have different explanations for the constraint: in historical institutionalism, (elites') underlying normative structures are the defining institutions. Thus, ideas must align with the normative structure for policymakers to be able to transport the ideas into the policymaking arena. In organisational institutionalism, on the other hand, the constraint stems from cognitive limits: we are limited in a world of uncertainty and complexity. Campbell argues that ideas thus enable policymakers by providing them with heuristics through which to make sense of the world, allowing them to act. Thus, we see how Campbell sees institutions – whether from the historical or organisational tradition – as constraining factors and ideas as the constructs that allow actors to act and thus potentially change the institutions over time. Similarly, Schmidt (2008), in her framework of discursive institutionalism, argues that institutions are both external structures with rules and internal constructs that constrain actors, comparable to the effects of ideas and yet separated by ideas' more changeable nature.

As mentioned, I draw on discursive institutionalism in this dissertation. However, I also draw on historical and organisational institutionalism. Before turning to these, I will briefly explain why I disregard another important institutionalism, that of rational choice. Rational choice institutionalism assumes interests are objective or material and separable from ideas (Schmidt, 2008: 317–9). This is in contradiction to a basic premise of this dissertation: the subjectivity of the world. While not rejecting material reality, I study actors' subjective responses to material reality, rather than believing material reality leads to objective interests (Schmidt, 2008: 318). Thus, interests are not separable from ideas, nor are interests objective or material. Furthermore, in rational choice institutionalism, interests serve as neutral incentives for rational action, whereas particularly sociological and discursive institutionalists argue that the world is more uncertain than this assumption makes it seem (Schmidt, 2008: 319). We cannot know or estimate all the forces that may influence an actor and their choice. Thus, the actor makes decisions in a state of

uncertainty, drawing on ideas in the shape of e.g. norms. Thus, while ignoring rational choice institutionalism, let us review the fruitfulness of studying ideas and institutions together, whether applying historical, organisational, or discursive institutionalism (Béland, 2016).

While I move on to consider how historical and organisational institutionalism can help us explain the social world, I continue from an ideational perspective. This means that I put ideas front and centre of explanations. For example, ideas shape agents' interests but are not reducible to them. This is in opposition to historical institutionalism, which puts institutions first, and rational choice institutionalism, which puts interests first (Blyth et al., 2016).

Historical and organisational institutionalism: path dependency and institutional logics

This dissertation employs terms from both classic historical institutionalism, particularly path dependency, and from ideational theory to help explain the lack of change in the Commission's approach to demographic change in employment and social policy. There are clear complementarities between these approaches and scholars have applied them fruitfully together before (Blyth et al., 2016). For example, historical institutionalists traditionally understand path dependency as a kind of "institutional equilibrium" (Thelen and Conran, 2016) from which it is difficult for historical processes to diverge due to the stability of institutions over time. My application of path dependency in this dissertation instead mirrors that of Berman (1998). Here, deeply held ideas drive the path dependency as actors are constrained by such ideas. Thus, ideas determine path dependency more than material attributes of institutions. However, institutional settings that only change slowly are constitutive of the ideas. In this way, ideas take prime position but I do not ignore the importance of institutions.

Additionally, the dissertation's third paper eclectically introduces institutional logics, which originates in organisational institutionalism (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Institutional logics are "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences." (Thornton et al., 2012: 2) Thus, institutional logics are frames of reference for actors, conditioning the vocabulary they use in motivating action and providing a basis of

legitimacy and identity. Logics provide a method of orientation for actors, habituating how they define the problems they address, what is important to them, and ultimately how they behave.

For example, Hustedt and Danken (2017) show how a policy logic, focused on technically correct policies, prevailed in one German inter-departmental committee, allowing cooperation to emerge across functional dividing lines of bureaucracy. In another inter-departmental committee, a political logic prevailed, governed by party-political competition, resulting in a lack of agreement. This case illustrates the usefulness of the theoretical perspective, although the application only draws on a few of the perspective's parts.

The social world is complex. Institutional logics reflect this complexity as they coexist in society. They may be competing and contradictory or coordinating and complementary (Thornton et al., 2012: 62–63). In the dissertation's third paper, I build on the EU literature on employment and social policies to construct two ideal-type institutional logics in the Commission: a market logic and a social logic. I argue that both exist in the Commission (along with others). Certain Commission actors are more likely to adhere to specific logics, but no actor holds only one logic as all actors (individuals or organisations) hold multiple logics at any given time (Thornton et al., 2012).

I apply institutional logics to understand the construction of active ageing and pension reform in the Commission. Both policy issues can help alleviate the economic and social consequences of demographic change. I show how both issues carry aspects of both logics and that logics – rather than the ideal-type imagined by theorists – exist as spectra in empirical settings. Thus, although both active ageing and pension reform draw on aspects of both market and social logics, active ageing's social logics are stronger and pension reform's market logics are stronger. This has implications for the way in which both issues are treated in the Commission under changing circumstances over the 1997-2018 period, which I examine.

Application in this dissertation

The first two papers of the dissertation draw particularly on ideational theory. In the first paper, I analyse ideas as policy solutions and ideas as problem definitions, but do not consider ideas as public philosophies. I explain this focus in the paper. The first paper also considers aspects of historical and discursive

institutionalism. The second paper analyses all three levels of ideas albeit with slightly different terminology than in this framing paper. I explain my choice of vocabulary in the paper. The second paper also draws on the notion of path dependency in the historical institutionalist tradition, as covered in the previous section. Only in the third paper do I consider institutional logics.

I downplay the agency of actors in the first two papers of the dissertation, as actors may not be consciously engaged in the 'contest' but rather tend to prefer particular kinds of problem definitions because of their taken-for-granted assumptions (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). However, the third paper more actively acknowledges the agency of organisational actors in the framework of institutional logics.

As my analysis in this dissertation focuses exclusively on the Commission, I do not consider policymakers' communication with the public. I do not analyse the feedback the Commission gets from the public on green papers, for instance, for the sake of research design-parsimony. Such analysis would be useful in future research to get the full picture of the impact of ideas on the issue of demographic change. However, constituent pressures are not the only way public sentiments influence policymakers: policymakers may also hold normative public sentiments themselves, limiting the range of policy actions they deem legitimate. To the extent that the data reflects such normative, background ideas, I capture them in the public philosophies-type of idea, where this is examined.

There are weaknesses in my approach. For example, as I apply the ideational-institutional theory I do not consider interests. Recently, there has been a push to integrate interest-based and ideas-based explanations better in EU studies (Saurugger, 2013). However, I chose to focus on ideas and institutions, downplaying interests, because there is very little position-taking on demographic change in the EU (Seabrooke et al., 2019), indicating that actors are less aware of their own interests on this issue. Future research could analyse the interests of various actors and organisations inside and outside the EU system on demographic change to uncover whether interests play a role at all.

This dissertation shows how deeply held *ideas* can limit policymakers' range of options by closing them off to other (new) ideas in a mechanism similar to that of path dependency. Furthermore, drawing on institutional logics, I explain that different parts of the Commission are dependent on different heuristics, making it particularly difficult for them to cooperate effectively.

Methodology

This section describes the research philosophy, research design, data, and analytical methods applied in the three papers. The dissertation builds on an interpretive, qualitative, and case-oriented methodology. I operationalise it by coding documents and semi-structured interviews.

Research philosophy: interpretivism

In line with ideational theory, interpretivism emphasises that reality is relative and multiple (Gaus, 2017). Thus, reality is a social construction determined by how individuals see the world (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Knowledge is not "a mirror of reality" but interrelational and constituted through interaction. The objects of study are interpretations and negotiations of the meanings of the social world rather than objective realities. The goal of interpretive research is to continually understand behaviour rather than reach a final explanation (Gaus, 2017).

The role of the researcher is important within interpretivism. The researcher has an interactive and cooperative relationship with the subjects studied, with no privileged point of observation (Gaus, 2017). Because of the importance of understanding social realities, the concept of *verstehen* is a qualification. Originating with Max Weber, the German word *verstehen* entails the ability to understand meanings in their context (Gaus, 2017). Reflecting on this in relation to my own research process, *verstehen* required a certain amount of familiarisation with the employment and social policy fields before and during the data collection and analysis. This meant I was going back and forth between the academic literature and the Commission reports as necessary. By the time I did the interviews, I had a sufficient understanding of the Commission officials' professional context to be able to interpret their meanings on employment and social policy. However, I discovered that I had not sufficiently immersed myself in the cultural context of the Commission and its hierarchical structure. I will reflect more on this in the section on the interviews.

In line with interpretivism, I seek to understand the specific context of the case under study, focusing on the specific and concrete. The knowledge generated by this study is not generalizable as social reality is context- and time-specific. However, knowledge may be transferable from one situation to another, taking the context of social knowledge into account (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The findings of the study

contribute to the theoretical framework of ideas and institutions under specific circumstances. These contributions may be valid in other cases.

Interpretivism has its challenges. First, can one truly understand the reality of others? There are limits to empathetic understanding. However, I contend that it is not a question of complete immersion. Rather, it is a question of enough immersion for the researcher to be able to draw out the findings. Second, it may be difficult to understand macroscopic features of society when focusing on individuals. However, as contended previously, my focus is on the meso-level, rather than the micro-level of individual bureaucrats. Third, it may be difficult to establish boundaries around the group that the researcher is studying. In the context of this dissertation, I limited myself to studying the European Commission or specific units within the Commission. Even this definition, though, is arbitrary, as some of the interviewees had worked at different units in the Commission over time, changing the composition of the social groups. This is why I stick to an institutional view of the Commission and its Directorate-Generals rather than a social group-perspective.

Methods: abduction and case study

The dissertation is a case study of the European Commission's construction of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy. Social scientists in the interpretive, qualitative tradition draw on the strengths of case studies' unique forms of interpretation. The aim is not to generalise but rather to develop practical, situation-specific knowledge, which is particularly important when studying the contingent nature of human interactions (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Thomas, 2010).

Several methodologists argue for the primacy of abductive research approaches, particularly when it comes to case studies. Abduction is "a creative, inferential process" (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012: 167) of examining particular cases resulting in the development of an explanatory idea (Thomas, 2010: 577). Abduction (or retroduction) involves approaching a case study with some prior knowledge but with an acceptance of the fact that this knowledge would not be sufficient to fully comprehend the changing social reality of a particular case. While both induction and deduction assume that generalisation is possible across cases, Thomas (2010) argues that generalisation is at best very difficult in the social world due to

contingency and context specificity. Thus, abduction offers a research approach more in tune with the social world and its complexities, where generalisation is not an aim.

Thomas (2010) further argues that rather than having theory be the endpoint of social science, researchers should aim for phronesis – the attainment of experience or practical knowledge. This is in line with Flyvbjerg's (2006) insistence of the value of case studies in attaining practical, contextual knowledge because of the difficulty of theory construction in social science. The goal thus becomes "understanding and behavior in particular situations." (Thomas, 2010: 578) Researchers should thus develop their phronesis – their experience – by understanding multiple theories, i.e. being theoretically agnostic (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012: 169), and researching another's experience from one's own perspective in case studies (Thomas, 2010). This approach acknowledges the subjectivity and inherent assumptions of all researchers in the research process (Thomas, 2010: 579).

Thus, from this starting point, the very early stages of my research were exploratory, as I was developing familiarity with the case study of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy. However, I began to incorporate ideational theory to inform the data analysis. Along the way, I began to try to account for the findings by considering other theories, particularly institutional logics. Essentially, I was moving back and forth between theory and data, building on existing theory but remaining open to alternative findings and modifications of the theory.

Data collection

There is both consistency and variation in the data applied across the three papers. All three papers rely, at least partly, on document analyses of European Commission-reports on employment and social affairs. Document analysis is particularly useful in case studies, as documents aid in providing rich descriptions of specific issues (Bowen, 2009: 29). In addition, I conducted interviews with twenty former and current Commission officials. I included data from these interviews in the first and third papers. Finally, I contrast the European Commission's approach to demographic change with the OECD's approach in the first paper, which thus also relies on OECD reports. Table 2 provides an overview of the data applied in the papers.

Table 2: Data by paper

Data	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3
Employment and social policy reports from the Commission	Yes	Yes	Yes
Interviews with Commission officials	Yes	-	Yes
Employment and social policy reports from the OECD	Yes	-	-

I chose to analyse documents from the European Commission on employment and social affairs as my primary source of data for several reasons. First, there is limited data in terms of legislation or more policy-relevant data on demographic change in the EU. The only documents from the Commission specifically on demographic change since the turn of the century are the 2005 Green Paper and subsequent 2006 Communication. I refer to these as background information when relevant in the papers. Other possible documents I could have chosen include the Joint Employment Reports, which are part of the European Semester process. They provide an annual overview of the employment and social developments in the EU as well as Member States' reforms in line with the Guidelines for the Employment Policies of the Member States (European Commission and the Council, 2019: 3). Thus, the Joint Employment Reports do not report on issues not mentioned in the Guidelines. As demographic change has not been taken up as a serious issue by the Commission (Seabrooke et al., 2019) – nor by other EU institutions – it has not permeated the Guidelines resulting in very few mentions of demographic change in the Joint Employment Reports. Thus, considering the limited number of policy-oriented documents on demographic change, I had to resort to other sources to be able to identify the Commission's ideas on demographic change.

Second, as the primary research question of the dissertation is to identify the European Commission's ideas on demographic change within employment and social policy – and specifically the taken-for-granted assumptions expressed in the coordinative discourse between policymakers – I needed to examine analyses at an earlier stage of the policy process. At the initial stages of policy formulation, discourses are often more inclusive than in the later stages. Some policy ideas may be excluded through the negotiation process in legislation (see, e.g., Béland, 2005: 9). Furthermore, the necessity of coherent arguments in the later stages of the policy process (Béland, 2005: 15) arguably also reinforces the exclusion of alternative ideas and frames along the way. Thus, I aimed to find more evidence of ideas on demographic change in the early stages since they seem to disappear from the Commission's agenda at later policy stages.

The data comes from two Directorate-Generals in the Commission: the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs (*Employment and Social Developments in Europe*) and the Directorate-

General for Economic and Financial Affairs (*Labour Markets and Wage Developments in Europe*). Thus, I do not consider reports on e.g. migration from the Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs because although the first paper discusses the Commission's ideas on migration, it is only within the field of employment and social policy. I included reports on employment from DG ECFIN in the second and third papers to be able to compare ideas across a social actor and an economic actor in the Commission with the aim of exploring the consequences of the ideas on demographic change for the Commission's employment and social policies. I justify the choice of reports and explain what they analyse in the methods sections of the second and third papers.

Could I have focused on other documents or included more? I could have included documents from actors related to the Commission, particularly the Employment Committee and the Social Protection Committee. However, both committees consist of Member State experts and they advise the Council on employment and social affairs with administrative support from the Commission. Thus, they are more involved with political actors than with the Commission.

On demographic change more broadly, I might have analysed the demography reports from the Commission, published 2007-2015, and the Ageing Reports, published consistently every three years since 2006. However, I did not include them in the document analysis for two reasons. First, I realised early on that – in the light of the discontinuation of the demography reports – employment and social policies offered the greatest potential for a unified framework on demographic change, primarily because of the Commission's competence on employment and social policies, which it does not enjoy on e.g. health and immigration. Thus, I chose to analyse the policy field where the Commission had the greatest potential for creating a policy framework that the Member States might draw on. As the demography reports had been discontinued and the Ageing Reports focus on the specific aspect of fiscal sustainability of public finances, they informed my background reading but did not form part of the analysis that aimed at identifying the European Commission's ideas on demographic change *within* employment and social policy.

Second, in researching this field, the contrast between economic and social actors within the Commission quickly became apparent to me. This led me to develop a research approach that would allow me to contrast a report from the economic actor (DG ECFIN) and a report from the social actors (DG EMPL). Rather than use DG ECFIN's Ageing Report and DG EMPL's demography reports, I decided on the *Labour Market and*

Wage Developments in Europe and *Employment and Social Developments in Europe*. The Commission was still publishing both reports and had been doing so for longer and more consistently than (in particular) the demography reports and Ageing Reports. Thus, it became clear that analysing demographic change in the context of employment and social policies was the best approach, as it (1) is within the Commission's competence, and (2) allowed me a longitudinal analysis through the DG EMPL and DG ECFIN reports, which was not possible if I focused on the demography reports and ageing reports.

Focusing on these reports allows me to conclude on the Commission's early-stage policy ideas on demographic change in the context of employment and social policies. The nature of the data does not allow me to consider specific legislative proposals of the EU. Instead, I trace issues as they wax and wane on political agendas (Carpenter, 2007; Helgadóttir, 2016; Seabrooke and Wigan, 2016). Thus, I am trying to understand '[t]he way in which European institutions "think" – i.e. choose among different hypotheses, develop ideas, frame the political discourse, choose the jargon to disseminate their policy recommendations, set targets" because it "plays a role in shaping policy makers' "mental map"…' (Villa and Smith, 2014: 277). The approach resembles that of Crespy and Vanheuverzwijn (2019) who also use document analysis and some interviews to show how the concept of structural reform has changed over time in the output from the European Semester. Hasselbalch (2019) also applies a similar research strategy to identify different storylines on intra-EU migration.

Interviews

In abductive research projects, the researcher continuously moves between theory and data, analysing along the way. Data collection by interviews is well suited for such studies, because analysis of interview data begins before the interviews and even takes place during them (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Thus, in addition to the documents, I collected data by interviewing twenty former and current Commission officials on demographic change and employment and social policies, mainly in Brussels. This interview process began after I had finished the document analysis (see next section). Thus, the interviews served as a way for me to probe my findings and question them.

A list of the interviewees is available in table 3. The first column assigns the interviewees a random code. The second column describes their relevant affiliation with the Commission, indicating whether it is current or past. The third column mentions any additional relevant information.

Table 3: List of interviewees

Code	Past or current relevant commission affiliation	Notes
P1	Former (retired) official in DG EMPL	Conducted a follow-up interview, resulting in P1a and P1b. P1b was a telephone interview.
P2	Current official in DG ECFIN	
P3	Current statistical assistant in DG EMPL	
P4	Current official in DG ECFIN, previously in DG EMPL	
P5	Current official in DG ECFIN, previously in DG EMPL	
P6	Former (retired) official in DG EMPL	Conducted over the telephone.
P7	Current official in DG EMPL	
P8	Current official in DG EMPL	
P9	Current official in DG EMPL	
P10	Current official in DG ECFIN	Interviewed together with P11.
P11	Current official in DG ECFIN	Interviewed together with P10.
P12	Previous official in DG EMPL, now at a different DG	
P13	Previous official in DG EMPL, now at a different DG	
P14	Current senior official in DG EMPL, previously in DG ECFIN	
P15	Current official in DG EMPL	Interviewed together with P16.
P16	Current official in DG EMPL	Interviewed together with P15.
P17	Current contractual agent in DG EMPL	
P18	Current official in DG EMPL	
P19	Former (retired) official in DG EMPL	Conducted over Skype.
P20	Current official in DG ECFIN	Exchange of emails.

I identified the interviewees mainly through reviewing the authors of the relevant section in the reports. While I was in Brussels, I added more interviewees in a snowball-sampling fashion as my contacts made more contacts available to me (Beckmann and Hall, 2013). For example, the first interviewee mentioned several other relevant officials to me during and at the end of the conversation and I was able to secure interviews with nearly all of them. Most of the interviews took between half an hour and an hour, although a few were longer (up to two hours). For two of the interviews there were two interviewees present. This was always at the request of the interviewees and I understood that it was for the sake of saving time. In one case, having two interviewees present was an advantage, because I felt they were more open on sensitive issues than they might have been if I had conducted the interviews separately. In the other case, I did not feel it made any difference, neither for the better nor for the worse. I was unable to conduct all of the interviews in person, mainly due to geographic disparity, so three of them took place over the telephone or Skype (one of these was a second interview). Finally, I exchanged emails with one official, with whom it

was not possible to secure an interview. I only used this email exchange as supporting information and background knowledge. It did not directly inform the analysis.

In terms of the distribution of the interviewees, I was unable to secure interviews with the team working on the DG ECFIN-report, *Labour Markets and Wage Developments in Europe*. In fact, the head of the unit refused the interview requests on behalf of her whole team, in spite of repeated attempts at approaching them in a flexible manner. However, I was able to secure interviews with officials who used to work in that unit, who were able to answer many of my questions on the nature of the report and the processes surrounding it. When questioned about the unit's unwillingness to participate, the officials either denied to comment or mentioned that the unit was "quite closed".

The interviewees were from the administrative level in the Commission, i.e. analysts, heads of units or teams, or directors, i.e. of an elite nature (Empson, 2017). In elite interviewing, more so than in other types of interview situations, interviewing is a craft (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). In interview studies, the researcher is the main instrument of data collection. Thus, her skills, sensitivity, and knowledge become essential for the quality of the data produced. Previous experience with academic, elite interviews was an advantage for me and the literature on interviewing in political science and elite organisations (especially Empson, 2017; but also Mosley, 2013) prepared me further for the power asymmetries between the interviewer and the interviewee.

However, in spite of my preparations, which included informed consent forms sent ahead of the interview with a list of themes and establishing the ground rules (MacLean, 2013: 73–76), the interview with the most high-ranking Commission official in Brussels was a challenging experience, which the literature did not prepare for me. As I was aware of this interviewee's high-ranking position, I had prepared particularly well for the interview. However, the interview began only after several assistants joined us – something the interviewee had not informed me of in advance. The interviewee then requested information about my other interviewees, most of whom were the interviewee's employees. When I said that I could not share that information, the interviewee became upset. While I felt they stayed true to their word of not letting this influence their willingness to be open with me during the interview, the power games shocked me. I subsequently only referred to the interview as background information.

While the literature on elite interviewing does discuss dealing with difficult interviewees (Empson, 2017: 7–8), I was not prepared for the interviewee's frustration at not knowing which one of their employees I had spoken to. For the interviewee, it was a question of time management. While the literature mentions the business of individual interviewees, particularly when trying to gain access (Empson, 2017: 3–4), there are no reflections on a manager's perspective. I took the experience with me into the following interviews, although I did not speak with more managers after this. The experience taught me to be prepared for a broader range of experiences even than covered in the literature.

The interviews were semi-structured (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) so I followed the interviewees if they brought up aspects beyond the questions posed or in more depth. I then researched these additional points, both by comparing and contrasting with the document analysis, but also by triangulating with other Commission documents. The interview guide and informed consent form are in appendix 1.[21]

Data analysis: coding

I developed two separate coding schemes with the employment and social policy-reports from both the Commission and the OECD during the data analysis. Table 4 summarises which coding scheme was used for each of the papers.

Table 4: Coding scheme by paper

Coding scheme	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3
Ideas on demographic change, both Commission and OECD reports	Yes	-	-
Ideas on integration of underrepresented labour market groups, only Commission reports	-	Yes	Yes

The two coding schemes differed because they had different purposes, although there were similarities between them. The first scheme on demographic change was an emergent process based on open coding and thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009). The second scheme was organised by qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012, 2013), not to be confused with *quantitative* content analysis or qualitative *comparative* analysis. I used the software NVivo in developing both schemes. In addition, both schemes began with a thorough reading of the documents, a deep familiarisation with the data. I realised that large sections of

[21] Note that appendices for the whole dissertation, including the three papers, are collated at the end of the document.

the reports did not address demographic change, as the reports mainly focus on employment and social policies more broadly. For the purposes of the analyses, focusing on uncovering the Commission's (and the OECD's for the first paper) construction of demographic change in the context of employment and social policies, I needed to identify the relevant sections. Otherwise, I would have ended up with large amounts of irrelevant data. Thus, I conducted a word search for particular phrases related to demographic change to locate the relevant sections of the reports. This is in line with the relevance-coding of qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012: 82). I was very inclusive, taking care to include all relevant sections. This part of the coding is replicable following the coding rules in appendix 2. The word searches differed for the two coding schemes as the research questions were different, but the process was the same. An alternative approach to the word search would have been to go through all the data in the reports but code the irrelevant text sections to a 'miscellaneous'-code. This would have been more time-consuming but arguably a better approach. I emphasise the value of utilising technological advantages, such as the possibility of conducting a detailed word search in the NVivo software.

Having covered the similarities of the two schemes, let me explain the first coding scheme in greater detail. Here, I coded the relevant sections of text in an open-coding fashion (Gioia et al., 2013: 20), focusing on identifying descriptions of demographic change and the presentations of policy responses. This resulted in nearly 400 codes. However, many of them had very few references, i.e. the codes resulted from one or two instances in the reports. For example, I coded for the idea that demographic change increases income inequality in only one instance. While I did not ignore such codes, I paid more attention to the larger, more prevalent codes in the next part of the analysis. However, I chose to ignore other codes because it became clear that there was enough data for more papers. Thus, I ignored codes on underrepresented labour market groups, e.g. women, young workers, and older workers, because the second paper in the dissertation focused on these. Also in the initial open coding-stage, I paid attention to the kind of language employed in the reports, i.e. specific terms that sounded unusual in the context. For example, I coded for the idea that demographic change requires policymakers to mobilise all available human resources. I analyse this code and others like it, where the language stood out, in the first paper.

Finally, I grouped the codes into clusters or themes, inspired by thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke et al., 2015). For example, I grouped together the codes on migration. I looked for similarities and differences between the codes to identify ideas at two levels (problem definitions and policy solutions). In

the migration theme, for example, there was a policy solution-code on increased levels of immigration to the EU while another one was a problem definition-code on how migration is important for the structure of EU populations. The resultant themes provided the basis of the analysis, presented in the first paper.

I actually developed the second coding scheme, which provided data for the second and third papers, before the first one. Thus, the second scheme was where I familiarised myself with the data. I began with this scheme because my initial reading of documents on demographic change from the European Commission quickly made it clear that there was limited room for Commission policy on demographic change per se and that I would have to focus on employment and social aspects, as mentioned in the introduction and previously in the methodology section. It also became clear that one of the major ways in which the Commission addressed issues of demographic change was specifically in terms of increasing employment rates, particularly of groups whose rates were not as high as the average. This prominently included women, youth, and the elderly. Thus, this round of coding took its starting point in this observation.

As mentioned, the second coding scheme was organised according to the principles of qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012, 2013), QCA, not to be confused with *quantitative* content analysis or qualitative *comparative* analysis. QCA helps reduce the data and describe the meaning of it. The generation of categories takes the meaning of specific passages "to a higher level of abstraction" (Schreier, 2013: 170) so that the categories will apply to a number of references in the material. Thus, the process both describes and summarises the meaning of the material. In addition, QCA is excellent for tracking the rise and decline of ideas over time, which is relevant for the second and third papers as they focus on changes over time (see also Bowen, 2009: 30). The coding rules are in appendix 2 and a detailed overview of the coding scheme is available in appendix 3. Here, let me briefly describe the process and draw out some examples.

In QCA, there are a series of steps to follow: relevance coding (if applicable), generating the coding scheme, pilot coding, the main coding, and re-coding a part of the material for control. After the relevance coding (if applicable), the next step is to generate the coding frame or scheme, which was done with a representative sample of the data. In line with my abductive research approach, which in some ways is a combination of deduction and induction, I developed the first level of the coding scheme in a deductive manner and the second level in an inductive manner. Thus, the first level of the coding scheme has three categories, one for each level of idea: discourse, frame, and policy. Thus, when reading a segment to code,

I would first decide whether the segment represented a discourse, frame, or policy. I generated the second level of the coding scheme using the data-driven strategy of subsumption (Schreier, 2012: 115–120), which involves creating a category if the segment represents a new meaning, or mentally subsuming it under an already-existing category if it is like a previous segment. In this way, I ended up with a coding scheme.

I tested the coding scheme in a round of pilot coding, again with a representative sample of the data, which was different from the one used to generate the coding scheme. I revised the coding frame while conducting the pilot coding. This is not in accordance with the QCA process but since some flaws appeared at this stage, I developed a set of coding rules to revise the categories and then recode the material as if the revised coding frame had been the initial one. The final coding frame consisted of more second-level categories under frames and policies (but there were no changes to the discourse-category). This was because I found that I had inadvertently created some codes that were not specific enough, which I then divided into separate codes. For example, under policies, I had a code for active ageing-policies. During the pilot coding, I split this into a code for reforming pensions and one for active ageing. This step was particularly important for the results in the third paper.

Some codes were difficult to define accurately, particularly because QCA (and other coding methods) is about finding a balance between summarizing the material and maintaining some of the particularities of the data. For example, I ended up with a code in the frame-category called 'structural challenges', which – even after having divided it into more codes in the pilot coding round – remained unwieldy. However, the code also reflects the data, as the data segments emphasise the underrepresentation of the labour market groups (women, youth, and the elderly) without mentioning other issues. Thus, it was difficult to make the category more specific.

Following the pilot coding, I applied the coding frame to the whole material. To test the accuracy of the coding, I recoded a representative sample of the data after the main coding. The recoding was more consistent than the pilot phase,[22] confirming that the specifications of the coding scheme increased the stability of the analysis.

After the coding, I looked for similarities and differences amongst the categories of the coding scheme to identify second-order themes (Gioia et al., 2013: 20–21). These themes are deeper and more abstract,

[22] The Kappa score increased from an average of 0.887 to 0.915.

helping to describe the ideational elements in the data. For example, for the discourses that I identified, the majority of them adhered to an overall theme of economic growth, while the rest of them were alternatives to the dominant discourse.

I present the results of these analytical processes in the three papers.

PART II: PAPERS

PAPER I

The European Commission's Ideas on Demographic Change: Institutional constraints and politicised issues

Abstract

Demographic change is an issue of increasing urgency for advanced industrialised countries, particularly for European Union (EU) Member States. However, existing research shows that the European Commission does not deal with the issue in a systematic way. This paper contributes to emerging research by examining the Commission's ideas on demographic change in the context of employment and social policy. Applying ideational and institutionalist theory, the paper analyses documents and interviews to identify the Commission's problem definitions of, and proposed policy solutions to demographic change. I contrast the Commission's policy solutions with those of the OECD, sharpening the findings and allowing more detail to emerge. I find that the Commission defines demographic change in terms of existing economic ideas, and I suggest this is because of the institutional constraints of the EU. Consequently, the Commission's favoured policy solution is increasing employment rates, a policy approach originating in the European Employment Strategy. In contrast, the OECD has recently proposed automation and immigration as possible policy solutions to demographic change. The paper suggests that the Commission is sceptical towards automation because of the potentially unequal distribution of its benefits, and that immigration is a politicised issue that the Commission addresses but cannot formulate a clear policy solution on. In conclusion, the Commission faces a politicised institutional context in Brussels that seems to limit the capacity for innovative thinking on demographic change, while the OECD has more room to manoeuvre in Paris.

Key words: demographic change, European Commission, ideas, institutions, employment and social policy

Introduction

The socioeconomic issue of demographic change is reshaping advanced industrialised societies as life expectancies increase and fertility rates drop. Particularly across Europe, populations are shrinking (European Commission, 2018d). In 2018, the ratio of older people above the age of 65 to those aged 15-64 for the EU Member States – the aged dependency ratio – was 30.8 (Eurostat, 2019a). Eurostat predicts that by 2050, this number will have increased to 51.9 (ibid.). Current projections indicate that working-age populations across Europe are either already declining or will begin declining in the near future (European Commission, 2017). The extent of the change will vary across Europe as fertility rates and immigration numbers vary. However, several countries are already experiencing depopulation from natural change, migration flows, or both (Eurostat, 2019c).

Considering that population changes are always in flux, policymakers' approach to the issue is likely to depend on whether and how it is problematised. International institutions spend surprisingly little time on demographic change and when they do, analyse it in a highly compartmentalised manner (Seabrooke and Tsingou, 2015). Many policy issues of our time require crosscutting efforts, where bureaucrats bring together several departments' portfolios to study and understand an issue. However, such initiatives often fail due to the lack of incentives (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2010) or because of the functional specialisation of bureaucracies (Hustedt and Danken, 2017). Similarly, it is difficult for politicians on short, electoral cycles to deal effectively with long-term issues, which require investment in the near future to avoid a high future cost (Jacobs, 2011). Demographic change falls into both these categories with important consequences. Seabrooke, Tsingou, and Willers (2019) show that demographic change is in a policy vacuum in the European Commission (henceforth, Commission). The only policy area in which the Commission addresses demographic change in a significant way is employment and social policy (ibid.). Thus, this paper examines the Commission's approach to demographic change within the field of employment and social policy.

To uncover the Commission's ideas on demographic change within the field of employment and social policies and to reveal why the Commission seems to prioritise certain policy solutions over others, I conducted a document analysis with an ideational-institutional approach, supported by semi-structured interviews. I distinguish between ideas at two levels: problem definitions and policy solutions (Mehta, 2010). I contrast the Commission's policy solutions with the OECD's, sharpening the findings and allowing

more detail and variations to emerge (Bazeley, 2013). The Commission and the OECD are two key international institutions when it comes to economic and social policies in advanced industrialised countries (Kildal and Nilssen, 2013). I argue that the institutions' different characteristics and contexts influence their ability to propose new policy solutions on demographic change.

The Commission conveys dualistic ideas on demographic change within employment and social policy. The reports often discuss demographic change superficially as one amongst several "structural" issues, implying that it is inevitable and that policymakers have difficulties addressing it. However, the reports also treat demographic change as an issue requiring policy attention, mainly using economic language that focuses on maintaining economic growth. In terms of policy solutions, the Commission's ideas focus on increasing employment rates. While the OECD also harbours these ideas, the OECD has recently suggested other policy solutions to demographic change: automation and immigration. I engage in an in-depth analysis of the Commission's approach to these policy solutions to understand why they do not (yet?) feature prominently in their discourse.

I suggest that both automation and immigration are politically sensitive issues, although in different ways, allowing the Commission less leeway in discussing them because it has more at stake than the OECD. I suggest that the OECD's more technocratic mandate thus allows it to consider a broader set of policy solutions to the socioeconomic issue of demographic change. The Commission can advocate fewer approaches, constrained by political considerations. This helps explain why some institutions, such as the Commission, occasionally become stuck in certain policy tracks, whereas others, such as the OECD, can come up with more innovative policy ideas.

The paper's structure is as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews the literature on the Commission and the OECD to see what we might expect in terms of ideas on demographic change. Section 3 presents the analytical framework of the paper. Section 4 details the paper's methods and data. Section 5 analyses the Commission's ideas on demographic change, contrasting it with the OECD's ideas. Section 6 concludes.

The agenda-setting power of the European Commission

Both the Commission (Falkner, 2010) and the OECD (Clifton and Díaz-Fuentes, 2011) supply normative and cognitive arguments about effective policies on employment and social policy, relying mainly on soft-power approaches such as benchmarking exercises and review processes. However, the Commission is a more politicised institution than the OECD. It is the bureaucratic arm of the EU and has the exclusive power to propose legislation, providing it with significant agenda-setting capacities (Wonka, 2015). The agenda-setting stage is crucial because it both places an issue on the political agenda, and determines the form of the issue (Béland, 2016).

In the case of social policy, however, the principle of subsidiarity means that legislation primarily resides with Member States, although there is shared competence with the EU (Seabrooke et al., 2019). EU power in this field is thus based on soft policies, such as benchmarking and national surveillance (Falkner, 2010) through the European Employment Strategy (Goetschy, 2001) and, more recently, the European Semester, a framework for coordination of socioeconomic policies across Member States (Verdun and Zeitlin, 2018). The Member States are obliged to participate in these formalised policy processes.

In contrast, scholars consider the OECD, headquartered in Paris, an expert, technocratic international organisation (Greenhill, 2018). It has pioneered soft governance tools, such as standard-setting, and thus wields epistemic influence on policymakers in member countries. The soft governance tools are surprisingly effective (see e.g. Sharman, 2009 for an example on blacklisting tax havens). The organisation generates comparative data, used to benchmark countries. Its research capacity and knowledge networks have allowed it to become "a producer of ideas and shared understandings of appropriate behaviour" (Mahon, 2009: 184).

In summary, both organisations are important hubs for data and ideas, so I expect them to convey clear ideas on demographic change. Furthermore, the two organisations have previously influenced each other on employment and social issues (see e.g. Dostal, 2004), so they may have similar ideas in this field. However, the OECD is not at the helm of formal policy processes, so it has less at stake than the Commission when it articulates policy ideas. This suggests that, despite some institutional similarities, we may see different kinds of ideas from the two organisations on demographic change in the context of employment and social policies.

Analytical framework: ideas as policy solutions and problem definitions

To analyse the Commission and OECD's conceptualisation of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy, this paper draws on an ideational-institutional analytical framework inspired by especially Jal Mehta (2010) and Vivian Schmidt (2010). Understanding how policy actors conceptualise issues is important because "definitions define the scope of potential possible choices" (Mehta, 2010: 33), including certain policy solutions but excluding others. Thus, this paper favours examining subjective meanings and interpretations, rather than seeing interests or preferences of policy actors as determinants of political choices and outcomes. Furthermore, the paper analyses policy actors' contests over how to define policy issues by studying the discourse through which the ideas are conveyed (Schmidt, 2010). Actors may not, however, be consciously engaged in the 'contest' – they simply tend to prefer particular kinds of problem definitions because of their taken-for-granted assumptions (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Finally, the institutional environment also matters when considering the conveyance of ideas through discourse (Schmidt, 2010). In this paper, the organisations studied – the Commission and the OECD – have different knowledge mandates (Halliday, 1985) from their stakeholders, which both enable and constrain them. The paper will analyse this process, too. The framework thus draws on ideational, discursive, and institutionalist insights, which I examine below in turn.

First, we must clarify what we mean by ideas and distinguish between types of ideas. Scholars generally distinguish between ideas at three levels of generality: ideas as policy solutions, ideas as problem definitions, which are both foreground ideas, and ideas as public philosophies, which are background ideas (Campbell, 2002; Mehta, 2010; see also e.g. Schmidt, 2008). This paper focuses on ideas in the foreground of political debate, i.e. those explicitly expressed by the Commission (or the OECD, when relevant).

Policy solutions are the narrowest and most specific kinds of ideas. They prescribe an actionable course of policy action (Campbell, 1998). In employment and social policy, examples include the principle of "flexicurity", promising both flexibility in terms of liberal redundancy regulations and security in terms of e.g. income (Mailand, 2010), and "making work pay", i.e. ensuring economic incentives for inactive or unemployed individuals to enter or re-enter the labour market (Trlifajová and Hurrle, 2018). The difference between such policy solutions and problem definitions is that ideas for policy solutions take the problem for granted – the idea then provides a solution. However, problems do not appear out of thin air.

Thus, debates often focus on ideas as problem definitions. For example, what causes unemployment: rigid labour market regulation, insufficient financial incentives, or a lack of jobs?[1] The answer to such a question will limit the possible policy solutions. Therefore, while policy solutions are the most specific level of idea, problem definitions are broader. Problem definitions do not automatically lead to certain policy solutions, as there are several solutions available within each definition, which policy makers may then also contest.

Second, I analyse the ideas in discourse, i.e. the communication of the ideas amongst actors. The paper focuses on the coordinative discourse of "ideational generation and contestation" (Carstensen and Schmidt, 2016: 325) between policy actors.[2] While ideas are present in a multitude of different discursive materials, including political projects and policies (see e.g. Schmidt, 2016), this paper examines ideas in written reports. I consider institutions' written reports to be a form of communication with other policy actors. They contain expressions of ideas (both problem definitions and policy solutions) and is thus part of the coordinative discourse amongst policy actors.

Third, the institutional context of the ideational discourse is also important to examine as institutions both constrain and enable actors (Terlizzi, 2019). As mentioned in the previous section, the Commission is a highly political institution with the power to legislate and create common norms through benchmarking in the context of employment and social policies. The Commission's most important stakeholders are the Member States. On the other hand, scholars consider the OECD a technocratic organisation, contributing with data – albeit with political control. The analysis considers the impact of these different institutional structures and recommends future research to explore the impact of others, such as the European Parliament and the significance of different Commissions.

Thus, we end up with an analytical lens through which to examine the data from the Commission and the OECD to tease out their conceptualisations of demographic change in the context of employment and social policies. The analysis focuses on identifying and distinguishing between problem definitions and policy solutions. While the data does not allow for definitive conclusions about *why* the institutions favour certain

[1] There are other possible explanations, including workers' inadequate skills and a slowdown of economic activity. The point here is not to find the correct answer, because rarely is it a case of either-or, but to show that when policymakers emphasise a particular problem definition, they subsequently focus on a particular set of policy solutions to deal with the problem from that perspective. Simultaneously, however, they exclude other policy solutions.

[2] We may contrast coordinative discourses with communicative discourses between political actors and the public (Campbell, 1998; Schmidt, 2008).

ideas over others, the paper finds some possible explanations based on the observed institutional structures.

Methods and data

To uncover the ideas on demographic change within the context of employment and social policy in the Commission, I analysed the Europe 2020-strategy paper, which informed the direction of the Commission's work in the decade 2010-2019, and *Employment and Social Developments in Europe*-reports (ESDE). The Commission formulated the Europe 2020-strategy in 2010 as a follow-up to the Lisbon strategy. It is an important policy document stating the Commission's aims and goals for the following decade. The ESDE-reports, in contrast, are at the earlier agenda-setting stage of the policymaking process.

The ESDE is an amalgamation of several different reports on employment, social affairs, and social dialogue published annually. Responsibility for the report lies with the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion and it targets audiences within the Commission, social partners (i.e., trade unions and interest organisations at the European level), Members of the European Parliament, and members of the Social Protection Committee.[3] The ESDE intends to provide "reliable data and a thorough analysis of social and labour market developments across Europe to support…policy initiatives" (European Commission, 2018a: 3). Because the Commission considers the ESDE part of their official output, the report goes through an inter-service consultation, a lengthy process of crosschecking with other Commission departments to ensure alignment on important issues.

Thus, while the Europe 2020-strategy contains official and specific Commission policy, the ESDE-reports contain discussions and analyses of various ideas. Hence, we are more likely to find unorthodox ideas in the ESDEs, although the inter-service consultation and subsequent alignment ensures the primacy of established ideas from the Europe 2020-strategy. In this way, the Europe 2020-strategy serves as a kind of starting point for the analysis while the ESDEs help us identify alternative ideas. In addition to these documents, I conducted 20 semi-structured interviews with Commission officials, mostly in Brussels in

[3] Discussions with Commission officials in Brussels working on the ESDE report, October 2018.

late 2018, providing background information on the reports and processes in the Commission and clarifying my understanding of the ideas on employment and social policy issues.

As it is easier to identify features in comparisons, I contrasted the Commission's ideas on demographic change with the OECD's by analysing comparable documents. This turned out only to be relevant when it came to policy solutions, as the problem definitions were very similar. The OECD's 2018 Jobs Strategy provided a contrast to the Commission's Europe 2020-strategy. However, there are several differences between the two documents, including length (the Commission's strategy is 34 pages long while the OECD's strategy is almost 400 pages) and focus (the Commission's strategy covers several policy areas while the OECD's strategy focuses on employment policy). In terms of purpose, however, the Commission's Europe 2020-strategy is a "vision of Europe's social market economy" with some targets and priority policy areas, and the OECD's strategy similarly provides overarching policy recommendations, although supported by lengthy analyses. Hence, as they both set out to provide guidelines for the member states on employment and social policy issues, I consider the two documents to be roughly comparable for the purposes of this paper.

The OECD does not publish a direct equivalent to the Commission's ESDE-report. Thus, I analysed two OECD reports, most importantly the annual *Employment Outlook*. This publication reviews recent trends, policy developments, and prospects for employment and jobs in the OECD countries.[4] However, it does not analyse social developments, as the ESDE does, so I also analysed the OECD's *Society at a Glance*-reports. The OECD claims this is a biennial report, but in practice publishes it approximately every three years and so I analysed the editions from 2011, 2014, 2016, and 2019. Table 1 provides an overview of the documents analysed. For both organisations, I analysed the 2010-2019 reports.

[4] OECD (2019) OECD Employment Outlook. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/employment/oecd-employment-outlook_19991266, accessed 5 December 2019.

Table 1: Documents, strategies, and policy processes of the Commission and the OECD

	Agenda-setting reports	Strategies	Policy processes
Commission	Employment and Social Developments in Europe (ESDE)	Europe 2020	European Semester
			European Employment Strategy
OECD	Employment Outlook	Jobs Strategy	N/A
	Society at a Glance		

The analytical process relied on coding and a loose kind of thematic analysis (inspired by Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke et al., 2015), assisted by the software NVivo. I began by reading the documents thoroughly. As large sections of the reports did not address demographic change, I conducted a word search for particular phrases related to demographic change to locate the relevant sections of the reports. Then, I coded the relevant sections of text in an open-coding fashion, focusing on identifying descriptions of demographic change and the presentations of policy responses. I paid attention to the kind of language employed in the reports, i.e. specific terms that sounded unusual in the context. Finally, I grouped the codes into clusters or themes, looking for similarities and differences between the codes to identify ideas as problem definitions and ideas as policy solutions. The resultant themes provided the basis of the analysis, presented in the following section.

The European Commission's ideas on demographic change

This section contains two parts. First, I explore the Commission's problem definition of demographic change in the context of employment and social policies. Second, I examine the Commission's policy solutions, beginning with the most dominant and then expanding into some less orthodox ones, which the OECD has recently suggested.

Ideas as problem definitions: framing demographic change

I begin with the most prevalent problem definition of demographic change in the Commission's document: demographic change as a structural challenge. This conceptualisation groups demographic change together with other issues or "mega-trends" such as globalisation, climate change, and technological progress. For example, the opening paragraph of the Europe 2020-strategy refers to demographic change as a "long-term challenge" alongside globalisation and the pressure on resources (European Commission, 2010b: 5). The 2016 ESDE-report points out that,

> Since the mid-1990s, labour markets have been undergoing major structural transformations driven by technological progress, population ageing, globalisation and the greening of the economy.
>
> (European Commission, 2016b: 148)

Grouping issues together reduces the importance of each individual topic, so this prominent problem definition in the Commission reports sends the signal that demographic change is merely one amongst several trends, which a former senior Commission official echoed:

> *"Yes [population ageing is an important topic in the ESDE-reports]. But population ageing should not be isolated from other challenges. There is a general tension beyond the Commission to see population ageing as a major trend – but there are other social and economic trends that influence it. You need to put it in context. I don't learn so much from [population ageing]. But it's useful to focus on, of course, but I prefer to look at it in context."*
>
> (Interview with previous senior Commission official, Skype, December 2018)

This problem definition downplays the possibility of effective policy action because the language employed implies that such "structural trends" are inevitable. Since policymakers often prefer action to inaction, the reports subtly relegate demographic change to the sidelines.

This problem definition clashes with other ideas that emphasise the severity of demographic change, although always with an explicitly economic focus. For example, in the face of the expected employment decline caused by population ageing, workers' skills must be put to good use to ensure economic growth:

> As the ageing society will require a strong acceleration of productivity growth due to the forthcoming workforce decline, this waste of resources [skill mismatches] belongs to the most serious recent socioeconomic developments and will inevitably result in lower growth potential unless policy takes decisive action. (European Commission, 2015b: 125)[5]

[5] The Commission reports consider it a "skill mismatch" when workers hold jobs above or below their skill level (European Commission, 2015b: 125).

Such language stresses the demographic challenge but also commodifies European citizens' skills. While the discourse on skills in the context of demographic change later shifts towards helping the individual, the language remains focused on the labour market and economic activity:

> Given major demographic and technological shifts, there is a broad consensus on the need to invest in people. Such 'social investment' helps to improve individuals' well-being and prevent and mitigate social risks, by enabling citizens to acquire new skills and become or remain active in the labour market.
>
> (European Commission, 2019: 21)

This quote reflects the introduction of the Social Investment Package in 2013, where demographic change was included. While the package had the potential to break with austerity (Kvist, 2015), its language was so ambiguous that it may have been an attempt to align social policy with current economic policy (Leibetseder, 2018). Furthermore, demographic change was merely an addendum to the package without much substantial content (Seabrooke et al., 2019).

Similarly, the Commission reports cast demographic change as a challenge to the welfare state, as here in the Europe 2020-strategy:

> Demographic ageing is accelerating. As the baby-boom generation retires, the EU's active population will start to shrink as from 2013/2014. The number of people aged over 60 is now increasing twice as fast as it did before 2007… The combination of a smaller working population and a higher share of retired people will place additional strains on our welfare systems.
>
> (European Commission, 2010b: 7)

The analysis of demographic change concludes that welfare states will be "strained", implying the need for change (see also European Commission, 2017: 9). This problem definition thus establishes the necessity of either welfare investments or welfare retrenchment, exemplifying how defining the issue delimits the possible policy solutions. Since EU frameworks place more emphasis on fiscal consolidation and austerity than social investment (see also Bengtsson et al., 2017; Leschke et al., 2015), we are likely to see ideas proposing welfare retrenchment rather than welfare investment.

The analysis's last distinctive problem definition of demographic change focuses on intergenerational fairness and solidarity. The Commission casts demographic change as a challenge to the social contract between generations. Generally, the current working-age population contributes to the older population, expecting such compensation in time themselves (European Commission, 2017: 17, 52). Population ageing tests this contract, because the growing older population requires larger investments than previously. However, this problem definition also originates in an economic paradigm, focusing on maintaining economic growth:

> How can intergenerational fairness best be achieved in the context of demographic change? (…) It is necessary to make better use of existing human resources and enhance productivity.
>
> (European Commission, 2017: 53)

Furthermore, this idea of intergenerational solidarity only has a brief life span as it features dominantly in the 2017 ESDE-report but hardly thereafter. Later references to it are vague and overshadowed by the return of the other problem definitions.

Throughout, the Commission reports take for granted the necessity of maintaining economic growth. There is no analysis of zero or negative economic growth, although the 2017 ESDE-report concludes employment growth will cease, under optimistic assumptions, latest around 2032 and productivity growth would have to double from its current rate to ensure continued economic growth after this (European Commission, 2017: 64). Thus, a scenario of no economic growth is plausible within a decade – and yet no report analyses this.

Summarising, the Commission's problem definitions of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy are dualistic: on one hand, the reports sideline the issue, downplaying policymakers' ability to deal with it. On the other hand, when discussed in detail, the Commission uses primarily economic language, defining demographic change as a challenge to the welfare state and focusing on economic growth. The only other approach to demographic change – as a challenge to intergenerational relationships – features prominently in just a single report and remains rooted in an economic paradigm. In other words, the approach to demographic change seems to reflect the primacy of economic policy over social policy and the essentiality of economic growth generally seen in Commission policymaking (see, e.g., de la Porte and Heins, 2015).

Ideas as policy solutions: from employment rates to automation and immigration

In line with the Commission's economically focused problem definition of demographic change, the most ubiquitous policy solutions in their documents propose increasing employment rates and ensuring fiscal sustainability of public finances. The European Employment Strategy has focused on maximising employment since its inception (van Rie and Marx, 2012) because after the introduction of the European Monetary Union, Member States could no longer use monetary and budgetary policies to stimulate the demand for labour (Peña-Casas, 2013). Therefore, bringing underrepresented labour market groups (older workers, women, the young, and immigrants) into the workforce were the only remaining options (ibid.). The Commission seems to employ demographic change as an additional argument for increasing employment rates. A Commission official put it this way: "Sure, when we recommend that countries should utilise their workforce better we use all kinds of arguments, including population ageing" (interview with Commission official in Brussels, October 2018).

In fact, the Commission occasionally attempts to drive home this approach with alarmist language. For example, a report describes the exceptional circumstances of demographic change and, specifically, the urgency of increasing employment rates:

> The demographic challenges posed by the combination of lower fertility rates, longer life expectancy, and a declining share of the working-age population creates pressures to mobilise all available human resources…
>
> (European Commission, 2015b: 118, see also p. 132)

Employing the word 'mobilise' (originally used in the context of war) implies a dire situation with an urgent need for increasing employment rates. It indicates that it should be the norm for European citizens to work. The language reflects a market-oriented discourse of labour commodification. In later Commission reports, the language is modified slightly but with the same implication:

> Reaching higher employment growth requires an increase in the rate of utilisation of human resources on EU labour markets. Today almost 30 % of people aged 20 to 64 are not in employment. The chapter will therefore consider the potential of (much) higher activity rates to safeguard employment growth for as long as possible.
>
> (European Commission, 2017: 53, see also p. 57)

Labour is still commodified ("utilisation of human resources") to protect employment growth – and economic growth – "for as long as possible". The sense of urgency and alarm is pertinent.

There is little discussion of what the non-working groups are doing today, as if this activity is insignificant. Rather, the reports suggest that working improves people's lives (see e.g. European Commission, 2019: 68). This normative argument adds to the cognitive, economic arguments to form a strong discourse about increasing employment rates.

Thus, the Commission combines alarmist language with cognitive and normative arguments about the (market) value of bringing everyone into the workforce as a response to demographic change. I only found this kind of alarmist language in the Commission documents, although the OECD has also been a proponent of high employment rates in the neoliberal tradition for decades (see e.g. Mahon and McBride, 2009). The OECD might use similar language in other reports or outside the context of demographic change, which future research could explore.

Although the OECD's ideas generally remain orthodox, the OECD's 2019 Employment Outlook introduces alternative policy solutions to demographic change. This begins with a classic analysis of the challenges of demographic change but ends on a surprising note:

> In countries with rapidly ageing populations, shortages of qualified labour may arise as the number of older workers retiring rises relative to the number of young people entering the labour market. These shortages may in turn lead to faster automation or stronger pressures to attract immigrant workers.
>
> (OECD, 2019: 25)

The OECD mentions automation – technological developments that are altering production processes in many sectors – and immigration as potential policy solutions to demographic change. Although these policies feature in other OECD and Commission reports, this quote stands out because it clearly suggests automation and immigration – and only these – as policy solutions to demographic change. I will contrast the Commission's and OECD's ideas on, first, automation and, second, immigration.

Automation

Both the OECD and the Commission consider automation a policy solution to demographic change because it is likely to increase productivity, which would compensate for decreasing employment growth and thus

contribute to continued economic growth (see e.g. European Commission, 2017: 56–60). The Commission regularly acknowledges the importance of increasing productivity as demographic change intensifies (see e.g. European Commission, 2019: 77). However, the Commission and the OECD's ideas differ on *how* to increase productivity. The OECD argues that pressures from demographic change may lead to automation, which may bolster growth:

> In countries with ageing populations, shortages of qualified labour may arise… These shortages may in turn lead to faster automation… Acemoglu and Restrepo (2017[16]) show that countries with the most rapidly ageing populations have also been among the fastest to adopt industrial robots (and consequently they suggest that an ageing population may not necessarily be a harbinger of slower economic growth).
>
> (OECD, 2019: 42–3)

The OECD refers to research by Acemoglu and Restrepo on the potentially positive relationship between automation and ageing societies (Acemoglu and Restrepo, 2017, 2018). The Commission also refers to this research but only in a footnote (European Commission, 2018a: 130, footnote 370), reducing its pertinence for the reader. In fact, the Commission seems concerned that automation may result in capital substituting labour:

> …the search for productivity gains, by substituting labour with capital, risks generating jobless growth, reducing the national income share of workers relative to capital and putting further pressure on the labour demand side.
>
> (European Commission, 2016a: 231)

A later report has a more nuanced view on the matter – suggesting automation also creates jobs – but maintains that jobs will be at risk (European Commission, 2018a: 63). This suggests that the Commission is, at best, sceptical towards automation, a view echoed by a Commission official:

> *"What we found in the 2017 ESDE report on intergenerational fairness and solidarity was that there will be an increased need for higher productivity. The 2018 report found that this increased productivity can come from robots, but that would mean that most of the income would go to those who own the robots."*
>
> (Interview with Commission official, Brussels, October 2018)

The Commission instead focuses on human capital to increase productivity (see e.g. European Commission, 2015b: 105–6), encouraging investment in skills and education to distribute the benefits of increased productivity to more people. For example, the Europe 2020-strategy does not mention automation but refers to the necessity of teaching new skills to increase labour productivity (European Commission, 2010b: 18). The 2017 ESDE-report discusses the benefits of human capital investment and argues that it should be prioritised over capital investment:

> Instead of trying to achieve higher productivity growth only through capital deepening and through rationalisation, human capital investment policies put the quality of labour at the forefront of policy action. Such re-thinking of productivity-enhancing policy will be even more important as an ageing workforce may find it more difficult to generate higher productivity growth.
>
> (European Commission, 2017: 68)

Thus, the Commission reports tend to favour human capital investment over automation as a policy solution to demographic change. While the 2019 OECD-report also acknowledges that upskilling workers will be important (see e.g. OECD, 2019: 73), they are more positive about automation's potential contribution. Scholars have shown that the Commission is more attuned to social considerations on employment issues than the OECD because the Commission's approach is more interdisciplinary and contextual (Mahon and McBride, 2009: 95–6). This might explain the Commission's scepticism towards the opportunities of automation.

Immigration

The other policy solution to demographic change in the OECD's 2019 Employment Outlook is immigration, suggesting that it may alleviate skill shortages in ageing countries. However, the OECD also acknowledges the necessity of integration policies and that migrants are at risk of automation because of their concentration in low-skilled jobs:

> In conjunction with other policies, migration can make a significant contribution to address demographic imbalances across countries and regions. In most OECD countries, immigration can help address shortages, but in many cases there is also a need for accompanying integration policies…
>
> (OECD, 2018: 388, see also 2019: 43).

This contrasts with the Commission's approach, which is dualistic, at best. The Commission does not ignore immigration in discussions on demographic change – quite the contrary – but their position on the topic fluctuates substantially.

For example, the discourse on immigration differs markedly between the 2017 and 2019 ESDE-reports. The 2017 report shows that a doubling of immigration would lead to an increase in the working-age population in the long term (European Commission, 2017: 61). Only later does the report mention the importance of integration policies (European Commission, 2017: 68) and it fails to mention the generous assumptions the scenario makes. For example, immigrants also age and become dependent (Demeny, 2016) so the economic dependency ratio may not improve in the long term. The 2019 report, on the other hand, acknowledges the positive impact immigration may have (European Commission, 2019: 77) but then questions whether it improves the economic dependency ratio (European Commission, 2019: 80). Thus, the 2019 report stresses the caveats on immigration, which the 2017 report ignored.

Even within reports, we see evidence of the dualism. The 2015 ESDE-report first concludes that immigration would have to climb to unrealistic levels if it were to compensate fully for Europe's population ageing, but then argues that employment rates would have to increase to unrealistic levels if no further third-country immigration was permitted (European Commission, 2016a: 165). The same report mentions the need for a "paradigm-change" on immigration:

> Indeed, seeing intra-EU mobility and third-country migration as instruments to safeguard economic growth may become a necessary change of paradigm as the demographic challenge adds to the EU's evidently weak growth performance vis-à-vis its main global competitors.
>
> (European Commission, 2016a: 165)

In other words, the Commission recognises the potential contribution of immigration to ease the pressures of demographic change, a view that a Commission official also expressed:

> *"I come at [population ageing] from the perspective of immigration and institutions for integration. Because immigration with population ageing is not a question of whether but a question of how. (…) So, we looked at dependency ratios, taxes, etc. showing and saying that immigrants are good for you, considering your population ageing. This field is being driven by rhetoric and emotions, not science."*

(Interview with Commission official, Brussels, October 2018)

The quote points to the politicised and 'emotional' nature of immigration in Europe. Maybe the 2017 report delivered a more forceful message about immigration's important role in addressing demographic change because the report was focused on demographic change, while the politicised nature of immigration, particularly since 2015 (Demeny, 2016), means it is too controversial to propagate many years in a row.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the Commission's ideas on demographic change in the context of employment and social policies. Documents and interviews reveal that the Commission holds no clear ideas on demographic change, neither in terms of how to define it (problem definitions), nor in terms of how to deal with it (policy solutions). Rather, both problem definitions and policy solutions rely on existing Commission discourse in employment and social policy, one premised on economic growth. The documents speak mainly of demographic change as a challenge to economic growth and welfare states. The other approach – as a challenge to intergenerational relationships – features only in a single report and remains rooted in an economic paradigm. Thus, the problem definition of demographic change seems to reproduce the primacy of economic policy over social policy evident in the EU's institutions (de la Porte and Heins, 2015).

The Commission's proposed policy solutions focus on increasing employment rates, a recommendation that stems from the inception of the European Employment Strategy in the late 1990s. The institutional constraints on the Commission limit other possible responses within employment and social policy, since there is no room for e.g. stimulating demand for labour through budgetary and monetary policy. In contrast, a recent *Employment Outlook*-report from the OECD suggested both automation and immigration as policy solutions to demographic change. While the Commission acknowledges the potential contributions of both approaches, its reports reveal that they remain sceptical of the promise of automation – arguably because of the more explicitly social agenda of the Commission compared to the OECD – and they vary their position on immigration – probably due to the politicised nature of this issue.

The paper only examines the Commission's ideas on demographic change in the context of employment and social policies, and only looks at a subset of available data in this field, because of its exploratory nature. Future research could include other reports, for example, the discontinued series of reports on demography

(see the last one to be published: European Commission, 2015a), or the Ageing Reports. Future research might also expand to other policy fields, such as migration, which resides in the Directorate-General of Migration and Home Affairs. This paper provides suggestions for how we may understand the Commission's approach to demographic change, but more research would strengthen the findings.

Interestingly, the European Pillar of Social Rights, launched in 2017, did not include any statistical indicators directly related to demographic change. Statistical indicators carry great weight in economic governance (Mügge, 2016). As Mahon (2011: 573) points out, the development of new statistical indicators "constitute the basis of future benchmarking exercises", which are at the centre of the Commission's soft power. However, the fact that demographic change was not included is not surprising in the light of this paper's findings: the Commission faces a politicised institutional context in Brussels that seems to limit the capacity for innovative thinking on demographic change, while the OECD has more room to manoeuvre in Paris.

Meanwhile, demographic change is reshaping the populations of advanced industrialised societies in Europe: the EU working age population is already declining and the consequences will soon follow. Recently, the new President of the Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, appointed a Vice-President of democracy and *demography* and charged her with producing a report on the impact of demographic change on Europe and presenting a Green Paper on ageing.[6] Perhaps this indicates a renewed willingness to address the socioeconomic issue of demographic change in the European Commission.

[6] European Commission (2019) Ursula von der Leyen's Mission letter to Dubravka Šuica, Vice-President for Democracy and Demography, Brussels, 1 December 2019. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/sites/comm-cwt2019/files/commissioner_mission_letters/mission-letter-dubravka-suica_en.pdf. Accessed 10 February 2020.

PAPER II

The European Commission's Ideas on Integrating Underrepresented Groups into the Labour Market[1]

Abstract

The paper explores the European Commission's ideas on social policy. It contributes to the debate on asymmetric economic and social policies in the EU from an ideational perspective. Analysing Commission reports on labour markets, employment, and social affairs over a fifteen-year period (2004-2018), I seek to understand what ideas on employment of underrepresented labour market groups are prominent in the reports and whether there is variation over time. To do so, I draw on the theoretical literature on ideas. The paper concludes that the Commission's approach to underrepresented groups in the labour market has been and remains justified by an economic growth-discourse, leading to frames and policy ideas dominated by supply-side thinking. Thus, there has been a lack of new policy solutions to underrepresented labour market groups over the past fifteen years, revealing a lack of ideational innovation in the Commission's early-stage policy formulation.

Key words: ideas, social policy, labour market policy, European Commission

Introduction

Since the 1992 Social Protocol of the Maastricht Treaty, the European Commission has had the competence to initiate legislation on a range of employment and social issues, effectively establishing EU social policy (Menz, 2019). Unarguably, though, there is a 'constitutional asymmetry' in the setup of the EU, where economic policies are more centralised than social policies (Scharpf, 2002), exacerbated by the response to the Eurozone crisis (Scharpf, 2010). Social policy is the realm of soft policy instruments while the Commission has gained increasingly hard powers over economic policy, particularly in the aftermath of the crisis (de la Porte and Heins, 2015). Finance ministers in the European Council are better positioned

[1] This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in European Politics and Society, published online 14 August 2020. DOI: 10.1080/23745118.2020.1807223

to control policy priorities in the European Semester than ministers in the Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council (Maricut and Puetter, 2018). The social Country-Specific Recommendations support market development rather than correcting for market failures (Copeland and Daly, 2018). The social investment-paradigm is absorbed into stable, neoliberal agendas focused on fiscal discipline and deregulation in the European Semester (Crespy and Vanheuverzwijn, 2019). Thus, social priorities are subordinated to fiscal consolidation (Leschke et al., 2015).

However, social objectives are arguably increasingly integrated in the European Semester, the new architecture of EU socioeconomic governance (Zeitlin and Vanhercke, 2018). There is an increased emphasis on social objectives, including a quantitative anti-poverty goal (Jessoula, 2015), an increased role for the social actors in the EU (Zeitlin and Vanhercke, 2018), and an interconnection between social and economic policy coordination mechanisms in the European Semester (Bekker, 2015). Thus, socialisation may work through a back door-process, smuggled in through increased integration with economic policies.

Thus, we have two camps of researchers who agree on the facts but differ in their understanding of whether Social Europe is a case of glass half-empty or glass half-full. Alternatively, we can advance our understanding of the state of Social Europe by analysing the Commission's position, considering its power as the sole initiator of legislation and the EU's centre of analysis. However, there is little research on this. Crespy and Menz (2015) show that the Commission has employed its considerable powers to promote an agenda of liberal market building rather than social regulation. Similarly, Menz (2019) demonstrates that the Commission crafted a strong liberal identity for social and labour market policy under the Lisbon strategy of the 2000s, while the arguably more social Europe 2020-agenda is unfocused and ultimately a 'recycling' of the liberal Lisbon strategy. Scholars thus agree on the power of the Commission to enact change in the EU system but we need more empirical evidence to understand whether the Commission may become a social rights champion (Parker and Pye, 2018).

Analysing Commission reports on labour markets, employment, and social affairs over a fifteen-year period (2004-2018), I seek to understand what ideas on employment of underrepresented labour market groups are prominent in the Commission's reports and whether there is variation over time. Employment policy is the most established aspect of EU social policy (Plomien, 2018: 287) so I expect it to be better developed in the Commission than other aspects of social policy. Furthermore, employment policy aimed

at underrepresented groups, such as women, youth, and the elderly, is at the intersection of socioeconomic policy, as it both aims to increase the supply of workers to an ageing workforce and to integrate socially marginalised groups into society. Thus, I expect this issue to be richer in ideas than issues that have less economic motivation. However, I find little change in the Commission's approach to underrepresented labour market groups, revealing a lack of ideational innovation in early-stage policy formulation. If the Commission does not have an innovative approach to social policy on this prominent and clearly defined issue, it suggests that it is unlikely to exist on any social issue, where Commission competences are less clearly defined. This indicates that the Commission is unlikely to become a champion of social issues.

I focus on women, youth, and the elderly as a subset of the underrepresented labour market groups because the Commission reports consistently mention them over the fifteen years of the analysis. I exclude other underrepresented groups, such as the low-skilled, immigrants, and disabled people, because they were not consistently included in the 2004-2018 reports analysed here. Women, youth, and the elderly all have lower employment rates than the total employment rate in Europe (see Table 1). The employment rates of women and the elderly have both increased over the past decades. For women, the reasons include increased educational levels, evolving family structures, and a breakdown of gender stereotypes (European Commission, 2005). For the elderly, the main factors are increased educational levels and reduced options for early retirement (European Commission, 2017). However, both groups remain underrepresented. For youth, another indicator is commonly used as many young people are still attending education and thus not economically active. The NEET rate measures young people not in employment, education, or training, reflecting both unemployed and economically inactive youth (European Commission, 2012b). The rate was particularly high during the Eurozone crisis. It has since dropped back to the 2008 rate but it has not improved further.

Table 1: Labour market indicators of underrepresented labour market groups

	2008	**2013**	**2018**	**Change 2008-2018**
Total employment rate EU28 (20-64)	70.2	68.4	73.2	+3.0
Men (20-64)	77.8	74.3	79.0	+1.2
Women (20-64)	62.7	62.6	67.4	+4.7
Older workers (55-64)	45.4	50.1	58.7	+13.3
NEET rate (20-34), young people not in employment, education, or training	16.5	20.1	16.5	0.0

Source: Eurostat EU-LFS

I present my argument in six sections. Following this introduction, the second section reviews the literature on employment of women, youth, and the elderly in the EU. The third section introduces the theoretical foundation of ideational analysis. The fourth section presents the data and methods supporting the empirical analysis. The fifth section analyses the results. The sixth and final section concludes and defines the paper's contributions.

The Commission's approach to the employment of underrepresented labour market groups

In this section, I review the literature on underrepresented labour market groups in the EU. The issue goes to the heart of liberal social policy. In a time of ageing European populations, even sustaining growth rates is challenging (Demeny, 2016). However, one possibility is to increase the supply of workers. Therefore, underrepresented groups are low-hanging fruits to policymakers. Furthermore, increasing employment rates for underrepresented groups contributes to solving a host of social issues, including inadequate pensions, the gender pay gap, and marginalised youth. With an economic motivation for social policy, there could arguably be more room for innovative ideas in the Commission, considering the better integration of economic policies compared to social policies at the EU level.

The literature reveals four characteristics of the Commission's approach to the employment of underrepresented labour market groups: an overemphasis on quantitative employment rate targets, an overreliance on supply-side policies, economic – rather than social – justifications for gender equality, and policy continuity.

First, scholars criticise the Lisbon strategy and Europe 2020's quantitative employment rate targets (Foster and Walker, 2015; Smith et al., 2018; Smith and Villa, 2010). The Lisbon strategy set targets for both female (60 per cent) and older workers' (50 per cent) employment rates as well as an overall target (70 per cent), all of which the EU fell short of reaching due to the financial crisis (European Commission, 2010a). In the Europe 2020-strategy, there is an overall employment rate target of 75 per cent. This reduces the visibility of women (Villa, 2013) and the elderly (Walker and Foster, 2013), but focus remains on getting underrepresented groups into employment at all costs to reach the target (Smith and Villa, 2013). Although there was never a specific employment rate target for young people, the overemphasis on quantitative targets has also affected the Commission's approach to young people's employment situation (Smith et al.,

2018). The emphasis on quantitative targets 'crowds out' other aims of employment policy, such as job quality, job security, reducing the gender pay gap, etc. (Rubery, 2002; Rubery et al., 2003; Smith et al., 2018; Walker and Foster, 2013). Thus, I expect the Commission reports to focus on increasing employment rates of the underrepresented groups with the aim of reaching the quantitative targets.

Second, the overemphasis on quantitative targets leads to an overreliance on supply-side policies (Knijn and Smith, 2012; Rubery et al., 2003). For example, Commission efforts focus narrowly on education and training for young people (Chung et al., 2012). For the elderly, the Commission's active ageing-paradigm focuses on combatting ageism, increasing flexible employment opportunities, active labour market policies (such as financial incentives for employers to hire older workers), and lifelong learning to ensure that older workers are sufficiently skilled (Walker and Maltby, 2012). However, these supply-side policies, focused on making older workers more 'employable', ignore important aspects of old age, such as mental and physical health (Walker, 2008). The suggested policies for women, such as expanding childcare provision and improving women's access to active labour market policies (ALMPs), ignore demand-side issues such as the gender pay gap (Rubery et al., 2003). Thus, I expect an overemphasis on supply-side policies to address the labour market situation of the underrepresented groups in the Commission reports.

Third, the Commission has increasingly framed gender equality in economic terms rather than in terms of social justice (Rubery and Rafferty, 2013). The economic case was meant to sell gender equality to decision makers but has instead 'become a justification for having any EU-level gender equality policies at all.' (Elomäki, 2015: 298) Thus, I expect economic justifications for increasing women's employment rate rather than social justifications. This may extend to the other underrepresented groups as well.

Fourth, particularly for older and younger workers, scholars criticise the continuity of Commission employment policies. For example, today's efforts to increase young people's employability emphasise vocational training, reducing the number of early school-leavers, and offering ALMPs to young people (Lahusen et al., 2013), which has remained unchanged since the 1990s (Goetschy, 1999). The 'productivist' approach of the Commission towards older workers – as opposed to a more comprehensive, social approach – has also permeated the active ageing-paradigm since the Commission introduced it around the turn of the century (Foster and Walker, 2015; von Nordheim, 2004). Thus, I expect limited innovation in terms of the Commission's policies to encourage labour market participation of underrepresented groups.

I compare these four expectations to the results in the analysis section. The next section, though, outlines the paper's theory, which distinguishes between different levels of ideas, clarifying both the expectations and the results.

Ideas: what, why, and how?

This section reviews what ideas are, why they matter, and how we can analyse them. This provides the theoretical grounding for mapping ideas in the Commission's reports on underrepresented groups in the labour market.

What are ideas? Ideas consist of 'elements of meaning' (Carstensen, 2011: 600) that allow actors simultaneously to reduce societal complexity and use ideas strategically. Ideas are thus both a constraint – actors need ideas to handle the uncertainties of the social world – and a resource – ideas can be used by actors to influence other actors (Carstensen, 2011: 603). In this way,

> Ideas provide specific solutions to policy problems, constrain the cognitive and normative range of solutions that policy makers are likely to consider, and constitute symbols and concepts that enable actors to construct frames with which to legitimize their policy proposals.
>
> (Campbell, 1998: 398)

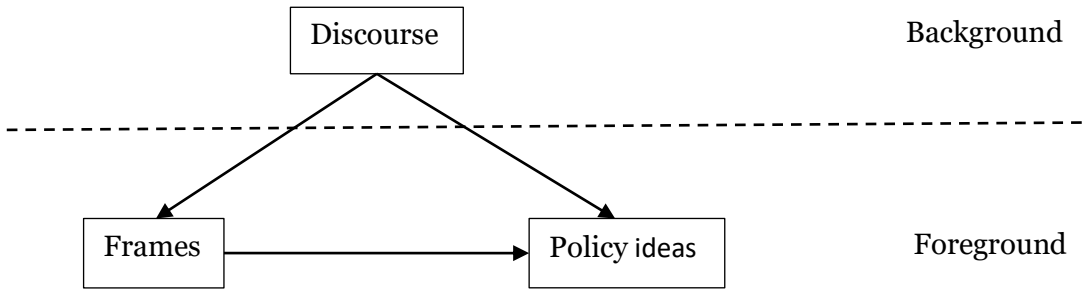
Why are ideas important to study? Scholars have shown that ideas are important in all stages of policymaking, with an emphasis on the early stages, including agenda-setting (Béland, 2016). Here, ideas shape what issues are on the agenda, how to think about the issues, and the competition for attention between issues. For example, a particular set of (French) ideas about the European community determined the negotiations resulting in the EEC in the 1950s (Parsons, 2002). EU leaders' ideas about the Eurozone crisis (and their communication) are partially to blame for the crisis, as the ideas were not perceived as legitimate by neither the market nor the public (Schmidt, 2014). Thus, scholars have shown how important ideas are, both in the early stages of policymaking as well as in the whole process. This paper focuses on the earliest stages of policymaking, i.e. agenda-setting.

How do we analyse ideational power? From the literature (amongst others, Carstensen and Schmidt, 2016), I have derived five factors of ideational analysis. These are (1) the capacity to influence; (2) the actors that influence; (3) the actors that are influenced; (4) the ideational elements employed in the influencing; and

(5) the method employed, which may be direct (persuasion or imposition) or indirect (by influencing the ideational context that defines the range of possibilities). Considering existing research on the first three factors, I assume the Commission has the capacity to influence relevant actors in the EU ecology through its agenda-setting power and its role in information gathering (Hartlapp et al., 2014b). In this paper, I analyse the last two factors of ideational analysis, i.e. (4) the ideational elements employed (5) indirectly by the Commission in defining their own and others' range of possibilities. I focus on the indirect method of ideational influencing, rather than the direct, because these reports are not used to persuade or imposition other actors in the EU environment. Rather, I argue that the reports influence the ideational context of both the Commission and broader EU audiences due to the Commission's agenda-setting role.

To analyse these ideational elements, I distinguish between ideas at three levels of generality (Campbell, 2004; Mehta, 2010; Schmidt, 2008, see Figure 1). First, there are discourses, a term I use to reflect their potential ideational domination (Schmidt, 2016: 322), although scholars also call them public philosophies or worldviews (Schmidt, 2008). Discourses are lenses through which people see the world or core principles and assumptions in the background of policy debates. The Commission's economic justification for gender equality exemplifies an underlying discourse of economic growth. Second, there are frames or problem definitions, which are particular ways of understanding complex – but specific – issues (Mehta, 2010). Policymakers, drawing on values and attitudes to legitimise solutions, formulate frames (Campbell, 2004). The Commission's emphasis on quantitative employment rate targets in their approach to labour market policy is an example of a frame. Third, there are policy ideas, which are the policymakers' solutions. They specify how to solve policy issues, taking the problem and the objective for granted from the frames and discourses (Mehta, 2010). The supply-side policies of education and training are examples of policy ideas within labour market policy, building on discourses of economic growth and frames that problematize the labour force, i.e. lack of qualifications or skills.

Figure 1: The relationship between discourses, frames, and policy ideas



Source: Author

Thus, in the analysis, I map ideas on the employment of underrepresented labour market groups, which both constrain and empower. The ideas constrain Commission officials in terms of how they think about policy issues and what solutions are available. However, the ideas may also constrain others, particularly inside the EU, who take these reports as starting points for what issues to consider and how to deal with them. In this way, by creating an ideational context in their analytical reports, Commission officials delimit both the agenda and the range of possible policy solutions.

Methods

To analyse the Commission's ideas on employment issues of underrepresented groups in the labour market, I analyse two series of Commission reports: Employment and Social Developments in Europe (ESDE), authored by the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion (DG EMPL), and Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe (LMWD), authored by the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN). These bureaucratic-analytical reports provide a holistic view of the Commission's ideas, representing both social and economic actors (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014). The reports are not representative of the Commission's ideas on women, youth, and the elderly's employment. Rather, they serve as a starting point for mapping the ideational context in which social policymaking takes place in the EU, uncovering the foundational ideas of the agenda-setting stage. They outline the common frames under which the Commission works.

I begin the analysis in 2004 for two reasons. First, for pragmatic reasons because 2004 is the first year both reports were available. DG ECFIN began publishing LMWD in 2004, while DG EMPL had been publishing a forerunner of ESDE since 1989 (see Table 2). Second, analysing reports from 2004 onwards

means I have data from before the 2008 financial crisis, allowing me to analyse periods of pre-crisis, crisis, and recovery.

Table 2: List of reports analysed

DG	Title of report	Length of report (no. of pages)
DG EMPL	Employment in Europe 2004	273
	The Social Situation in the EU 2004	192
	Employment in Europe 2005	304
	Employment in Europe 2006	292
	The Social Situation in the EU 2005-2006	176
	Employment in Europe 2007	324
	Employment in Europe 2008	292
	The Social Situation in the EU 2007	224
	Employment in Europe 2009	196
	The Social Situation in the EU 2008	190
	Employment in Europe 2010	204
	The Social Situation in the EU 2009	364
	Statistical Portraits of the Social Situation 2010	236
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2011	292
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2012	476
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2013	504
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2014	336
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015	472
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2016	274
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2017	268
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2018	280
DG ECFIN	Labour market and wage developments in 2004	164
	Labour market and wage developments in 2005	224
	Labour market and wage developments in 2006	232
	Labour market and wage development in 2007	244
	Labour market and wage developments in 2008	348
	Labour market and wage developments in 2009	300
	Labour Market Developments in Europe 2011	179
	Labour Market Developments in Europe 2012	175
	Labour Market Developments in Europe 2013	143
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2015 (DG EMPL)	168
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2016 (DG EMPL)	154
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2017 (DG EMPL)	168
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2018 (DG EMPL)	198

Note: DG EMPL has published *Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe* since 2015 due to organisational changes in the Commission. However, in the analysis, I continue to consider this report as a DG ECFIN-report for two reasons. First, the whole team working on the report moved from DG ECFIN to DG EMPL, indicating that the team maintained similar working practices and views for at least some time following the move. Second, Commission officials who I spoke with about the reports emphasised the continuity in the report, mentioning that changes mainly focused on the timing of the publication, ensuring alignment with DG EMPL publications.

The reports differ in terms of processes. DG EMPL's ESDE is subject to an 'interservice consultation' in the Commission, a long process of consultations with other DGs to ensure alignment. DG ECFIN's LMWD does not go through this process. The audiences of the reports also differ. The DG EMPL report targets internal audiences in the Commission, DG EMPL's stakeholders (social partners), Members of the

European Parliament, and members of the Social Protection Committee. The more technical DG ECFIN report particularly targets the Economic Policy Committee and the European Central Bank. However, both reports are at the early stages of policy formulation and are lowest common denominators in the EU system, since only the Commission has to agree internally on the contents. Other relevant documents, such as the Country-Specific Recommendations or the Annual Growth Survey, are scrutinised by Member States and other stakeholders so there is less room for radical or innovative ideas. The reports are thus where we could expect a breeding ground of potential novel solutions to EU social policy challenges.

I expect to see differences between ideas in the two reports because studies have shown considerable differences between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN. For example, DG EMPL adheres to a market-correcting logic while DG ECFIN adheres to a market-enhancing one (Hooghe, 2012). On population ageing, DG EMPL takes a social view and DG ECFIN an economic view (Seabrooke et al., 2019). Thus, DG EMPL and DG ECFIN represent traditional dividing lines along the economic and the social within the Commission, leading me to expect DG EMPL to emphasise social issues more than DG ECFIN. This would not be surprising, given their institutional settings, but if a 'socialisation' of the European processes is taking place (Zeitlin and Vanhercke, 2018), I would expect to see evidence of more social concerns and policies in DG ECFIN's reports over time. However, due to shortcomings of the data, my conclusions for DG EMPL are likely to be stronger than for DG ECFIN. There are fewer DG ECFIN reports due to less consistent publishing. The DG ECFIN reports are also shorter in terms of number of pages, resulting in fewer data points. Thus, I expect to be able to say more about DG EMPL's ideas on employment issues than about DG ECFIN's ideas.

I analysed the reports using qualitative content analysis (QCA; Schreier, 2012, 2013). QCA helps reduce the data and describe its meaning through the generation of categories that take the meaning of specific passages 'to a higher level of abstraction' (Schreier, 2013: 170) so that the categories will apply to a number of references in the material. In this way, the researcher both describes and summarises the meaning of the material. Additionally, QCA helps track the rise and decline of ideas over time, which is relevant due to the longitudinal nature of the analysis. To aid the coding process, I used the software NVivo.

The broad nature of the reports (developments in employment, the labour market, wages, and social affairs) compared to the focus of the research (the integration of women, youth, and the elderly in the

labour market) meant that I could not single out neither full reports nor individual chapters as relevant. Therefore, following a systematic examination of all of the material (Schreier, 2012: 5), I conducted an exclusive round of relevance coding (Schreier, 2012: 82), where only the paragraphs relevant to the research were included, resulting in 4,947 paragraphs or segments. All coding rules, including for the relevance coding, are available in appendix 2.

The typology of ideas provided the theoretical underpinnings for the first-level categories of the coding scheme: discourses, frames, and policy ideas. I generated the second-level categories inductively. I conducted a round of pilot coding with a representative sample of the data before applying the coding frame to all of the material. The pilot phase led to some adjustments of the coding scheme. As the only coder of the data, I recoded a representative sample of the data after the main coding. The recoding was more consistent than the pilot phase (the Kappa score increased from an average of 0.887 to 0.915), confirming that the specifications of the coding scheme increased the stability of the analysis. After the coding, I looked for similarities and differences amongst the categories of the coding scheme to identify second-order themes (Gioia et al., 2013: 20–21). These themes are deeper and more abstract, helping to describe the ideational elements in the data. I introduce them in the next section.

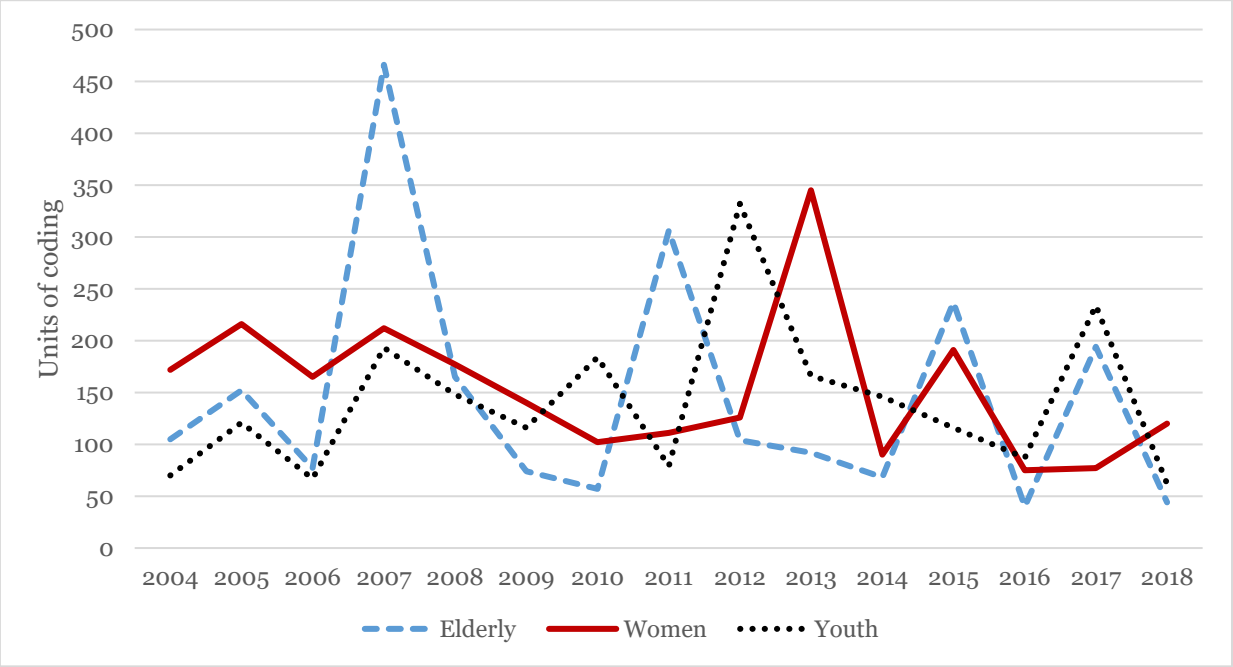
Results and analysis

In this section, after reviewing how frequently the Commission reports mentioned the underrepresented labour market groups, I present and discuss the themes identified within the three levels of ideas: discourses, frames, and policy ideas.

The Commission's references to women, youth, and the elderly as underrepresented groups in the labour market fluctuated over the 15-year period (Figure 2). However, the total number of references (for both DG EMPL and DG ECFIN) over the years are very similar, with 2319 references to women, 2121 references to youth, and 2181 references to the elderly in labour market situations. Focus chapters on specific groups create a fluctuating distribution. Commission officials do not always choose focus chapters because of pertinent current issues, but because it is time to review an issue or because there is a request from the EU system to cover a particular topic. Furthermore, the 2008 financial crisis seems to have crowded out discussions on the underrepresented groups, reflected in the decreased number of references across all three groups in the period 2008-2009. The Commission neglected gender equality during the crisis due to

the overwhelming macroeconomic issues (Rubery, 2015; Smith and Villa, 2010, 2013). In spite of high youth unemployment during the crisis, the Commission even seemed to ignore the plight of young people in the labour market (Lahusen et al., 2013), confirmed in Figure 2. Interest in the three groups picked up again from around 2010.

Figure 2: Distribution of references to women, youth, and the elderly in the Commission reports, 2004-2018

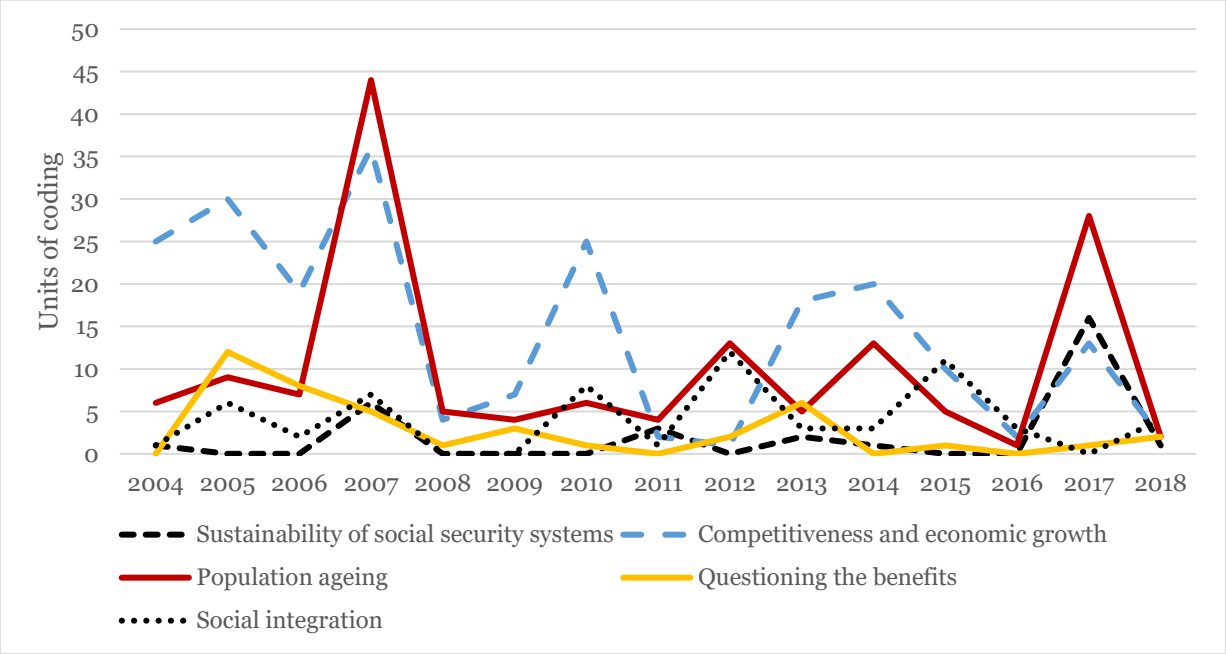


Discourses

The Commission's discourses focus on the underlying assumptions in the background of the policy debate, specifying the way in which policymakers can define issues. From the second-level categories (definitions and examples are available in appendix 3), I identified one dominant discourse on economic growth and some alternative discourses.

The dominant discourse of economic growth is by far the most prominent and persistent over time (Figure 3). It consists of the second-level categories of 'competitiveness and economic growth', 'population ageing', and 'sustainability of social security systems', which all have an economic motivation for increasing employment rates. 'Population ageing', for instance, focuses on alleviating the financial pressures of population ageing by boosting employment rates, reflecting the worldview that decreasing populations is an economic challenge and not, for instance, a relief in the light of climate change.

Figure 3: Distribution of discourses in the Commission reports, 2004-2018



This dominant discourse of economic growth supports the expectation that economic justifications – rather than social ones – for women's equal labour market participation would be prominent. Additionally, the expectation seems to extend to youth and the elderly as well. The discourse is not surprising considering the singular focus on competitiveness and economic growth inherent in the Lisbon Strategy of the early 2000s (Armstrong, 2012b), which is also the period in which the discourse is strongest (2004-2010). The explanation for its continued dominance is that Europe 2020 is partially a recycling of the Lisbon strategy (Menz, 2019). Additionally, the 'competitiveness and economic growth'-category is the first one to emerge forcefully following a period of suppressed discourses during the early years of the financial crisis (2008-09), revealing a lack of ideational change.

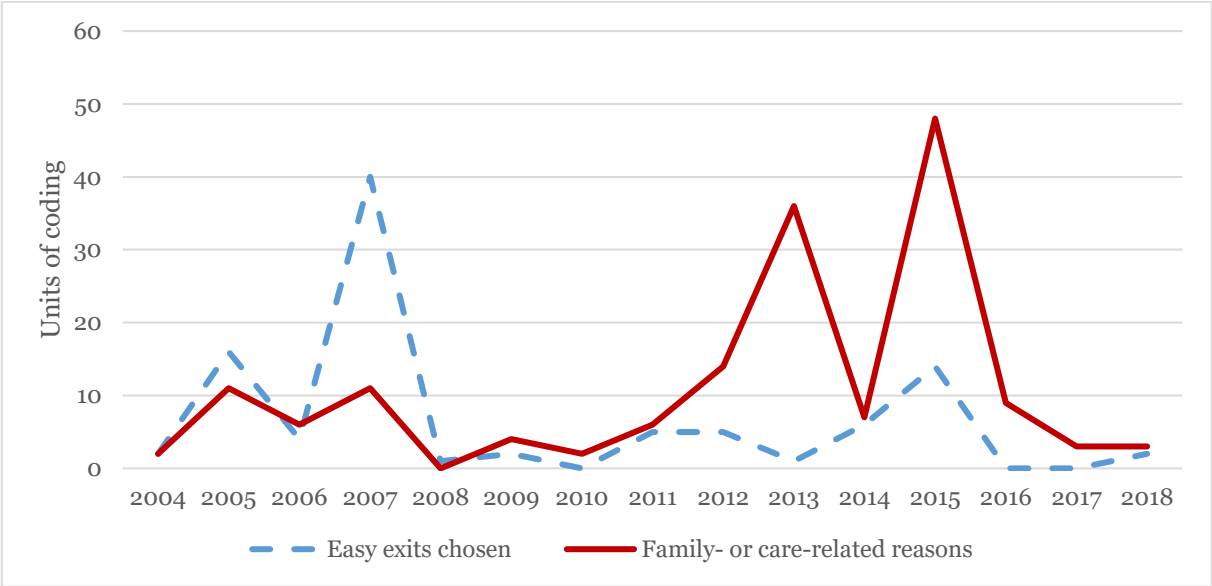
The alternative discourses to the dominant one is 'questioning the benefits' and 'social integration' (Figure 3). 'Questioning the benefits', which is an internal critique to the approach of increasing employment rates, is a larger category in the early years of the study but nearly disappears with the onset of the crisis in 2008. 'Social integration' is more consistent over time and represents an alternative discourse to the one on economic growth, one more focused on the groups as important social components, where their integration into the labour market is valued because it will bring social benefits, not only economic ones. Ultimately, however, they are only alternatives to the dominant economic growth-discourse.

Frames

Frames are policymakers' definitions of policy issues. In this section, I analyse how the Commission frames the groups' underrepresentation in the labour market. From the second-level categories generated during the coding, I identify two main themes: a theme on the choices of the underrepresented groups, i.e. the supply-side, and a theme on problems with the labour market, i.e. the demand-side. Both themes are rooted in the dominant discourse of economic growth. I also identify a few alternative frames.

The first theme emphasises the choices (whether they are made freely and consciously or not) of the underrepresented groups as the reasons for women, youth, and the elderly's underrepresentation in the labour market (Figure 4). This includes the category 'family- or care-related reasons', which is particularly relevant for women but also the elderly. Here, the reports frame the underrepresented groups' situation as caused by care-responsibilities towards e.g. children, older family members, or partners. The category thus emphasises that particularly women and the elderly are more often responsible for caring for family members, limiting their labour market attachment. This category is particularly prominent in the post-crisis period, potentially indicating that the Commission has become more aware of the challenges posed by care responsibilities to labour market performance. The recent adoption of the Work-Life Balance Directive, which supports parents and carers, strengthens this conclusion. The other category in this theme is 'easy exits chosen', which covers older workers retiring and young people going into education, as underrepresented groups often have plausible alternatives to being in the labour market. This category was more prominent before the crisis, perhaps reflecting the pre-crisis focus on increasing the labour market attachment of the elderly and postpone retirement. Summarising, this theme emphasises the alternatives of the underrepresented groups to being in the labour market, problematizing the supply-side of the labour market.

Figure 4: Distribution of frames problematizing the supply-side in the Commission reports, 2004-2018

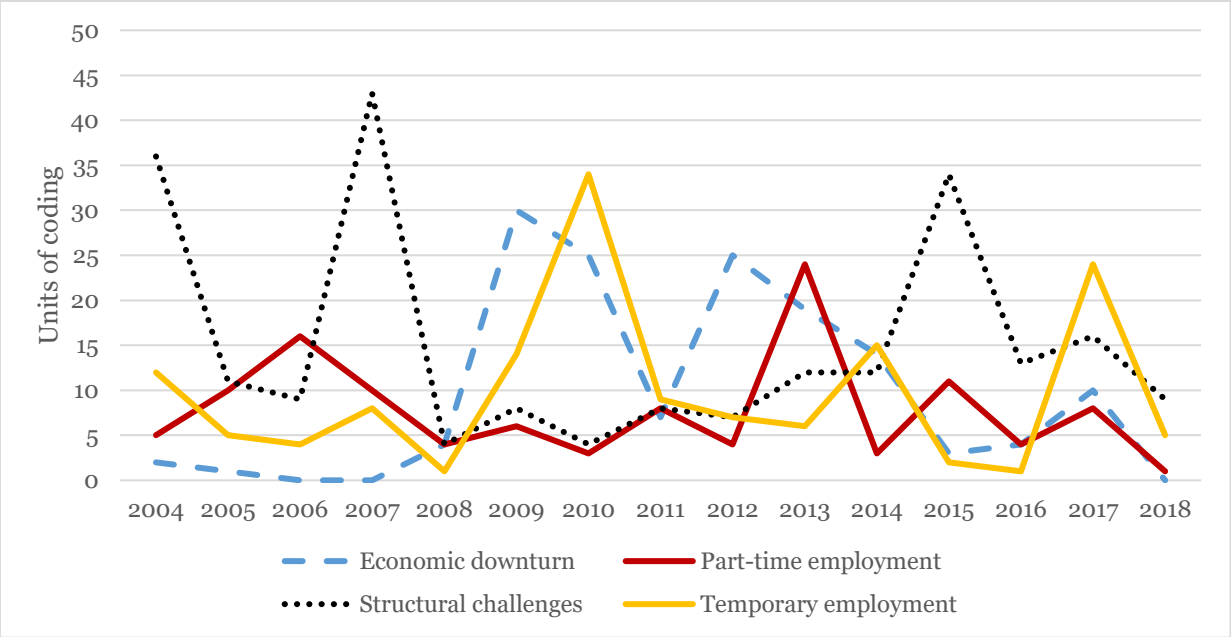


The second theme stresses problems in the labour market, such as the 'economic downturn', 'structural challenges', and 'temporary' and 'part-time contracts' (Figure 5). 'Economic downturn'-references highlight the groups disadvantaged by the crisis, particularly youth. 'Structural challenges' refers to long-term problems for the underrepresented groups in the labour market, emphasising their underrepresentation without mentioning other issues. For example, the category applied when the reports mentioned two or more of the groups' underrepresentation, referring to them as groups with low employment rates. In terms of timing, 'economic downturn' is prominent from 2008 to 2012, with a dip in 2011 when Europe thought the crisis was over. 'Structural challenges', on the other hand, is prominent in the pre-crisis and post-crisis years where the economic situation is good, so the persistent underrepresentation of these labour market groups becomes more prominent (e.g. 2007 and 2015).

The temporary and part-time employment-frames problematize the high frequency of not full-time, not permanent contracts amongst the underrepresented groups. For example, a high percentage of women are on part-time contracts (31.4 per cent of women as opposed to 8.2 per cent of men in 2016; European Commission, 2017), which may initially have encouraged women to enter the labour market, but which also means that women work fewer hours than men. Generally, the reports framed the benefits as outweighed by the problem that these contracts are more prevalent amongst underrepresented groups in the labour market, further marginalising them, a particularly important issue for youth on temporary contracts (European Commission, 2012b: 32). These frames thus problematize the prevalence of such

contracts, born from the Commission's discourse of economic growth, as the aim is to bring more people into employment and for them to work more hours.

Figure 5: Distribution of frames problematizing the demand-side in the Commission reports, 2004-2018



Both themes on respectively supply- and demand-side issues originate in the Commission's economic growth-discourse. An additional frame, 'instruments to reaching targets', also has an underlying growth-discourse, referring to the Lisbon strategy and Europe 2020's employment rate targets. Especially women and the elderly are framed as 'instruments', where it is calculated how much employment needs to increase by to reach the target(s). This confirms the expectation of the literature review that the Commission emphasises the quantitative employment rate targets.

Finally, there is a group of small alternative frames: 'affected by austerity measures', 'discouraged worker effect', and 'frustration'. For instance, 'affected by austerity measures' expresses an opposition to fiscal consolidation policies, emphasising the negative impact of austerity policies on underrepresented labour market groups. This is primarily about women, but includes references to the elderly. Overall, this group of alternative frames is small compared to the supply- and demand-side themes.

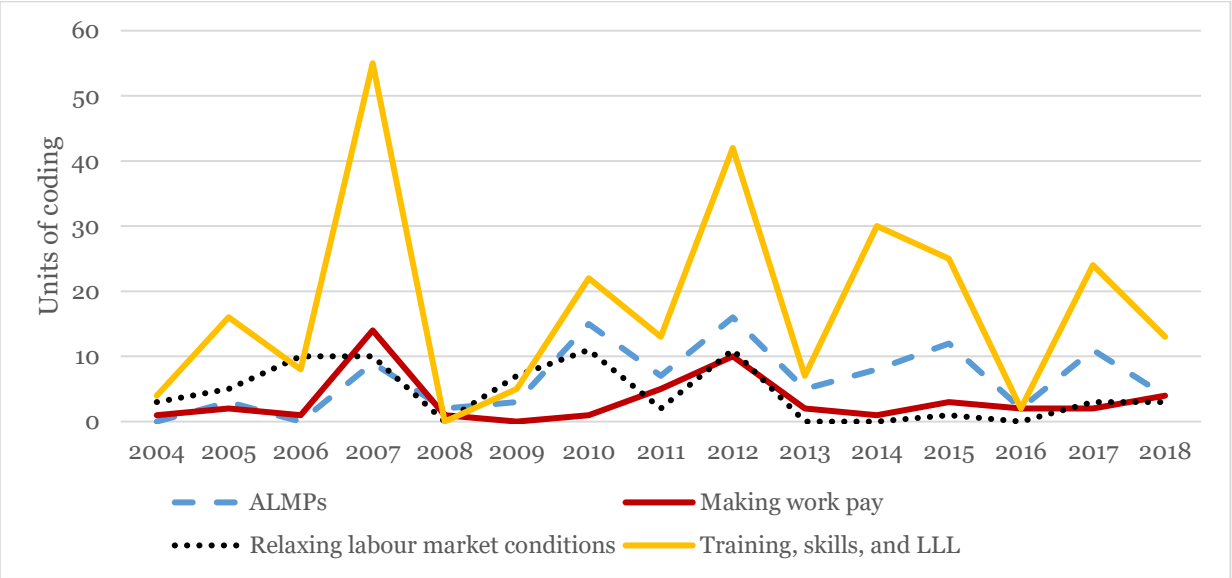
Policy ideas

Policy ideas are policymakers' suggested solutions for the issues at hand, informed by the dominant discourses and frames. In this section, I present the policy ideas on women, youth, and the elderly in the

Commission's reports. A theme on supply-side solutions is the most prominent, but there are also some alternative policy ideas. The economic growth-discourse is strong in the supply-side theme, whereas alternative discourses and frames have filtered through to the alternative policy ideas.

The supply-side theme of policy ideas consists of four policy ideas (Figure 6). One category focused on 'making work pay', a contested – but popular – notion to reform the welfare state to ensure economic incentives for inactive or unemployed individuals to enter or re-enter the labour market (Trlifajová and Hurrle, 2018). The policy seems to have dropped off the radar since the end of the crisis around 2013. The number of references to 'ALMPs' increases over the period, particularly during the crisis years. ALMPs are popular with policymakers but their results are mixed (Leschke, 2011). The reports also suggest 'relaxing labour market conditions', i.e. relaxing employment protection legislation. However, this idea has not fared so well since the end of the crisis around 2013. 'Training, skills, and life-long learning' is prominent throughout the period. It is a classic supply-side policy idea, which policymakers have applied particularly to youth, as the literature revealed, but also to the elderly. Overall, this theme shows that the Commission reports rely heavily on supply-side policies to underrepresented labour market groups, as the literature led us to expect.

Figure 6: Distribution of supply-side policy ideas in the Commission reports, 2004-2018



Alternative policy approaches appear in the early years of the analysis, but most all but disappear over time. One noteworthy policy idea, 'participation-friendly policies', was prominent in the reports and implies making it more feasible and attractive for particularly women and the elderly to return to or remain

in the labour market through e.g. more and better childcare and flexible working hours. The policy idea channels the alternative discourses and frames mentioned previously by focusing on making employment a viable opportunity for underrepresented groups, not by either coercing or subtly drawing them in, but by reforming European societies and workplaces.

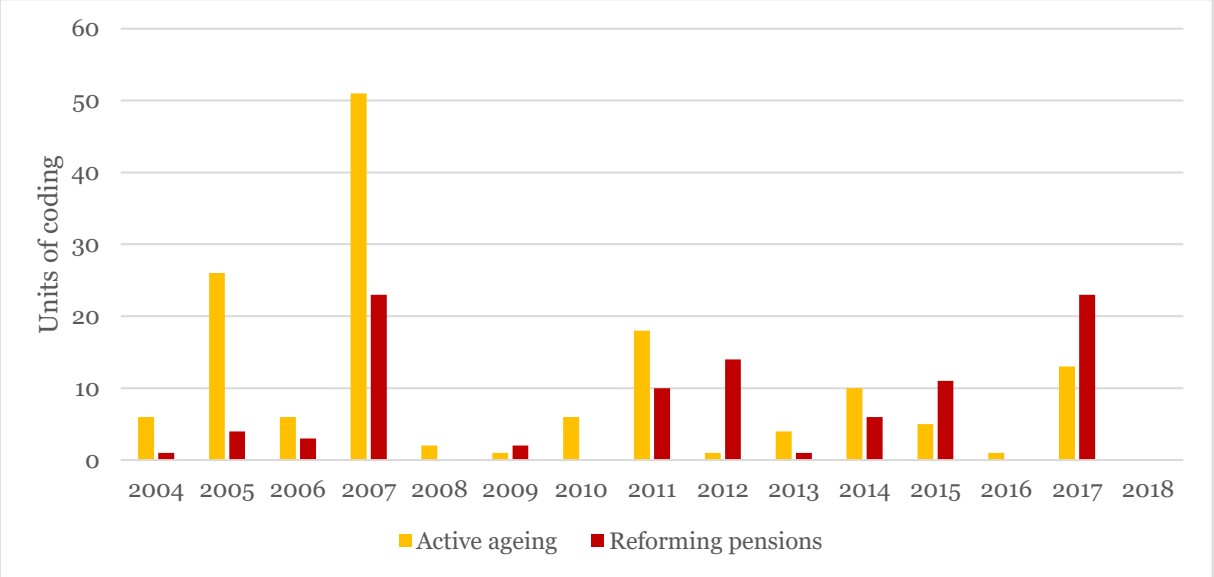
Comparing DG EMPL and DG ECFIN reports

In terms of the expected differences between DG EMPL's and DG ECFIN's reports, DG ECFIN's reports are overwhelmingly economically oriented. Socially oriented categories occurred almost exclusively in DG EMPL's reports. Although one might argue that any occurrence of social categories in the DG ECFIN reports is surprising, the few occurrences are random and insignificant, particularly as there is no increase over time. In terms of discourses and frames, the instances are isolated. The only exception is the alternative policy idea 'participation-friendly policies', which regularly appears in DG ECFIN's reports beginning in 2012. One possible explanation is that the more socially holistic policy approach from e.g. the European Pillar of Social Rights is beginning to permeate even DG ECFIN. However, since alternative discourses or frames do not underpin it, I interpret it as a case of internal contradiction between DG ECFIN's foundational ideas and their advocated solutions.

An interesting example of this concerns policy ideas on the integration of older workers, the policies of 'active ageing' and 'reforming pensions'. Considering the few DG ECFIN-data points, we cannot directly compare the two DGs. Thus, I compare the mentions of active ageing and reforming pensions over time separately for the DG ECFIN and DG EMPL reports (Figures 7 and 8).

Figure 7: Number of mentions of active ageing and reforming pensions in DG ECFIN reports, 2004-2018

Figure 8: Number of mentions of active ageing and reforming pensions in DG EMPL reports, 2004-2018



The figures show that the DG ECFIN reports mention reforming pensions more than active ageing and vice versa for the DG EMPL reports. Although I expected this due to the different institutional settings of the DGs, it is striking that DG ECFIN only mentions active ageing twice. Furthermore, one of these segments was in essence about reforming pensions, although it mentioned active ageing (European Commission, 2015b: 76). Thus, DC ECFIN has a clear focus on reforming pensions, confirming the discourse of securing sustainable public finances.

Co-occurrence of different levels of ideas

To understand the connections between the different levels of ideas, I analysed co-occurrences, systematically searching for overlapping categories of coding. I found that certain combinations of ideas systematically co-occurred, emphasising the dominance of the economic growth-ideas. The co-occurrence of alternative ideas across levels was weaker.

The dominant discourse-categories of economic growth ('competitiveness and economic growth' and 'population ageing') tended to co-occur with economic growth-frames, such as 'easy exits chosen' and 'structural challenges'. The dominant discourses also co-occurred with policy ideas such as 'reforming pensions' and 'training, skills and LLL'. Furthermore, the frames 'easy exits chosen' and 'structural challenges' also tended to co-occur with the policy ideas 'reforming pensions' and 'training, skills, and LLL'. Thus, we see a lock-in effect from a discourse on population ageing to the frame of older workers retiring early ('easy exits chosen') to the policy idea of reforming pensions – with the aim of economic growth.

On alternative ideas, the connection from discourses to frames to policy ideas was not so clear. Surprisingly, the alternative discourses ('questioning the benefits' and 'social integration') co-occurred with the same economic growth-frames as above, 'easy exits chosen' and 'structural challenges'. This may be because these economic growth-frames are the reports' most common frames for the problems of underrepresented groups in the labour market. Thus, even when the underlying discourses question the economic growth-imperative, economic growth-frames dominate the agenda-setting. There was, however, also a co-occurrence of alternative discourses with the alternative policy idea 'participation-friendly policies'.

In summary, the co-occurrence of various categories across the levels of ideas shows the lock-in effect of the dominant economic growth-discourse and frames, reinforcing particular policy ideas and dominating the Commission's agenda-setting.

Conclusion

With a content analysis of Commission documents spanning 15 years, this paper analyses the Commission's ideas on employment of three underrepresented groups in the labour market to understand the ideational context of social policymaking in the EU. The paper argues that very little has changed in the Commission's approach to these groups, showing a dearth of ideas at the EU's centre of analysis and suggesting a lack of progress in EU social policy.

The findings broadly confirm the expectations of the literature on underrepresented labour market groups. In terms of discourse, the Commission reports reflect economic justifications for increasing the employment rates of women, youth, and the elderly, neglecting important social justifications. The most prominent frames in the reports draw on this dominant economic growth-discourse, to the extent that women, youth, and the elderly are framed as 'instruments' to help achieve the quantitative employment rate targets of the Lisbon strategy and Europe 2020. At the level of policy ideas, the reports reflect a heavy emphasis on supply-side policies. On internal Commission politics, DG EMPL focuses more on socially leaning ideas than DG ECFIN.

The findings suggest that the Commission is unlikely to become a champion of social rights (Parker and Pye, 2018) as the foundational ideas identified across DG EMPL and DG ECFIN are about economic

growth, not social integration. It thus confirms the continued 'social asymmetry' of the EU, identified by Scharpf (2002), and the subordination of social priorities to fiscal consolidation (Leschke et al., 2015).

The data has some limitations. There is insufficient DG ECFIN-data, limiting potentially interesting findings on differences between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN. However, the fact that I was able to conduct an analysis across the two Commission actors carries some significance in itself, as it is rare for responsibilities to overlap in such a way and for such an extended time as I found here. Additionally, the analysis entailed some simplifying decisions, such as choosing to focus only on women, youth, and the elderly, ignoring other groups. Furthermore, the analysis did not sufficiently capture groups that overlapped, such as elderly women, who have seen drastic improvements in labour market participation over the period studied here (European Commission, 2012c: 205). However, the results are an exploratory mapping of the Commission's ideas on social policy, focusing on a representative selection of larger labour market groups and on an important subcategory of EU social policy, labour market policy. The analysis presents the ideational context in which social policymaking in the EU takes place. Due to the nature of the reports, if innovative ideas are not present here, they are unlikely to appear elsewhere in the Commission's work.

In terms of ideational theory, the analysis demonstrates more ideational stability than change, aligning with an expectation of policy continuity. Particularly at the background level of discourses, the stability is considerable. I find some evidence of ideational change at the level of policy ideas but due to the stable discourses, new policy ideas that draw on alternative, more socially oriented, discourses disappear over time. However, the data shows a generally decreasing trend for all categories identified during the analysis. This might indicate incremental change towards new ideas, reflecting the 'gradual transitions' evidenced in economic ideas in the aftermath of the financial crisis (Moschella and Tsingou, 2013; Widmaier, 2016b). Future research could pursue this suggestion through analysis of additional Commission documents as well as interviews with Commission officials.

PAPER III

Institutional Logics in the European Commission: Competition and complementarity on active ageing and pension reform

Abstract

The literature on Directorate-Generals in the European Commission expects conflicts along functional dividing lines, such as economic and social affairs. To further the research agenda, I apply an institutional logics perspective, showing how alternating competition and complementarity between different institutional logics explains the evolution of two socioeconomic policy responses to population ageing, active ageing and pension reform. Based on the literature on EU social policy, the paper identifies two ideal-type institutional logics that permeate the Commission: market logics and social logics. I trace the framing of active ageing and pension reform in Commission discourse from 1997 to 2018 using qualitative data analysis. The paper demonstrates that, due to the dominance of market logics within the Commission, the Commission has advanced pension reform – the issue with the strongest market logic-elements – more strongly as a solution to population ageing than active ageing, which has stronger social logic-elements. Thus, the construction of an issue and to what extent the construction resonates with the dominant logic may condition whether or not the Commission advances an issue, beyond the question of EU competences. Researchers can apply the institutional logics perspective to other policy areas that span traditional functional dividing lines of the Commission bureaucracy to help explain both competition and complementarity between Directorate-Generals in the EU bureaucracy.

Key words: European Commission; active ageing; pension reform; institutional logics; social policy

Introduction

Despite the European Commission's conceptualisation as a "collegiate" and unitary body, evidence of internal conflicts at both the political (Wonka, 2008) and administrative levels (Hartlapp et al., 2014b) has surfaced. Scholars have shown that conflict between Directorate-Generals (DGs) in the Commission appears along functional dividing lines, such as economic and social affairs (Wonka, 2015: 97). This finding

allows research to explore the asymmetry between economic and social policies on the organisational level. While the asymmetry between economic and social policies is long established, with economic policies being more centralised than social policies in the EU (Scharpf, 2002), there is little research that goes beyond the question of competence to examine how internal conflicts in the Commission may also perpetuate the asymmetry. To further this research agenda, I apply institutional logics, a framework of abstract social structures that co-exist in organisations despite their contradictory nature (Johansen and Waldorff, 2017), showing how alternating competition and complementarity between market logics and social logics explains the evolution of two social issues within the Commission.

The "normalisation" of the Commission (Wille, 2013) has led scholars to view the body as an ordinary bureaucracy, rather than as a supranational institution. For example, research shows that coordination of policy formulation across DGs resembles coordination in national governments (Hustedt and Seyfried, 2016). This strand of literature analyses the Commission's organisational structure (see also Hartlapp et al., 2013).

Building on the insight that the Commission is a normal bureaucracy, this paper examines the Commission's culture in the form of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2015). To understand DGs, we must understand not only the organisational structures that surround them but also the organisational cultures that both constrain and enable them in their policymaking efforts (Rao et al., 2003). Research shows that "organisational cultures" (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000) or "organisational logics" (Christiansen, 1997) of DGs play a crucial role in explaining whether DGs 'take up' certain issues. However, there has been no specific theoretical framework to conceptualise such logics. An institutional logics perspective can help us examine the institutional interactions in the Commission.

I focus on cases within the field of social policy for two reasons. First, this field is suitable for studying institutional interactions in the Commission because we may expect conflict between economic and social affairs. Second, the field also allows us to examine the potential impact of institutional interactions on the perpetuation of the asymmetry between economic and social policies in the EU system. This paper contributes both to the literature on the institutional interactions inside the Commission and to the literature on asymmetric economic and social policies at the EU level.

The two issues within social policy are active ageing and pension reform. They are two key responses to population ageing in Europe (Walker and Maltby, 2012). Those aged 65 and above will account for nearly 30 per cent of the EU population by 2070, rising from 20 per cent today (European Commission, 2018d). In contrast, the working age population (aged 15-64) is expected to drop from around 65 per cent to 56 per cent (European Commission, 2018d). This challenge is mainly within the remit of Member States but it affects many policy areas, including employment and fiscal policies, which the Open Method of Coordination and the European Semester partly govern: active ageing in the remit of the European Employment Strategy and pension reform under a separate OMC-process (de la Porte and Pochet, 2012). On such policy issues, the Commission supervises, coordinates, and facilitates policy reforms.

With a longitudinal analysis of Commission reports, supported by interviews with Commission officials, I trace the framing of active ageing and pension reform in Commission discourse from 1997 to 2018. I analyse reports from two key DGs, the DG for Employment and Social Affairs (DG EMPL) and the DG for Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN). The reports investigate employment issues and the labour market, and I analysed them specifically to understand the Commission's approach to dealing with population ageing in the context of employment policies, including active ageing and pension reform.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 introduces the theoretical framework of institutional logics, presenting ideal-types of market and social logics in the Commission. Section 3 presents the data and methods. Section 4 presents the empirical analysis, demonstrating how the DGs draw on both market and social logics in framing active ageing and pension reform. It shows that, due to the dominance of market logics within the Commission, the Commission has advanced pension reform – the issue with the strongest market logic-elements – more strongly as a solution to population ageing than active ageing, which has more elements of the social logic. Section 5 discusses and concludes by explaining the implications of the paper for the Commission's internal dynamics, socioeconomic issues, and the theoretical framework of institutional logics.

Theoretical framework: Institutional logics

This section introduces the institutional logics perspective as the theoretical framework for analysing the Commission's framing of active ageing and pension reform. Institutional logics is a framework of abstract social structures that co-exist in organisations despite their contradictory nature (Johansen and Waldorff,

2017). Institutional logics are defined as "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences" (Thornton et al., 2012: 2). Institutional logics provide frames of reference for individual and organisational actors, conditioning the vocabulary they use in motivating action and providing a basis of legitimacy and identity. Logics provide a method of orientation for actors, habituating how they define the problems they address, what is important to them, and ultimately how they behave.

In this paper, I focus on the organisational actors – DGs. Previous research on the influence of institutional logics in political organisations has also focused on organisational actors. For example, Hustedt and Danken (2017) show how a policy logic, focused on technically correct policies, prevailed in an organisational actor, a German inter-departmental committee, allowing cooperation to emerge across functional dividing lines of bureaucracy. In another inter-departmental committee, a political logic prevailed, governed by party-political competition, resulting in a lack of agreement.

Based on the literature on EU social policy, we can identify two ideal-type institutional logics: market logics and social logics (see table 1). The categories (the first column in table 1) are the building blocks of logics, representing economic, organisational, and political concepts that help researchers compare and contrast belief systems and practices of organisational actors. The categories are inspired by previous studies that developed ideal types (Hustedt and Danken, 2017; Thornton, 2004). I identified the ideal types (the second and third columns in table 1) by drawing on the literature on EU social policy and Commission studies, developing "pure" logics that are "distinct and unambiguous" (Weber 1949: 88 in Goodrick and Reay, 2010: 378).

From the top of table 1, a key economic concept that helps us distinguish between different practices is the economic system (Thornton et al., 2012). Here, I define market capitalism as a building block of the Commission's market logic, while welfare capitalism is a building block of the social logic. Next, in terms of organisation, the logics differ as to what organisational identity actors identify with: various parts of the Commission have been described as either a "finance ministry" (Schön-Quinlivan and Scipioni, 2017) or a "welfare ministry" (author's interviews; P1a). A key difference in (socioeconomic) policymaking is the mission: is it market-enhancing, aligning with market logics, or market-correcting, aligning with social

logics (see, e.g., Widmaier, 2016a: 18)? Research shows that DGs differ on this point, either drawing on one or the other (Hooghe, 2012: 17).

On goals, sustainable public finances are an important part of the Commission's market logics (see, e.g., Leschke et al., 2015), but the European Social Model's focus on solidarity, fairness, and equity is important for the Commission's social logics (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014: 282). The EU's Common Market and Single Currency mean that a key legitimisation of the Commission's work is protecting the market position of the EU and the Euro. However, since the launch of the European Employment Strategy, another key legitimisation is reaching full employment, in line with social logics. Finally, the Commission employs the Community method and the Open Method of Coordination as formal policy mechanisms. However, in terms of *informal* policy mechanisms, parts of the Commission rely on social dialogue (Keller and Sörries, 1999) while other parts work with the European Central Bank (ECB) and business interest organisations (de la Porte and Pochet, 2012: 344).

Table 1: Ideal market and social logics in the Commission

	Market logic	**Social logic**
Economic system	Market capitalism	Welfare capitalism
Organisational identity	"Finance ministry"	"Welfare ministry"
Mission	Market-enhancing	Market-correcting
Goal	Sustainable public finances	Solidarity, fairness, equity
Legitimacy	Market position of the EU and the Euro	Reaching full employment
Formal policy mechanisms	Community method; OMC	Community method; OMC
Informal policy mechanisms	Working with market actors, e.g. the ECB and Business Europe	European Social Dialogue in the tripartite tradition

Source: Author

Institutional logics coexist in society, creating complex realities (Friedland and Alford, 1991). This means that actors hold both market and social logics to varying degrees at any given time. The coexistence of logics allows actors to exploit both competing and complementary aspects of the logics in identifying and solving problems (Thornton et al., 2012: 62). For example, actors in the EU setting – including Commission President Jacques Delors – saw competition between the market logic-goal of sustainable public finances and the social logic-goal of solidarity and equity as defining for the European project (Hansen and Triantafillou, 2011: 199–201). Subsequently, Delors launched the European Social Model (drawing on social logics) as a counterweight to the (market logic-driven) integration of economic policies.

Actors may also exploit complementarities between different logics. For example, the Lisbon Strategy represents a blending (Thornton et al., 2012: 105) of social and market logics by emphasising social policies' ability to contribute to economic efficiency by focusing on human investment, which would allow Europe to become a competitive knowledge economy, contributing to market goals (Hansen and Triantafillou, 2011). We will see examples of both competition and complementarity of market and social logics in the empirical case at hand.

As theoretical constructs, the logics are equal in the sense that one does not govern another (Thornton et al., 2012). Over time, however, the relationship between logics shifts and a logic may come to dominate. Currently, the spread of market logics is well-documented (Leicht, 2016; Thornton et al., 2015). Arguably, market logics have also spread in the Commission over the past decades (for a discussion, see Hartlapp et al., 2014a; Jabko, 1999). EU gender equality policies, for example, are legitimised with market logics (Elomäki, 2015).

While associating either logic firmly with specific DGs is too simplistic because the logics coexist across the Commission (along with other logics), I expect DG ECFIN to draw more on market logics and DG EMPL to draw more on social logics.

Methods

To study the institutional interactions over socioeconomic issues in the European Commission, I conducted a longitudinal analysis of Commission documents supported by interviews with Commission officials. The analysis begins with the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, which established EU competencies on employment issues (Goetschy, 1999), and ends in 2018.

First, I analysed Commission reports authored by, respectively, DG EMPL and DG ECFIN. The reports investigate employment issues and the labour market, and I analysed them specifically to understand the Commission's approach to dealing with population ageing in the context of employment policies, including active ageing and pension reform (see appendix 4 for a list of the reports). I used qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012) because it is well suited for tracing the rise and decline of ideas over time. Qualitative content analysis helps reduce the data and describe its meaning through the generation of categories. Appendix 5 provides examples of the coding. The analysis covers a 15-year period (2004-2018),

beginning in 2004 because this was the first year both DG EMPL and DG ECFIN published reports on employment issues.

DG EMPL and DG ECFIN have both published on employment issues due to an overlap in DG responsibilities.[1] Previous research demonstrates DG EMPL's social orientation and DG ECFIN's economic orientation on population ageing issues (Seabrooke et al., 2019). Hence, focusing on these two DGs allows for an analysis of why and when cooperation is difficult to achieve across traditional dividing lines of the economic and the social. However, other DGs deal with active ageing issues, including DG SANTE, who study health aspects of a long life, and DG FISMA, who regulate private pensions in Europe. As I prioritised a longitudinal study, I focused on DG EMPL and DG ECFIN.

Second, I identified core Commission officials on key issues from the document analysis and conducted interviews with them. I spoke to 20 interviewees in total, mostly in Brussels. This paper draws primarily on five of these interviewees, which were all with experts on active ageing or the economic consequences of population ageing, but the remaining interviews all provided essential background information. All interviewees were from the administrative level in the Commission, i.e. analysts, heads of units or teams, or directors. The interviews were semi-structured (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).[2] To prevent the interview statements from becoming face-value evidence, I compared and contrasted them with both the Commission reports from the qualitative content analysis as well as other Commission documents, essentially constituting data triangulation.

Due to the nature of the data, the paper does not analyse specific legislative proposals, but instead traces issues as they wax and wane on political agendas (e.g., Helgadóttir, 2016; Seabrooke and Wigan, 2016). There is little EU regulation on ageing policies, due to the subsidiarity principle. Instead, I compare the Commission's discourse with what I call policy aims and initiatives, e.g. employment guidelines (later integrated with economic guidelines) and quantitative benchmarks for employment rates, to further the analysis of the logics' impact.

[1] Commission leadership eliminated the overlap in late 2013, when the unit in DG ECFIN producing the report Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe relocated to DG EMPL. See note in appendix 4 for a description of how I dealt with this in the document analysis.
[2] See appendix 1 for the interview guide.

Institutional Logics on Active Ageing and Pension Reform in the Commission

This empirical section traces active ageing and pension reform in Commission discourse and policy aims. While the Commission's active ageing framework, formulated in DG EMPL, represents a blending of social and market logics, the Commission has tended to emphasise the market logic-elements in policy aims. Pension reform discourse, originally defined by DG ECFIN with market logic-elements, eventually also became a blend of social and market logics as DG EMPL and DG ECFIN identified complementary elements resulting in a White Paper on pensions. However, when we examine traces of Commission discourses in policy initiatives, the market logics continued to prevail. Recently, we see a revival of social logic-elements on both issues, which I argue constitutes a resetting of the relationship between the logics.

Market and social logics on active ageing

Several processes led to the 1999 communication "Towards a Europe for All Ages", which outlined the Commission's framework on active ageing (European Commission, 1999). The European Employment Strategy with its goal of full employment meant that increasing employment rates of the elderly became an important European goal (von Nordheim, 2004). Scholars have described the creation of the employment title in the Amsterdam Treaty as Europe's "social moment" (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014: 284), fuelled by the social democratic climate in late-1990s Europe (Vandenbroucke, 1999).

DG EMPL was an important Commission actor in this process (de la Porte and Natali, 2018). DG EMPL officials built the European Employment Strategy around the Nordic social democratic model (interviews, P1a and P2). Seeing labour market policies as a bridge between social and economic policies, officials framed social protection as a productive factor (Hansen and Triantafillou, 2011), blending elements from social and market logics. There was also an increasing realisation that population ageing would have substantial consequences for European economies and labour forces, particularly if left unattended. For example, the Lisbon Strategy from 2000 included calls for adequate policy preparations for population ageing (interview, P20; European Parliament, 2000). These developments culminated in the new conceptual framework for active ageing (interviews, P1a and P2), which divided old age into three phases, all containing elements of both market and social logics (see table 2).

Table 2: The blend of market and social logics in DG EMPL's active ageing-framework

	Phase	Market logics	Social logics
1	Older people work longer before retirement	Contributing to society through employment	Social integration of the elderly
2	Older people in retirement remain active through e.g. volunteering and engaging in active life styles, physically and mentally	Contributing to society through volunteering	Maintaining an active lifestyle, contributing to health and social integration
3	A 'fourth age' where older people, while becoming increasingly dependent and infirm, are helped to live as independently as possible	Helping the elderly to live independently to keep care costs low	Caring for the elderly

Source: Author, based on European Commission, 1999

This framework was in line with the European Employment Strategy, the social democratic climate, and the preparations for population ageing. The approach, driven by DG EMPL, was central within the Commission at the time (interview, P1a).

In contrast with the framework, the policy aims on active ageing in this period addressed only the first phase of old age, i.e. a phase of working longer before retirement. First, the Council integrated active ageing into the Employment Guidelines (Council of the European Union, 2001). Second, the 2001 European Council Summit in Stockholm agreed on a target of 50 per cent employment of older workers by 2010, integrated into the Lisbon Strategy (European Council, 2001). Third, the 2002 European Council Summit in Barcelona set an additional target for the elderly, aiming to postpone the average age of retirement by five years by 2010 (European Council, 2002). All three initiatives focus on the resource that older people represent to Europe's ageing societies in terms of employment and productivity, downplaying the phase's social logics and ignoring the second and third phases (see also Walker, 2008; Walker and Foster, 2013: 37–39).

In other words, although the active ageing framework was a mix of market and social logics, covering all phases of old age, the policy aims reflected the relative importance of market logics in the EU by prioritising the first phase. This could be attributed to the greater integration of economic policies, compared to social policies, at the EU-level (see, e.g., Scharpf, 2010), but this explanation does not stand to scrutiny. Social policy-initiatives do occasionally make it onto the agenda, although often with market logic-justifications. For example, the Barcelona objectives on increased availability of childcare were adopted in 2002 (European Commission, 2013), providing guidelines on the social issue of childcare with the rationale of

increasing women's access to the labour market. There are no similar policy aims on the care of older people, despite women's labour market integration also being impeded by the absence of care options for the elderly (Spasova et al., 2018). Why were policy aims on childcare formulated but not on elderly care?

Institutional logics provide us with a possible explanation. Market logics dominate the policy aims on older people, framing them as a productive resource for labour markets. Policy aims on elderly care – for the sake of women's labour market integration – require framing the elderly as a group in need of care, which would compete with the frame of the elderly as productive workers. Policymakers cannot frame children, on the other hand, as productive members of advanced industrialised societies: children need care. The market logic of increasing women's access to the labour market is therefore complementary to policy aims on childcare, but it would be in competition with policy aims on elderly care. This could explain why there are no policy aims on elderly care – the third phase of the Commission's active ageing framework – while there are for childcare at the European level, despite that the provision of both elderly care and childcare contribute to the labour market integration of women.

The focus on older people as productive members of society, driven by market logics, propelled active ageing forwards on the Commission's agenda; however, this emphasis gradually became a problem, partly because of its association with the field of employment. First, the 2004 eastern enlargement was a setback. The New Member States were not interested in extending older workers' employment because they wanted to focus on young people's labour market integration (interview, P1a). In the Commission's 2006 communication on the demographic future of Europe, "demographic renewal" – attempting to boost declining birth rates, an important issue for the New Member States – was the first of five policies to address ageing populations, ahead of active ageing, which was mentioned under the second policy, improving employment (Commission of the European Communities, 2006).

Second, in the 2005 mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy, the Employment Guidelines merged with the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines into the Integrated Guidelines for Growth and Jobs (Heidenreich and Bischoff, 2008). This reduced the visibility of employment issues at the EU-level (Zeitlin, 2008). Additionally, the Europe 2020 strategy, launched in 2010 as a replacement for the Lisbon Strategy, did not set any specific guidelines or targets related to active ageing (European Commission, 2010b). Active ageing, which was ensconced in the employment agenda but nowhere else, thus lost visibility (see, e.g., Peña-Casas, 2013).

The European Year on Active Ageing and Solidarity between the Generations, organised by DG EMPL in 2012, did not seem to regenerate attention on active ageing. The objectives of the Year aligned with the active ageing framework and its blend of social and market logics (European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2011). The two main outcomes of the Year (interview, P6), the Guiding Principles on Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations (Council of the European Union, 2012) and the Active Ageing Index (Zaidi et al., 2017), were neither binding nor incorporated into, e.g., the European Semester. The Active Ageing Index (AAI), a project managed by DG EMPL and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, is a composite measurement of employment, social, health, financial, educational, and policy indices. A recent report on the AAI argues for its integration into the European Semester (see, e.g., United Nations, 2019a: 48), but it is currently up to national or regional policymakers to apply the methodology. The Year and its outcomes have thus had limited impact.

Market and social logics on pension reform

In the early 2000s, a strand of ageing policy focused on pensions emerged (Walker, 2008). In December 2001, the Council agreed on the Laeken objectives for sustainable pensions (Economic Policy Committee and Social Protection Committee, 2001). The Laeken objectives represented a blend of market and social logics, focusing on making adequate pensions sustainable by encouraging older people to work longer (Walker, 2008: 83). This blend might have been brought about by the joint report from the Social Policy Committee (with representatives from DG EMPL) and the Economic Policy Committee (with representatives from DG ECFIN), which formed the basis for the Council agreement.

Around the same time, DG ECFIN economists completed a set of projections for public spending on pensions, health care, and long-term care, in light of population ageing, which later became the first Ageing Report (Economic Policy Committee, 2003; for the most recent version, see European Commission, 2018d). The emphasis was on understanding the impact of ageing populations on public expenditure and on managing the increasing expenses (interviews, P1a, P19, and P20), reflecting market logics. The Ageing Reports resulted in Eurostat and Member States providing more detailed and standardised data to DG ECFIN. In 2004, DG ECFIN added the *Labour Market and Wage Developments* report to their portfolio, infringing on DG EMPL's resort of employment. DG ECFIN thus took pole position in the Commission on several issues, including employment:

> *"ECFIN suddenly became seen as the scientists and EMPL as the politicians. ECFIN got the upper hand, were massively enlarged, and with the Six-Pack and Two-Pack and the European Semester, they were the pivot of everything."*
>
> (Interview, P1a)

The expertise that DG ECFIN was building on labour market issues in the early 2000s implied that they "entered the territory of the more socially oriented actors" (de la Porte and Pochet, 2014: 285). DG ECFIN drove a shift in favour of market logics within the Commission, and DG EMPL's mix of market and social logics became less central in these years. DG ECFIN's positioning leading up to the sovereign debt crisis resulted in it being centre stage during the crisis years 2008-2014 (de la Porte and Natali, 2018: 836; Schön-Quinlivan and Scipioni, 2017). For example, DG ECFIN's market logics dominated the pension reform agenda, resulting in e.g. Annual Growth Surveys and Country Specific Recommendations under the European Semester focusing on the fiscal sustainability of pension systems (Copeland and Daly, 2018: 1008; Zeitlin and Vanhercke, 2018: 156).

Concerned with these developments, DG EMPL began analysing pension adequacy (European Commission, 2009b) as a response to the now-dominant DG ECFIN market logic of austerity, legitimised through the Ageing Report (interview, P1a). The analysis shows how market-logic austerity policies undermine social-logic income replacement and poverty protection for older people. The document positioned itself as a non-negligible complement to the Ageing Report:

> …theoretical replacement rates provide different information than that obtained through the projection exercise of the Ageing Working Group (AWG) Economic Policy Committee [who contribute to the Ageing Report]. Their calculations of benefit ratios and replacement rates project future benefits using assumptions such as the increases in women's participation, whereas theoretical replacement rates allow for the possibility to study the singular effect of reformed pension rules on the adequacy of pension income.
>
> (European Commission, 2009b: 1)

This paragraph subtly questions the scientific basis for the Ageing Report's assumptions and calls it a "projection exercise". Then, the paragraph frames the singular objective of uncovering the effect of pension

reforms on pension adequacy as more scientific. It seems as if the Pension Adequacy report attempted to undermine DG ECFIN's position as the 'scientists'.

This analysis ultimately contributed to getting social logics on the table in discussions on pension reform. Around 2009, Commission President Barroso established a working group on pensions with experts from DG EMPL, DG ECFIN, and DG FISMA (interviews, P1a and P19). The group published the 2012 White Paper on pensions (European Commission, 2012f), which was "reasonably balanced" (interview, P19), mentioning sustainable finances, benefit adequacy, increasing labour market participation, gender equality, active ageing, and complementary private pension schemes. DG EMPL's pension adequacy analysis became the official Pension Adequacy Report, since published every three years alongside DG ECFIN's Ageing Report. In other words, the White Paper seems to represent a blending of market and social logics, driven by collaboration between DG EMPL and DG ECFIN in the working group on pensions.

Active ageing and pension reform remained in separate spheres in the Commission, despite these developments. The document analysis shows that DG EMPL emphasised active ageing – but with significant references to pension reform – while DG ECFIN focused almost exclusively on pension reform. In fact, for every 100 times the DG EMPL reports mentioned pension reform, they mentioned active ageing 232 times on average over the period 2004-2018. However, for every 100 times the DG ECFIN reports mentioned pension reform, they mentioned active ageing only 3,33 times on average.[3] Pension reform became an issue of almost equal importance to both actors, while active ageing remained a primarily social issue situated in DG EMPL, despite its market logic-elements.

Furthermore, market logics dominated during the sovereign debt crisis (2010-2014). The policy implications of DG ECFIN's Ageing Reports set the stage for Country-Specific Recommendations to Member States: reduce growth in ageing-related public expenditures through pension reforms (Copeland and Daly, 2018: 1008; Schmidt, 2015: 57). The Pension Adequacy Reports in 2012 and 2015 continued to express concern over inadequate coverage, particularly for vulnerable groups, such as older women (European Commission, 2012d, 2015d), despite the "balanced" 2012 White Paper on pensions.

[3] See appendix 6.

A resetting of logics: developments since the end of the sovereign debt crisis

As the EU gradually emerged from the sovereign debt crisis around 2014, there was more room for social logics in the Commission's approach to the elderly. We see this in several developments. In 2014, Commission top management curtailed the power of DG ECFIN over employment issues to streamline Commission efficiency: they moved the DG ECFIN unit analysing labour markets (responsible for the *Labour Market and Wage Developments* report) to DG EMPL, consolidating expertise on labour market issues in DG EMPL. The organisational changes also meant that a number of DG ECFIN economists transferred to DG EMPL, bringing DG ECFIN's logics to DG EMPL. Additionally, some DG EMPL economists transferred to DG ECFIN, bringing DG EMPL's logics to DG ECFIN.[4] This may have facilitated an exchange of institutional logics between the two DGs at the individual level, driving institutional change in the DGs:

> *"DG EMPL and DG ECFIN were the two key players on ageing. They fought like hell over wording. There was a great ideological split for many years. Many of the people at EMPL would never work for ECFIN and the opposite way around. But they are not actually that far from each other. Of course, when liberals were in power at ECFIN, everything had a particular tinge. But many economists at ECFIN are not foaming at the mouths. They focus on balanced budgets and controlling pension costs, which are important for a successful transition to ageing societies. ECFIN has moved towards the centre. EMPL employs more economists. So there is more agreement now."*
>
> (Interview, P1a)

This observation sums up the developments analysed in this paper: the institutional logics held by DGs are an important component of their ability to cooperate. Institutional logics may constrain officials when differences and competition dominate the agenda. However, institutional logics can also enable officials as we saw on the 2012 White Paper on pensions, where a blend of social and market logics was achieved by identifying complementarities.

[4] Own observation of interviewees' previous positions.

There has recently been a proliferation of Commission initiatives on the social aspects of ageing. DG EMPL has co-authored two reports on long-term care in Europe (Social Protection Committee and European Commission, 2014; Spasova et al., 2018). The European Pillar of Social Rights, launched in 2017, includes principles on old-age income and long-term care, which are important social aspects of active ageing (European Commission, 2018b). The 2018 Pension Adequacy Report mentions a "shift" in the focus of Member State pension reforms from sustainability towards adequacy (European Commission, 2018c: 17), suggesting that the blend of social and market logics from the 2012 White Paper have permeated the Country-Specific Recommendations of the European Semester, which future research might examine. The 2019 Work-Life Balance Directive includes a "carer's leave" of up to five working days per year for seriously ill or dependent relatives, making it easier for e.g. older workers to care for a dependent partner (European Union, 2019). Thus, social logics are, once again, visible in Commission discussions on the elderly. These organisational changes indicate a "resetting" of the balance between market and social logics (Thornton et al., 2012: 119).

Discussion and conclusion: the influence of market and social logics

The cases of active ageing and pension reform illustrate a blending of market and social logics within the Commission (see table 3). Due to the Commission's general adherence to market logics, it has prioritised the market aspects of both issues for much of the period examined in this paper. However, institutional logics allow us to understand when and how other logics than market logics come into play. The social logics of active ageing came out strongly when the general climate in Europe was in favour of a unique mix of social and market ideas at the end of the 1990s. The social logics of pension reform came out strongly when Commission leadership established cross-DG collaboration on the issue around 2009 against a background of scientific pressures (Halliday, 1985).

Table 3: Market and social aspects of active ageing and pension reform

	Market logic	**Social logic**
Active ageing	High employment rates	Social integration and health of elderly
Pension reform	Sustainability of pension systems	Adequacy of pensions

Source: Author

However, in both cases, the social logic was strong on paper but nearly vanished in the policy initiatives. On active ageing, the policy initiatives focused on the market logic of high employment rates, i.e. benchmarks on employment rates and exit ages. On pension reform, policymakers continued to pay more attention to fiscal sustainability than adequacy according to the Pension Adequacy report, in spite of recommendations to consider both.

However, beyond the question of EU competences, I argue that the construction of an issue and to what extent the construction resonates with the dominant logic may condition whether or not the Commission advances an issue. For example, the market logics of active ageing (high employment rates amongst the elderly) were weaker than the market logics of pension reform (fiscal sustainability of pension systems) because in the context of the Commission, employment issues are a more social issue than the fiscal sustainability of budgets. When employment issues lost visibility during the Lisbon Strategy, active ageing nearly disappeared from the Commission agenda due to its association with this agenda. This suggests that while institutional logics are ideal-type in theory, they are spectra in empirical settings, advancing the institutional logics perspective.

Recently, though, there are signs that the social logic has more traction again in policy initiatives. On pensions, the recent Pension Adequacy report indicates that policymakers' attention has shifted towards adequacy. On active ageing, the Commission has co-authored reports on long-term care, and the Work-Life Balance Directive helps older workers and their relatives. The European Pillar of Social Rights has also changed dynamics on social issues (Plomien, 2018). These developments have coincided with an economic upswing where other logics can come to the fore. However, extending this observation implies that as soon as the economy takes a turn for the worse again (as during the Covid-19 pandemic), market logics would once again dominate the Commission's approach to the elderly. Further research on the rise and fall of different logics – particularly in relation to the market logic – would help advance our understanding of such patterns. According to institutional logics theorists, the dominance of one logic over others is not healthy for an inter-institutional system (Thornton et al., 2012: 119). Such imbalances characterise the crises of the European Union.

An analysis spanning more institutional logics would probably reveal more aspects of active ageing and pension reform. Similarly, analyses of other issues that require cross-DG collaboration – such as issues concerning the environment or industry – might also reveal different logics in bureaucracies' constructions

of issues. Thus, analyses of issues' institutional logics can help uncover when and why some aspects of an issue come to the fore in policymaking, including in the Commission.

Conclusion

This dissertation increases our empirical knowledge of how ideas and institutions govern the European Commission's construction of demographic change in the context of employment and social policy. It also advances our theoretical understanding of the Commission as a bureaucracy. The arguments and findings presented have important implications for society, policymakers, and future research. This chapter summarises the dissertation's findings, outlines the theoretical contribution, discusses the implications for society and policymakers, and considers potential future research.

Overview of findings

This dissertation has demonstrated that the European Commission has no coherent approach to demographic change in the context of employment and social policy, which is arguably the policy field that has the greatest potential for a unified framework on the issue. Furthermore, the problem definitions of demographic change identified in the Commission reports are dualistic as they sideline the issue, downplaying policymakers' ability to deal with it, while also emphasising potentially severe economic consequences as challenges to European welfare states. On policy solutions, the Commission reports emphasise increasing employment rates and ensuring fiscal sustainability of public finances, which are within the economic growth discourse of the problem definitions. The Commission acknowledges the promise of alternative policy proposals, particularly automation and immigration, but the preliminary results suggest that the Commission faces institutional and political constraints to accentuating these alternatives. In other words, deeply held ideas about employment and social policy in Europe, originating in the 1999 European Employment Strategy, seem to constrain the Commission, driving path dependency on demographic change.

These findings also indicate that the Commission emphasises increasing employment rates as a key policy solution to demographic change. Building on this insight, the dissertation examined the Commission's ideas on the integration of women, youth, and the elderly over a fifteen-year period at three levels: discourses (or public philosophies), frames (or problem definitions), and policy solutions (or policy ideas). Considering the long timespan of the analysis, it is surprising that the results imply a dearth of ideational innovation in the Commission's early-stage policy formulation in the key policy area of employment policy. The findings indicate that the Commission is unlikely to become a champion of social issues, which some

scholars have suggested. In other words, there are no signs here of any development in terms of smoothing out the asymmetry between economic and social policies at the bureaucratic level of the EU.

Finally, I build on the findings concerning policy solutions for increasing employment rates of older workers. I apply the institutional logics perspective to analyse the construction of two specific solutions, active ageing and pension reform, showing that both solutions contain aspects of social and market logics, but that the market logic-aspects of both have been prioritised over the period examined (1997-2018). The application of institutional logics allows us to understand when and how other logics than market ones come into play. For example, social logics gained traction in the Commission discussions when the political climate in Europe supported it and during economic upswings – but not during economic downturns. Commission employment and social policy is characterised by the dominance of market logics.

Across these findings are some clear trends. On the socioeconomic issue of demographic change, the European Commission has no clear agenda – even in the field where there is the greatest potential for a unified framework. Instead, the Commission uses demographic change as an additional argument for old policy objectives, especially increasing employment rates. Even as the Commission occasionally shows awareness of the issue and continues to monitor the situation through e.g. the Ageing Reports, the economic and fiscal priorities, determined by both ideas and institutions, subsume the social priorities of demographic change.

However, there are situations in which social ideas and logics come to the foreground. Although this dissertation cannot provide clear answers on why this happens, there are indications that institutional conditions drive this, such as the political climate in Europe and institutional interactions in the Commission. Thus, the dissertation's findings argue for the importance of continuing to deepen the research that combines ideational and institutional theory.

Theoretical implications

This dissertation has several implications for theory: the dissertation introduces institutional logics as a potentially new approach to studying and understanding institutional change; and in terms of crises, the dissertation argues that scholars should consider integrating studies of institutional change in economic crises with studies of other policy fields impacted by economic crises.

This dissertation is not so much a study of change as it is a study of stability. The dissertation highlights the obscuring effect of stabilising ideas (Widmaier, 2016a): the stable and persistent economic ideas of the Commission seem to reduce officials' uncertainty in the face of demographic change. Over time, these uncertainty-reducing ideas are obscuring the demographic challenge and undermining efforts to address it with other ideas.

In recent years, studies on incremental and gradual institutional change have challenged the notion of periods of stability punctuated by crises (Baker, 2013; Blyth, 2013; Carstensen, 2011; Henriksen, 2013; Tsingou, 2014). This dissertation draws on both these traditions. Rather than seeing them in opposition to one another, I argue that insights from institutional logics may help us draw on the strengths from both traditions. Institutional logics allow for an analysis of both stable and changing institutions, analysing how institutions and ideas both constrain and enable actors (Thornton et al., 2012). I use institutional logics to study interactions in the Commission, which – although reminiscent of Hustedt and Danken's (2017) approach – is novel. Studying the framing of two issues in the Commission with this framework shows how organisational cultures, constructed as ideal-type logics, both constrain and enable Directorate-Generals in their interactions.

I suggest that while analysing logics as ideal-types works well at the beginning of an empirical exploration as a heuristic device, I show that in specific settings, logics are spectra. The literature on institutional logics suggests that actors manipulate logics over time through mechanisms such as blending and segmenting (Skelcher and Smith, 2015), which are similar to the ideational literature's concept of bricolage (e.g., Carstensen, 2015). Specifying and elaborating on such mechanisms help explain both actors' agency and institutional change. I take this theoretical point further by arguing that, in the process of issue construction, the issue may gradually adhere more or less to an ideal-type logic. This is important for understanding agenda-setting processes in organisations as the adherence of issues to specific logics may determine the issue's uptake in the organisation.

Scholars study crises, their causes, and their evolutions differently. Scholars of economic and financial systems, including Blyth (2002), Moschella and Tsingou (2013), and Widmaier (2016a), study gradual or sudden change to seemingly stable economic regimes, attempting to explain the change. Such changes are important to study and understand – particularly in the light of how such economic ideas influence other

policy fields. In this dissertation, I argue that market logics – institutions and ideas from the economic and financial field, irrespective of their shape and form – dominate employment and social policies in the European Commission. The dissertation shows that this dominance is particularly strong during economic crises, while other logics, such as a social logic, may resurge during periods of economic stability.

In other words, I see a schism between scholars of economic and financial systems and scholars of other issues, whether they be social (e.g., this dissertation) or environmental (e.g., Knill et al., 2018). While the former study change in market logics, the latter study how economic crises bring market logics to the fore, crowding out other logics. While scholars of economic regimes see market logics as changing and unstable during economic crises, the other group of scholars sees market logics as more dominant during economic crises. This suggests that the academy suffers from a lack of horizontal collaboration. These literatures would benefit from studying institutional change in an iterative fashion across various logics, fields, and systems.

Implications for society and policymakers

The findings have important implications for society and policymakers on two counts: on preparing for demographic change and on how we may draw parallels to cases similar to demographic change.

First, it is difficult for advanced industrialised societies to address the demographic change that is reshaping them without clear policy frameworks. In spite of the differences between EU Member States, the trends are clear across the EU: the working age population began to decline around 2011-2012 and increasing employment rates will no longer offset the decline from 2021 (European Commission, 2018d: 4–5). Considering the impact that previous demographic changes have had on societies (e.g. the effect of the baby boomers), it is surprising that the EU's ideational and analytical centre, the European Commission, is not helping Member States prepare. As long as the Commission does not address the issue of demographic change more coherently, it will not be able to monitor and help guide Member States through the coming changes. In terms of the consequences for societies, this dissertation examines the policy approach to one group – the elderly – in some detail, but researchers should also focus on the impact of demographic change on women. Women generally live longer than men live but have more fragmented careers due to care responsibilities and childbirth, so they are particularly at risk of old age-poverty (European Commission, 2018c: 32). Furthermore, women tend to take over when there is more work to be done in societies (Perez, 2019).

Second, the findings of the dissertation also relate to other cases that are similar to demographic change. Demographic change is a case of a slow-burning crisis (Seabrooke and Tsingou, 2019), which extends beyond normal political and business cycles (Tsingou, 2014). It has a long timeframe, as demographic changes are slow to take effect (think of the 18-year timespan between the birth of a child and its subsequent independence). Slow-burning crises are thus not particularly obvious and receive little attention from policymakers and publics. In other words, there is no construction of a crisis from policymakers (Manners and Rosamond, 2018: 28) – and, until recently, very little from even academics. However, such issues require a substantial and long-term overhaul of policies, so preparing for such changes takes time and resources. Although the European Commission arguably has some advantages when it comes to longer-term planning, exemplified in the case of equal treatment (Hartlapp, 2017), it has not acted on demographic change. Without the time and resources, we risk a partial collapse of certain aspects of European welfare states, especially health and care systems, and prolonged periods of economic depression. With planning and preparation – particularly horizontal collaboration amongst European and national governments – we may realise and capitalise upon synergies with other challenges, such as climate change and pandemics.

Further research

In terms of implications for scholars, this dissertation advances our knowledge and provides inspiration for further research on three counts: the empirical knowledge of demographic change, the empirical knowledge of the European Commission, and the theoretical literature on ideas and institutions.

On demographic change, this dissertation focused on examining the issue within the European Commission and within the policy area of employment and social policy, particularly due to its exploratory nature. As argued, there is little knowledge of how policymakers are attempting to deal with demographic change. Further research could examine a broader range of documents across the European Union, including DG HOME and DG FISMA within the Commission, but also the European Parliament, the Council, and the ecosystem of think tanks and interest organisations in Brussels. This would provide us with a more complete picture of the action (or inaction) on demographic change in Europe. Additionally, case studies of individual countries' approach to demographic change would lend insight into how Member States are attempting to deal with the challenge – presumably without much support from the Commission, considering the lack of a clear agenda.

On the European Commission, the dissertation deepens the existing literature on the bureaucracy's difficulties in addressing issues that require horizontal coordination – without interference from the top. This problem is not unique to the Commission, but considering the increasing number of challenges Europe is facing in terms of cross-sectional issues – climate change and pandemics are at the top of the list, apart from demographic change – reforming the Commission to be less about internal power struggles and more about constructive collaboration would be timely. While gaining access to the Commission on sensitive topics such as internal collaboration is difficult – particularly because the collegiality of the bureaucracy is impressed upon the officials – this is an important issue, as illustrated by the proliferation of research on the body over the past decade (Hartlapp et al., 2014b; Kassim et al., 2013; Wille, 2013). Furthermore, the dissertation illustrates some of the consequences of the continued dominance of economic objectives in the Commission, introducing the institutional logics perspective to help us further our knowledge of the construction of various issues and under what conditions they thrive or fail. Applying the perspective to study other issues and the competing and complementary logics would help us map the interinstitutional system of the Commission, allowing us to identify which logics dominate the bureaucracy.

On the theoretical literature on ideas and institutions, the dissertation shows that various ideas on demographic change exist in the Commission, as expressed in the reports on employment and social policy and by the interviewees, but the path dependency of economic ideas is strong, potentially driven by market logics. The institutional logics perspective is currently optimised to analyse organisational processes rather than political ones, but this dissertation's findings suggest that a cross-fertilisation of perspectives and theories would further our understanding of ideas, institutions, logics, and the relationship between them. It would be appropriate to begin by theoretically fleshing out the relationship between ideas and logics.

Final remarks

As the world grapples with the coronavirus pandemic, which particularly affects the elderly and those with chronic diseases (Banerjee et al., 2020), and as updated forecasts predict populations will age faster than assumed so far by the UN and Eurostat (Vollset et al., 2020), Europe's demographic challenges loom larger than ever. European policymakers need to adapt to the changes. The European Commission is well placed to help with such reforms through the European Semester and through the data collection and expenditure projections in the Ageing Report and the Pension Adequacy-report. However, while economic and market

ideas dominate the Commission's logics, it seems difficult to establish an innovative approach to address demographic change in Europe.

Bibliography

Abulof U (2014) Deep securitization and Israel's 'Demographic Demon'. *International Political Sociology* 8(4): 396–415. DOI: 10.1111/ips.12070.

Acemoglu D and Restrepo P (2017) Secular stagnation? The effect of aging on economic growth in the age of automation. *American Economic Review* 107(5): 174–179. DOI: 10.1257/aer.p20171101.

Acemoglu D and Restrepo P (2018) *Demographics and Automation*. NBER Working Paper Series 24421. Cambridge, MA. Available at: http://www.nber.org/papers/w24421.

Armstrong KA (2012a) EU social policy and the governance architecture of Europe 2020. *Transfer* 18(3): 285–300. DOI: 10.1177/1024258912448600.

Armstrong KA (2012b) The Lisbon Strategy and Europe 2020: From the Governance of Co-ordination to the Co-ordination of Governance. In: Copeland P and Papadimitriou D (eds) *EU's Lisbon Strategy: Evaluating Success, Understanding Failure*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 208–228. Available at: http://apps.webofknowledge.com.ezp.sub.su.se/full_record.do?product=WOS&search_mode=GeneralSearch&qid=181&SID=Z2JmRxETQOf3pNFDnaV&page=1&doc=1.

Baker A (2013) The New Political Economy of the Macroprudential Ideational Shift. *New Political Economy* 18(1): 112–139. DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2012.662952.

Banerjee A, Pasea L, Harris S, et al. (2020) Estimating excess 1-year mortality associated with the COVID-19 pandemic according to underlying conditions and age: a population-based cohort study. *The Lancet* 395. The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an Open Access article under the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license: 1715–1725. DOI: 10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30854-0.

Bazeley P (2013) Comparative analyses as a means of furthering analysis. In: *Qualitative Data Analysis: Practical Strategies*. London: Sage, pp. 254–281.

Beckmann MN and Hall RL (2013) Elite Interviewing in Washington, DC. In: Mosley L (ed.) *Interview Research in Political Science*. New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 196–208.

Bekker S (2015) *European socioeconomic governance in action: coordinating social policies in the third European Semester*. *OSE Paper Series*. Research Papers 19. Brussels.

Béland D (2005) Ideas and social policy: An institutionalist perspective. *Social Policy and Administration* 39(1): 1–18. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9515.2005.00421.x.

Béland D (2016) Ideas and Institutions in Social Policy Research. *Social Policy & Administration* 50(6): 734–750. DOI: 10.1111/spol.12258.

Bengtsson M, de la Porte C and Jacobsson K (2017) Labour Market Policy under Conditions of Permanent Austerity: Any Sign of Social Investment? *Social Policy and Administration* 51(2): 367–388. DOI: 10.1111/spol.12292.

Berger PL and Luckmann T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin Group. DOI: 10.2307/323448.

Berman S (1998) *The Social Democratic Moment: Ideas and Politics in the Making of Interwar Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Blyth M (2002) *Great Transformations. Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blyth M (2013) Paradigms and Paradox: The Politics of Economic Ideas in Two Moments of Crisis. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions* 26(2): 197–215. DOI: 10.1111/gove.12010.

Blyth M, Helgadottir O and Kring W (2016) Ideas and Historical Institutionalism. In: Fioretos O, Falleti TG, and Sheingate A (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 142–161. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199662814.013.8.

Borrás S and Radaelli CM (2011) The politics of governance architectures: creation, change and effects of the EU Lisbon Strategy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(4): 463–484. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2011.560069.

Boussemart J-M and Godet M (2018) *Europe 2050: Demographic Suicide*. *European Issues*. European Issues 462. Available at: https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0462-europe-2050-demographic-suicide.

Bowen GA (2009) Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal* 9(2): 27–40. DOI: 10.3316/QRJ0902027.

Braun V and Clarke V (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1978.tb01621.x.

Broome A and Seabrooke L (2012) Seeing like an International Organisation. *New Political Economy* 17(1): 1–16. DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2011.569019.

Buchanan A and Keohane RO (2006) The Legitimacy of Global Governance Insitutions. *Ethics & International Affairs* 3(3): 596–624. Available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1747-7093.2006.00043.x/full.

Bürgin A (2018) The impact of Juncker's reorganization of the European Commission on the internal policy-making process: Evidence from the Energy Union project. *Public Administration*. DOI: 10.1111/padm.12388.

Campbell JL (1998) Institutional Analysis and the Role of Ideas in Political Economy. *Theory and Society* 27(3): 377–409. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/657900.

Campbell JL (2002) Ideas, Politics, and Public Policy. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 21–38. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141111.

Campbell JL (2004) *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Carpenter RC (2007) Studying Issue (Non)-Adoption in Transnational Advocacy Networks. *International Organization* 61(3): 643–668. DOI: 10.1017/S002081830707021X.

Carstensen MB (2011) Ideas are not as stable as political scientists want them to be: A theory of incremental ideational change. *Political Studies* 59(3): 596–615. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2010.00868.x.

Carstensen MB (2015) Institutional bricolage in times of crisis. *European Political Science Review* (September): 1–22. DOI: 10.1017/S1755773915000338.

Carstensen MB and Schmidt VA (2016) Power through, over and in ideas: conceptualizing ideational power in discursive institutionalism. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3): 318–337. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1115534.

Christiansen T (1997) Tensions of European governance: Politicized bureaucracy and multiple accountability in the European Commission. *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(1): 73–90. DOI: 10.1080/135017697344244.

Chung H, Bekker S and Houwing H (2012) Young people and the post-recession labour market in the context of Europe 2020. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 18(3): 301–317. DOI: 10.1177/1024258912448590.

Clarke V, Braun V and Hayfield N (2015) Thematic Analysis. In: Smith JA (ed.) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore:

Sage Publications, pp. 222–248.

Clifton J and Díaz-Fuentes D (2011) The OECD and phases in the international political economy, 1961-2011. *Review of International Political Economy* 18(5): 552–569. DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2011.620464.

Coman R (2016) Strengthening the Rule of Law at the Supranational Level: The Rise and Consolidation of a European Network. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 24(1). Routledge: 171–188. DOI: 10.1080/14782804.2015.1057482.

Commission of the European Communities (2005) COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION: Green Paper 'Confronting Demographic Change: A New Solidarity between the Generations', COM(2005) 94, 16.3.2005. Brussels. Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2005/com2005_0094en01.pdf.

Commission of the European Communities (2006) COMMISSION COMMUNICATION: The Demographic Future of Europe - from challenge to opportunity, COM(2006) 571, 12.10.2006. Brussels: European Commission. Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52006DC0571&from=EN.

Commission of the European Communities (2007) *Europe's Demographic Future: Facts and Figures [SEC(2007) 638]*. Commission Staff Working Document SEC (2007) 638. Brussels.

Copeland P and Daly M (2018) The European Semester and EU Social Policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(5): 1001–1018. DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12703.

Council of the European Union (2001) Council Decision of 19 January 2001 on Guidelines for Member States' employment policies for the year 2001. *Official Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.

Council of the European Union (2012) Council Declaration on the European Year for Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations (2012): The Way Forward. Brussels. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

Crespy A and Menz G (2015) Commission Entrepreneurship and the Debasing of Social Europe Before and After the Eurocrisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 753–768. DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12241.

Crespy A and Vanheuverzwijn P (2019) What "Brussels" means by structural reforms: empty signifier or constructive ambiguity? *Comparative European Politics* 17(1): 92–111. DOI: 10.1057/s41295-017-0111-0.

Daly M (2007) Whither EU Social Policy? An Account and Assessment of Developments in the Lisbon Social Inclusion Process. *Journal of Social Policy* 37(1): 1–19. DOI: 10.1017/S0047279407001468.

Daly M (2012) Paradigms in EU social policy: A critical account of Europe 2020. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 18(3): 273–284. DOI: 10.1177/1024258912448598.

de la Porte C (2011) Principal-agent theory and the open method of co-ordination: The case of the European employment strategy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(4): 485–503. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2011.560071.

de la Porte C and Heins E (2015) A new era of European Integration? Governance of labour market and social policy since the sovereign debt crisis. *Comparative European Politics* 13(1): 8–28. DOI: 10.1057/cep.2014.39.

de la Porte C and Nanz P (2004) The OMC - a deliberative-democratic mode of governance? The cases of employment and pensions. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(2): 267–288. DOI: 10.1080/1350176042000194430.

de la Porte C and Natali D (2018) Agents of institutional change in EU policy: the social investment

moment. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(6). Taylor & Francis: 828–843. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1401110.

de la Porte C and Pochet P (2012) Why and how (still) study the Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC)? *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(3): 336–349. DOI: 10.1177/0958928711433629.

de la Porte C and Pochet P (2014) Boundaries of Welfare between the EU and Member States during the 'Great Recession'. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 15(3): 281–292. DOI: 10.1080/15705854.2014.912396.

Demeny P (2016) Europe's Two Demographic Crises: The Visible and the Unrecognized. *Population and Development Review* 42(1): 111–120. DOI: 10.1111/j.1728-4457.2016.00110.x.

Dostal JM (2004) Campaigning on expertise: How the OECD framed EU welfare and labour market policies - And why success could trigger failure. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(3): 440-460+567. DOI: 10.1080/1350176041000169425 5.

Economic Policy Committee (2003) *The impact of ageing population on public finances: overview of analysis carried out at EU level and proposals for a future work programme (EPC/ECFIN/435/03 final)*. Brussels. Available at: https://europa.eu/epc/sites/epc/files/docs/pages/pensionmaster_en.pdf.

Economic Policy Committee and Social Protection Committee (2001) *Joint Report of the Social Protection Committee and the Economic Policy Committee on objectives and working methods in the area of pensions: applying the open method of co-ordination*. Brussels. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/pages/publication6582_en.pdf.

Elomäki A (2015) The economic case for gender equality in the European Union: Selling gender equality to decision-makers and neoliberalism to women's organizations. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22(3): 288–302. DOI: 10.1177/1350506815571142.

Empson L (2017) Elite interviewing in professional organizations. *Journal of Professions and Organization* (December): 1–9. DOI: 10.1093/jpo/jox010.

European Commission (1999) *Towards a Europe for All Ages*. Brussels. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_situation/docs/com221_en.pdf.

European Commission (2005) *Employment in Europe 2005*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission (2006) The impact of ageing on public expenditure: projectories for the EU25 member States on pensions, health care, long-term care, education and unemployment transfers (2004-2050). *Health Care*: 1–207. DOI: D:\BDB\General \1226_annex.pdf.

European Commission (2008) *Demography Report 2008: Meeting social needs in an ageing society*. *European Comission*. DOI: 10.2767/769227.

European Commission (2009a) *The 2009 Ageing Report*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2765/80301.

European Commission (2009b) *Updates of current and prospective theoretical pension replacement rates 2006-2046*. Brussels. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=752&newsId=551&furtherNews=yes.

European Commission (2010a) *Employment in Europe 2010*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. DOI: 10.2767/72770.

European Commission (2010b) *Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*. Brussels. Available at: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52010DC2020&from=EN.

European Commission (2011) *Demography Report 2010*. *Demography*. DOI: 10.2767/79004.

European Commission (2012a) *Demography, active ageing and pensions*. *Social Europe Guide*. Brussels. DOI: 10.2767/67267.

European Commission (2012b) *Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2011*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. DOI: 10.2767/42590.

European Commission (2012c) *Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2012*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. DOI: 10.2767/42590.

European Commission (2012d) *Pension Adequacy in the European Union 2010-2050*. Brussels. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=7805&langId=en.

European Commission (2012e) *The 2012 Ageing Report*. *European Economy*. Brussels. DOI: 10.2765/19991.

European Commission (2012f) White Paper: An Agenda for Adequate, Safe and Sustainable Pensions (COM [2012] 55). Brussels: European Union. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=89&newsId=1194&furtherNews=yes.

European Commission (2013) *Barcelona objectives: The development of childcare facilities for young children in Europe with a view to sustainable and inclusive growth*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2838/43161.

European Commission (2015a) *Demography Report*. Short Analytical Web Note 3/2015. Brussels. DOI: 10.2767/769227.

European Commission (2015b) *Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2014*. Brussels. DOI: 10.2767/33738.

European Commission (2015c) *The 2015 Ageing Report*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2765/877631.

European Commission (2015d) *The 2015 Pension Adequacy Report: Current and Future Income Adequacy in Old Age in the EU*. DOI: 10.2767/1907.

European Commission (2016a) *Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2767/42590.

European Commission (2016b) *Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2016*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2767/44905.

European Commission (2017) *Employment and social developments in Europe 2017*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2767/44905.

European Commission (2018a) *Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2018*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2767/875456.

European Commission (2018b) One year on the European Pillar of Social Rights. European Commission. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/european_pillar_one_year_on.pdf.

European Commission (2018c) *Pension Adequacy Report 2018: Current and Future Income Adequacy in Old Age in the EU*. DOI: 10.2767/1907.

European Commission (2018d) *The 2018 Ageing Report*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2765/615631.

European Commission (2019) *Employment and social developments in Europe 2019*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2767/44905.

European Commission and the Council (2019) *Joint Employment Report 2019*. Brussels. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?advSearchKey=joint+employment+report&mode=advancedSubmit&catId=22&policyArea=0&policyAreaSub=0&country=0&year=0.

European Council (2001) Stockholm Summit Presidency Conclusions, 23-24 March 2001. Available at: http://aei.pitt.edu/43341/1/Stockholm_2001.pdf.

European Council (2002) Presidency Counclusions: Barcelona European Council, 15 and 16 March 2002. Barcelona.

European Parliament (2000) Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000, Presidency Conclusions. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm (accessed 12 March 2019).

European Parliament and Council of the European Union (2011) Decision 940/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council on the European Year for Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations (2012). Available at: https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/08a91b5c-c527-4cdc-822a-6a7d0a691dd2/language-en.

European Union (2019) Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on work-life balance for parents and carers.

Eurostat (2019a) Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection [proj_18ndbi]. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/population-demography-migration-projections/population-projections-/database (accessed 23 April 2020).

Eurostat (2019b) Fertility Statistics. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Fertility_statistics#live_births_per_woman_in_the_EU_in_2017 (accessed 14 August 2019).

Eurostat (2019c) Population and population change statistics. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Population_and_population_change_statistics#Population_change_at_a_national_level (accessed 14 August 2019).

Falkner G (2010) European Union. In: Castles FG, Leibfried S, Lewis J, et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 292–305. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199579396.003.0020.

Flyvbjerg B (2006) Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12(2): 219–245. DOI: 10.1177/1077800405284363.

Foster L and Walker A (2015) Active and Successful Aging: A European Policy Perspective. *Gerontologist* 55(1): 83–90. DOI: 10.1093/geront/gnu028.

Friedland R and Alford RR (1991) Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices, and Institutional Contradictions. In: Powell WW and DiMaggio PJ (eds) *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 232–263.

Gaus N (2017) Selecting research approaches and research designs: a reflective essay. *Qualitative Research Journal* 17(2): 99–112. DOI: 10.1108/QRJ-07-2016-0041.

Gioia DA, Corley KG and Hamilton AL (2013) Seeking Qualitative Rigor in Inductive Research: Notes on the Gioia Methodology. *Organizational Research Methods* 16(1): 15–31. DOI: 10.1177/1094428112452151.

Goetschy J (1999) The European Employment Strategy: Genesis and Development. *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 5(2): 117–137.

Goetschy J (2001) The European Employment Strategy From Amsterdam to Stockholm: Has it Reached its Cruising Speed? *Industrial Relations Journal* 32(5): 401–418. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2338.00208.

Goldstone JA, Kaufmann EP and Toft MD (eds) (2012) *Political Demography: How Population Changes Are Reshaping International Security and National Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goodrick E and Reay T (2010) Florence Nightingale Endures: Legitimizing a New Professional Role

Identity. *Journal of Management Studies* 47(1): 55–84. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-6486.2009.00860.x.

Greenhalgh S (2003) Science, Modernity, and the Making of China's One-Child Policy. *Population and Development Review* 29(2): 163–196.

Greenhill B (2018) How can international organizations shape public opinion? analysis of a pair of survey-based experiments. *Review of International Organizations*. The Review of International Organizations. DOI: 10.1007/s11558-018-9325-4.

Halliday TC (1985) Knowledge Mandates: Collective Influence by Scientific, Normative and Syncretic Professions. *The British Journal of Sociology* 36(3): 421–447.

Hansen MP and Triantafillou P (2011) The Lisbon strategy and the alignment of economic and social concerns. *Journal of European Social Policy* 21(3): 197–209. DOI: 10.1177/0958928711401768.

Hartlapp M (2017) How time empowers agency: combining the EU Commission's political powers and its administration's advantage of acting from a long-term perspective. *Journal of European Integration* 39(3). Routledge: 303–317. DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2016.1257007.

Hartlapp M, Metz J and Rauh C (2013) Linking Agenda Setting to Coordination Structures: Bureaucratic Politics inside the European Commission. *Journal of European Integration* 35(4): 425–441. DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2012.703663.

Hartlapp M, Metz J and Rauh C (2014a) Intersection of Social and Common Market Policies. In: *Which Policy for Europe? Power and Conflict inside the European Commission*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 59–114. DOI: 10.1093/acprof.

Hartlapp M, Metz J and Rauh C (2014b) *Which Policy for Europe? Power and Conflict inside the European Commission*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hasselbalch JA (2019) Framing brain drain: between solidarity and skills in European labor mobility. *Review of International Political Economy* 0(0). Routledge: 1–28. DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2019.1626755.

Heidenreich M and Bischoff G (2008) The Open Method of Co-ordination: A Way to the Europeanization of Social and Employment Policies? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 497–532. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2008.00796.x.

Helgadóttir O (2016) The Bocconi boys go to Brussels: Italian economic ideas, professional networks and European austerity. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3): 392–409. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1106573.

Henriksen LF (2013) Economic models as devices of policy change: Policy paradigms, paradigm shift, and performativity. *Regulation and Governance* 7: 481–495. DOI: 10.1111/rego.12031.

Hooghe L (2005) Several roads lead to international norms, but few via international socialization: A case study of the European Commission. *International Organization* 59(4): 861–898. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511618444.004.

Hooghe L (2012) *The European Commission in the 21st Century: Core Beliefs on EU Governance*. KFG - The Transformative Power of Europe 38. Berlin. Available at: http://ideas.repec.org/p/erp/kfgxxx/p0038.html.

Hustedt T and Danken T (2017) Institutional logics in inter-departmental coordination: Why actors agree on a joint policy output. *Public Administration* 95(3): 730–743. DOI: 10.1111/padm.12331.

Hustedt T and Seyfried M (2016) Co-ordination across internal organizational boundaries: how the EU Commission co-ordinates climate policies. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(6). Taylor & Francis: 888–905. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1074605.

Jabko N (1999) In the name of the market: How the European commission paved the way for monetary

union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(3): 475–495. DOI: 10.1080/135017699343630.

Jabko N (2006) *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe 1985-2005*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Jacobs AM (2011) *Governing for the Long Term: Democracy and the Politics of Investment*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

James S (2012) The Origins and Evolution of the Lisbon Agenda. In: Copeland P and Papadimitriou D (eds) *The EU's Lisbon Strategy: Evaluating Success, Understanding Failure*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 8–28. DOI: 10.1057/9781137272164.0009.

Jensen CS (2016) Neo-functionalism. In: Cini M and Borragán NP-S (eds) *European Union Politics*. Fifth. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 53–64.

Jessoula M (2015) Europe 2020 and the Fight against Poverty - Beyond Competence Clash, Towards 'Hybrid' Governance Solutions? *Social Policy and Administration* 49(4): 490–511. DOI: 10.1111/spol.12144.

Johansen CB and Waldorff SB (2017) What are Institutional Logics - and Where is the Perspective Taking Us? In: Krücken G, Mazza C, Meyer RE, et al. (eds) *New Themes in Institutional Analysis: Topics and Issues from European Research*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 51–76.

Kassim H, Peterson J, Bauer MW, et al. (2013) *The European Commission in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kaufmann EP and Toft MD (2012) Introduction. In: Goldstone JA, Kaufmann EP, and Toft MD (eds) *Political Demography: How Population Changes Are Reshaping International Security and National Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–9.

Keller B and Sörries B (1999) The new European social dialogue: Old wine in new bottles? *Journal of European Social Policy* 9(2): 111–125. DOI: 10.1177/095892879900900202.

Kentikelenis AE and Seabrooke L (2017) The Politics of World Polity: Script-writing in International Organizations. *American Sociological Review* 82(5): 1065–1092. DOI: 10.1177/0003122417728241.

Kildal N and Nilssen E (2013) Ageing policy ideas in the field of health and long-term care. Comparing the EU, the OECD and the WHO. In: Ervik R and Lindén TS (eds) *The Making of Ageing Policy: Theory and Practice in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 53–77.

Knijn T and Smith M (2012) European Union and Member States' Youth Policy Agendas. In: Knijn T (ed.) *Work, Family Policies and Transitions to Adulthood in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 39–74.

Knill C, Eckhard S and Grohs S (2016) Administrative styles in the European Commission and the OSCE Secretariat: striking similarities despite different organizational settings. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(7). Taylor & Francis: 1057–1076. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1162832.

Knill C, Steinebach Y and Fernández-i-Marín X (2018) Hypocrisy as a crisis response? Assessing changes in talk, decisions, and actions of the European Commission in EU environmental policy. *Public Administration*: 1–15. DOI: 10.1111/padm.12542.

Kvale S and Brinkmann S (2009) *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage Publications.

Kvist J (2015) A framework for social investment strategies: Integrating generational, life course and gender perspectives in the EU social investment strategy. *Comparative European Politics* 13(1). Nature Publishing Group: 131–149. DOI: 10.1057/cep.2014.45.

Lahusen C, Schulz N and Graziano PR (2013) Promoting social Europe? The development of European youth unemployment policies. *International Journal of Social Welfare* 22(3): 300–309. DOI:

10.1111/ijsw.12011.

Leibetseder B (2018) Social investment policies and the European Union: Swimming against the neoliberal tide? *Comparative European Politics* 16(4). Palgrave Macmillan UK: 581–601. DOI: 10.1057/s41295-016-0086-2.

Leibfried S (2015) Social Policy: Left to the Judges and the Markets? In: Wallace H, Pollack MA, and Young AR (eds) *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Seventh. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 263–292.

Leicht KT (2016) Market fundamentalism, cultural fragmentation, post-modern skepticism, and the future of professional work. *Journal of Professions and Organization* 3(1): 103–117. DOI: 10.1093/jpo/jov006.

Leschke J (2011) Transition from Unemployment to Work and the Role of Active Labour Market Policies during the Lisbon Strategy Period and the Economic Crisis. *German Policy Studies* 7(1): 135–170.

Leschke J, Theodoropoulou S and Watt A (2015) Towards 'Europe 2020'? Austerity and new economic governance in the EU. In: Lehndorff S (ed.) *Divisive Integration. The Triumph of Failed Ideas in Europe — Revisited*. Brussels: ETUI - European Trade Union Institute, pp. 295–329.

MacLean LM (2013) The Power of the Interviewer. In: Mosley L (ed.) *Interview Research in Political Science*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, pp. 67–83.

Mahon R (2009) The OECD's Discourse on the Reconciliation of Work and Family Life. *Global Social Policy* 9(2): 183–204. DOI: 10.1177/1468018109104625.

Mahon R (2011) The Jobs Strategy: From neo- to inclusive liberalism? *Review of International Political Economy* 18(5): 570–591. DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2011.603668.

Mahon R and McBride S (2009) Standardizing and disseminating knowledge: The role of the OECD in global governance. *European Political Science Review* 1(1): 83–101. DOI: 10.1017/S1755773909000058.

Mailand M (2008) The uneven impact of the European Employment Strategy on member states' employment policies: A comparative analysis. *Journal of European Social Policy* 18(4): 353–365. DOI: 10.1177/0958928708094893.

Mailand M (2010) The common European flexicurity principles: How a fragile consensus was reached. *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 16(3): 241–257. DOI: 10.1177/0959680110375134.

Manners I and Rosamond B (2018) A Different Europe is Possible: The Professionalization of EU Studies and the Dilemmas of Integration in the 21st Century. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56: 28–38. DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12771.

Maricut A and Puetter U (2018) Deciding on the European Semester: the European Council, the Council and the enduring asymmetry between economic and social policy issues. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(2). Taylor & Francis: 193–211. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1363271.

McNamee L and Zhang A (2019) *Demographic Engineering and International Conflict: Evidence from China and the Former USSR*. *International Organization*. DOI: 10.1017/S0020818319000067.

Mehta J (2010) The Varied Roles of Ideas in Politics: From 'Whether' to 'How'. In: Béland D and Cox RH (eds) *Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 23–46. DOI: 10.1093/acprof.

Menz G (2019) Understanding the identity of a policy field: the European Commission and liberal modernization in the domain of labour and social policy. *Comparative European Politics*. DOI: 10.1057/s41295-019-00176-3.

Moravcsik A (1993) Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist

Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31(4): 473–524.

Moschella M and Tsingou E (eds) (2013) *Great Expectations, Slow Transformations*. Colchester: ECPR Press.

Mosley L (2013) *Interview Research in Political Science*. Mosley L (ed.). Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Mügge D (2016) Studying macroeconomic indicators as powerful ideas. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3). Taylor & Francis: 410–427. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1115537.

Nugent N and Saurugger S (2002) Organizational structuring: The case of the European Commission and its external policy responsibilities. *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(3): 345–364. DOI: 10.1080/13501760210138787.

OECD (2018) *Good Jobs for All in a Changing World of Work: The OECD Jobs Strategy*. Paris. DOI: 10.1787/9789264308817-en.

OECD (2019) *The future of work: OECD Employment Outlook 2019*. Paris. DOI: 10.1142/9789813208384_0005.

Parker O and Pye R (2018) Mobilising social rights in EU economic governance: a pragmatic challenge to neoliberal Europe. *Comparative European Politics* 16(5): 805–824. DOI: 10.1057/s41295-017-0102-1.

Parsons C (2002) Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union. *International Organization* 56(1): 47–84.

Parsons C (2003) *A Certain Idea of Europe*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Peña-Casas R (2013) Desperately seeking the European Employment Strategy in the new economic governance of the European Union. In: Natali D and Vanhercke B (eds) *Social Developments in the European Union 2012*. Brussels: ETUI aisbl, pp. 123–145. Available at: http://www.etui.org/Publications2/Books/Social-developments-in-the-European-Union-2012.

Perez CC (2019) *Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men*. London: Vintage.

Peters BG (1994) Agenda-setting in the European Community. *Journal of European Public Policy* 1(1): 9–26. DOI: 10.1080/13501769408406945.

Peterson EWF (2017) The role of population in economic growth. *SAGE Open* 7(4). DOI: 10.1177/2158244017736094.

Piketty T (2017) *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Plomien A (2018) EU Social and Gender Policy beyond Brexit: Towards the European Pillar of Social Rights. *Social Policy and Society* 17(2): 281–296. DOI: 10.1017/s1474746417000471.

Pollack MA and Hafner-Burton E (2000) Mainstreaming gender in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(3): 432–456. DOI: 10.1080/13501760050086116.

Pollack MA and Hafner-Burton EM (2010) Mainstreaming international governance: The environment, gender, and IO performance in the European Union. *Review of International Organizations* 5(3): 285–313. DOI: 10.1007/s11558-010-9091-4.

Princen S (2007) Agenda-setting in the European Union: A theoretical exploration and agenda for research. *Journal of European Public Policy*. DOI: 10.1080/13501760601071539.

Prskawetz A, Sanderson WC and Scherbov S (2018) Broadening demographic horizons: demographic studies beyond age and gender. *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research* 16: 1–6.

Radaelli CM (2000) Policy transfer in the European Union: Institutional isomorphism as a source of legitimacy. *Governance* 13(1): 25–43. DOI: 10.1111/0952-1895.00122.

Radaelli CM (2003) The Europeanization of Public Policy. In: Featherstone K and Radaelli CM (eds) *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/0199252092.001.0001.

Rao H, Monin P and Durand R (2003) Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy. *American Journal of Sociology* 108(4): 795–843. DOI: 10.1086/367917.

Rhodes M (2015) Employment Policy: Between Efficacy and Experimentation. In: Wallace H, Pollack MA, and Young, Alasdair R (eds) *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Seventh. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 293–318.

Rosamond B (2005) The uniting of Europe and the foundation of EU studies: Revisiting the neofunctionalism of Ernst B. Haas. *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(2): 237–254. DOI: 10.1080/13501760500043928.

Rosamond B (2012) Supranational governance as economic patriotism? The European Union, legitimacy and the reconstruction of state space. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(3): 324–341. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2011.638119.

Rosamond B (2020) European Integration and the Politics of Economic Ideas: Economics, Economists and Market Contestation in the Brexit Debate. *Journal of Common Market Studies* (May 2019): 1–22. DOI: 10.1111/jcms.13029.

Rubery J (2002) Gender mainstreaming and gender equality in the EU: the impact of the EU employment strategy. *Industrial Relations Journal* 33(5): 500–522. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2338.00250.

Rubery J (2015) Austerity and the future for gender equality in Europe. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 68(4): 715–741. DOI: 10.1177/0019793915588892.

Rubery J and Rafferty A (2013) Women and recession revisited. *Work, Employment & Society* 27(3): 414–432. DOI: 10.1177/0950017012460314.

Rubery J, Grimshaw D, Fagan C, et al. (2003) Gender equality still on the European agenda - but for how long? *Industrial Relations Journal* 34(5): 477–497. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2338.2003.00291.x.

Saurugger S (2013) Constructivism and public policy approaches in the EU: From ideas to power games. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(6): 888–906. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2013.781826.

Scharpf FW (2002) The European social model: Coping with the challenge of diversity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 645–670.

Scharpf FW (2010) The Double Asymmetry of European Integration or: Why the EU Cannot be a Social Economy. *Socio-Economic Review* 8: 211–250. DOI: 10.1093/ser/mwp031.

Schmidt VA (2008) Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11(1): 303–326. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342.

Schmidt VA (2010) Taking Ideas and Discourse Seriously: Explaining Change Through Discursive Institutionalism as the Fourth 'New Institutionalism'. *European Political Science Review* 2(1): 1–25. DOI: 10.1017/S175577390999021X.

Schmidt VA (2014) Speaking to the Markets or to the People? A Discursive Institutionalist Analysis of the EU's Sovereign Debt Crisis. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 16(1): 188–209. DOI: 10.1111/1467-856X.12023.

Schmidt VA (2015) *The Eurozone's Crisis of Democratic Legitimacy: Can the EU Rebuild Public Trust and Support for European Economic Integration? European Economy Discussion Papers*. DOI:

10.2765/5015.

Schmidt VA (2016) The roots of neo-liberal resilience: Explaining continuity and change in background ideas in Europe's political economy. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 18(2): 318–334. DOI: 10.1177/1369148115612792.

Schmidt VA and Radaelli CM (2004) Policy change and discourse in Europe: Conceptual and methodological issues. *West European Politics* 27(2): 183–210. DOI: 10.1080/0140238042000214874.

Schön-Quinlivan E and Scipioni M (2017) The Commission as policy entrepreneur in European economic governance: a comparative multiple stream analysis of the 2005 and 2011 reform of the Stability and Growth Pact. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(8). Taylor & Francis: 1172–1190. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1206140.

Schreier M (2012) *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. London: Sage Publications.

Schreier M (2013) Qualitative Content Analysis. In: Flick U (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage, pp. 170–183.

Seabrooke L and Tsingou E (2015) Professional emergence on transnational issues: Linked ecologies on demographic change. *Journal of Professions and Organization* 2(1): 1–18. DOI: 10.1093/jpo/jou006.

Seabrooke L and Tsingou E (2019) Europe's fast- and slow-burning crises. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(3). Taylor & Francis: 468–481. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2018.1446456.

Seabrooke L and Wigan D (2016) Powering ideas through expertise: professionals in global tax battles. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3): 357–374. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1115536.

Seabrooke L, Tsingou E, Willers JO, et al. (2019) The Political Economy of Policy Vacuums: The European Commission on Demographic Change. *New Political Economy* 0(0). Taylor & Francis: 1–15. DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2019.1669549.

Sending OJ and Neumann IB (2006) Governance to governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, states, and power. *International Studies Quarterly* 50(3): 651–672. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00418.x.

Sharman JC (2009) The bark is the bite: International organizations and blacklisting. *Review of International Political Economy* 16(4): 573–596. DOI: 10.1080/09692290802403502.

Skelcher C and Smith SR (2015) Theorizing hybridity: Institutional logics, complex organizations, and actor identities: The case of nonprofits. *Public Administration* 93(2): 433–448. DOI: 10.1111/padm.12105.

Smith M and Villa P (2010) The ever-declining role of gender equality in the European Employment Strategy. *Industrial Relations Journal* 41(6): 526–543. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2338.2010.00584.x.

Smith M and Villa P (2013) Recession and recovery: Making gender equality part of the solution. In: Bettio F, Plantenga J, and Smith M (eds) *Gender and the European Labour Market*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 224–241.

Smith M, Leschke J, Russell H, et al. (2018) Stressed economies, distressed policies, and distraught young people. In: O'Reilly J, Leschke J, Ortlieb R, et al. (eds) *Youth Labor in Transition: Inequalities, Mobility, and Policies in Europe*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 104–131.

Social Protection Committee and European Commission (2014) *Adequate social protection for long-term care needs in an ageing society*. Luxembourg. DOI: 10.2767/32352.

Spasova S, Baeten R, Coster S, et al. (2018) *Challenges in Long-term Care in Europe: A Study of National Policies*. Brussels.

Teitelbaum MS (2015) Political demography: Powerful trends under-attended by demographic science. *Population Studies* 69(0). Taylor & Francis: S87–S95. DOI: 10.1080/00324728.2014.977638.

Terlizzi A (2019) Health system decentralization and recentralization in Italy: Ideas, discourse, and institutions. *Social Policy and Administration* 53(7): 974–988. DOI: 10.1111/spol.12458.

Thelen K and Conran J (2016) Institutional Change. In: Fioretos O, Falleti TG, and Sheingate A (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 51–70. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199662814.013.3.

Thévenon O (2014) *Family policy, fertility and women's employment: value and limitations of national comparisons*. INED Documents de Travail 200. Paris.

Tholoniat L (2009) The temporal constitution of the European Commission: A timely investigation. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(2): 221–238. DOI: 10.1080/13501760802589230.

Thomas G (2010) Doing case study: Abduction not induction, phronesis not theory. *Qualitative Inquiry* 16(7): 575–582. DOI: 10.1177/1077800410372601.

Thornton PH (2004) *Markets from Culture: Institutional Logics and Organizational Decisions in Higher Education Publishing*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Thornton PH, Ocasio W and Lounsbury M (2012) *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure and Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thornton PH, Ocasio W and Lounsbury M (2015) The Institutional Logics Perspective. In: Scott R and Kosslyn S (eds) *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 1–22.

Timmermans S and Tavory I (2012) Theory Construction in Qualitative Research: From Grounded Theory to Abductive Analysis. *Sociological Theory* 30(3): 167–186. DOI: 10.1177/0735275112457914.

Trlifajová L and Hurrle J (2018) Work must pay: Does it? Precarious employment and employment motivation for low-income households. *Journal of European Social Policy* 29(3): 376–395. DOI: 10.1177/0958928718805870.

Tsingou E (2014) The Club Rules in Global Financial Governance. *The Political Quarterly* 85(4): 417–419. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-923X.2014.00000.x.

United Nations (2019a) *2018 Active Ageing Index - Analytical Report*. Geneva. Available at: https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/pau/age/Active_Ageing_Index/ECE-WG-33.pdf.

United Nations (2019b) *World Population Prospects 2019: Highlights*. *World Population Prospects 2019*. New York. Available at: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/12283219.

van der Vleuten A (2005) Pincers and Prestige: Explaining the Implementation of EU Gender Equality Legislation. *Comparative European Politics* 3(4): 464–488. DOI: 10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110066.

van Rie T and Marx I (2012) The European Union at Work? The European Employment Strategy from Crisis to Crisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(2): 335–356. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02206.x.

Vandenbroucke F (1999) European Social Democracy: Convergence, Divisions, and Shared Questions. *The Political Quarterly* 70(s1): 37–52. DOI: 10.1111/1467-923x.70.s1.5.

Vauchez A (2008) The Force of a Weak Field: Law and Lawyers in the Government of the European Union (For a Renewed Research Agenda). *International Political Sociology* 2: 128–144. DOI: 10.1111/j.1749-5687.2008.00040.x.

Velluti S (2012) Employment and the Lisbon Strategy. In: Copeland P and Papadimitriou D (eds) *The*

EU's Lisbon Strategy: Evaluating Success, Understanding Failure. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 88–110.

Verdun A and Zeitlin J (2018) Introduction: the European Semester as a new architecture of EU socioeconomic governance in theory and practice. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(2). Taylor & Francis: 137–148. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1363807.

Villa P (2013) The role of the EES in the promotion of gender equality in the labour market - A critical appraisal. In: Bettio F, Plantenga J, and Smith M (eds) *Gender and the European Labour Market*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 135–167.

Villa P and Smith M (2014) Policy in the Time of Crisis: Employment policy and gender equality in Europe. In: Karamessini M and Rubery J (eds) *Women and Austerity: The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*. Abingdon & New York: Routledge, pp. 273–294.

Vollset SE, Goren E, Yuan C, et al. (2020) Fertility, mortality, migration, and population scenarios for 195 countries and territories from 2017 to 2100: a forecasting analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study. *The Lancet*. The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an Open Access article under the CC BY 4.0 license: 1–22. DOI: 10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30677-2.

von Nordheim F (2004) Responding well to the challenge of an ageing and shrinking workforce. European Union policies in support of Member State efforts to Retain, Reinforce Re-integrate Older Workers in employment. *Social Policy and Society* 3(2): 145–153. DOI: 10.1017/S1474746403001672.

Walker A (2008) Commentary: The emergence and application of active aging in Europe. *Journal of Aging and Social Policy* 21(1): 75–93. DOI: 10.1080/08959420802529986.

Walker A and Foster L (2013) Active ageing: rhetoric, theory and practice. In: Ervik R and Lindén TS (eds) *The Making of Ageing Policy: Theory and Practice in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 27–52. DOI: 10.4337/9781781952481.00009.

Walker A and Maltby T (2012) Active ageing: A strategic policy solution to demographic ageing in the European Union. *International Journal of Social Welfare* 21(SUPPL.1): 117–130. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2397.2012.00871.x.

Wallace H and Reh C (2015) An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Models. In: Wallace H, Pollack MA, and Young, Alasdair R (eds) *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Seventh. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 72–114.

Widmaier W (2016a) Economic Ideas in Political Time: Construction, Conversion, and Crisis. In: *Economic Ideas in Political Time*, pp. 3–28. DOI: 10.1017/cbo9781316576915.002.

Widmaier W (2016b) The power of economic ideas – through, over and in – political time: the construction, conversion and crisis of the neoliberal order in the US and UK. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3): 338–356. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1115890.

Wille A (2013) *The Normalization of the European Commission: Politics and Bureaucracy in the EU Executive*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wonka A (2008) Decision-making dynamics in the European Commission: partisan , national or sectoral? *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(8): 1145–1163. DOI: 10.1080/13501760802407656.

Wonka A (2015) The European Commission. In: Richardson J and Mazey S (eds) *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. 4th ed. Abingdon & New York: Routledge, pp. 83–106.

Wöss J and Türk E (2011) Dependency ratios and demographic change. Brussels: ETUI. Available at: http://www.etui.org/Publications2/Policy-Briefs/European-Economic-Employment-and-Social-Policy/Dependency-ratios-and-demographic-change.-The-labour-market-as-a-key-element.

Wynes S and Nicholas KA (2017) The climate mitigation gap: Education and government

recommendations miss the most effective individual actions. *Environmental Research Letters* 12. DOI: 10.1088/1748-9326/aa7541.

Zahariadis N (2013) Building better theoretical frameworks of the European Union's policy process. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(6): 807–816. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2013.781815.

Zaidi A, Gasior K, Zolyomi E, et al. (2017) Measuring active and healthy ageing in Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 27(2): 138–157. DOI: 10.1177/0958928716676550.

Zeitlin J (2008) The Open Method of Co-ordination and the Governance of the Lisbon Strategy. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(2): 436–450. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00785.x.

Zeitlin J and Vanhercke B (2018) Socializing the European Semester: EU social and economic policy co-ordination in crisis and beyond. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(2): 149–174. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1363269.

Appendix 1: Interview guide and informed consent form

Interview guide

The reports and workflow

- Could you begin by telling me a little about your work – what are the primary areas you work with; how do you go about your work?
    - What topics would you describe yourself as an expert on?
- When you work on the report, could you describe how you proceed in terms of gathering information, analysing the situation, etc.?
    - Who do you consult with on population ageing/women/youth/elderly (inside the DG/inside the COM/outside)?
    - How is it determined what kinds of groups to focus on?
    - How about new policy ideas? For instance, social investment has emerged as a policy approach in recent years. Where do such ideas come from?
- Who is your audience? Who cannot wait to read the report?
- Where does the report fit in terms of policymaking? How is the report used going forwards?

Issue-specific questions

- In terms of the Europe 2020 target headline to increase the employment rate to 75 per cent, how do you view the progress made at this point?
    - How do women, youth, and elderly fit in?
- How would you describe the labour market situation of women, youth, and elderly?
- What kinds of ideas are prominent now on better achieving the integration of women, youth, and elderly?

If the interviewee is an expert on one of the groups:

- Women: There has been some criticism of the Commission's decreasing enthusiasm for stressing gender equality and general focus on integrating women into the labour market. To what extent do you think this is true?
- Elderly: There has been some criticism of the Commission's approach to active ageing, calling it 'productivist' rather than inclusive and enabling, incl. the AGE platform. To what extent do you think this is true?
- Youth: There has been some criticism of the Commission's approach to youth employment, saying that it was absent before the crisis and has even after the crisis been characterized by continuity and a narrow focus (education policies). To what extent do you think this is true?

The shift from ECFIN to EMPL (only for those who used to work on the LMWD-report)

- When LMWD shifted to EMPL in 2015, did you notice any changes to the way the report was managed, what you were writing about, the overall focus and direction?
- Do you remember how it all began? Why did ECFIN start producing the LMWD report in the first place?

Intergenerational equity (only for those working on the ESDE-report)

- Intergenerational equity: a major theme in the ESDE 2017 report, but when I did interviews in Brussels in December 2015, it was basically an unknown topic.
    - What was the reason for the theme to be chosen?
    - What changed between 2015 and 2017 for the theme to be taken up?

    - Has the report had any impact in terms of awareness, concrete initiatives from different stakeholders, feedback from Member States?

Final questions

- Are there any issues about this content or process that are contentious or sensitive?
    - Why might some people be more open than others in talking about it? (Specific unit)
    - For DG EMPL: Do different units within DG EMPL share goals – but have slightly different reasons for wanting those goals?
- Should I be speaking to anyone outside your unit about these topics?

Thank you very much for your time!

Informed consent form

This informed consent form is for XXX, who I am inviting to participate in research on The European Commission's Response to an Ageing Society: Integrating women, youth, and the elderly into the workforce under the Horizon 2020 academic research project titled ENLIGHTEN: European Legitimacy in Governing Through Hard Times: The Role of European Networks (#649456).

This is a consent form for research participation. It contains important information about this study and what to expect if you decide to participate. Your participation is voluntary. Please consider the information carefully. Feel free to ask questions before making your decision whether to participate.

The interview is expected to take one hour and will focus on the following themes:

- Europe's ageing societies and how the European Commission proposes to respond to the challenge;
- The integration of underrepresented groups into the labour market, specifically women, youth, and elderly, as a response to population ageing;
- The process of writing reports, such as Employment and Social Developments in Europe and/or Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe, specifically on the above topics; and
- The flow of knowledge, ideas, and resources on the above policy areas in the European Union.

The interview will be confidential with respect to both information about you as the participant and information that you provide. I will not use your name nor identify you in any way. I will not associate your remarks with your position or any other affiliations you may have. Moreover, I will not convey your comments to any other people I might interview. With your explicit permission, confidentiality may be waivered.

The interview will not be recorded. I will take notes during the interview instead. The notes will not be released, distributed, or used by anyone not directly involved with this project. Your anonymity will be strictly preserved. If you are willing to go on record (individually attributable or not) with a specific remark or set of remarks, you will receive a written summary of the interview for your records. A written summary of the interview is available to respective interviewees upon request.

Dissemination of the research findings will take place in academic publications.

You may ask questions about the research project at any point, including follow-up questions.

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study you may contact me, the researcher, Lea Acre Foverskov, via email (lf.ioa@cbs.dk) or via phone (+45 4085 5046).

If you decide to participate, please indicate your consent in an email to me. When you do so, you will be accepting the following certificate of consent:

I have read the foregoing information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked, have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Thank you for your help with this project.

Kind regards,
Lea Acre Foverskov
PhD Fellow

Appendix 2: Coding rules for the qualitative content analysis of the second and third papers

Relevance coding

I conducted the relevance coding in the following manner:

(1) Search for keywords, stemming from the research question (as well as words that may be used as substitutes): woman, women, female, females, mother, mothers, gender, youth, young, younger, youngest, NEET, NEETs, old, older, oldest, elderly, demographic, ageing, and aging. However, these keywords would not always capture references to the groups, as especially the youth and elderly are sometimes simply referred to as an age bracket (e.g. the 15-24-year olds). Therefore, close reading of the material before the coding led to the inclusion of the following keywords as they were observed to occur in conjunction with references to the three groups: labour market participation, childcare (or "child care"), work-life balance, active ageing/aging, healthy ageing/aging, early retirement, life-long learning (also LLL), and skill/skills;
(2) Go through each result to identify relevant paragraphs according to the definition provided below;
(3) Code such paragraphs to the Relevant category.

I applied the following definition for the *Relevant* category. The definition is purposefully broad and inclusive as it is easier to exclude segments later but difficult to go back and include more (Schreier, 2012: 83):

> This category applies if the paragraph deals explicitly with women, youth, or elderly in the context of labour markets, employment, workforce, or working, or any hindrances the groups may experience to entering/being in the workforce. In addition, paragraphs about demographic change and population ageing are included.

The relevant parts of the material cover approximately 3.5 per cent of the total material. This low percentage reflects the broad nature of the reports as compared to the relatively narrow focus of the research mentioned above. Forewords, tables of contents, statistical appendices, methodological appendices, tables, figures, and graphs were excluded, but executive summaries were included.

Note that the coding unit is the paragraph, implying a formal segmentation criterion (Schreier, 2012: 134), which is a strength as it entails consistency and since a thematic segmentation criterion is more ambiguous and thus difficult to apply.

Coding procedure

When coding, check for each of the following main categories for every segment:

- Does the segment contain a reference to women, youth, or elderly in terms of employment?
    - Yes:
        - Code it to one or more of the subcategories in the dimension 'The three groups' (technical coding)
        - Does the segment indicate a reason for WHY it is important to integrate women, youth, or elderly? Are there any special benefits to be had from the integration?
            - Yes: code it to a subcategory under 'Discourse'
            - No: proceed to the next question
        - Is a narrative mentioned in the segment? What is it? Is it a good or improved situation that is being described - or a persistently bad or even deteriorated situation?
            - Yes: code it to a subcategory under 'Frames'

                - No: proceed to the next question
            - Are any specific policies being recommended to help with the integration of the three groups?
                - Yes: code it to a subcategory under 'Policies'
                - No: proceed to the next question
            - If there is no discourse, frame, or policy mentioned, code the segment to 'Miscellaneous' (1st level)
            - If the segment is about variation between the Member States or about the situation in a particular Member State, code it to the technical nodes and to 'Member State variation' – but nothing else
        - No: Then the segment must contain a mention of demographic change or population ageing. Code it to 'Demographic change.'
- Are there any golden quotes for the writing stage? If yes, code it to the 'Golden quotes' category (technical coding).

After this, the coding for the segment is done.

Appendix 3: Coding scheme for the qualitative content analysis of the second and third papers

Discourse categories with definitions and examples[1]

Name	Definition	Examples
Competitiveness and economic growth	The goal of employment policies is economic growth and/or competitiveness with references to growth, competitiveness, productivity, and utilisation of the workforce. The underlying worldview is that the main point of bringing people into the labour market is to increase economic growth.	"Engaging more people actively in the labour market will make an important difference in the medium term. Today almost 30 % of people aged 20 to 64 are not in employment: 7% are searching for employment but 23 % - the inactive - are not. The EU can no longer afford so many inactive people. Engaging those people actively in the labour market - by reducing the gender employment gap, by further educational progress and by extending working lives (including beyond the age of 65) - would gain the EU more time in the medium term to implement the productivity-enhancing reforms that will be needed to maintain growth in the long term. This is all the more true as the potential boost from increasing working hours is likely to be limited." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2017, p. 68)
Population ageing	The focus is on alleviating the pressures of population ageing, increasing old-age dependency ratios, and ageing workforces by increasing employment rates. The underlying worldview is that population ageing is an economic challenge, as ageing leads to a decreased supply of labour, threatening economic growth.	"The most productive and promising answer to the demographic challenge of structural longevity growth is to extend working life for men and women: prolonging it at the end, starting it earlier at the beginning and reducing interruptions over the span of the career, and increasing activity rates (especially of women). This is what is being addressed through the re-balancing of time spent in work, in retirement and in activity. A longer working life will both support the sustainability and the adequacy of pensions, as well as bring growth and general welfare gains for an economy. Higher employment rates among older workers are also a precondition for our ability to reach the 2020 target of 75 % employment rate of people 20-64, just as adequate pension systems are a precondition for the achievement of the poverty reduction target." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2012, p. 57)
Questioning the benefits	This discourse questions the benefits of increasing employment rates of	"Looking at labour market trends for the youth element of the working age population (…) the vast majority of Member States have experienced a

[1] There was an additional, residual, category amongst the discourses.

	underrepresented groups. The underlying worldview is that there are other (social) consequences of higher employment rates. Examples: increasing women's employment takes them away from caring for young and old; increasing the employment rates of youth may be detrimental to their education.	deterioration over recent years in the labour market situation of young people (although this trend must also be seen in the context of efforts to increase participation rates in education, in line with the EU objective to have at least 85% of 22-year-olds having completed upper secondary education by 2010). (…)" (Employment in Europe 2005, pp. 60-1)
Social integration	Bringing women, youth, and the elderly into employment will allow them to participate in society on an equal footing with others and/or it will help reduce or prevent poverty. The underlying worldview is focused on social cohesion and reducing social inequalities.	"In the EU, 64.3 % of children under the age of 18 who live in jobless households live below the poverty threshold. Both the mother's working status and the number of additional workers in the household are the main determinants of child poverty. The mother's educational level, access to family benefits in low-income households and childcare are also key determinants of child poverty. This suggests that policies which support family incomes through cash benefits combined with measures to facilitate mothers' employment help reduce child poverty." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015, p. 16)
Sustainability of social security systems	Increasing employment rates of women, youth, and the elderly is about securing the financial sustainability of social security systems, e.g. pensions. The underlying worldview focuses on financing the welfare state, ensuring its financial sustainability.	"The employment rate of older workers provides an indication on the overall labour market integration of older workers and thus on the sustainability of pensions, since this reflects the financing base for pension systems and the levels of effective age of exit from the labour market." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2013, p. 341)

Frame categories with definitions and examples[2]

Name	Definition	Examples
Affected by austerity measures	This category applies when a deterioration in employment/participation rates or earnings is attributed to austerity measures, i.e. fiscal tightening, such as less jobs in the public sector, lower welfare state transfers, etc.	"(…) In this respect, austerity measures are liable to have negatively affected women, as they predominantly impacted on public sectors (where women are concentrated) and public services (of which women are chief consumers). (…)" (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2013, p. 184)
Age-related challenges	When either old age or young age is described as a disadvantage in any way in the labour market. Beware of overlaps with 'Easy exits chosen', 'Low skills', and 'Structural challenges'.	"Older workers are generally considered to be one of the most vulnerable groups in the labour market (others being, for example, youth, women and disabled workers). One reason for this is that they are often viewed as being more costly than their younger counterparts, due mainly to the prevalence of age-related remuneration systems and seniority wages, and as having lower productivity due to both outdated skills and more frequent physical limitations resulting from ageing." (Employment in Europe 2007, p. 81) "The young are a vulnerable group for several reasons. They have little or no work experience, are more likely to be hired with an uncertain contractual relationship and their short-tenure usually implies limited access to unemployment benefits; the transition from education to work is often difficult. All this is reflected in an unemployment rate which has reached 20.8% in the EU…" (Labour Market Developments in Europe 2011, p. 29)
Discouraged worker effect	When the bad situation of the group(s) is framed as being because of the 'discouraged worker effect', where people withdraw completely from the labour market.	"Another group of inactive persons are those ready to work but do not look for a job because they think they cannot find one. Such persons are typically referred to as 'discouraged workers' and have been continuously rising since 2000, to reach 15% of the total inactive population in 2007. While not included among the unemployed because they are not actively seeking work, these persons provide an indication of labour market difficulty. (…)" (Labour Market and Wage Development in 2007, p. 38)
Easy exits chosen	When youth go into education and/or elderly into retirement because they cannot find work or they prefer education/retirement.	"Looking at labour market trends for the youth element of the working age population, as shown in last year's Employment in Europe report the vast majority of Member States have experienced a deterioration over recent years in the labour market situation of young people (although this trend must also be seen in the context of efforts to increase participation rates in education, in line with the EU objective to have at least 85% of 22year olds having completed upper secondary

[2] In addition to the frames in this table, there were two additional frames in my content analysis. One was a residual category. The other was 'deteriorations without explanations', which captured when a reference gave no reason for the decline in employment/activity rate or increase in unemployment/inactivity rate.

		education by 2010). This deterioration has been particularly severe in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Luxembourg, where employment rates for the 15-24 age group have declined by the order of 10 percentage points since 2000 (but also where participation rates in education have risen). (…)" (Employment in Europe 2005, pp. 60-61)
Economic downturn	The low participation rates/earnings of women, youth, and elderly are attributed to a deterioration in the economic conditions, incl. the financial crisis. NOT applicable if the economic downturn is merely a structural/background factor - it must be emphasised (as with all other meanings).	"(…) The crisis hit all age groups negatively, but with quite different intensity. The young were hit very hard, the prime age group less so and the older to an even lesser degree. For the young, because of the very low employment growth during the previous years foregone employment is almost zero. Thus, the total effect of the recession can be entirely attributed to the strong decline in actual employment. The development in the prime age group resembles the development for both genders in general. For men, the actual employment change (-2.5%) is much bigger than forgone employment (+0.5%), whereas for women the actual employment change (-0.8%) is less important than forgone employment (1.4%). Taken together, we have a total employment effect on males' prime age employment of -3.0% and of -2.0% on females, so the total effect is still bigger for males but more balanced than the actual employment change. For the old, the situation differs as we still observe employment growth and the foregone employment is small." (Labour Market and Wage Developments in 2009, pp. 52-3)
Family- or care-related reasons	When groups' (especially women and elderly) bad situation is framed as being because of family or care-related reasons, i.e. children, caring for elderly, caring for a partner, etc.	"Despite the stronger impact of the crisis on men, women still have an overall lower rate of return to employment and are more likely to fall into and remain in inactivity. Moreover, analysis shows that family reasons and insufficient/ non-affordable care facilities (for children and other dependent persons) can be a reason both for becoming and for remaining long-term unemployed and/or economically inactive, especially in the case of prime-aged women. Improving access to care facilities, allowing individuals to combine care provisions and paid work (e.g.: possibility of part-time employment; tax breaks for workers who must pay for care provision) and reducing the inactivity/unemployment traps for second earners could help in this matter." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2012, p. 126)
Frustration	Frustration is sensed in the text when alternative measures for youth unemployment, for instance, are mentioned, because the numbers look very bad, or when women's employment is even worse when considering full-time equivalents (because women	"The prevalence of high youth unemployment rates points to a dysfunctional labour market. However, the large majority of the young are still studying (about 67% in the EU) and as such are not considered in the pool of those that are actively engaged in the labour market (either working or looking for a job). For example, in Spain only about 41% of the young aged between 15 and 24 years were active in 2011 and of these 46.4% were unemployed. This meant that 19% of

	tend to work part-time more than men).	the young population were looking for jobs in vain – outrageously high, but far from the "every second youngsters cannot find a job" misinterpretation that is so widespread." (Labour Market Developments in Europe 2012, p. 29)
Gender gap	When the gender gap is mentioned in men's favour, when gender is seen as a disadvantage in the labour market. Only applicable for women. If the other groups (youth, elderly) are mentioned, it might belong to 'Structural challenges instead. Only applicable if other categories are not relevant, such as 'Low skills' or 'Part-time employment'.	"However, there is a significant gender difference as a result of factors other than sociodemographic characteristics. The finding of less favourable female labour market performance already takes account of highly relevant gender differences such as care obligations. It also factors in cultural employment obstacles, where those are due to differences in the surveyed countries or to being a migrant (captured by the 'country' and 'country of birth' variables in the regression). In fact, neither sociodemographic characteristics nor cross-country differences can fully explain the gender employment gap. Thus, as is the case with earnings differences…, a big part of the gender employment gap remains unexplained by the usual set of observable explanatory variables…" (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2018, p. 102)
Instruments to reaching targets	When the focus is not on analysing the group(s)'s improvement or deterioration on its own, but on how the group is contributing to e.g. the Lisbon targets. The groups are framed as 'instruments', where it is calculated how much employment needs to increase by to reach the target.	"In the best possible scenario, the EU employment rate would still stay below the 70% target. Thus, if the overall target is to be achieved, some of the laggard countries should contribute substantially more than what has been done so far. For the female target, the situation is less challenging, as the 60% target could be hit with an employment growth close to that recorded for 2007. The result for the older workers deserves attention. If the strong acceleration in the employment growth of older workers over the most recent period were maintained over the remaining 3 years, the older workers' employment rate would be just below the 50% target. To sum up, the Lisbon employment targets remain very ambitious, especially in view of the fact that achieving the Lisbon strategy involves efforts both to improve labour market performance and to raise growth. This implies a need for a substantial acceleration in the medium-term labour productivity growth." (Labour Market and Wage Development in 2007, p. 61)
It's all relative	If the participation rates only look better because they are compared to groups that have fared worse - e.g. the gender gap is narrowing, but only because men are doing worse. In other words, the situation for (one of) the groups needs to be deteriorating for the category to be applicable - just deteriorating less slowly than for another group (often men).	"Although the crisis has severely hit the European labour market, different socio-economic and demographic groups have fared quite differently. While the employment of men shrank by 2.7%, that of women fell only by a smaller 0.7%. The gender dimension in employment performance during the crisis is generally explained by men being disproportionally more present than women in industries, such as construction and manufacturing, which were more heavily hit by the crisis." (Labour Market and Wage Developments in 2009, pp. 12-13)

Low skills	When the group(s)'s low skill level is presented as the problem in the labour market	"Many adults have satisfactory or good skills. However, on average, one in five adults in EU countries display a low level of skills in literacy and one in four have similarly low levels of skills in numeracy. When it comes to very high skills, only a handful of Member States are able to match the performance of the best non-EU countries, such as Japan or Australia. While in some countries it is mainly the older age groups that show very low skill levels, in others it seems that also younger groups perform rather poorly (e.g. in Cyprus and the United Kingdom). Moreover, the survey results confirm that proficiency is strongly related to parental education and to migrant status, but to a different extent across countries." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015, p. 235)
NEET	When a group (especially the young) is described as being in a bad situation because of high NEET rates (not in education, employment, or training).	"Inactive NEETs are not a homogenous group, as the Eurofound report on NEETs shows. In some Member States with particularly high NEET rates, around 40% of inactive NEETs became discouraged after failing to find work. In Member States with more favourable labour markets, reasons for inactivity are more varied, ranging from caring responsibilities to personal health issues. Nonetheless, the large number of young people aged 15-24 who are not in employment, education and training and who are not even looking for work is a major policy challenge in all Member States. Greater efforts are needed to understand and remove the barriers – real and perceived – that prevent inactive NEETS from entering the labour market." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2016, p. 32)
Part-time employment	When a persistent bad situation or deterioration is ascribed to part-time employment. This subcategory is especially relevant for women.	"Women are furthermore often in non-standard employment such as fixed-term and part-time work. In the EU-25, 31.4% of women were working part-time in 2004, against 7% of men. Compared with one year before, the share of part-time employment rose by 1.1 percentage points for women and 0.4 percentage points for men. The proportion of women working part-time is particularly high in the Netherlands (75%) and the United Kingdom (44%). Men are thus not only more concentrated in higher paid sectors and occupations, but within these sectors and occupations they are also more likely than women to hold managerial responsibilities and if they do so the earnings are relatively higher." (The Social Situation in the European Union 2005-06, p. 105)
Structural challenges	When a persistent bad situation is mentioned, i.e. there is no deterioration, just status quo. (If there is a deterioration, it should go somewhere else, e.g. 'Deterioration without explanation'). When a bad situation/deterioration is	"(…) The continued under-performance of the EU economy is due, in part, to the fact that the labour input remains comparatively low compared to other developed economies such as the US or Japan, despite the recent improvements in raising the employment rate to just over 63% in 2004. This relatively low employment rate indicates that Europe still has a substantial reservoir of unused labour, and that there remains considerable scope

	mentioned for both youth and women, for instance (i.e. it cannot go to 'Gender gap' nor 'Age-related challenges'). Indicator: structural unemployment.	for raising activity and employment further, especially among women, youth and older workers. Breaking down barriers to labour market entry or re-entry, assisting effective job search, creating attractive working arrangements, ensuring that work pays and promoting lifelong learning are essential to achieving greater labour market participation." (Employment in Europe 2005, p. 240)
Temporary employment	This category applies if a persistent bad situation or deterioration is ascribed to temporary/fixed-term contracts. This is especially relevant for the young, but may also be relevant for women.	"Young people experienced a decline in employment during the downturns in the early 1990s and the early years of the present decade. In addition, there was a shift an increasing tendency for those in work to have temporary contracts of employment. This shift was not necessarily a direct response by employers to the downturn as such, since it seems to have been part of a long-term trend. It means, however, that the declining numbers or young people in work were increasingly in relatively precarious jobs which, in some countries, do not necessarily entitle the worker to unemployment benefits." (The Social Situation in the European Union 2009, p. 65)

The coding scheme had additional frame categories, which were not included in the analysis. The structure of the frame-category was a few first-level categories ('instruments to reaching targets' [included], 'incoherent developments' [not included because it captured segments that could not be properly coded], and a residual category) and then two subsections with subcategories. These two subsections were respectively 'improved situation' and 'persistently bad or deteriorating situation'. However, I excluded the 'improved situation'-subsection from the present analysis for two reasons. First, I focus on understanding how the Commission frames the groups' *underrepresentation* in the labour market. The categories included in the analysis capture this best as they frame a persistently bad or deteriorating labour market situation for one or more of the three groups. Second, the 'improved situation' subsection of categories was not sufficiently valid, with a coding frequency of the residual category at 26.76 per cent. In comparison, of the frame-categories I included in the analysis, the coding frequency for residual categories was 16.50 per cent. Only considering the subsection of the coding scheme that provided most of the categories ('Persistent bad or deteriorating situation'), the coding frequency for the residual category was 2.13 per cent. Finally, the 'improved situation'-categories represented 16.60 per cent of the total frame segments.

Policy categories with definitions and examples

Name	Definition	Examples
Active ageing	This is a catch-all category, as many policies can be argued to be part of active ageing. It is meant to capture the segments that specifically refer to active ageing (or healthy ageing, when it comes to the health status of elderly in connection with employment[3]).	"The EU policy response is therefore based on a comprehensive and sustainable approach known as 'active ageing', which employs a range of tools beyond just retirement reforms. This recognises that in order to be able to seriously consider working longer, people must be in good physical and mental health and have good prospects of remaining so for longer, they must have access to more flexible retirement schemes and working arrangements as well as appropriate working conditions, they must have the opportunity to, and be prepared to, update and make the most of the skills they have gained, and they must have access to available employment opportunities and not be faced with discriminatory prejudices." (Employment in Europe 2007, p. 60)
ALMPs[4]	Active Labour Market Policies, including registration with public employment services, in-work subsidies, assisting effective job search, counselling, guidance, "active employment policies."	"Do ALMPs really increase labour market participation? (…) A simple scatter plot…shows that there is a strong correlation between the use of active labour market policies and employment rates…, while the correlation with passive policies is much weaker…. The same picture can be found when relating the employment rate of women to LMP expenditures…. Moreover the correlation is even higher for ALMPs, partly reflecting the fact that low spending countries such as Italy and Malta have a very low female employment rate compared to countries such as Denmark, Sweden or the Netherlands, which also spend more on ALMPs." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2012, pp. 230-231)
Flexicurity	Specific mentions of flexicurity to boost employment rates of (one of) the three groups.	"A framework for developing concrete and coordinated policy responses to the main causes of youth employment problems may be found in the larger context of general employment policies, namely the recently proposed common principles on flexicurity. These aim at integrating four policy components – flexible contractual arrangements, effective lifelong learning systems, active labour market policies and modern social security systems – in order to enhance flexibility and security at the same time in the labour market." (Employment in Europe 2007, p. 51)
Gender equality	When gender equality or the reduction of gender gaps is mentioned as a specific	"The gender gap in terms of total hours has many causes and consequences (both positive and negative), which are reviewed in some detail in

[3] Subsuming healthy ageing under active ageing is in line with Walker and Maltby's (2012) understanding of active ageing.

[4] According to Bengtsson, de la Porte, and Jacobsson (2017), the kinds of ALMPs identified here would fall into the category of 'employment assistance'. ALMPs also include training or 'upskilling', which is covered by the policy idea 'training, skills, and LLL'. ALMPS also include incentive reinforcements, covered by 'reforming unemployment benefits', although in my coding frame it covers reforms that make the unemployment benefit schemes more inclusive, whereas in Bengtsson et al.'s frame it is about tightening conditionality to ensure that unemployed are incentivised to find jobs. Finally, I have an additional subcategory called 'Youth-focused initiatives', which are also ALMPs, but specifically targeting the young.

	policy to pursue to ensure better labour market participation of esp. women, but also youth and elderly.	order to better understand how various factors influence the decision on worked hours, and why and how the volume of hours worked is a relevant factor from both a personal and economic point of view. While less total hours worked can reflect preferences and can be associated with positive implications, it can also have disadvantageous consequences. Moreover, it might stem from barriers and institutional constraints that are leading to disincentives to work more, and as such, gender equality implies that these barriers and constraints are dismantled." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2013, p. 173)
Job creation in services sector	When creating jobs in the service sector is mentioned to increase labour market participation of women, youth, and elderly. This is often because the groups are often employed in services sectors in e.g. the USA.	"Deepening the internal market for services and breaking down remaining barriers to the further integration of the EU services markets will help create the framework conditions necessary to further develop the services sector in the EU. As a specific reply to the further restructuring of the European economies, the key to increasing employment in services is in the creation of jobs in the comparatively high-paying, high-productive services such as business services, education and health and social services. To this aim, existing spill-over effects from product demand in industry on employment in services need to be exploited, and increases in final demand for services are necessary. In this context, reorienting public spending towards areas such as education and health and social services is crucial. This will contribute to accelerate further increases in the labour market participation of women and older workers." (Employment in Europe 2004, p. 14)
Lifecycle approach to work	When lifecycle policies are mentioned, considering the life span of workers and how their preferences may change over time.	"In particular, Member States should promote a lifecycle approach (Guideline No 18) through a renewed endeavour to build employment pathways for young people and to reduce youth unemployment; resolute action to increase female participation and reduce gender gaps in employment, unemployment and pay; better reconciliation of work and private life and provision of accessible and affordable childcare facilities and care for other dependants; and support for active aging, including appropriate working conditions, improved (occupational) health status and adequate incentives to work and discouragement of early retirement; modern social protection systems." (The Social Situation in the European Union 2007, p. 126)
Making work pay	Reforming tax/benefit systems, ensuring financial incentives to stay in the labour market for esp. women and elderly.	"Secondly, labour market reforms designed to enhance labour force growth can help to alleviate inflation pressures emanating from the supply side. In a more technical sense, successful labour market reforms would result in a downward shift in the labour supply (or wage) curve — more supply at a given wage. Overall, labour force growth appears to have been relatively strong between 2001 and 2006. This is partly due to immigration, but it also reflects an underlying increase in participation. Women and

		older workers in particular, and to some extent workers with lower skills, have experienced significant improvements in their labour market situation. These developments may be related to the fact that many euro-area countries have made some progress with reforms improving incentives to work and making work pay. (…)" (Labour Market and Wage Developments in 2006, p. 72 of 232)
Participation-friendly policies	This includes the availability and affordability of childcare (for the sake of increasing labour market participation of women, not the sake of skills/human capital investment), flexible working times, working from home, part-time, improving work-life balance etc. It includes mentions of job quality for the sake of increasing participation rates. It is relevant both for women and elderly, and potentially even for youth. They are also called family-friendly policies.	"In the EU, only 61.7 % of mothers (aged 25-49) with children below 6 years are employed, compared to 76.9 % of those without children. But there are large cross-country variations. One of the key issues in increasing labour force participation of women is therefore the compatibility of child-rearing and employment. The analysis finds that family policies, especially high-quality childcare services accessible to all children, and availability of part-time work, are positively associated with employment of women with children. Other policies that can help reconciling family and work life include access to parental leave, which can help increase the labour market participation of women." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015, p. 16)
Reforming pensions	When there is an explicit mention of reforming pension systems or restricting early retirement as a policy to get more elderly people to stay in the labour force by staying OUT of retirement. But if the policies mentioned centre on encouraging people to stay in employment through e.g. improving working conditions, flexible working hours, updating skills, etc. – then it belongs to active ageing (even if the headline is about 'limiting early retirement' but the substance is active ageing).	"Increasing the effective retirement age by enabling and motivating people to work longer through labour market policies promoting better age-management practices in work places and ambitious reforms of work incentives in pension systems. Countries that have not yet risen the statutory retirement ages should pursue this route, given the need to boost labour supply and promote sustainability of public finances. The effective implementation of such measures would take place over a long period of time, but decisions taken now would help anchor expectations which, in turn, would help to underpin the present economic recovery. Generous early retirement and disability pensions coupled with a greater difficulty in finding a job may weaken the incentives to search and to continue to be active. The effective retirement age should be increased and all incentives to retire early should be removed, in particular in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Poland and Slovenia." (Labour Market and Wage Developments in 2009, p. 139)
Reforming unemployment benefits	Reforms of unemployment benefits (or unemployment insurance, UI, funds) to be more inclusive.	"Over the longer term, the social consequences of the recession will depend partly on the speed of the recovery. Slow growth might result from weak consumer demand due – for instance – to employment insecurity and inadequate social protection or to reduced housing wealth and access to credit. A long period of slow economic growth would imply a prolonged lack of job opportunities and a risk that many people – in particular young

		people entering the labour market – will suffer long spells of unemployment. To prevent these people from being permanently excluded from the labour market and thus falling into the poverty trap, governments must ensure adequate provision of unemployment benefits and must actively support employment. There will also be a need to closely monitor the social consequences of budget consolidations." (The Social Situation of the European Union 2009, p. 7)
Relaxing labour market conditions	Allowing more flexible contracts, part-time or temporary, so that the groups have easier access to the labour market. Part-time contracts are pertinent for women, as they allow better work-life balance. Temporary contracts are often seen as stepping stones for the young. (But no mention of increased coverage of unemployment benefits in the same segment – otherwise, it belongs to 'Flexicurity'.)	"External flexibility refers to the ease of hiring and firing workers, and the use of flexible forms of labour contracts. This has been measured by the OECD's indicator on the strictness of employment protection legislation (EPL). Both theoretical and empirical findings suggest that stringent EPL, while having an ambiguous or limited impact on total unemployment and employment, worsens the employment prospects of women, youths and older workers. It can also slow down the flow of labour between different jobs making the labour market less dynamic and increasing the average duration of unemployment spells." (Employment in Europe 2006, p. 13)
Training, skills, and LLL	This refers to the development of human capital and productivity through training, higher levels of skills, and access to life-long learning (LLL).	"Intense individualised training and counselling, as exemplified by a German programme, will improve the labour market integration of older unemployed workers by increasing their chances of finding a match among the vacancies that firms post. In the corresponding model simulations, employment of older workers increases significantly, contributing to the sustainability of the pension system. Costs are shared between the generations." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2017, pp. 17-18)
Youth-focused initiatives	When policies that specifically encourage youth employment or investment in youth are mentioned. This includes the European Youth Pact, the Youth Guarantee, and Youth on the Move as well as "measures to increase youth participation". But not in-work subsidies, even if targeted the young, because they can also be targeted the elderly. In-work subsidies should be coded to 'ALMPs'. Also NOT if policies are mentioned (e.g. placement or training), followed by "especially for young people" – this should go to either 'ALMPs' or 'Training, skills, and LLL'.	"In this context, the EU has made "Youth on the move" one of its flagship initiatives under the Europe 2020 strategy, to enhance the performance of education systems and to facilitate the entry of young people to the labour market. The aim is to enhance the performance and international attractiveness of Europe's higher education institutions and raise the overall quality of all levels of education and training in the EU, combining both excellence and equity, by promoting student mobility and trainees' mobility, and improve the employment situation of young people." (Employment in Europe 2010, p. 60)

Appendix 4: List of reports included in the qualitative content analysis of the second and third papers

DG EMPL	Employment in Europe 2004
	The Social Situation in the EU 2004
	Employment in Europe 2005
	Employment in Europe 2006
	The Social Situation in the EU 2005-2006
	Employment in Europe 2007
	Employment in Europe 2008
	The Social Situation in the EU 2007
	Employment in Europe 2009
	The Social Situation in the EU 2008
	Employment in Europe 2010
	The Social Situation in the EU 2009
	Statistical Portraits of the Social Situation 2010
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2011
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2012
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2013
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2014
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2015
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2016
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2017
	Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2018
DG ECFIN	Labour market and wage developments in 2004
	Labour market and wage developments in 2005
	Labour market and wage developments in 2006
	Labour market and wage development in 2007
	Labour market and wage developments in 2008
	Labour market and wage developments in 2009
	Labour Market Developments in Europe, 2011
	Labour Market Developments in Europe 2012
	Labour Market Developments in Europe 2013
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2015
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2016
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2017
	Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe 2018

Note: DG EMPL has published the *Labour Market and Wage Developments in Europe* report since the 2015 edition due to organisational changes in the Commission. However, in the analysis, I continued to consider this report an expression of DG ECFIN logics for two reasons. First, the whole team working on the report moved from DG ECFIN to DG EMPL, which led me to expect that they maintained DG ECFIN logics for at least some time following the move. Second, interviewees emphasised the continuity in the report, mentioning that changes mainly focused on the timing of the publication, ensuring alignment with DG EMPL publications.

Appendix 5: Coding examples for the third paper

	Policy: Active ageing	**Policy: Pension reform**
Discourse: Competitiveness and economic growth (in line with market logics)	"A prolonged decrease in the number of healthy life years would present an important risk to the provision of human capital and the sustainability of public expenditure. Investment in health care will consequently have to, on the one hand, preserve human capital (supporting active ageing and participation in the labour market) and, on the other, prevent higher dependency costs. The importance of health and safety at work to promote active and healthy ageing becomes evident…" (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2014, p. 119)	"Many countries have either increased statutory retirement ages or are in the process of doing so and have put in place a range of targeted activation policies aimed at using the huge potential of older people, who are now seen as a necessary part of the labour force, that is necessary to achieve high and sustainable growth in an ever changing economic and societal environment." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2011, p. 221)
Discourse: Social integration (in line with social logics)	"Active ageing is also an effective tool for tackling poverty and isolation in old age. In 2008, 19 % of people aged 65+ in the European Union were at risk of poverty. A considerable number of older people experience old age as a time of marginalisation. While better employment opportunities for older people could help tackle some of the causes of poverty among this age group, active participation in voluntary activities could reduce the isolation of older people. The huge potential that older persons represent for society as volunteers or carers could be better mobilised by eliminating existing obstacles providing the right framework and by adapting to their needs." (Statistical Portraits of the Social Situation 2010, p. 21)	-
Discourse: Sustainability of social security systems (in line with market logics)	"…it should be recognised that there exists an indirect link between, for instance, fiscal sustainability and active ageing, as in an unstable macro-economic environment caused by loss of confidence due to unsustainable fiscal balances, enterprises may be forced to contract	"The last 20 years have seen substantial reform activity in the EU that is expected to keep pension expenditure levels relative to GDP in 2060 from rising above today's, despite steeply increasing demographic dependency. These reforms will

	their production and reduce their production costs." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2011, p. 233)	not only reduce pension entitlements, but also limit coverage beyond the age of 65, especially by raising retirement ages. To a large extent, the very gradual planned increases in statutory retirement ages will affect future pensioners (today's young and future workers). However, much of the reform activity has successfully been targeting better labour market prospects for older workers, combined with higher statutory retirement ages. This has resulted in a significant increase in the employment rate of older workers over the last two decades." (Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2017, p. 17)

Appendix 6: Data on mentions of active ageing and pension reform in DG EMPL and DG ECFIN reports

ECFIN reports	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**
Active ageing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Reforming pensions	1	0	9	4	2	1	0	5	6	2	0	3	1	0	1
Percentage	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	16.67 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	33.33 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %
Average	3.33 %														
EMPL reports	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**
Active ageing	6	26	6	51	2	1	6	18	1	4	10	5	1	13	0
Reforming pensions	1	4	3	23	0	2	0	10	14	1	6	11	0	23	0
Percentage	600%	650%	200%	222%	200%	50%	600%	180%	7%	400%	167%	45%	100%	57%	0%
Average	232%														

TITLER I PH.D.SERIEN:

2004

1. Martin Grieger
Internet-based Electronic Marketplaces and Supply Chain Management

2. Thomas Basbøll
LIKENESS
A Philosophical Investigation

3. Morten Knudsen
Beslutningens vaklen
En systemteoretisk analyse of moderniseringen af et amtskommunalt sundhedsvæsen 1980-2000

4. Lars Bo Jeppesen
Organizing Consumer Innovation
A product development strategy that is based on online communities and allows some firms to benefit from a distributed process of innovation by consumers

5. Barbara Dragsted
SEGMENTATION IN TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATION MEMORY SYSTEMS
An empirical investigation of cognitive segmentation and effects of integrating a TM system into the translation process

6. Jeanet Hardis
Sociale partnerskaber
Et socialkonstruktivistisk casestudie af partnerskabsaktørers virkelighedsopfattelse mellem identitet og legitimitet

7. Henriette Hallberg Thygesen
System Dynamics in Action

8. Carsten Mejer Plath
Strategisk Økonomistyring

9. Annemette Kjærgaard
Knowledge Management as Internal Corporate Venturing
– a Field Study of the Rise and Fall of a Bottom-Up Process

10. Knut Arne Hovdal
De profesjonelle i endring
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

11. Søren Jeppesen
Environmental Practices and Greening Strategies in Small Manufacturing Enterprises in South Africa
– A Critical Realist Approach

12. Lars Frode Frederiksen
Industriel forskningsledelse
– på sporet af mønstre og samarbejde i danske forskningsintensive virksomheder

13. Martin Jes Iversen
The Governance of GN Great Nordic
– in an age of strategic and structural transitions 1939-1988

14. Lars Pynt Andersen
The Rhetorical Strategies of Danish TV Advertising
A study of the first fifteen years with special emphasis on genre and irony

15. Jakob Rasmussen
Business Perspectives on E-learning

16. Sof Thrane
The Social and Economic Dynamics of Networks
– a Weberian Analysis of Three Formalised Horizontal Networks

17. Lene Nielsen
Engaging Personas and Narrative Scenarios – a study on how a user-centered approach influenced the perception of the design process in the e-business group at AstraZeneca

18. S.J Valstad
Organisationsidentitet
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

19. Thomas Lyse Hansen
Six Essays on Pricing and Weather risk in Energy Markets

20. Sabine Madsen
Emerging Methods – An Interpretive Study of ISD Methods in Practice

21. Evis Sinani
The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Efficiency, Productivity Growth and Trade: An Empirical Investigation

22. Bent Meier Sørensen
Making Events Work Or, How to Multiply Your Crisis

23. Pernille Schnoor
Brand Ethos
Om troværdige brand- og virksomhedsidentiteter i et retorisk og diskursteoretisk perspektiv

24. Sidsel Fabech
Von welchem Österreich ist hier die Rede?
Diskursive forhandlinger og magtkampe mellem rivaliserende nationale identitetskonstruktioner i østrigske pressediskurser

25. Klavs Odgaard Christensen
Sprogpolitik og identitetsdannelse i flersprogede forbundsstater
Et komparativt studie af Schweiz og Canada

26. Dana B. Minbaeva
Human Resource Practices and Knowledge Transfer in Multinational Corporations

27. Holger Højlund
Markedets politiske fornuft
Et studie af velfærdens organisering i perioden 1990-2003

28. Christine Mølgaard Frandsen
A.s erfaring
Om mellemværendets praktik i en transformation af mennesket og subjektiviteten

29. Sine Nørholm Just
The Constitution of Meaning – A Meaningful Constitution?
Legitimacy, identity, and public opinion in the debate on the future of Europe

2005

1. Claus J. Varnes
Managing product innovation through rules – The role of formal and structured methods in product development

2. Helle Hedegaard Hein
Mellem konflikt og konsensus – Dialogudvikling på hospitalsklinikker

3. Axel Rosenø
Customer Value Driven Product Innovation – A Study of Market Learning in New Product Development

4. Søren Buhl Pedersen
Making space
An outline of place branding

5. Camilla Funck Ellehave
Differences that Matter
An analysis of practices of gender and organizing in contemporary workplaces

6. Rigmor Madeleine Lond
Styring af kommunale forvaltninger

7. Mette Aagaard Andreassen
Supply Chain versus Supply Chain Benchmarking as a Means to Managing Supply Chains

8. Caroline Aggestam-Pontoppidan
From an idea to a standard
The UN and the global governance of accountants' competence

9. Norsk ph.d.

10. Vivienne Heng Ker-ni
An Experimental Field Study on the

Effectiveness of Grocer Media Advertising
Measuring Ad Recall and Recognition, Purchase Intentions and Short-Term Sales

11. Allan Mortensen
Essays on the Pricing of Corporate Bonds and Credit Derivatives

12. Remo Stefano Chiari
Figure che fanno conoscere
Itinerario sull'idea del valore cognitivo e espressivo della metafora e di altri tropi da Aristotele e da Vico fino al cognitivismo contemporaneo

13. Anders McIlquham-Schmidt
Strategic Planning and Corporate Performance
An integrative research review and a meta-analysis of the strategic planning and corporate performance literature from 1956 to 2003

14. Jens Geersbro
The TDF – PMI Case
Making Sense of the Dynamics of Business Relationships and Networks

15 Mette Andersen
Corporate Social Responsibility in Global Supply Chains
Understanding the uniqueness of firm behaviour

16. Eva Boxenbaum
Institutional Genesis: Micro – Dynamic Foundations of Institutional Change

17. Peter Lund-Thomsen
Capacity Development, Environmental Justice NGOs, and Governance: The Case of South Africa

18. Signe Jarlov
Konstruktioner af offentlig ledelse

19. Lars Stæhr Jensen
Vocabulary Knowledge and Listening Comprehension in English as a Foreign Language
An empirical study employing data elicited from Danish EFL learners

20. Christian Nielsen
Essays on Business Reporting
Production and consumption of strategic information in the market for information

21. Marianne Thejls Fischer
Egos and Ethics of Management Consultants

22. Annie Bekke Kjær
Performance management i Proces-innovation
– belyst i et social-konstruktivistisk perspektiv

23. Suzanne Dee Pedersen
GENTAGELSENS METAMORFOSE
Om organisering af den kreative gøren i den kunstneriske arbejdspraksis

24. Benedikte Dorte Rosenbrink
Revenue Management
Økonomiske, konkurrencemæssige & organisatoriske konsekvenser

25. Thomas Riise Johansen
Written Accounts and Verbal Accounts
The Danish Case of Accounting and Accountability to Employees

26. Ann Fogelgren-Pedersen
The Mobile Internet: Pioneering Users' Adoption Decisions

27. Birgitte Rasmussen
Ledelse i fællesskab – de tillidsvalgtes fornyende rolle

28. Gitte Thit Nielsen
Remerger
– skabende ledelseskræfter i fusion og opkøb

29. Carmine Gioia
A MICROECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS

30. Ole Hinz
Den effektive forandringsleder: pilot, pædagog eller politiker?
Et studie i arbejdslederes meningstilskrivninger i forbindelse med vellykket gennemførelse af ledelsesinitierede forandringsprojekter

31. Kjell-Åge Gotvassli
Et praksisbasert perspektiv på dynamiske
læringsnettverk i toppidretten
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

32. Henriette Langstrup Nielsen
Linking Healthcare
An inquiry into the changing performances of web-based technology for asthma monitoring

33. Karin Tweddell Levinsen
Virtuel Uddannelsespraksis
Master i IKT og Læring – et casestudie i hvordan proaktiv proceshåndtering kan forbedre praksis i virtuelle læringsmiljøer

34. Anika Liversage
Finding a Path
Labour Market Life Stories of Immigrant Professionals

35. Kasper Elmquist Jørgensen
Studier i samspillet mellem stat og erhvervsliv i Danmark under
1. verdenskrig

36. Finn Janning
A DIFFERENT STORY
Seduction, Conquest and Discovery

37. Patricia Ann Plackett
Strategic Management of the Radical Innovation Process
Leveraging Social Capital for Market Uncertainty Management

2006

1. Christian Vintergaard
Early Phases of Corporate Venturing

2. Niels Rom-Poulsen
Essays in Computational Finance

3. Tina Brandt Husman
Organisational Capabilities, Competitive Advantage & Project-Based Organisations
The Case of Advertising and Creative Good Production

4. Mette Rosenkrands Johansen
Practice at the top
– how top managers mobilise and use non-financial performance measures

5. Eva Parum
Corporate governance som strategisk kommunikations- og ledelsesværktøj

6. Susan Aagaard Petersen
Culture's Influence on Performance Management: The Case of a Danish Company in China

7. Thomas Nicolai Pedersen
The Discursive Constitution of Organizational Governance – Between unity and differentiation
The Case of the governance of environmental risks by World Bank environmental staff

8. Cynthia Selin
Volatile Visions: Transactons in Anticipatory Knowledge

9. Jesper Banghøj
Financial Accounting Information and Compensation in Danish Companies

10. Mikkel Lucas Overby
Strategic Alliances in Emerging High-Tech Markets: What's the Difference and does it Matter?

11. Tine Aage
External Information Acquisition of Industrial Districts and the Impact of Different Knowledge Creation Dimensions

A case study of the Fashion and Design Branch of the Industrial District of Montebelluna, NE Italy

12. Mikkel Flyverbom
Making the Global Information Society Governable
On the Governmentality of Multi-Stakeholder Networks

13. Anette Grønning
Personen bag
Tilstedeværer i e-mail som interaktionsform mellem kunde og medarbejder i dansk forsikringskontekst

14. Jørn Helder
One Company – One Language?
The NN-case

15. Lars Bjerregaard Mikkelsen
Differing perceptions of customer value
Development and application of a tool for mapping perceptions of customer value at both ends of customer-supplier dyads in industrial markets

16. Lise Granerud
Exploring Learning
Technological learning within small manufacturers in South Africa

17. Esben Rahbek Pedersen
Between Hopes and Realities: Reflections on the Promises and Practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

18. Ramona Samson
The Cultural Integration Model and European Transformation.
The Case of Romania

2007

1. Jakob Vestergaard
Discipline in The Global Economy
Panopticism and the Post-Washington Consensus

2. Heidi Lund Hansen
Spaces for learning and working
A qualitative study of change of work, management, vehicles of power and social practices in open offices

3. Sudhanshu Rai
Exploring the internal dynamics of software development teams during user analysis
A tension enabled Institutionalization Model; "Where process becomes the objective"

4. Norsk ph.d.
Ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

5. Serden Ozcan
EXPLORING HETEROGENEITY IN ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIONS AND OUTCOMES
A Behavioural Perspective

6. Kim Sundtoft Hald
Inter-organizational Performance Measurement and Management in Action
– An Ethnography on the Construction of Management, Identity and Relationships

7. Tobias Lindeberg
Evaluative Technologies
Quality and the Multiplicity of Performance

8. Merete Wedell-Wedellsborg
Den globale soldat
Identitetsdannelse og identitetsledelse i multinationale militære organisationer

9. Lars Frederiksen
Open Innovation Business Models
Innovation in firm-hosted online user communities and inter-firm project ventures in the music industry
– A collection of essays

10. Jonas Gabrielsen
Retorisk toposlære – fra statisk 'sted' til persuasiv aktivitet

11. Christian Moldt-Jørgensen
Fra meningsløs til meningsfuld evaluering.
Anvendelsen af studentertilfredshedsmålinger på de korte og mellemlange videregående uddannelser set fra et psykodynamisk systemperspektiv

12. Ping Gao
Extending the application of actor-network theory
Cases of innovation in the telecommunications industry

13. Peter Mejlby
Frihed og fængsel, en del af den samme drøm?
Et phronetisk baseret casestudie af frigørelsens og kontrollens sameksistens i værdibaseret ledelse!

14. Kristina Birch
Statistical Modelling in Marketing

15. Signe Poulsen
Sense and sensibility:
The language of emotional appeals in insurance marketing

16. Anders Bjerre Trolle
Essays on derivatives pricing and dynamic asset allocation

17. Peter Feldhütter
Empirical Studies of Bond and Credit Markets

18. Jens Henrik Eggert Christensen
Default and Recovery Risk Modeling and Estimation

19. Maria Theresa Larsen
Academic Enterprise: A New Mission for Universities or a Contradiction in Terms?
Four papers on the long-term implications of increasing industry involvement and commercialization in academia

20. Morten Wellendorf
Postimplementering af teknologi i den offentlige forvaltning
Analyser af en organisations kontinuerlige arbejde med informationsteknologi

21. Ekaterina Mhaanna
Concept Relations for Terminological Process Analysis

22. Stefan Ring Thorbjørnsen
Forsvaret i forandring
Et studie i officerers kapabiliteter under påvirkning af omverdenens forandringspres mod øget styring og læring

23. Christa Breum Amhøj
Det selvskabte medlemskab om managementstaten, dens styringsteknologier og indbyggere

24. Karoline Bromose
Between Technological Turbulence and Operational Stability
– An empirical case study of corporate venturing in TDC

25. Susanne Justesen
Navigating the Paradoxes of Diversity in Innovation Practice
– A Longitudinal study of six very different innovation processes – in practice

26. Luise Noring Henler
Conceptualising successful supply chain partnerships
– Viewing supply chain partnerships from an organisational culture perspective

27. Mark Mau
Kampen om telefonen
Det danske telefonvæsen under den tyske besættelse 1940-45

28. Jakob Halskov
The semiautomatic expansion of existing terminological ontologies using knowledge patterns discovered

on the WWW – an implementation and evaluation

29. Gergana Koleva
European Policy Instruments Beyond Networks and Structure: The Innovative Medicines Initiative

30. Christian Geisler Asmussen
Global Strategy and International Diversity: A Double-Edged Sword?

31. Christina Holm-Petersen
Stolthed og fordom
Kultur- og identitetsarbejde ved skabelsen af en ny sengeafdeling gennem fusion

32. Hans Peter Olsen
Hybrid Governance of Standardized States
Causes and Contours of the Global Regulation of Government Auditing

33. Lars Bøge Sørensen
Risk Management in the Supply Chain

34. Peter Aagaard
Det unikkes dynamikker
De institutionelle mulighedsbetingelser bag den individuelle udforskning i professionelt og frivilligt arbejde

35. Yun Mi Antorini
Brand Community Innovation
An Intrinsic Case Study of the Adult Fans of LEGO Community

36. Joachim Lynggaard Boll
Labor Related Corporate Social Performance in Denmark
Organizational and Institutional Perspectives

2008

1. Frederik Christian Vinten
Essays on Private Equity

2. Jesper Clement
Visual Influence of Packaging Design on In-Store Buying Decisions

3. Marius Brostrøm Kousgaard
Tid til kvalitetsmåling?
– Studier af indrulleringsprocesser i forbindelse med introduktionen af kliniske kvalitetsdatabaser i speciallægepraksissektoren

4. Irene Skovgaard Smith
Management Consulting in Action
Value creation and ambiguity in client-consultant relations

5. Anders Rom
Management accounting and integrated information systems
How to exploit the potential for management accounting of information technology

6. Marina Candi
Aesthetic Design as an Element of Service Innovation in New Technology-based Firms

7. Morten Schnack
Teknologi og tværfaglighed
– en analyse af diskussionen omkring indførelse af EPJ på en hospitalsafdeling

8. Helene Balslev Clausen
Juntos pero no revueltos – un estudio sobre emigrantes norteamericanos en un pueblo mexicano

9. Lise Justesen
Kunsten at skrive revisionsrapporter. En beretning om forvaltningsrevisionens beretninger

10. Michael E. Hansen
The politics of corporate responsibility: CSR and the governance of child labor and core labor rights in the 1990s

11. Anne Roepstorff
Holdning for handling – en etnologisk undersøgelse af Virksomheders Sociale Ansvar/CSR

12. Claus Bajlum
Essays on Credit Risk and Credit Derivatives

13. Anders Bojesen
The Performative Power of Competence – an Inquiry into Subjectivity and Social Technologies at Work

14. Satu Reijonen
Green and Fragile
A Study on Markets and the Natural Environment

15. Ilduara Busta
Corporate Governance in Banking
A European Study

16. Kristian Anders Hvass
A Boolean Analysis Predicting Industry Change: Innovation, Imitation & Business Models
The Winning Hybrid: A case study of isomorphism in the airline industry

17. Trine Paludan
De uvidende og de udviklingsparate
Identitet som mulighed og restriktion blandt fabriksarbejdere på det aftayloriserede fabriksgulv

18. Kristian Jakobsen
Foreign market entry in transition economies: Entry timing and mode choice

19. Jakob Elming
Syntactic reordering in statistical machine translation

20. Lars Brømsøe Termansen
Regional Computable General Equilibrium Models for Denmark
Three papers laying the foundation for regional CGE models with agglomeration characteristics

21. Mia Reinholt
The Motivational Foundations of Knowledge Sharing

22. Frederikke Krogh-Meibom
The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology
– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times

23. Peter D. Ørberg Jensen
OFFSHORING OF ADVANCED AND HIGH-VALUE TECHNICAL SERVICES: ANTECEDENTS, PROCESS DYNAMICS AND FIRMLEVEL IMPACTS

24. Pham Thi Song Hanh
Functional Upgrading, Relational Capability and Export Performance of Vietnamese Wood Furniture Producers

25. Mads Vangkilde
Why wait?
An Exploration of first-mover advantages among Danish e-grocers through a resource perspective

26. Hubert Buch-Hansen
Rethinking the History of European Level Merger Control
A Critical Political Economy Perspective

2009

1. Vivian Lindhardsen
From Independent Ratings to Communal Ratings: A Study of CWA Raters' Decision-Making Behaviours

2. Guðrið Weihe
Public-Private Partnerships: Meaning and Practice

3. Chris Nøkkentved
Enabling Supply Networks with Collaborative Information Infrastructures
An Empirical Investigation of Business Model Innovation in Supplier Relationship Management

4. Sara Louise Muhr
Wound, Interrupted – On the Vulnerability of Diversity Management

5. Christine Sestoft
Forbrugeradfærd i et Stats- og Livsformsteoretisk perspektiv

6. Michael Pedersen
Tune in, Breakdown, and Reboot: On the production of the stress-fit self-managing employee

7. Salla Lutz
Position and Reposition in Networks – Exemplified by the Transformation of the Danish Pine Furniture Manufacturers

8. Jens Forssbæck
Essays on market discipline in commercial and central banking

9. Tine Murphy
Sense from Silence – A Basis for Organised Action
How do Sensemaking Processes with Minimal Sharing Relate to the Reproduction of Organised Action?

10. Sara Malou Strandvad
Inspirations for a new sociology of art: A sociomaterial study of development processes in the Danish film industry

11. Nicolaas Mouton
On the evolution of social scientific metaphors:
A cognitive-historical enquiry into the divergent trajectories of the idea that collective entities – states and societies, cities and corporations – are biological organisms.

12. Lars Andreas Knutsen
Mobile Data Services:
Shaping of user engagements

13. Nikolaos Theodoros Korfiatis
Information Exchange and Behavior
A Multi-method Inquiry on Online Communities

14. Jens Albæk
Forestillinger om kvalitet og tværfaglighed på sygehuse
– skabelse af forestillinger i læge- og plejegrupperne angående relevans af nye idéer om kvalitetsudvikling gennem tolkningsprocesser

15. Maja Lotz
The Business of Co-Creation – and the Co-Creation of Business

16. Gitte P. Jakobsen
Narrative Construction of Leader Identity in a Leader Development Program Context

17. Dorte Hermansen
"Living the brand" som en brandorienteret dialogisk praxis:
Om udvikling af medarbejdernes brandorienterede dømmekraft

18. Aseem Kinra
Supply Chain (logistics) Environmental Complexity

19. Michael Nørager
How to manage SMEs through the transformation from non innovative to innovative?

20. Kristin Wallevik
Corporate Governance in Family Firms
The Norwegian Maritime Sector

21. Bo Hansen Hansen
Beyond the Process
Enriching Software Process Improvement with Knowledge Management

22. Annemette Skot-Hansen
Franske adjektivisk afledte adverbier, der tager præpositionssyntagmer indledt med præpositionen à som argumenter
En valensgrammatisk undersøgelse

23. Line Gry Knudsen
Collaborative R&D Capabilities
In Search of Micro-Foundations

24. Christian Scheuer
Employers meet employees
Essays on sorting and globalization

25. Rasmus Johnsen
The Great Health of Melancholy
A Study of the Pathologies of Performativity

26. Ha Thi Van Pham
Internationalization, Competitiveness Enhancement and Export Performance of Emerging Market Firms:
Evidence from Vietnam

27. Henriette Balieu
Kontrolbegrebets betydning for kausativalternationen i spansk
En kognitiv-typologisk analyse

2010

1. Yen Tran
Organizing Innovationin Turbulent Fashion Market
Four papers on how fashion firms create and appropriate innovation value

2. Anders Raastrup Kristensen
Metaphysical Labour
Flexibility, Performance and Commitment in Work-Life Management

3. Margrét Sigrún Sigurdardottir
Dependently independent
Co-existence of institutional logics in the recorded music industry

4. Ásta Dis Óladóttir
Internationalization from a small domestic base:
An empirical analysis of Economics and Management

5. Christine Secher
E-deltagelse i praksis – politikernes og forvaltningens medkonstruktion og konsekvenserne heraf

6. Marianne Stang Våland
What we talk about when we talk about space:
End User Participation between Processes of Organizational and Architectural Design

7. Rex Degnegaard
Strategic Change Management
Change Management Challenges in the Danish Police Reform

8. Ulrik Schultz Brix
Værdi i rekruttering – den sikre beslutning
En pragmatisk analyse af perception og synliggørelse af værdi i rekrutterings- og udvælgelsesarbejdet

9. Jan Ole Similä
Kontraktsledelse
Relasjonen mellom virksomhetsledelse og kontraktshåndtering, belyst via fire norske virksomheter

10. Susanne Boch Waldorff
Emerging Organizations: In between local translation, institutional logics and discourse

11. Brian Kane
Performance Talk
Next Generation Management of Organizational Performance

12. Lars Ohnemus
Brand Thrust: Strategic Branding and Shareholder Value
An Empirical Reconciliation of two Critical Concepts

13. Jesper Schlamovitz
Håndtering af usikkerhed i film- og byggeprojekter

14. Tommy Moesby-Jensen
Det faktiske livs forbindtlighed
Førsokratisk informeret, ny-aristotelisk ἦθος*-tænkning hos Martin Heidegger*

15. Christian Fich
Two Nations Divided by Common Values
French National Habitus and the Rejection of American Power

16. Peter Beyer
Processer, sammenhængskraft og fleksibilitet
Et empirisk casestudie af omstillingsforløb i fire virksomheder

17. Adam Buchhorn
Markets of Good Intentions
Constructing and Organizing Biogas Markets Amid Fragility and Controversy

18. Cecilie K. Moesby-Jensen
Social læring og fælles praksis
Et mixed method studie, der belyser læringskonsekvenser af et lederkursus for et praksisfællesskab af offentlige mellemledere

19. Heidi Boye
Fødevarer og sundhed i senmodernismen
– En indsigt i hyggefænomenet og de relaterede fødevarepraksisser

20. Kristine Munkgård Pedersen
Flygtige forbindelser og midlertidige mobiliseringer
Om kulturel produktion på Roskilde Festival

21. Oliver Jacob Weber
Causes of Intercompany Harmony in Business Markets – An Empirical Investigation from a Dyad Perspective

22. Susanne Ekman
Authority and Autonomy
Paradoxes of Modern Knowledge Work

23. Anette Frey Larsen
Kvalitetsledelse på danske hospitaler
– Ledelsernes indflydelse på introduktion og vedligeholdelse af kvalitetsstrategier i det danske sundhedsvæsen

24. Toyoko Sato
Performativity and Discourse: Japanese Advertisements on the Aesthetic Education of Desire

25. Kenneth Brinch Jensen
Identifying the Last Planner System
Lean management in the construction industry

26. Javier Busquets
Orchestrating Network Behavior for Innovation

27. Luke Patey
The Power of Resistance: India's National Oil Company and International Activism in Sudan

28. Mette Vedel
Value Creation in Triadic Business Relationships. Interaction, Interconnection and Position

29. Kristian Tørning
Knowledge Management Systems in Practice – A Work Place Study

30. Qingxin Shi
An Empirical Study of Thinking Aloud Usability Testing from a Cultural Perspective

31. Tanja Juul Christiansen
Corporate blogging: Medarbejderes kommunikative handlekraft

32. Malgorzata Ciesielska
Hybrid Organisations.
A study of the Open Source – business setting

33. Jens Dick-Nielsen
Three Essays on Corporate Bond Market Liquidity

34. Sabrina Speiermann
Modstandens Politik
Kampagnestyring i Velfærdsstaten.
En diskussion af trafikkampagners styringspotentiale

35. Julie Uldam
Fickle Commitment. Fostering political engagement in 'the flighty world of online activism'

36. Annegrete Juul Nielsen
Traveling technologies and transformations in health care

37. Athur Mühlen-Schulte
Organising Development
Power and Organisational Reform in the United Nations Development Programme

38. Louise Rygaard Jonas
Branding på butiksgulvet
Et case-studie af kultur- og identitetsarbejdet i Kvickly

2011

1. Stefan Fraenkel
Key Success Factors for Sales Force Readiness during New Product Launch
A Study of Product Launches in the Swedish Pharmaceutical Industry

2. Christian Plesner Rossing
International Transfer Pricing in Theory and Practice

3. Tobias Dam Hede
Samtalekunst og ledelsesdisciplin – en analyse af coachingsdiskursens genealogi og governmentality

4. Kim Pettersson
Essays on Audit Quality, Auditor Choice, and Equity Valuation

5. Henrik Merkelsen
The expert-lay controversy in risk research and management. Effects of institutional distances. Studies of risk definitions, perceptions, management and communication

6. Simon S. Torp
Employee Stock Ownership:
Effect on Strategic Management and Performance

7. Mie Harder
Internal Antecedents of Management Innovation

8. Ole Helby Petersen
Public-Private Partnerships: Policy and Regulation – With Comparative and Multi-level Case Studies from Denmark and Ireland

9. Morten Krogh Petersen
'Good' Outcomes. Handling Multiplicity in Government Communication

10. Kristian Tangsgaard Hvelplund
Allocation of cognitive resources in translation - an eye-tracking and key-logging study

11. Moshe Yonatany
The Internationalization Process of Digital Service Providers

12. Anne Vestergaard
Distance and Suffering
Humanitarian Discourse in the age of Mediatization

13. Thorsten Mikkelsen
Personligsheds indflydelse på forretningsrelationer

14. Jane Thostrup Jagd
Hvorfor fortsætter fusionsbølgen udover "the tipping point"?
– en empirisk analyse af information og kognitioner om fusioner

15. Gregory Gimpel
Value-driven Adoption and Consumption of Technology: Understanding Technology Decision Making

16. Thomas Stengade Sønderskov
Den nye mulighed
Social innovation i en forretningsmæssig kontekst

17. Jeppe Christoffersen
Donor supported strategic alliances in developing countries

18. Vibeke Vad Baunsgaard
Dominant Ideological Modes of Rationality: Cross functional

integration in the process of product innovation

19. Throstur Olaf Sigurjonsson
Governance Failure and Icelands's Financial Collapse

20. Allan Sall Tang Andersen
Essays on the modeling of risks in interest-rate and inflation markets

21. Heidi Tscherning
Mobile Devices in Social Contexts

22. Birgitte Gorm Hansen
Adapting in the Knowledge Economy Lateral Strategies for Scientists and Those Who Study Them

23. Kristina Vaarst Andersen
Optimal Levels of Embeddedness The Contingent Value of Networked Collaboration

24. Justine Grønbæk Pors
Noisy Management A History of Danish School Governing from 1970-2010

25. Stefan Linder
Micro-foundations of Strategic Entrepreneurship Essays on Autonomous Strategic Action

26. Xin Li
Toward an Integrative Framework of National Competitiveness An application to China

27. Rune Thorbjørn Clausen
Værdifuld arkitektur Et eksplorativt studie af bygningers rolle i virksomheders værdiskabelse

28. Monica Viken
Markedsundersøkelser som bevis i varemerke- og markedsføringsrett

29. Christian Wymann
Tattooing The Economic and Artistic Constitution of a Social Phenomenon

30. Sanne Frandsen
Productive Incoherence A Case Study of Branding and Identity Struggles in a Low-Prestige Organization

31. Mads Stenbo Nielsen
Essays on Correlation Modelling

32. Ivan Häuser
Følelse og sprog Etablering af en ekspressiv kategori, eksemplificeret på russisk

33. Sebastian Schwenen
Security of Supply in Electricity Markets

2012

1. Peter Holm Andreasen
The Dynamics of Procurement Management - A Complexity Approach

2. Martin Haulrich
Data-Driven Bitext Dependency Parsing and Alignment

3. Line Kirkegaard
Konsulenten i den anden nat En undersøgelse af det intense arbejdsliv

4. Tonny Stenheim
Decision usefulness of goodwill under IFRS

5. Morten Lind Larsen
Produktivitet, vækst og velfærd Industrirådet og efterkrigstidens Danmark 1945 - 1958

6. Petter Berg
Cartel Damages and Cost Asymmetries

7. Lynn Kahle
Experiential Discourse in Marketing A methodical inquiry into practice and theory

8. Anne Roelsgaard Obling
Management of Emotions in Accelerated Medical Relationships

9. Thomas Frandsen
Managing Modularity of Service Processes Architecture

10. Carina Christine Skovmøller
CSR som noget særligt
Et casestudie om styring og meningsskabelse i relation til CSR ud fra en intern optik

11. Michael Tell
Fradragsbeskæring af selskabers finansieringsudgifter
En skatteretlig analyse af SEL §§ 11, 11B og 11C

12. Morten Holm
Customer Profitability Measurement Models
Their Merits and Sophistication across Contexts

13. Katja Joo Dyppel
Beskatning af derivater
En analyse af dansk skatteret

14. Esben Anton Schultz
Essays in Labor Economics
Evidence from Danish Micro Data

15. Carina Risvig Hansen
"Contracts not covered, or not fully covered, by the Public Sector Directive"

16. Anja Svejgaard Pors
Iværksættelse af kommunikation
- patientfigurer i hospitalets strategiske kommunikation

17. Frans Bévort
Making sense of management with logics
An ethnographic study of accountants who become managers

18. René Kallestrup
The Dynamics of Bank and Sovereign Credit Risk

19. Brett Crawford
Revisiting the Phenomenon of Interests in Organizational Institutionalism
The Case of U.S. Chambers of Commerce

20. Mario Daniele Amore
Essays on Empirical Corporate Finance

21. Arne Stjernholm Madsen
The evolution of innovation strategy
Studied in the context of medical device activities at the pharmaceutical company Novo Nordisk A/S in the period 1980-2008

22. Jacob Holm Hansen
Is Social Integration Necessary for Corporate Branding?
A study of corporate branding strategies at Novo Nordisk

23. Stuart Webber
Corporate Profit Shifting and the Multinational Enterprise

24. Helene Ratner
Promises of Reflexivity
Managing and Researching Inclusive Schools

25. Therese Strand
The Owners and the Power: Insights from Annual General Meetings

26. Robert Gavin Strand
In Praise of Corporate Social Responsibility Bureaucracy

27. Nina Sormunen
Auditor's going-concern reporting
Reporting decision and content of the report

28. John Bang Mathiasen
Learning within a product development working practice:
- an understanding anchored in pragmatism

29. Philip Holst Riis
Understanding Role-Oriented Enterprise Systems: From Vendors to Customers

30. Marie Lisa Dacanay
Social Enterprises and the Poor
Enhancing Social Entrepreneurship and Stakeholder Theory

31. Fumiko Kano Glückstad
Bridging Remote Cultures: Cross-lingual concept mapping based on the information receiver's prior-knowledge

32. Henrik Barslund Fosse
Empirical Essays in International Trade

33. Peter Alexander Albrecht
Foundational hybridity and its reproduction
Security sector reform in Sierra Leone

34. Maja Rosenstock
CSR - hvor svært kan det være? Kulturanalytisk casestudie om udfordringer og dilemmaer med at forankre Coops CSR-strategi

35. Jeanette Rasmussen
Tweens, medier og forbrug
Et studie af 10-12 årige danske børns brug af internettet, opfattelse og forståelse af markedsføring og forbrug

36. Ib Tunby Gulbrandsen
'This page is not intended for a US Audience'
A five-act spectacle on online communication, collaboration & organization.

37. Kasper Aalling Teilmann
Interactive Approaches to Rural Development

38. Mette Mogensen
The Organization(s) of Well-being and Productivity
(Re)assembling work in the Danish Post

39. Søren Friis Møller
From Disinterestedness to Engagement
Towards Relational Leadership In the Cultural Sector

40. Nico Peter Berhausen
Management Control, Innovation and Strategic Objectives – Interactions and Convergence in Product Development Networks

41. Balder Onarheim
Creativity under Constraints
Creativity as Balancing 'Constrainedness'

42. Haoyong Zhou
Essays on Family Firms

43. Elisabeth Naima Mikkelsen
Making sense of organisational conflict
An empirical study of enacted sensemaking in everyday conflict at work

2013

1. Jacob Lyngsie
Entrepreneurship in an Organizational Context

2. Signe Groth-Brodersen
Fra ledelse til selvet
En socialpsykologisk analyse af forholdet imellem selvledelse, ledelse og stress i det moderne arbejdsliv

3. Nis Høyrup Christensen
Shaping Markets: A Neoinstitutional Analysis of the Emerging Organizational Field of Renewable Energy in China

4. Christian Edelvold Berg
As a matter of size
THE IMPORTANCE OF CRITICAL MASS AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF SCARCITY FOR TELEVISION MARKETS

5. Christine D. Isakson
Coworker Influence and Labor Mobility
Essays on Turnover, Entrepreneurship and Location Choice in the Danish Maritime Industry

6. Niels Joseph Jerne Lennon
Accounting Qualities in Practice
Rhizomatic stories of representational faithfulness, decision making and control

7. Shannon O'Donnell
Making Ensemble Possible
How special groups organize for collaborative creativity in conditions of spatial variability and distance

8. Robert W. D. Veitch
Access Decisions in a Partly-Digital World
Comparing Digital Piracy and Legal Modes for Film and Music

9. Marie Mathiesen
Making Strategy Work
An Organizational Ethnography

10. Arisa Shollo
The role of business intelligence in organizational decision-making

11. Mia Kaspersen
The construction of social and environmental reporting

12. Marcus Møller Larsen
The organizational design of offshoring

13. Mette Ohm Rørdam
EU Law on Food Naming
The prohibition against misleading names in an internal market context

14. Hans Peter Rasmussen
GIV EN GED!
Kan giver-idealtyper forklare støtte til velgørenhed og understøtte relationsopbygning?

15. Ruben Schachtenhaufen
Fonetisk reduktion i dansk

16. Peter Koerver Schmidt
Dansk CFC-beskatning
I et internationalt og komparativt perspektiv

17. Morten Froholdt
Strategi i den offentlige sektor
En kortlægning af styringsmæssig kontekst, strategisk tilgang, samt anvendte redskaber og teknologier for udvalgte danske statslige styrelser

18. Annette Camilla Sjørup
Cognitive effort in metaphor translation
An eye-tracking and key-logging study

19. Tamara Stucchi
The Internationalization of Emerging Market Firms:
A Context-Specific Study

20. Thomas Lopdrup-Hjorth
"Let's Go Outside":
The Value of Co-Creation

21. Ana Alačovska
Genre and Autonomy in Cultural Production
The case of travel guidebook production

22. Marius Gudmand-Høyer
Stemningssindssygdommenes historie i det 19. århundrede
Omtydningen af melankolien og manien som bipolære stemningslidelser i dansk sammenhæng under hensyn til dannelsen af det moderne følelseslivs relative autonomi.
En problematiserings- og erfarings-analytisk undersøgelse

23. Lichen Alex Yu
Fabricating an S&OP Process
Circulating References and Matters of Concern

24. Esben Alfort
The Expression of a Need
Understanding search

25. Trine Pallesen
Assembling Markets for Wind Power
An Inquiry into the Making of Market Devices

26. Anders Koed Madsen
Web-Visions
Repurposing digital traces to organize social attention

27. Lærke Højgaard Christiansen
BREWING ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

28. Tommy Kjær Lassen
EGENTLIG SELVLEDELSE
En ledelsesfilosofisk afhandling om selvledelsens paradoksale dynamik og eksistentielle engagement

29. Morten Rossing
Local Adaption and Meaning Creation in Performance Appraisal

30. Søren Obed Madsen
Lederen som oversætter
Et oversættelsesteoretisk perspektiv på strategisk arbejde

31. Thomas Høgenhaven
Open Government Communities
Does Design Affect Participation?

32. Kirstine Zinck Pedersen
Failsafe Organizing?
A Pragmatic Stance on Patient Safety

33. Anne Petersen
Hverdagslogikker i psykiatrisk arbejde
En institutionsetnografisk undersøgelse af hverdagen i psykiatriske organisationer

34. Didde Maria Humle
Fortællinger om arbejde

35. Mark Holst-Mikkelsen
Strategieksekvering i praksis
– barrierer og muligheder!

36. Malek Maalouf
Sustaining lean
Strategies for dealing with organizational paradoxes

37. Nicolaj Tofte Brenneche
Systemic Innovation In The Making
The Social Productivity of Cartographic Crisis and Transitions in the Case of SEEIT

38. Morten Gylling
The Structure of Discourse
A Corpus-Based Cross-Linguistic Study

39. Binzhang YANG
Urban Green Spaces for Quality Life
- Case Study: the landscape architecture for people in Copenhagen

40. Michael Friis Pedersen
Finance and Organization:
The Implications for Whole Farm Risk Management

41. Even Fallan
Issues on supply and demand for environmental accounting information

42. Ather Nawaz
Website user experience
A cross-cultural study of the relation between users´ cognitive style, context of use, and information architecture of local websites

43. Karin Beukel
The Determinants for Creating Valuable Inventions

44. Arjan Markus
External Knowledge Sourcing and Firm Innovation
Essays on the Micro-Foundations of Firms' Search for Innovation

2014

1. Solon Moreira
Four Essays on Technology Licensing and Firm Innovation

2. Karin Strzeletz Ivertsen
Partnership Drift in Innovation Processes
A study of the Think City electric car development

3. Kathrine Hoffmann Pii
Responsibility Flows in Patient-centred Prevention

4. Jane Bjørn Vedel
Managing Strategic Research
An empirical analysis of science-industry collaboration in a pharmaceutical company

5. Martin Gylling
Processuel strategi i organisationer
Monografi om dobbeltheden i tænkning af strategi, dels som vidensfelt i organisationsteori, dels som kunstnerisk tilgang til at skabe i erhvervsmæssig innovation

6. Linne Marie Lauesen
Corporate Social Responsibility in the Water Sector: How Material Practices and their Symbolic and Physical Meanings Form a Colonising Logic

7. Maggie Qiuzhu Mei
LEARNING TO INNOVATE: The role of ambidexterity, standard, and decision process

8. Inger Høedt-Rasmussen
Developing Identity for Lawyers Towards Sustainable Lawyering

9. Sebastian Fux
Essays on Return Predictability and Term Structure Modelling

10. Thorbjørn N. M. Lund-Poulsen
Essays on Value Based Management

11. Oana Brindusa Albu
Transparency in Organizing: A Performative Approach

12. Lena Olaison
Entrepreneurship at the limits

13. Hanne Sørum
DRESSED FOR WEB SUCCESS? An Empirical Study of Website Quality in the Public Sector

14. Lasse Folke Henriksen
Knowing networks How experts shape transnational governance

15. Maria Halbinger
Entrepreneurial Individuals Empirical Investigations into Entrepreneurial Activities of Hackers and Makers

16. Robert Spliid
Kapitalfondenes metoder og kompetencer

17. Christiane Stelling
Public-private partnerships & the need, development and management of trusting A processual and embedded exploration

18. Marta Gasparin
Management of design as a translation process

19. Kåre Moberg
Assessing the Impact of Entrepreneurship Education From ABC to PhD

20. Alexander Cole
Distant neighbors Collective learning beyond the cluster

21. Martin Møller Boje Rasmussen
Is Competitiveness a Question of Being Alike? How the United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark Came to Compete through their Knowledge Regimes from 1993 to 2007

22. Anders Ravn Sørensen
Studies in central bank legitimacy, currency and national identity Four cases from Danish monetary history

23. Nina Bellak
Can Language be Managed in International Business? Insights into Language Choice from a Case Study of Danish and Austrian Multinational Corporations (MNCs)

24. Rikke Kristine Nielsen
Global Mindset as Managerial Meta-competence and Organizational Capability: Boundary-crossing Leadership Cooperation in the MNC The Case of 'Group Mindset' in Solar A/S.

25. Rasmus Koss Hartmann
User Innovation inside government Towards a critically performative foundation for inquiry

26. Kristian Gylling Olesen
Flertydig og emergerende ledelse i folkeskolen
Et aktør-netværksteoretisk ledelses-studie af politiske evalueringsreformers betydning for ledelse i den danske folkeskole

27. Troels Riis Larsen
Kampen om Danmarks omdømme 1945-2010
Omdømmearbejde og omdømmepolitik

28. Klaus Majgaard
Jagten på autenticitet i offentlig styring

29. Ming Hua Li
Institutional Transition and Organizational Diversity:
Differentiated internationalization strategies of emerging market state-owned enterprises

30. Sofie Blinkenberg Federspiel
IT, organisation og digitalisering:
Institutionelt arbejde i den kommunale digitaliseringsproces

31. Elvi Weinreich
Hvilke offentlige ledere er der brug for når velfærdstænkningen flytter sig – er Diplomuddannelsens lederprofil svaret?

32. Ellen Mølgaard Korsager
Self-conception and image of context in the growth of the firm – A Penrosian History of Fiberline Composites

33. Else Skjold
The Daily Selection

34. Marie Louise Conradsen
The Cancer Centre That Never Was
The Organisation of Danish Cancer Research 1949-1992

35. Virgilio Failla
Three Essays on the Dynamics of Entrepreneurs in the Labor Market

36. Nicky Nedergaard
Brand-Based Innovation
Relational Perspectives on Brand Logics and Design Innovation Strategies and Implementation

37. Mads Gjedsted Nielsen
Essays in Real Estate Finance

38. Kristin Martina Brandl
Process Perspectives on Service Offshoring

39. Mia Rosa Koss Hartmann
In the gray zone
With police in making space for creativity

40. Karen Ingerslev
Healthcare Innovation under The Microscope
Framing Boundaries of Wicked Problems

41. Tim Neerup Themsen
Risk Management in large Danish public capital investment programmes

2015

1. Jakob Ion Wille
Film som design
Design af levende billeder i film og tv-serier

2. Christiane Mossin
Interzones of Law and Metaphysics
Hierarchies, Logics and Foundations of Social Order seen through the Prism of EU Social Rights

3. Thomas Tøth
TRUSTWORTHINESS: ENABLING GLOBAL COLLABORATION
An Ethnographic Study of Trust, Distance, Control, Culture and Boundary Spanning within Offshore Outsourcing of IT Services

4. Steven Højlund
Evaluation Use in Evaluation Systems – The Case of the European Commission

5. Julia Kirch Kirkegaard
AMBIGUOUS WINDS OF CHANGE – OR FIGHTING AGAINST WINDMILLS IN CHINESE WIND POWER
A CONSTRUCTIVIST INQUIRY INTO CHINA'S PRAGMATICS OF GREEN MARKETISATION MAPPING CONTROVERSIES OVER A POTENTIAL TURN TO QUALITY IN CHINESE WIND POWER

6. Michelle Carol Antero
A Multi-case Analysis of the Development of Enterprise Resource Planning Systems (ERP) Business Practices

Morten Friis-Olivarius
The Associative Nature of Creativity

7. Mathew Abraham
New Cooperativism:
A study of emerging producer organisations in India

8. Stine Hedegaard
Sustainability-Focused Identity: Identity work performed to manage, negotiate and resolve barriers and tensions that arise in the process of constructing or ganizational identity in a sustainability context

9. Cecilie Glerup
Organizing Science in Society – the conduct and justification of resposible research

10. Allan Salling Pedersen
Implementering af ITIL® IT-governance - når best practice konflikter med kulturen Løsning af implementerings-problemer gennem anvendelse af kendte CSF i et aktionsforskningsforløb.

11. Nihat Misir
A Real Options Approach to Determining Power Prices

12. Mamdouh Medhat
MEASURING AND PRICING THE RISK OF CORPORATE FAILURES

13. Rina Hansen
Toward a Digital Strategy for Omnichannel Retailing

14. Eva Pallesen
In the rhythm of welfare creation
A relational processual investigation moving beyond the conceptual horizon of welfare management

15. Gouya Harirchi
In Search of Opportunities: Three Essays on Global Linkages for Innovation

16. Lotte Holck
Embedded Diversity: A critical ethnographic study of the structural tensions of organizing diversity

17. Jose Daniel Balarezo
Learning through Scenario Planning

18. Louise Pram Nielsen
Knowledge dissemination based on terminological ontologies. Using eye tracking to further user interface design.

19. Sofie Dam
PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS FOR INNOVATION AND SUSTAINABILITY TRANSFORMATION
An embedded, comparative case study of municipal waste management in England and Denmark

20. Ulrik Hartmyer Christiansen
Follwoing the Content of Reported Risk Across the Organization

21. Guro Refsum Sanden
Language strategies in multinational corporations. A cross-sector study of financial service companies and manufacturing companies.

22. Linn Gevoll
Designing performance management for operational level
- A closer look on the role of design choices in framing coordination and motivation

23. Frederik Larsen
Objects and Social Actions – on Second-hand Valuation Practices

24. Thorhildur Hansdottir Jetzek
The Sustainable Value of Open Government Data
Uncovering the Generative Mechanisms of Open Data through a Mixed Methods Approach

25. Gustav Toppenberg
Innovation-based M&A – Technological-Integration Challenges – The Case of Digital-Technology Companies

26. Mie Plotnikof
Challenges of Collaborative Governance
An Organizational Discourse Study of Public Managers' Struggles with Collaboration across the Daycare Area

27. Christian Garmann Johnsen
Who Are the Post-Bureaucrats? A Philosophical Examination of the Creative Manager, the Authentic Leader and the Entrepreneur

28. Jacob Brogaard-Kay
Constituting Performance Management A field study of a pharmaceutical company

29. Rasmus Ploug Jenle
Engineering Markets for Control: Integrating Wind Power into the Danish Electricity System

30. Morten Lindholst
Complex Business Negotiation: Understanding Preparation and Planning

31. Morten Grynings
TRUST AND TRANSPARENCY FROM AN ALIGNMENT PERSPECTIVE

32. Peter Andreas Norn
Byregimer og styringsevne: Politisk lederskab af store byudviklingsprojekter

33. Milan Miric
Essays on Competition, Innovation and Firm Strategy in Digital Markets

34. Sanne K. Hjordrup
The Value of Talent Management Rethinking practice, problems and possibilities

35. Johanna Sax
Strategic Risk Management – Analyzing Antecedents and Contingencies for Value Creation

36. Pernille Rydén
Strategic Cognition of Social Media

37. Mimmi Sjöklint
The Measurable Me - The Influence of Self-tracking on the User Experience

38. Juan Ignacio Staricco
Towards a Fair Global Economic Regime? A critical assessment of Fair Trade through the examination of the Argentinean wine industry

39. Marie Henriette Madsen
Emerging and temporary connections in Quality work

40. Yangfeng CAO
Toward a Process Framework of Business Model Innovation in the Global Context
Entrepreneurship-Enabled Dynamic Capability of Medium-Sized Multinational Enterprises

41. Carsten Scheibye
Enactment of the Organizational Cost Structure in Value Chain Configuration A Contribution to Strategic Cost Management

2016

1. Signe Sofie Dyrby
Enterprise Social Media at Work

2. Dorte Boesby Dahl
The making of the public parking attendant
Dirt, aesthetics and inclusion in public service work

3. Verena Girschik
Realizing Corporate Responsibility Positioning and Framing in Nascent Institutional Change

4. Anders Ørding Olsen
IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS
Inertia, Knowledge Sources and Diversity in Collaborative Problem-solving

5. Pernille Steen Pedersen
Udkast til et nyt copingbegreb
En kvalifikation af ledelsesmuligheder for at forebygge sygefravær ved psykiske problemer.

6. Kerli Kant Hvass
Weaving a Path from Waste to Value: Exploring fashion industry business models and the circular economy

7. Kasper Lindskow
Exploring Digital News Publishing Business Models – a production network approach

8. Mikkel Mouritz Marfelt
The chameleon workforce: Assembling and negotiating the content of a workforce

9. Marianne Bertelsen
Aesthetic encounters
Rethinking autonomy, space & time in today's world of art

10. Louise Hauberg Wilhelmsen
EU PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION

11. Abid Hussain
On the Design, Development and Use of the Social Data Analytics Tool (SODATO): Design Propositions, Patterns, and Principles for Big Social Data Analytics

12. Mark Bruun
Essays on Earnings Predictability

13. Tor Bøe-Lillegraven
BUSINESS PARADOXES, BLACK BOXES, AND BIG DATA: BEYOND ORGANIZATIONAL AMBIDEXTERITY

14. Hadis Khonsary-Atighi
ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF DOMESTIC INVESTMENT IN AN OIL-BASED ECONOMY: THE CASE OF IRAN (1965-2010)

15. Maj Lervad Grasten
Rule of Law or Rule by Lawyers?
On the Politics of Translation in Global Governance

16. Lene Granzau Juel-Jacobsen
SUPERMARKEDETS MODUS OPERANDI – en hverdagssociologisk undersøgelse af forholdet mellem rum og handlen og understøtte relationsopbygning?

17. Christine Thalsgård Henriques
In search of entrepreneurial learning – Towards a relational perspective on incubating practices?

18. Patrick Bennett
Essays in Education, Crime, and Job Displacement

19. Søren Korsgaard
Payments and Central Bank Policy

20. Marie Kruse Skibsted
Empirical Essays in Economics of Education and Labor

21. Elizabeth Benedict Christensen
The Constantly Contingent Sense of Belonging of the 1.5 Generation Undocumented Youth
An Everyday Perspective

22. Lasse J. Jessen
Essays on Discounting Behavior and Gambling Behavior

23. Kalle Johannes Rose
Når stifterviljen dør…
Et retsøkonomisk bidrag til 200 års juridisk konflikt om ejendomsretten

24. Andreas Søeborg Kirkedal
Danish Stød and Automatic Speech Recognition

25. Ida Lunde Jørgensen
Institutions and Legitimations in Finance for the Arts

26. Olga Rykov Ibsen
An empirical cross-linguistic study of directives: A semiotic approach to the sentence forms chosen by British, Danish and Russian speakers in native and ELF contexts

27. Desi Volker
Understanding Interest Rate Volatility

28. Angeli Elizabeth Weller
Practice at the Boundaries of Business Ethics & Corporate Social Responsibility

29. Ida Danneskiold-Samsøe
Levende læring i kunstneriske organisationer
En undersøgelse af læringsprocesser mellem projekt og organisation på Aarhus Teater

30. Leif Christensen
Quality of information – The role of internal controls and materiality

31. Olga Zarzecka
Tie Content in Professional Networks

32. Henrik Mahncke
De store gaver
- Filantropiens gensidighedsrelationer i teori og praksis

33. Carsten Lund Pedersen
Using the Collective Wisdom of Frontline Employees in Strategic Issue Management

34. Yun Liu
Essays on Market Design

35. Denitsa Hazarbassanova Blagoeva
The Internationalisation of Service Firms

36. Manya Jaura Lind
Capability development in an off-shoring context: How, why and by whom

37. Luis R. Boscán F.
Essays on the Design of Contracts and Markets for Power System Flexibility

38. Andreas Philipp Distel
Capabilities for Strategic Adaptation: Micro-Foundations, Organizational Conditions, and Performance Implications

39. Lavinia Bleoca
The Usefulness of Innovation and Intellectual Capital in Business Performance: The Financial Effects of Knowledge Management vs. Disclosure

40. Henrik Jensen
Economic Organization and Imperfect Managerial Knowledge: A Study of the Role of Managerial Meta-Knowledge in the Management of Distributed Knowledge

41. Stine Mosekjær
The Understanding of English Emotion Words by Chinese and Japanese Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca An Empirical Study

42. Hallur Tor Sigurdarson
The Ministry of Desire - Anxiety and entrepreneurship in a bureaucracy

43. Kätlin Pulk
Making Time While Being in Time
A study of the temporality of organizational processes

44. Valeria Giacomin
Contextualizing the cluster Palm oil in Southeast Asia in global perspective (1880s–1970s)

45. Jeanette Willert
Managers' use of multiple Management Control Systems: The role and interplay of management control systems and company performance

46. Mads Vestergaard Jensen
Financial Frictions: Implications for Early Option Exercise and Realized Volatility

47. Mikael Reimer Jensen
Interbank Markets and Frictions

48. Benjamin Faigen
Essays on Employee Ownership

49. Adela Michea
Enacting Business Models An Ethnographic Study of an Emerging Business Model Innovation within the Frame of a Manufacturing Company.

50. Iben Sandal Stjerne
Transcending organization in temporary systems Aesthetics' organizing work and employment in Creative Industries

51. Simon Krogh
Anticipating Organizational Change

52. Sarah Netter
Exploring the Sharing Economy

53. Lene Tolstrup Christensen
State-owned enterprises as institutional market actors in the marketization of public service provision: A comparative case study of Danish and Swedish passenger rail 1990–2015

54. Kyoung(Kay) Sun Park
Three Essays on Financial Economics

2017

1. Mari Bjerck
Apparel at work. Work uniforms and women in male-dominated manual occupations.

2. Christoph H. Flöthmann
Who Manages Our Supply Chains? Backgrounds, Competencies and Contributions of Human Resources in Supply Chain Management

3. Aleksandra Anna Rzeźnik
Essays in Empirical Asset Pricing

4. Claes Bäckman
Essays on Housing Markets

5. Kirsti Reitan Andersen
Stabilizing Sustainability in the Textile and Fashion Industry

6. Kira Hoffmann
Cost Behavior: An Empirical Analysis of Determinants and Consequences of Asymmetries

7. Tobin Hanspal
Essays in Household Finance

8. Nina Lange
Correlation in Energy Markets

9. Anjum Fayyaz
Donor Interventions and SME Networking in Industrial Clusters in Punjab Province, Pakistan

10. Magnus Paulsen Hansen
Trying the unemployed. Justification and critique, emancipation and coercion towards the 'active society'. A study of contemporary reforms in France and Denmark

11. Sameer Azizi
Corporate Social Responsibility in Afghanistan – a critical case study of the mobile telecommunications industry

12. Malene Myhre
The internationalization of small and medium-sized enterprises: A qualitative study

13. Thomas Presskorn-Thygesen
The Significance of Normativity – Studies in Post-Kantian Philosophy and Social Theory

14. Federico Clementi
Essays on multinational production and international trade

15. Lara Anne Hale
Experimental Standards in Sustainability Transitions: Insights from the Building Sector

16. Richard Pucci
Accounting for Financial Instruments in an Uncertain World Controversies in IFRS in the Aftermath of the 2008 Financial Crisis

17. Sarah Maria Denta
Kommunale offentlige private partnerskaber Regulering I skyggen af Farumsagen

18. Christian Östlund
Design for e-training

19. Amalie Martinus Hauge
Organizing Valuations – a pragmatic inquiry

20. Tim Holst Celik
Tension-filled Governance? Exploring the Emergence, Consolidation and Reconfiguration of Legitimatory and Fiscal State-crafting

21. Christian Bason
Leading Public Design: How managers engage with design to transform public governance

22. Davide Tomio
Essays on Arbitrage and Market Liquidity

23. Simone Stæhr
Financial Analysts' Forecasts Behavioral Aspects and the Impact of Personal Characteristics

24. Mikkel Godt Gregersen
Management Control, Intrinsic Motivation and Creativity – How Can They Coexist

25. Kristjan Johannes Suse Jespersen
Advancing the Payments for Ecosystem Service Discourse Through Institutional Theory

26. Kristian Bondo Hansen
Crowds and Speculation: A study of crowd phenomena in the U.S. financial markets 1890 to 1940

27. Lars Balslev
Actors and practices – An institutional study on management accounting change in Air Greenland

28. Sven Klingler
Essays on Asset Pricing with Financial Frictions

29. Klement Ahrensbach Rasmussen
Business Model Innovation The Role of Organizational Design

30. Giulio Zichella
Entrepreneurial Cognition. Three essays on entrepreneurial behavior and cognition under risk and uncertainty

31. Richard Ledborg Hansen
En forkærlighed til det eksisterende – mellemlederens oplevelse af forandringsmodstand i organisatoriske forandringer

32. Vilhelm Stefan Holsting
Militært chefvirke: Kritik og retfærdiggørelse mellem politik og profession

33. Thomas Jensen
Shipping Information Pipeline: An information infrastructure to improve international containerized shipping

34. Dzmitry Bartalevich
Do economic theories inform policy? Analysis of the influence of the Chicago School on European Union competition policy

35. Kristian Roed Nielsen
Crowdfunding for Sustainability: A study on the potential of reward-based crowdfunding in supporting sustainable entrepreneurship

36. Emil Husted
There is always an alternative: A study of control and commitment in political organization

37. Anders Ludvig Sevelsted
Interpreting Bonds and Boundaries of Obligation. A genealogy of the emergence and development of Protestant voluntary social work in Denmark as shown through the cases of the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Blue Cross (1850 – 1950)

38. Niklas Kohl
Essays on Stock Issuance

39. Maya Christiane Flensborg Jensen
BOUNDARIES OF PROFESSIONALIZATION AT WORK An ethnography-inspired study of care workers' dilemmas at the margin

40. Andreas Kamstrup
Crowdsourcing and the Architectural Competition as Organisational Technologies

41. Louise Lyngfeldt Gorm Hansen
Triggering Earthquakes in Science, Politics and Chinese Hydropower - A Controversy Study

2018

1. Vishv Priya Kohli
Combatting Falsifi cation and Counterfeiting of Medicinal Products in the E uropean Union – A Legal Analysis

2. Helle Haurum
Customer Engagement Behavior in the context of Continuous Service Relationships

3. Nis Grünberg
The Party -state order: Essays on China's political organization and political economic institutions

4. Jesper Christensen
A Behavioral Theory of Human Capital Integration

5. Poula Marie Helth
Learning in practice

6. Rasmus Vendler Toft-Kehler
Entrepreneurship as a career? An investigation of the relationship between entrepreneurial experience and entrepreneurial outcome

7. Szymon Furtak
Sensing the Future: Designing sensor-based predictive information systems for forecasting spare part demand for diesel engines

8. Mette Brehm Johansen
Organizing patient involvement. An ethnographic study

9. Iwona Sulinska
Complexities of Social Capital in Boards of Directors

10. Cecilie Fanøe Petersen
Award of public contracts as a means to conferring State aid: A legal analysis of the interface between public procurement law and State aid law

11. Ahmad Ahmad Barirani
Three Experimental Studies on Entrepreneurship

12. Carsten Allerslev Olsen
Financial Reporting Enforcement: Impact and Consequences

13. Irene Christensen
New product fumbles – Organizing for the Ramp-up process

14. Jacob Taarup-Esbensen
Managing communities – Mining MNEs' community risk management practices

15. Lester Allan Lasrado
Set-Theoretic approach to maturity models

16. Mia B. Münster
Intention vs. Perception of Designed Atmospheres in Fashion Stores

17. Anne Sluhan
Non-Financial Dimensions of Family Firm Ownership: How Socioemotional Wealth and Familiness Influence Internationalization

18. Henrik Yde Andersen
Essays on Debt and Pensions

19. Fabian Heinrich Müller
Valuation Reversed – When Valuators are Valuated. An Analysis of the Perception of and Reaction to Reviewers in Fine-Dining

20. Martin Jarmatz
Organizing for Pricing

21. Niels Joachim Christfort Gormsen
Essays on Empirical Asset Pricing

22. Diego Zunino
Socio-Cognitive Perspectives in Business Venturing

23. Benjamin Asmussen
Networks and Faces between Copenhagen and Canton, 1730-1840

24. Dalia Bagdziunaite
Brains at Brand Touchpoints A Consumer Neuroscience Study of Information Processing of Brand Advertisements and the Store Environment in Compulsive Buying

25. Erol Kazan
Towards a Disruptive Digital Platform Model

26. Andreas Bang Nielsen
Essays on Foreign Exchange and Credit Risk

27. Anne Krebs
Accountable, Operable Knowledge Toward Value Representations of Individual Knowledge in Accounting

28. Matilde Fogh Kirkegaard
A firm- and demand-side perspective on behavioral strategy for value creation: Insights from the hearing aid industry

29. Agnieszka Nowinska
SHIPS AND RELATION-SHIPS Tie formation in the sector of shipping intermediaries in shipping

30. Stine Evald Bentsen
The Comprehension of English Texts by Native Speakers of English and Japanese, Chinese and Russian Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca. An Empirical Study.

31. Stine Louise Daetz
Essays on Financial Frictions in Lending Markets

32. *Christian Skov Jensen*
Essays on Asset Pricing

33. Anders Kryger
Aligning future employee action and corporate strategy in a resource-scarce environment

34. Maitane Elorriaga-Rubio
The behavioral foundations of strategic decision-making: A contextual perspective

35. Roddy Walker
Leadership Development as Organisational Rehabilitation: Shaping Middle-Managers as Double Agents

36. Jinsun Bae
Producing Garments for Global Markets Corporate social responsibility (CSR) in Myanmar's export garment industry 2011–2015

37. Queralt Prat-i-Pubill
Axiological knowledge in a knowledge driven world. Considerations for organizations.

38. Pia Mølgaard
Essays on Corporate Loans and Credit Risk

39. Marzia Aricò
Service Design as a Transformative Force: Introduction and Adoption in an Organizational Context

40. Christian Dyrlund Wåhlin-Jacobsen
Constructing change initiatives in workplace voice activities Studies from a social interaction perspective

41. Peter Kalum Schou
Institutional Logics in Entrepreneurial Ventures: How Competing Logics arise and shape organizational processes and outcomes during scale-up

42. Per Henriksen
Enterprise Risk Management Rationaler og paradokser i en moderne ledelsesteknologi

43. Maximilian Schellmann
The Politics of Organizing Refugee Camps

44. Jacob Halvas Bjerre
Excluding the Jews: The Aryanization of Danish-German Trade and German Anti-Jewish Policy in Denmark 1937-1943

45. Ida Schrøder
Hybridising accounting and caring: A symmetrical study of how costs and needs are connected in Danish child protection work

46. Katrine Kunst
Electronic Word of Behavior: Transforming digital traces of consumer behaviors into communicative content in product design

47. Viktor Avlonitis
Essays on the role of modularity in management: Towards a unified perspective of modular and integral design

48. Anne Sofie Fischer
Negotiating Spaces of Everyday Politics: -An ethnographic study of organizing for social transformation for women in urban poverty, Delhi, India

2019

1. Shihan Du
   ESSAYS IN EMPIRICAL STUDIES BASED ON ADMINISTRATIVE LABOUR MARKET DATA

2. Mart Laatsit
   Policy learning in innovation policy: A comparative analysis of European Union member states

3. Peter J. Wynne
   Proactively Building Capabilities for the Post-Acquisition Integration of Information Systems

4. Kalina S. Staykova
   Generative Mechanisms for Digital Platform Ecosystem Evolution

5. Ieva Linkeviciute
   Essays on the Demand-Side Management in Electricity Markets

6. Jonatan Echebarria Fernández
   Jurisdiction and Arbitration Agreements in Contracts for the Carriage of Goods by Sea – Limitations on Party Autonomy

7. Louise Thorn Bøttkjær
   Votes for sale. Essays on clientelism in new democracies.

8. Ditte Vilstrup Holm
   The Poetics of Participation: the organizing of participation in contemporary art

9. Philip Rosenbaum
   Essays in Labor Markets – Gender, Fertility and Education

10. Mia Olsen
    Mobile Betalinger - Succesfaktorer og Adfærdsmæssige Konsekvenser

11. Adrián Luis Mérida Gutiérrez
    Entrepreneurial Careers: Determinants, Trajectories, and Outcomes

12. Frederik Regli
    Essays on Crude Oil Tanker Markets

13. Cancan Wang
    Becoming Adaptive through Social Media: Transforming Governance and Organizational Form in Collaborative E-government

14. Lena Lindbjerg Sperling
    Economic and Cultural Development: Empirical Studies of Micro-level Data

15. Xia Zhang
    Obligation, face and facework: An empirical study of the communicative act of cancellation of an obligation by Chinese, Danish and British business professionals in both L1 and ELF contexts

16. Stefan Kirkegaard Sløk-Madsen
    Entrepreneurial Judgment and Commercialization

17. Erin Leitheiser
    The Comparative Dynamics of Private Governance
    The case of the Bangladesh Ready-Made Garment Industry

18. Lone Christensen
    STRATEGIIMPLEMENTERING: STYRINGSBESTRÆBELSER, IDENTITET OG AFFEKT

19. Thomas Kjær Poulsen
    Essays on Asset Pricing with Financial Frictions

20. Maria Lundberg
    Trust and self-trust in leadership identity constructions: A qualitative exploration of narrative ecology in the discursive aftermath of heroic discourse

21. Tina Joanes
Sufficiency for sustainability Determinants and strategies for reducing clothing consumption

22. Benjamin Johannes Flesch
Social Set Visualizer (SoSeVi): Design, Development and Evaluation of a Visual Analytics Tool for Computational Set Analysis of Big Social Data

23. Henriette Sophia Groskopff
Tvede Schleimann
Creating innovation through collaboration – Partnering in the maritime sector

24. Kristian Steensen Nielsen
The Role of Self-Regulation in Environmental Behavior Change

25. Lydia L. Jørgensen
Moving Organizational Atmospheres

26. Theodor Lucian Vladasel
Embracing Heterogeneity: Essays in Entrepreneurship and Human Capital

27. Seidi Suurmets
Contextual Effects in Consumer Research: An Investigation of Consumer Information Processing and Behavior via the Applicati on of Eye-tracking Methodology

28. Marie Sundby Palle Nickelsen
Reformer mellem integritet og innovation: Reform af reformens form i den danske centraladministration fra 1920 til 2019

29. Vibeke Kristine Scheller
The temporal organizing of same-day discharge: A tempography of a Cardiac Day Unit

30. Qian Sun
Adopting Artificial Intelligence in Healthcare in the Digital Age: Perceived Challenges, Frame Incongruence, and Social Power

31. Dorthe Thorning Mejlhede
Artful change agency and organizing for innovation – the case of a Nordic fintech cooperative

32. Benjamin Christoffersen
Corporate Default Models: Empirical Evidence and Methodical Contributions

33. Filipe Antonio Bonito Vieira
Essays on Pensions and Fiscal Sustainability

34. Morten Nicklas Bigler Jensen
Earnings Management in Private Firms: An Empirical Analysis of Determinants and Consequences of Earnings Management in Private Firms

2020

1. Christian Hendriksen
Inside the Blue Box: Explaining industry influence in the International Maritime Organization

2. Vasileios Kosmas
Environmental and social issues in global supply chains: Emission reduction in the maritime transport industry and maritime search and rescue operational response to migration

3. Thorben Peter Simonsen
The spatial organization of psychiatric practice: A situated inquiry into 'healing architecture'

4. Signe Bruskin
The infinite storm: An ethnographic study of organizational change in a bank

5. Rasmus Corlin Christensen
Politics and Professionals: Transnational Struggles to Change International Taxation

6. Robert Lorenz Törmer
The Architectural Enablement of a Digital Platform Strategy

7. Anna Kirkebæk Johansson Gosovic
Ethics as Practice: An ethnographic study of business ethics in a multi-national biopharmaceutical company

8. Frank Meier
Making up leaders in leadership development

9. Kai Basner
Servitization at work: On proliferation and containment

10. Anestis Keremis
Anti-corruption in action: How is anti-corruption practiced in multinational companies?

11. Marie Larsen Ryberg
Governing Interdisciolinarity: Stakes and translations of interdisciplinarity in Danish high school education.

12. Jannick Friis Christensen
Queering organisation(s): Norm-critical orientations to organising and researching diversity

13. Thorsteinn Sigurdur Sveinsson
Essays on Macroeconomic Implications of Demographic Change

14. Catherine Casler
Reconstruction in strategy and organization: For a pragmatic stance

15. Luisa Murphy
Revisiting the standard organization of multi-stakeholder initiatives (MSIs): The case of a meta-MSI in Southeast Asia

16. Friedrich Bergmann
Essays on International Trade

17. Nicholas Haagensen
European Legal Networks in Crisis: The Legal Construction of Economic Policy

18. Charlotte Biil
Samskabelse med en sommerfugle-model: Hybrid ret i forbindelse med et partnerskabsprojekt mellem 100 selvejende daginstitutioner, deres paraplyorganisation, tre kommuner og CBS

19. Andreas Dimmelmeier
The Role of Economic Ideas in Sustainable Finance: From Paradigms to Policy

20. Maibrith Kempka Jensen
Ledelse og autoritet i interaktion - En interaktionsbaseret undersøgelse af autoritet i ledelse i praksis

21. Thomas Burø
LAND OF LIGHT: Assembling the Ecology of Culture in Odsherred 2000-2018

22. Prins Marcus Valiant Lantz
Timely Emotion: The Rhetorical Framing of Strategic Decision Making

23. Thorbjørn Vittenhof Fejerskov
Fra værdi til invitationer - offentlig værdiskabelse gennem affekt, potentialitet og begivenhed

24. Lea Acre Foverskov
Demographic Change and Employment: Path dependencies and institutional logics in the European Commission

TITLER I ATV PH.D.-SERIEN

1992

1. Niels Kornum
Servicesamkørsel – organisation, økonomi og planlægningsmetode

1995

2. Verner Worm
Nordiske virksomheder i Kina
Kulturspecifikke interaktionsrelationer ved nordiske virksomhedsetableringer i Kina

1999

3. Mogens Bjerre
Key Account Management of Complex Strategic Relationships
An Empirical Study of the Fast Moving Consumer Goods Industry

2000

4. Lotte Darsø
Innovation in the Making
Interaction Research with heterogeneous Groups of Knowledge Workers creating new Knowledge and new Leads

2001

5. Peter Hobolt Jensen
Managing Strategic Design Identities
The case of the Lego Developer Network

2002

6. Peter Lohmann
The Deleuzian Other of Organizational Change – Moving Perspectives of the Human

7. Anne Marie Jess Hansen
To lead from a distance: The dynamic interplay between strategy and strategizing – A case study of the strategic management process

2003

8. Lotte Henriksen
Videndeling
– om organisatoriske og ledelsesmæssige udfordringer ved videndeling i praksis

9. Niels Christian Nickelsen
Arrangements of Knowing: Coordinating Procedures Tools and Bodies in Industrial Production – a case study of the collective making of new products

2005

10. Carsten Ørts Hansen
Konstruktion af ledelsesteknologier og effektivitet

TITLER I DBA PH.D.-SERIEN

2007

1. Peter Kastrup-Misir
Endeavoring to Understand Market Orientation – and the concomitant co-mutation of the researched, the re searcher, the research itself and the truth

2009

1. Torkild Leo Thellefsen
Fundamental Signs and Significance effects
A Semeiotic outline of Fundamental Signs, Significance-effects, Knowledge Profiling and their use in Knowledge Organization and Branding

2. Daniel Ronzani
When Bits Learn to Walk Don't Make Them Trip. Technological Innovation and the Role of Regulation by Law in Information Systems Research: the Case of Radio Frequency Identification (RFID)

2010

1. Alexander Carnera
Magten over livet og livet som magt
Studier i den biopolitiske ambivalens