

Enlighten – WP 1 - Power, ideas and networks

Epistemic power over ideas after a fast-burning crisis – the case of the ecology of Brussels-based think tanks

Ramona Coman & Frederik Ponjaert

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INTRODUCTION

The role of academic knowledge in the European integration process cannot be denied¹. The phenomenon is as old as the project itself. Academics have been “constitutive forces in the integration process” (Mudge and Vauchez 2012: 452), notably in such areas as the promotion of convergent European economic policies or the development of the EU as a community rooted in the rule of law. In recent years, the Eurozone crisis has given new impetus to the interplay between the worlds of ideas and politics. The emerging literature on the impact of the Eurozone crisis on both the EU’s modes of governance and its’ policies highlights the prominent role of academics, think tanks, private and public sector actors, economists, business and financial interests (Matthijs and Mcnamara 2015). The ideas championed by these actors appear to contribute significantly to the evolution of the EU’s institutional framework and to the development of its main policies. Indeed, whether in their search for solutions or in their quest to secure new mechanisms to legitimize their action, EU institutional actors have sought to reinvigorate mechanism of legitimation hinging on the use of academic knowledge.

As Seabrook and Tsingou have demonstrated, the Eurozone crisis is a “hot” period of knowledge production (2014). To overcome the crisis, academics, experts, researchers, consultants seem to play an active role in proposing not only policy solutions but also new institutional arrangements. Nevertheless, knowledge remains relatively scant on how these ideas are linked to the political process. This raises the question of whose ideas travel and who has the power to impose new ideas. In this respect, the present study seeks to contribute towards mapping the “roads” through which ideas travel from third-party ideational entrepreneurs to policy-making institutions. Last but not least, in its conclusions the article will also touch upon what kind of ideas are circulated and whether they are vectors of change or continuity. Ultimately, it will help scrutinize the role played by academics and experts in EU policy-making (Adler-Nissen and Kropp 2015).

To answer the previously raised questions the paper explores a specific professional *ecology*: the world of Brussels-based think tanks and their impact on EU policy-making on macro-economic governance. The choice of ecology is premised on three considerations: (1) first, central third-party ideational entrepreneurs play a crucial role at the EU-level considering the relatively

¹ To illustrate the strength of these ties, in his article published in 2015 in the *Journal of European Integration*, Ian Manners mentioned the EU Framework Program on normative foreign policy led in 2008 by Nathalie Tocci, Thomas Dietz, Dietrich Jung and himself (2015: 304), project which was anchored at one of the Brussels-based think tank, the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS). Another example of this interdependence between academic knowledge and political action is the typology of mechanisms of Europeanization in Central and Eastern Europe in the enlargement context, who received ample attention in academic debates and which was developed when its author, Heather Grabbe, was a member of the cabinet of the Commissioner for Enlargement, Ollie Rehn. Examples abound to reveal the interaction between the ivory towers of academia and the world of politics. These interactions have lead some scholars to conclude that there is a “false dichotomy” between “value-neutral EU studies and “normative” knowledge (Manners 2015); they also reject the internal/external division between theory and practice (Adler-Nissen and Kropp 2015), revealing the interdependencies between normative claims and neutral empirical observation.

higher need of European institutions for external input with regards to both the expert knowledge seen as the necessary capital to the production of any given policy; and, the means of disseminating appropriate ideas which can legitimate policies on the basis of accepted practices and habits; (2) secondly, among the many actors involved in the policy-making process in Brussels, think tanks third-party stand out as a professional category squarely focused on the dissemination and differentiation of ideas; (3) thirdly, particularly when located in Brussels, ideational entrepreneurs included in the population of said ecology can leverage formal and informal ties with universities and EU institutions to heighten their symbolic capital and thus strengthen their capacity to weigh on policy decisions.

Since the onset of the Eurozone crisis, interactions between the professional third-party ideational entrepreneurs associated with this particular ecology and various representatives of the European institutions have been frequent, numerous and diverse. Think tanks in particular act as bridges between professional/academics and institutions. Considering that European institutions represent the main audience of this professional ecology (Abbott 2005), our aim is to explore this field(s) and to map the interactions of this population with the targeted EU institutional actors. Put differently, the paper endeavors to assess what ideas are promoted and who is connected with whom in this process. It seeks to shed light on the epistemic power of Brussels-based think tanks in the current debates on the EU's economic governance.

The social interactions between members of the Brussels-based think tank ecology on the one hand and EU institutional actors on the other, contribute towards framing the origins/ causes of the crisis. They also to a large extent shape the chosen policy solutions. As such, the article reveals strong institutional ties between European/international/domestic institutions and European/domestic/international think tanks and universities. The studied ecology is heterogeneous and unstable. Nevertheless, responses to the recent Eurozone crisis reveals deep-seated structural factors characterizing the links between the production of the underlying knowledge serving as reference capital to the production of chosen policies on the one hand; and the circulation of policy ideas seeking to advance a given set of policy practices and solutions, on the other. To assess the chosen ecology, the paper examines two central think tanks within the Brussels-based community reflecting two different professional environments: Bruegel and the Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS). Both selected Think Tanks occupy a central position within the studied Brussels-based ecology as reflected in their respective networks (see Illustrations 1 and 2 below)

The former is a European think tank specialized in economics. Since its creation in 2005, it aims at improving “the quality of economic policy” through debate and evidence-based research. The French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder endorsed it “in order that Europe can make its full contribution to international

debates on economic, financial and trade policy”². Bruegel distinguishes itself from other similar think tanks by the reputation of its members and the prestige of its board. The Board is composed of 12 members who have served in prestigious international, European and domestic institutions. The former president of the European Central Bank (BCE), Jean-Claude Trichet, succeeded to Mario Monti as Chair of the Board. The main mission of the Board is to adopt the strategy and to decide on the research programs. Bruegel’s fellows (Residents, Non-residents or Affiliate) conduct research in a wide range of fields including “European Macroeconomics and Governance”, “Global Economics and Governance”, “Finance and Financial Regulation” and “Innovation and Competition Policy”. Last but not least, in 2015 Bruegel was awarded the Economic European think tank of the year (by Prospects Magazine). In 2014 it was ranked the 2nd think tank in the world (non US) and the 5th think tank in the world (US included)³. Bruegel is closely tied to a wide range of EU and international actors. Through its research it aims at challenging EU’s institutions economic policies and policy choices.

The Center for European Policy Study (CEPS) was created at the beginning of the 1980 with the aim to provide “strong in-house research” leading to solutions to the challenges faced by the EU. Its Board comprises 3 former Ministers of Economy/Finance, two former members of the European Commission (Joachim Almunia and Danuta Hubner), one member of the German Bundestag, representatives of industrial/economic corporations (Suez-Tractabel, Citigroup, Volvo AB and Falco Enterprises AG) and the director of an Italian think tank (Assonime). Since the nomination of the Jean-Claude Juncker, the CEPS has re-organized its research structure so that it follows the priorities of the new Commission in the fields of Economy, Energy and Climate Change, Regulation, Rights and Europe in the World.

Said cursory overview already highlights the historical institutional differences ensuring Bruegel and CEPS present distinct professional environments and might therefor understandably proffer distinctive knowledge and ideas. Bruegel’s intellectual epistemic power is rooted in: (a) its initial conception at the behest of the Eurozone’s two prominent Member States (France and Germany) at a time when the EU’s macro-economic strategy had increasingly come to face a slow-burning crisis - i.e. the very critical mid-term report of the EU’s Lisbon Strategy (Rodrigues, 2009); (b) the academic credentials and global reputation of its fellows; as well as (c) its world-wide institutional connections, notably with the United-States. As a result, Bruegel brings together a set of globally connected academics, as reflected in the fact that several of its agents were awarded their PhDs by American rather than European Universities. In line with both its original

² Bruegel’s history is available at <http://bruegel.org/bruegels-history/>

³ The list of awards and rankings is available at <http://bruegel.org/about/>

mission statement and its specific professional environment, Bruegel mainly seeks to serve as interface between global and European macro-economic debates. Conversely, CEPS is a product of the 80's and the slow-crisis facing the common market at a time when it faced growing discontent about the lack of intra-European free trade. In response CEPS sought to bring together knowledge from all the Member States with an eye on supporting leaders from business and politics wanting to harmonize laws among countries and resolve policy discrepancies. As a result, today CEPS pools knowledge from all 28 EU Member States with a far higher proportion of its fellows trained in European universities.

Through an in-depth qualitative analysis, the paper seeks to assess what role these distinctive yet comparable think tanks have carved out for themselves in their shared ecology of European macro-economic policy-making. It endeavors to explain the nature of ideas and their circulation from one professional milieu to another. The paper draws on two types of primary sources: the reports produced by Bruegel and the CEPS from 2008 to October 2015 as well as the biographical notes and CVs of their authors. This is to provide us with insightful information on both the knowledge-based and reputational capital mobilized when interacting with either other professionals; or with EU/domestic/international institutions; as well as, the career path of those involved in the promotion of ideas in response to the Eurozone crisis.

First, the paper will bring the sociology of profession into play and reflect on the emerging body of research on the role of ideas in the development of new modes of governance. To this end, the paper is to discuss and built upon a series of concepts which help to conceptualize the object of study and describe its properties. The concept of ecology (as defined by Abbott) serve as a central heuristic references providing: an overarching theoretical framework, a set of distinctive mechanisms describing the circulation of ideas, and a typology distinguishing between different types of ideas. The second part is devoted to methodological considerations, whereas the third and final part describes the ecology" of two Brussels-based think tanks: Bruegel and the Centre for European Public Policy (CEPS). Particular attention will be paid to the nature of the actors belonging to these ecologies and the mechanisms through which ideas travel from the professional environment under examination to the realm of policy-making. In conclusion, the paper will posit possible links between the content of the ideas circulated and the nature of the ecology involved.

Part I - Theoretical discussion: the power of fields and the power over ideas

We argue in this article that members of the Brussels-based think tank ecology exert power over ideas through three interrelated mechanisms:

- *The Field Effect*: An overarching and positional effect related to a particular agent's relative position within a given field and determined by an agent's habitus and capital (Bourdieu),
- *The Effect of Cross-Location*: A Inter-active and relational effect related to an agent's institutional versatility, professional networks and past attainments
- *The Effect of Hyper-Scientization*: An accrediting and reputational effect related to an agents academic accreditations, working methods and discourse. This expression refers to the use of academic knowledge in the EU policy-making. (Mudge and Vauchez 2015)

Considering the Brussels-based think tanks as a social space is a theoretical and empirical challenge informed by different literatures (as illustrated in table 1). First, the literature on the sociology of professions (Abbott 2005), habitus/champ (Dezalay and Garth 2002, Georgakakis and Rowell 2012) and professional fields inform our attempt to provide an accurate description of the actors involved in this process of production and dissemination of ideas (Seabrooke and Tsingou 2014) within the field of European governance. Second, to further explore the specific circulation of ideas from this professional field to the EU policy-making field, the paper draws on two mechanisms of particular relevance when considering EU institutions receptivity to external ideas: cross-location and hyper-scientization

Table 1: Theoretical argument

Power over ideas & Power of the field		
The power over ideas is fueled by the power of the field through three distinctive mechanisms		
1). The field effect	2). Cross-location effect	3). Hyper-scientization effect

Since the topic of norms diffusion is well established in IR and political science, the literature provides us with a long list of mechanisms, which conceptualize how ideas travel from one institution or group of actors to another. Rational Choice theorists and constructivist scholars have contributed to a large extent to this debate by diversifying the list of causal mechanisms, which help to explain complex processes of social interactions. In recent years, the group of Bourdieusian sociologists has cross-fertilized these literatures, both in France and in the English language academic world. This flourishing body of research has contributed to the conceptualization of a series of new mechanisms of norms/ideas circulation, among which those highlighted in this paper: the field effect, the cross-location of actors and the hyper-scientization of politics. As further argued below, the concepts of hyper-scientization and cross-location are tied up with the notion of "field

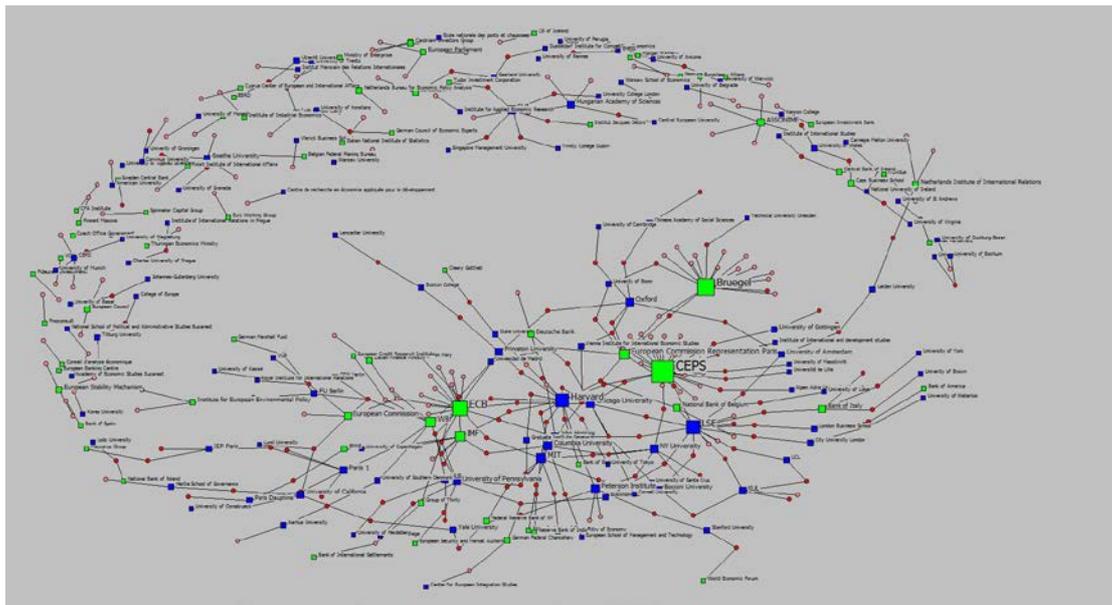
effect". The former were introduced recently into the field of EU studies by a group of sociologists interested in disentangling new mechanisms of legitimation in the production of solutions to the Eurozone crisis which go beyond the more static insights of the positional "field effect" by also considering more dynamic reputational and reputational ones.

The power over Ideas: the static hierarchies and properties of professional ecologies

The article brings into play the literatures on capital / habitus/field and ecology which scrutinize, broadly speaking, social/political spaces. The concept of "field" (Bourdieu 1993) describes systems of relations in which actors struggle over political authority and control. Dealing with the power of professionals working within the legal world, Bourdieu argued that the key to understand it is to focus on three interrelated aspects: the conception that these professionals have of their own activity; the mechanisms by which their conceptions are made, formed and disseminated and, last but not least, the effects of these professionals both within and outside their field (Terdiman: 808). Following Bourdieu, we can argue that there is a *field effect* when it is no longer possible to understand a work (and the value, i.e. the belief, that it is granted) without knowing the history of the field of production of the work (Bourdieu 1993; see also Mudge and Vauchez 2015).

In this regard, the concept of ecology complements this understanding by providing useful insights into the properties of this field. According to Abbott, an ecology is characterized by "actors, locations, and a relation associating the one with the other" (2005: 249). This concept defines a set of social relations, "a system of actors in a set of locations" and "a complex interactional structure filled with competing subgroups" (Abbott 2005: 247). As Matthijs and Mcnamara have argued, this social structure is made up of actors whose ideas become power resources in the broader world (2015: 232). As such, all actors are by virtue of their training and socialization (Matthijs and Mcnamara 2015: 232) connected to specific systems of professions (Abbott 2005). The relative position within the ecology, and thus their potential corollary field effect of both of the article's case studies (CEPS and Bruegel) is reflected in the following representation of their respective networks within the studied Brussels-based ecology.

Illustration 1: Representation of Bruegel & CEPS Relative position in the Ecology



As illustrated, the field effect flows from the actor's relative position in the ecology as it determines both a given ideational entrepreneurs symbolic capital (i.e. recognized source of knowledge) power over; as well as, the relative centrality of the actor's professed ideas (i.e. habits and references) to the field in question.

Power through ideas: the dynamic effects of cross-location and hyper-scientization

Besides the static "field effects" which determine a given agent's relative symbolic capital and the a priori acceptability/ centrality of the championed idea; the success of a ideational entrepreneur and the capacity of a given idea to contribute towards the legitimation of a given policy option are also shaped by a series of more dynamic factors, among which first and foremost the relational quality of the agents involved and the reputational references associated with the ideas put forward. Within the studies ecology, the key factor shaping the relational dimension is the professional mobility or cross-location of the agents involved, whereas the reputational dimension has increasingly been shaped by the ecologies increased scientization.

Professional mobility and the cross-location effect

Cross-location is a key factor in understanding how ideas (i.e. championed practices and habits) are disseminated in ecologies which bring together professionals and academics whose career path is characterized by their high degree of professional mobility. A key variable becomes how agents move between professional and organizational networks (Folke Henriksen and Seabroock, 2015: 2). As such, their expertise and authority is derived from their career experience. They are "multiple insiders" (Vedres and Stark 2010) in the sense that they are connected to a wide range of institutions and professional networks, including the policy-making field. Directly or indirectly they have access to the "international centers of epistemic power" (Helgadottir 2015: 2). Put differently, the ecology of the Brussels-based think

tanks brings together both endogenous and exogenous actors. What is puzzling is that it is not exactly clear where the ecology of Brussels-based think tanks ends and the audiences of their various claims within it begin (Abbott 2005: 251). Vauchez and Mudge (2012), who documented the hybridity of European spaces, highlighted that “very often bureaucrats are scholarly lawyers, economists are political appointees, former officials become lobbyists or found think tanks, and high-ranking European technocrats move between official positions and academic appointments”. Similarly, the field of Brussels-based think tanks is also characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity in terms of professions, nationalities and resources (material/symbolic). Those who populate these ecologies have in common different forms of symbolic capital – i.e. academic authority, professional prestige, reputation for their expertise, academic degrees, etc. Collectively said capital determines the type of knowledge an actor can call upon when seeking to circulate a given idea. As this research will show, the knowledge derived from their multiple forms of capital are often converted into political and/or economic capital by way of the ideas they circulate, often through those same personal networks built up as individual agents circulated within the ecology.

The hyper-scientization of politics

In different ways, the population of this ecology struggles for legitimized interpretations of the crisis and its solutions. Central to the power of this professional environment is its ability to decide *what* EU institutional actors have to consider, and *how* they should do this as they attempt to resolve the Eurozone crisis. The paper will show that the hyper-scientization is one of the key mechanisms through which Brussels-based think tanks endeavor to establish the primacy of their ideas and the legitimacy of their interpretations.

Some EU institutions have a long tradition in working with academics. For example, since its establishment, the European Central Bank (ECB) has tried to assert its authority over scientific knowledge. Building on this tradition, in response to the Eurozone crisis, both Jean-Claude Trichet and Mario Draghi have stressed the importance of “scientifically-informed monetary management” (Mudge and Vauchez 2015). In contrast, historically although the other EU institutions also had their own offices charged with strategy and prospecting, the proportion of “in-house academic expertise” remained relatively reduced. Not only the European Parliament, but also the European Commission have had to rely more explicitly on expertise and scientific knowledge produced by a wide range of exogenous actors. Accordingly, the European Commission has always been a privileged interlocutor for organized expert groups and think tanks. Nevertheless, it has often been “blamed” for its legalistic approach and poor usage of academic works in the making of its initiatives.

Since the first signs of the financial and economic crisis, all European institutions, whether in Brussels or Frankfurt, have ostensibly favored academic knowledge to the detriment of bureaucratic expertise. This shift was

prompted by the mounting criticism that EU institutions were merely recycling ideas that were put forward two decades ago. Consequently, high-level officials in Brussels and in several Member State capitals opened the doors of their cabinets to prestigious American and European scholars in the hope of bringing in innovative ideas. The increasingly direct involvement of academics in the debates surrounding the future of the EU's institutional architecture and policies is one of the peculiarities of EU policy-making. For example, over the past years, the Research Department of the European Parliament increased its collaborations with research centers and universities across Europe. It also increased the staff of its Research Unit hiring in particular scholars holding a PhD degree in social sciences. Within the European Commission, the DG ECFIN has tripled its staff to include a wide range of Economic and Financial analysts. On top of that, the ECB established its own Research Unit, regularly delivering a wide range of studies and reports.

Part II - Data collection and methodology: sequence, network and content analysis

Different indicators are used to examine the interplay between the mechanisms defined in the theoretical section. To this end, we engaged in three data collection exercises. Our first step was to identify the reports produced by the above-mentioned think tanks between 2008 and October 2015. We collected all the reports produced over the past 8 years by two think tanks: Bruegel and the Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS). We collected 404 reports in total: 175 reports produced by Bruegel, 196 reports produced by CEPS. We included in our selection all the reports dealing directly or indirectly with the Eurozone crisis and its political and institutional implications for the European Union. From these reports we retrieved the names of the authors and inferred their professional paths. Our aim was to derive a list of contributors; and on said basis, discover the nature of this given field's ecology, the career path of its representatives and their interactions with European/international/national institutions. The career histories of the authors of these reports were mapped drawing on their full CV's and of their detailed bios.

In our database covering the various authors we coded their names, professions, nationalities and employing institutions. For those who hold a PhD degree, we coded the name of the university where the PhD degree had been obtained. Last but not least, we sought to find out if the members of these two key think tanks of the considered ecology had served as consultant/advisors to international/European/national institutions.

A coding system was developed to record their professional occupation and the employment institution. For the organizational domain of employment we identified 7 fields:

- 1). EU institutions;
- 2). financial international institutions;

- 3). national, European and international banks;
- 4). National public institutions;
- 5). Financial service companies;
- 6). Universities and research centers;
- 7). think tanks

For the professional status, we used the following codes.

Table: Assumed professional codes

Business	B	Official European	OE
Consultant	C	Official International	OI
Economic Advisor	EADV	Official national	ON
Economic Analyst	EA	Political Science Academic	PSA
Economist professional	E	Research assistant	RA
Economist University	EU	Research economist	RE
Finance Journalist	FJ	Supervisor	S
Finance University	FU	Policy analyst	PA
Financial analyst	FA	Politician	P
Lawyer academic	LA	Member of the European Parliament	MEP
Lawyer professional	LP	Attorney	A

Part III - The considered ecology of Brussels-based think tanks

During the period under examination, the studied ecology is assessed through the prism of two of its most active institutionalized third-party ideational entrepreneurs: Bruegel and the CEPS. These two Think Tanks bring together 300 professionals: 141 connected to the former and 169 involved in the research activities of the later. This group represents those who were involved in the production of reports (from 2008 to 2015) dealing with the Eurozone crisis, the fiscal policy of the EU, the budgetary policy and the solutions to the problems arising from the crisis and EU's modes of governance.

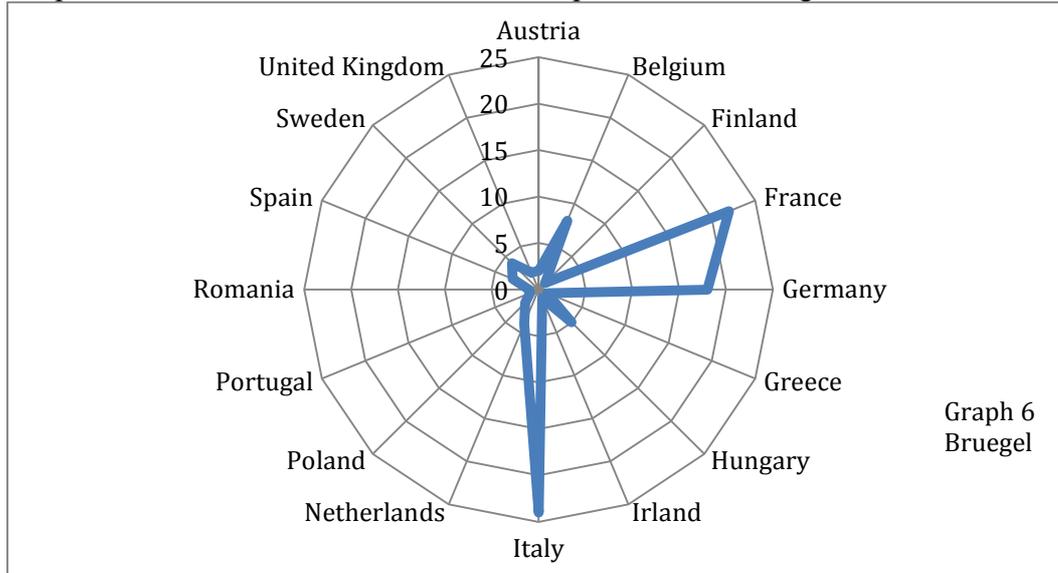
Field Effect: Securing their position as central nodes both with and beyond the Brussels ecology

The two studied components of the ecology are both highly heterogeneous in terms of nationalities. What they also have in common is that in the two cases Italian professionals constitute the largest group of actors: 24 Italians belong to the Bruegel's ecology and 28 Italians were connected with CEPS from 2008 to 2015. This high percentage of Italians can be explained by the prestige of the Economic research departments in Italy. According to one interviewees quoted by Mudge and Vauchez's article (2015) "the Bank of Italy has a strong research tradition but poor results in terms of monetary policy".

Going into further detail, we observe that within Bruegel, French experts represent the second largest group (22), followed by German professionals (18) and the group of Belgians (8). 70% of the professionals linked to Bruegel's activities during the period under examination are citizens of EU 28. 30% of non-EU citizens are from the United-States (20), from Japan (2), China (2), Korea (3), from Latin America (2), from India (1), Serbia (1), Switzerland (1) and Egypt (1). The presence of non-European illustrates Bruegel's ties with American Universities, think tanks and research departments.

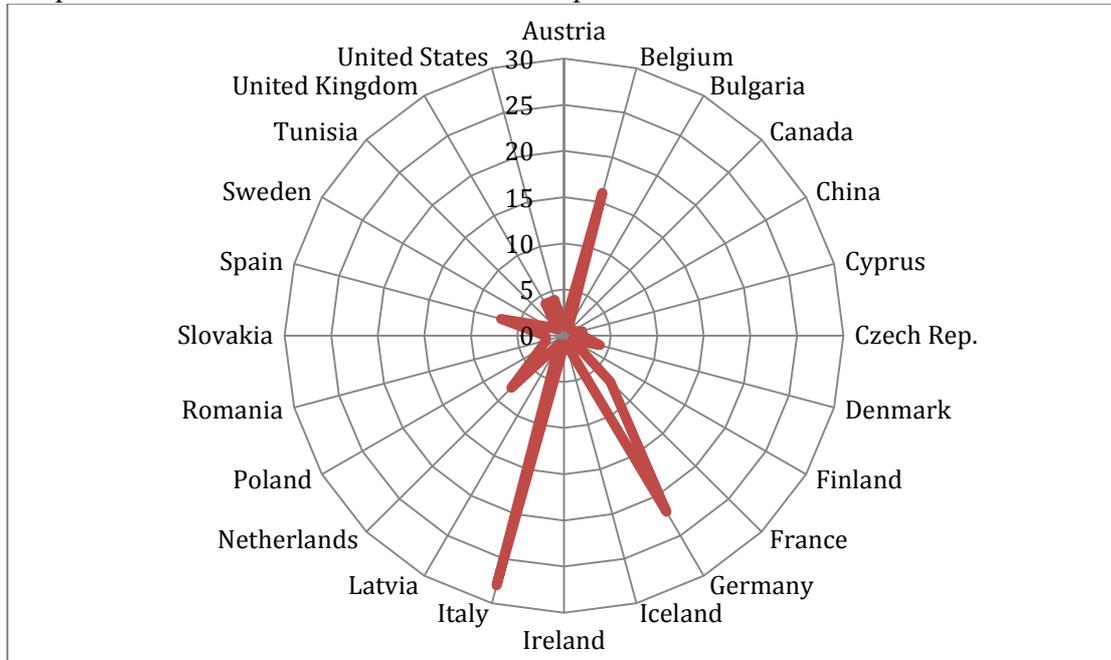
Within CEPS, the group of Italians is the largest one (28); it is followed by the group of German professionals (22), Belgians (16), Dutch (8), French (8) and Spanish (7). What characterizes the CEPS's production of knowledge is the involvement of professional actors from the new EU Member States, including 1 from Bulgaria, 2 from the Czech Republic, 1 from Latvia, 3 from Poland, 2 from Romania and 2 from Slovakia (see graph 6). While this significant participation of American actors is one of the features of Bruegel's contribution to the ecology, only 4 Americans contributed to the analysis of the EU's situation in the context of the Eurozone crisis in connection with CEPS's activities.

Graph 6: Nationals of EU Member States represented at Bruegel



Graph 6
Bruegel

Graph 7: Nationals of EU Member States represented at CEPS



Within Bruegel's contribution to the studied ecology, academics are the largest group (53), followed by economists without academic affiliations (33), research economists in national/international/European institutions (22) and research assistants (14). There are also consultants (4), financial analysts (5), lawyers (1), political scientists (2), financial journalists (1), policy-makers (1), policy analyst (1) and supervisors (1). Broadly speaking, Bruegel is dominated by academics and professionals with academic backgrounds in Economics and Finance. A more diverse group in terms of academic backgrounds characterizes CEPS' contribution to the overall ecology. It brings together not only economists from different areas of specializations but also a series of sociologists and political scientists. CEPS' professional environment

distinguishes itself from that of Bruegel considering the interdisciplinary academic background of its members. Overall, the group of economists is still by far the largest: there are 38 professional economists, 31 scholars in Economics and 6 in Finance who contributed to the debates initiated by CEPS on the Eurozone crisis between 2008 and 2015. Political scientists (16) and policy analysts (13) are fewer in number but together they represent the second most prominent group. Other professional categories are represented in lesser numbers, such as policy-makers (4), Members of the European Parliament (3), representatives of European institutions (3), or lawyers/attorneys (2).

Chart 1: the ecology of Bruegel in terms of professional occupation

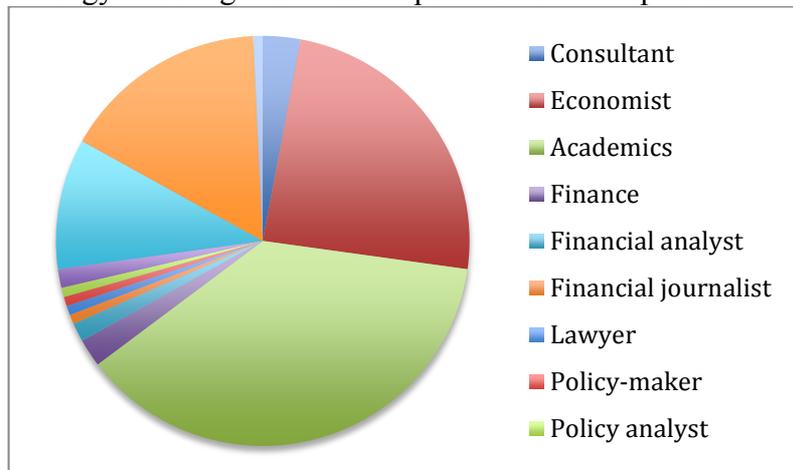
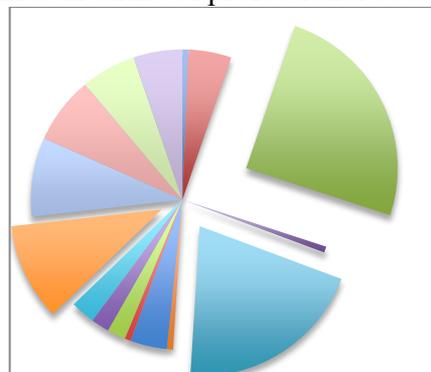


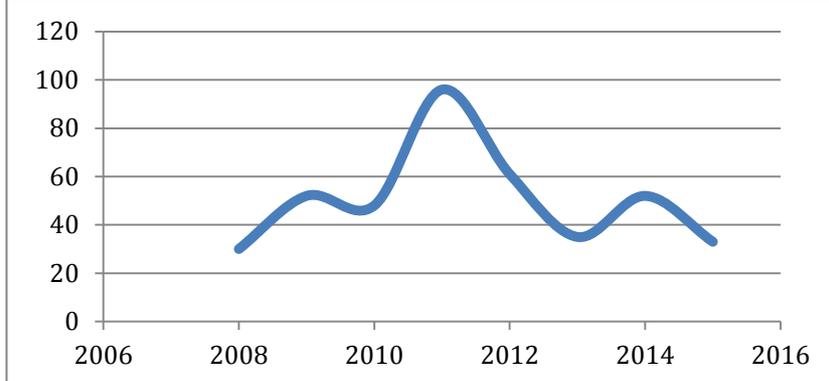
Chart 2: the ecology of CEPS in terms of professional occupation



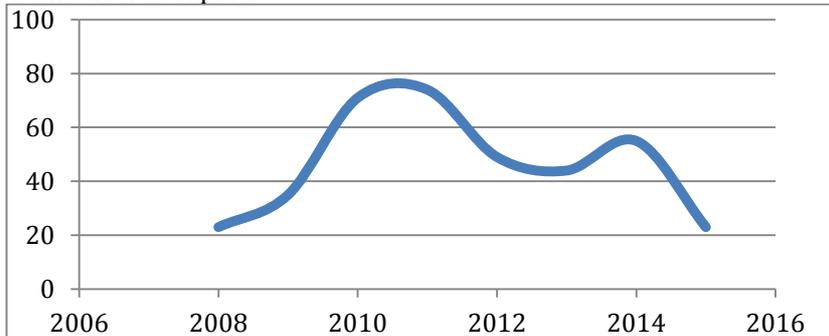
Although the CEPS's and Bruegel's activities are fueled by their internal staff, we observed that during the period under consideration both of them have associated a wide range of third-party actors to the knowledge production which serves as the driving capital of their work. Our data shows that the number of actors involved in the production of reports under the patronage of Bruegel and the CEPS significantly increased between 2010 and 2012, as illustrated in graphs 3, 4 and 5. As such, in the immediate aftermath of the Eurozone crisis, a first response from two key actors within the Brussels-based ecology was to cast a wider net. This was done by mobilizing a growing number of agents by way of an increasing number of contributions

to the debates. Following the externally induced disruption caused by the Eurozone crisis, both studied Think Tanks' priority was to consolidate their knowledge production mechanisms by marshalling new agents able to contribute towards strengthening their overall capital, and thus their relative position within the field.

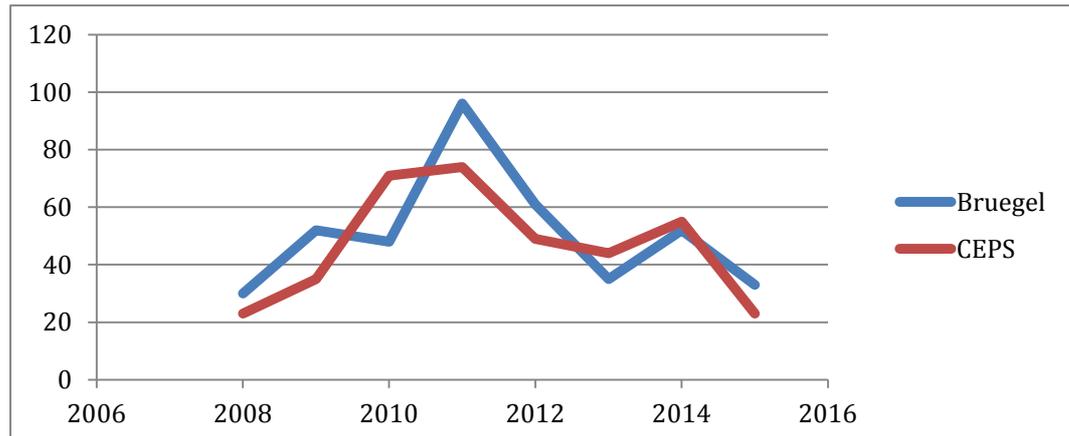
Graph 3: Bruegel – number of experts



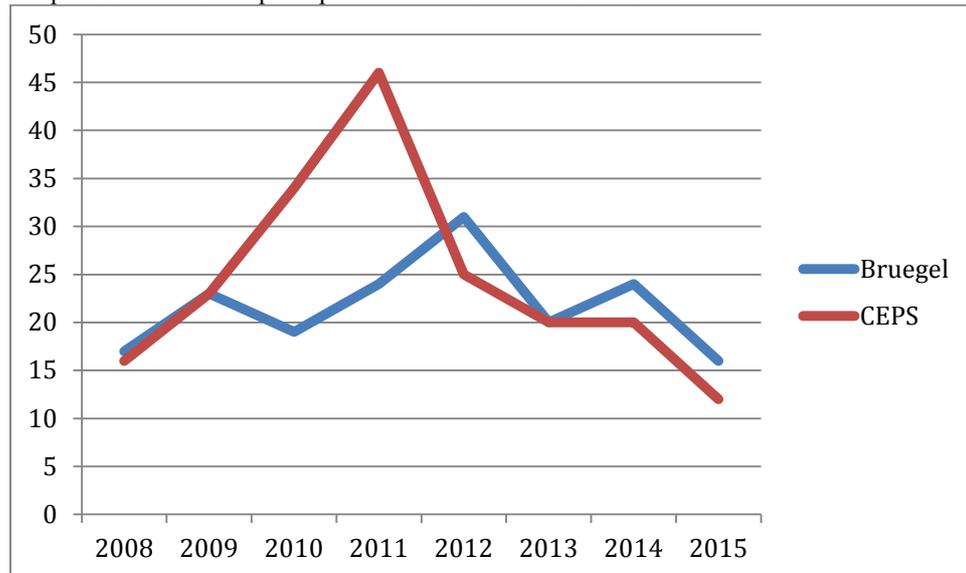
Graph4: CEPS – number of experts



Graph 5: number of actors involved in CEPS and Bruegel activities from 2008 to 2015

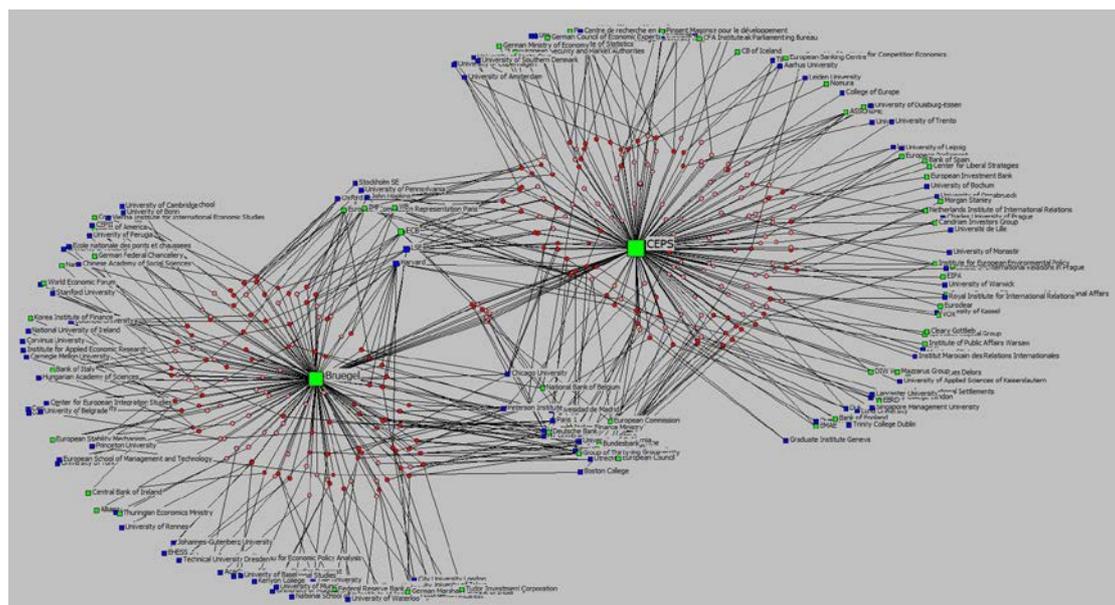


Graph 5': number of reports produced between 2008 and 2015



Overall both actors can call upon important reserves of symbolic capital which they have sought to consolidate throughout the crisis. As such, the hot phase of the crisis saw a spike in activity in both cases as well as the inclusion of new agents all of which were largely in line with the path-dependencies associated with either actor's origins and activities prior to the crisis. The period following the most intense phase of the crisis saw a return to a lower level of knowledge production and a slow return to the smaller (more tightknit) circle of agents. Overall both CEPS and Bruegel remain central (competing) nodes within the field of ideational debates surrounding the EU's macro-economic policies (see illustration 2)

Illustration 1: Weighted Representation of Bruegel & CEPS Relative position in the Ecology



Cross-location: networks of institutions and networks of people

The ecology characterizing the two think tanks under examination has strong ties with the world of EU institutions, financial international organizations and domestic institutions. The actors identified through Bruegel represent 79 institutions (listed in table 12). CEPS for its part brings together representatives of 95 institutions, including 48 universities, 11 national/international/European think tanks, 8 national institutions, 4 financial service companies, 9 European institutions and agencies and 2 consultancy groups. The tables below illustrate the relational context in which these actors conduct their work. The members of think tanks' ecology are connected to a wide range of domestic and international institution.

Their ecology is characterized by a high degree of career mobility. This feature can be observed not only in the career of senior academics/professionals but also in the professional path of those who have less than five years of experience in the field. Most importantly, some of them have access to a series of high level European and national officials. As such, the ecology of Bruegel and CEPS is populated by "multiple insiders", i.e. connected through professional ties to other institutions.

Most of them serve or have served as **advisors** to EU officials, Presidents of EU Member States and Ministers. What they have in common is the experience of working with high level officials and politicians. For example, Jean Pisani-Ferry was advisor to the French President and to the European Commission (1989-1992); André Sapir was advisor to the President of the Commission, Romano Prodi; Reinhilde Veugelers was a member of the BEPA from 2004 to 2008. Overall, Bruegel involves a series of advisors to the German Chancellor and the French President, as well as a group of counselors to the French and German ministers of Economy, Labour and/or Finance. Bruegel also has professional connections with both the German Council of Economic Experts and the Council of Economic Analysis to the French Prime Minister and the French Council of Economic Analysis. The driving role played by France and German in the establishment of Bruegel is thus still reflected in the career paths of its agents.

Another professional group well represented at Bruegel is that of **governors and members of committees and boards** of the European Central Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and several national central banks (in particular the Deutsche Bank and the Bank of Italy).

The group of **economists or researchers** who worked with a series of international financial organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank is also significant (see for example Bruegel's connections with Anne Krueger, Garry Schimassi and Marek Belka). It is important to note that rather strikingly in the case of Bruegel the group of those with connections to, and past experience of, international financial institution is higher than the group of those who have worked within EU institutions.

Despite the more interdisciplinary character of the area of research covered by CEPS, at first glance its population is not significantly different from that of

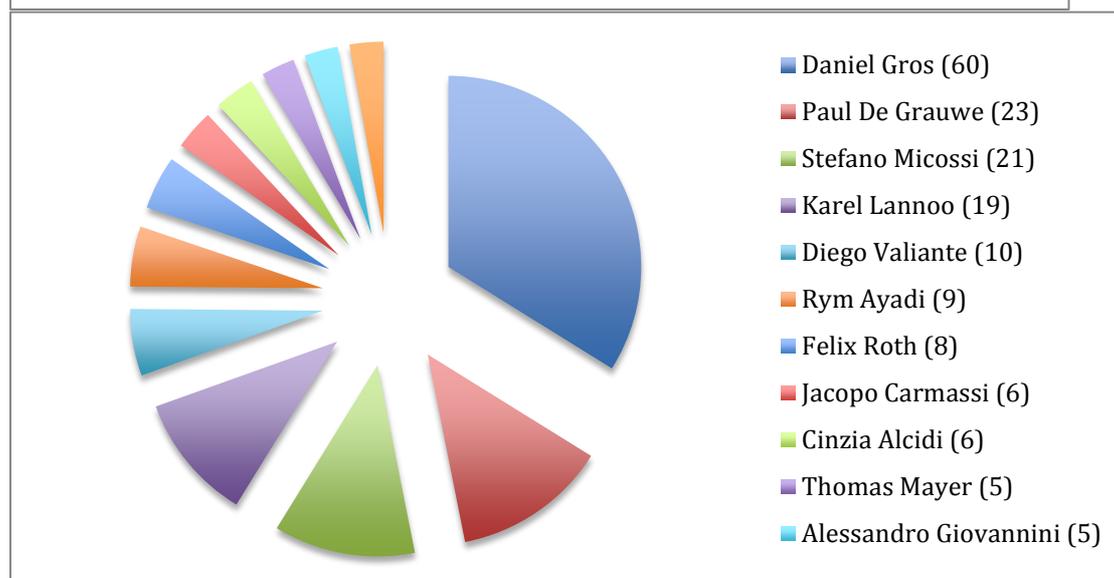
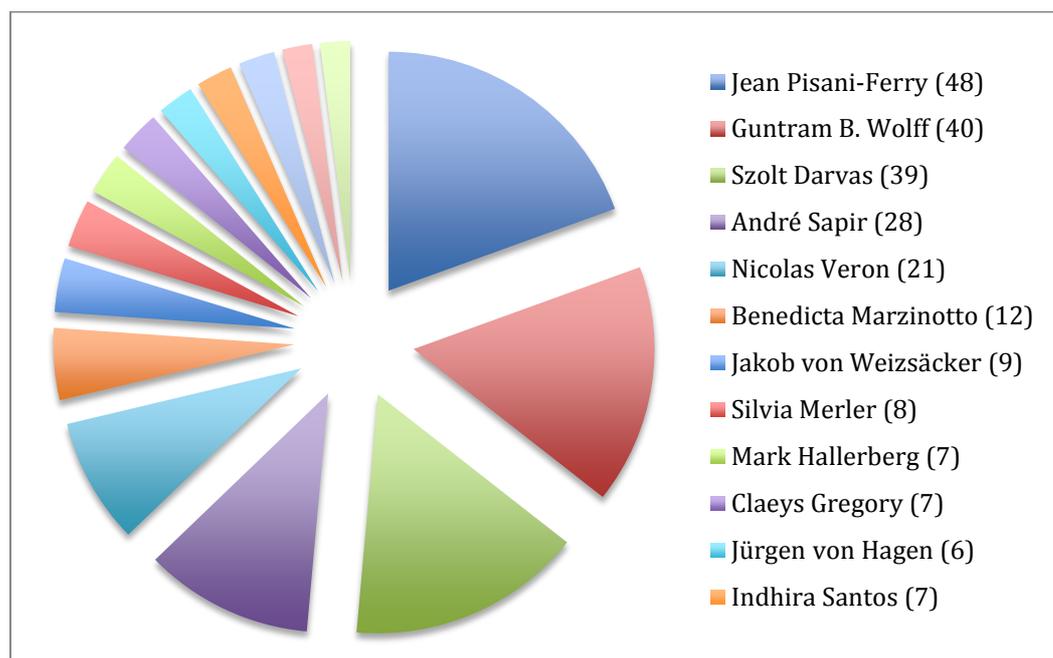
Bruegel. The production of knowledge within CEPS also involves researchers and academics, experts and consultants who have worked with a variety of other international institutions. In relative terms however, a greater balance is to be observed at CEPS between those agents with ties to international institutions (such as the IMF and the World Bank) and those able to count on existing ties to a wide range of European institutions (in particular the ECB, the European Parliament and the European Commission).

The volatility of those who populate these two think tanks is attested to by looking at the career transition from one domain to another of their respective agents. Different “profiles” can be identified:

- the “**pure academic profile**” is represented by scholars who provide their services as advisor/consultant to EU/international institutions but whose main activity remains related to teaching and research in universities.
- The group of “**senior researchers**” in the field of economics and the banking sector: this group is also characterized by a high degree of mobility. Very often they start their career at the domestic level, in research departments. From this position they move to perform similar tasks but in international/European professional environments. They do not always have a PhD, but they hold at least a Master degree, often in Economics.
- The “new comers” in the field represent the group of “**research assistants**”. They generally hold a Master degree and, in spite of their short professional experience, they share similar degrees of professional mobility as senior professionals.
- In what concerns the group of **professionals** – i.e. economists, financial analysis, political analysis - the most common pattern is the move from EU/national or international institutions to think tanks. Very often they move from European Institutions/National Institutions to International Financial Institutions before joining think tanks or offering their services as consultants/policy analysis/advisors in particular at the end of the career. Their symbolic capital is often converted in political/academic capital.

Each think tank has its own “**epistemic centre**”, that is a group of experts who are not only periodically invited to share their knowledge on specific topics, but who are also recognized for the prestige and authority of their contributions.

Graph 6: Bruegel & CEPS Epistemic Cores



On the one hand, among those who contributed at least 5 times to the production of a policy report under the patronage of Bruegel, we find Jean Pisani-Ferry, Guntram B. Wolff, Szolt Darvas, André Sapir, Nicolas Véron, Benedicta Marzinotto, Jakob von Weizsäcker, Silvia Merler, Mark Hallerberg, Claeys Gregory, Jürgen von Hagen, Indhira Santos, Askoka Mody, Agnes Benassy Querere and Alessio Terzi.

On the other hand, within CEPS, the core group of experts involved in the production of knowledge is composed of Daniel Gros, Paul De Grauwe, Stefano Micossi, Karel Lannoo, Diego Valiante, Rym Ayadi, Felix Roth, Jacopo Carmassi, Cinzia Alcidi, Thomas Mayer, Alessandro Giovannini and Sonia Piedrafita.

Table 14: Bruegel - number of reports by professional

Names	Total	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Jean Pisani-Ferry	48	7	10	6	10	12	3	0	0
Guntram B. Wolff	40	0	0	0	8	11	8	10	3
Szolt Darvas	39	1	4	6	5	3	7	8	5
André Sapir	28	2	4	4	7	3	2	4	2
Nicolas Veron	21	4	3	2	2	4	3	1	2
Benedicta Marzinotto	12	0	0	3	4	5	0	0	0
Jakob von Weizsäcker	9	3	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
Silvia Merler	8	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	1
Mark Hallerberg	7	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	0
Claeys Gregory	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3
Jürgen von Hagen	6	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
Indhira Santos	6	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Askoka Mody	6	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2
Agnes Benassy Querere	5	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0
Terzi Alessio	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3

Table 15: CEPS – number of reports by professional

CEPS	Total	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Daniel Gros	60	7	4	10	15	11	4	5	4
Paul De Grauwe	23	3	5	4	5	1	3	1	1
Stefano Micossi	21	4	1	3	3	5	1	2	2
Karel Lannoo	19	4	4	4	4	1	2	0	0
Diego Valiante	10		1	1	4	2	0	2	0
Rym Ayadi	9	1	1	2	4	0	1	0	0
Felix Roth	8	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	0
Jacopo Carmassi	6	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0
Cinzia Alcidi	6	0	0	2	2	1	0	1	0
Thomas Mayer	5	0	0	0	1	1	1		2
Alessandro Giovannini	5	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0
Sonia Piedrafita	5	0	0	0			1	3	1

Table 12: Bruegel ecology - institutional networks

Think tanks = rose; universities = tan; EU institutions = blue; banks = gray; national institutions = light green; financial international institutions = blue-gray; financial service company = orange

Aix-Marseille School of Economics and EHESS	1	Institute of World Economics and Politics Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	1
Allianz	1	Johannes-Gutenberg University	1
American University	1	Johns Hopkins University	1
Bank of America	1	Kenyon College	1
Bank of India	1	Korea Institute of Finance	1
Bank of Italy	3	Korea University	1
Bank of NY	1	KULeuven	1
Bocconi University	2	London Business School	2
Bruegel	18	Minister of Finance	1
Center for European Integration Studies	1	Monetary Policy Department of the Bank of Italy	1
Central Bank of Ireland	1	National Bank of Belgium	2
Centre for Financial Studies, Goethe university Frankfurt	1	National Bank of Poland	1
CEPS	1	National School of Political and Administrative Studies	1
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	1	National University of Ireland	1
City University London	2	Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis	2
Conseil d'analyse économique	1	NY University	2
Cornell University	1	Oxford University	1
Corvinus University	1	Paris School of Economics, University of Paris 1	2
Deutsche Bank	2	Peterson Institute for International Economics	7
Deutsche Bundesbank	1	Recherche et expertise sur l'économie mondiale (CEPII)	2
ECFIN	3	Science Po Paris	2
Ecole nationale des ponts et chaussées	1	Spanish National Commission for Competition	1
Economic and Financial Policy Division of the German Federal Chancellery	1	Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics at the Stockholm School of Economics	1
Euro Working Group	1	Supervisory Board of the European Central Bank	1
European Banking Authority	1	Sweden Central Bank	1
European Central Bank	6	The Group of Thirty	2
European School of Management and Technology	1	The University of Chicago	1
European Stability Mechanism	2	Thuringian Economics Ministry	1
Federal Reserve Bank of NY	1	Tudor Investment Corporation	1
Fideuram Investimenti	1	University of Belgrade	1
German Marshall Fund	1	University of Groningen	1
Goethe University	1	University of Perugia	1
Harvard Kennedy School	1	University of Tokyo	1
Harvard University	3	Université libre de Bruxelles	3
Hertie School of Governance	2	University of California, Berkley	1
Hungarian Academy of Sciences	4	University of Munich	1
IMF	5	Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies	2
Institute for Applied Economic Research	1	Warsaw School of Economics	1
Institute of Industrial Economics	1	World Bank	2
World Economic Forum	1		

Their career paths reveal the cross-location of actors and the pathways of circulation of ideas.

Jean Pisani-Ferry, who is a professor at the Hertie School of Governance, was the first director of Bruegel. Since the start of the Eurozone crisis he is the Commissioner General of the French Prime Minister's Policy Planning Staff. He has strong ties with both French domestic institutions and EU officials. Before joining Bruegel, he was economic advisor with the European Commission (1989-1992) and he served as Senior Economic Advisor to the French Minister of Finance (1997 - 2000). He also worked as an economic advisor to Dominique Strauss-Kahn.

Guntram B. Wolff, the new director of Bruegel since 2013, started his career at the Deutsche Bundesbank where he coordinated the research team on fiscal policy. After his experience as an advisor to the IMF, he joined the European Commission where he worked on the macroeconomics of the euro and the reform of euro governance structure. *Szolt Darvas* is a Senior Fellow at Bruegel since 2008; he worked before at the research unit of the Central Bank of Hungary (1994-2005) where he served as Deputy Head. *André Sapir* is a Professor of Economics at the ULB and a former advisor to the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi. *Nicolas Véron* is a Research fellow at Bruegel and at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington. In 2012, Bloomberg Markets included his name in the list of "50 Most Influential" with reference to his advocacy work devoted to the European Banking Union. *Benedicta Marzinotto* was a Fellow at Bruegel (2010-2013) and she was employed as a Policy Analyst - Economist at the European Commission (DG ECFIN). She holds a PhD in Political Economy from the London School of Economics. *Jakob von Weizsäcker* is one of the two Bruegel researchers who proposed the Eurobond as a solution to some of the problems generated by the Eurozone crisis. After his career as venture capitalist, he worked for three years at the World Bank in Washington. He also headed the department for Economic Policy of the Thuringian Economics Ministry. He was elected Member of the European Parliament (EP) in the 2014 elections. He is a member of the S&D Group and member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs of the EP. *Silvia Merler* is an Affiliate Fellow at Bruegel. She worked before as an Economic Analyst in the DG ECFIN of the European Commission. *Mark Hallerberg* is a professor at the Hertie School of Governance. Besides his academic career as a professor of Public Management and Political Economy, he worked as a consultant for the Dutch Ministry of Finance, Ernst and Young Poland, the European Central Bank, the IMG, the OCDE and the World Bank. *Jürgen von Hagen* is the Director of the Center for European Integration Studies in Bonn. *Indhira Santos* holds a PhD in economic development from Harvard University and joined the World Bank in 2009. Before joining Bruegel she worked for the Central Bank of Turkey. *Askoka Mody* advised different governments on financial policies and projects. He served a Deputy Director of the Research and European Department of the IMF. He is Visiting Professor in International Economy Policy at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University. *Agnes*

Benassy Querere is a Professor at Paris School of Economics. She is a member of the advisory board to the Ministry of Finance in France and a shadow member of the ECB Council. *Alessio Terzi* was a Research Analyst at the European Central Bank and he worked for the DG Ecfm before joining Bruegel.

Within CEPS, the core group of experts involved in the production of knowledge is composed of Daniel Gros, Paul De Grauwe, Stefano Micossi all three of whom account for more than 20 contributions between 2008 and 2015. *Daniel Gros*, the Director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), holds a PhD in Economics from the University of Chicago. Before joining EU institutions, he worked for the IMF (1983-1986). He served as Economic Advisor to the Directorate General II of the European Commission (1988-1990) and as an Advisor to the European Parliament from 1998 to 2005. *Paul De Grauwe* is a Professor in Economic Political Economy at the LSE. He holds a PhD in Economics from Johns Hopkins University. He worked as an economist at the IMF and he was elected in the 1990s as a member of the Belgian Senate. He was a member of the Group of Economic Policy Analysis, which advised the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso. *Stefano Micossi* is the Director of a think tank based in Rome (Assonime). He worked for the IMF in late 1970s and for the Bank of Italy in the 1980s. A second circle of some 10 names characterize a further set of core contributors at CEPS. *Karel Lannoo*, Chef Executive Officer at CEPS and an expert in European monetary policy, banking and financial markets, financial market regulation, European Union business policies and corporate governance. *Diego Valiante* who holds a PhD in Economics from Luiss Guido Carlo University in Rome and is a Research Fellow at the CEPS. He regularly advises European institutions and is involved in working groups of experts on capital markets economics and regulation. *Rym Ayadi* is a Professor at HEC Montreal and Senior Research Fellow at the CEPS. He was a Senior Scholar at the IMF and an external advisor to several EU institutions, including the European Parliament and the Commission. *Felix Roth* is a Research Fellow at the CEPS, with a PhD in Economics from the University of Gottingen. *Jacopo Carmassi* is an expert on financial regulation. He worked for the Italian think tank Assonime and he is a Fellow at the Wharton Financial Institutions Center, University of Pennsylvania. *Thomas Mayer* was a Chief Economist at the Deutsche Bank from 2010 to 2012. *Cinzia Alcidi*, *Alessandro Giovannini* and *Sonia Piedrafita* are researchers at the CEPS.

The hyper-scientization Effect

There are different indicators to observe the degree of hyper-scientization in the production of solutions to the Eurozone crisis. One indicator is that Brussels-based think tanks produce knowledge (empirical based research) rather than ideas. What distinguishes this ecology from others professional environments is that their key resource is knowledge rather than ideas (on the

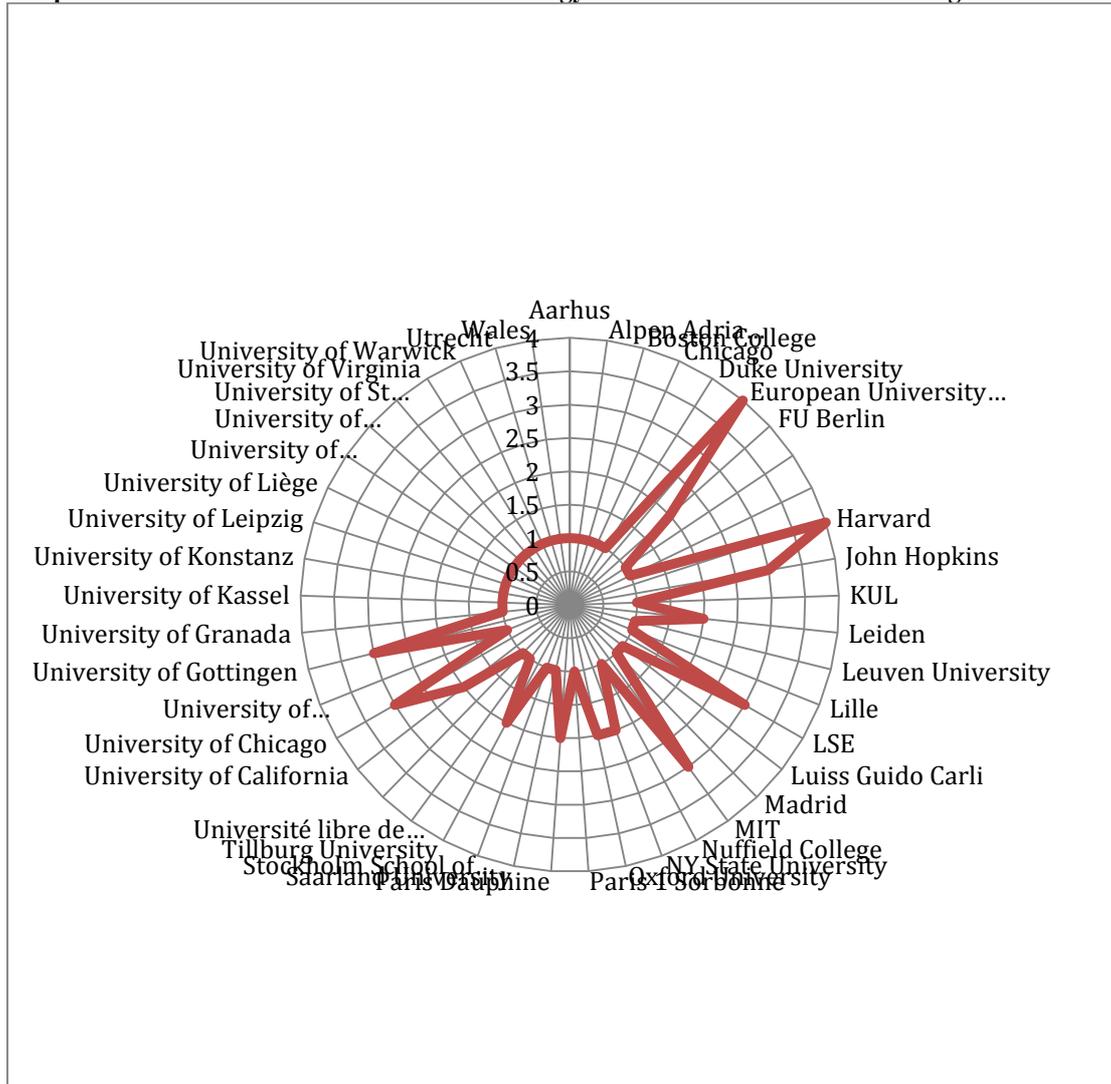
distinction between “knowledge” and “ideas” see Seabrooke 2014: 3). Brussels-based think tanks use knowledge as their key capital/resource in their quest for legitimation of a given set of ideas. Knowledge is used to both explain the origins of the crisis; and defend those “ideas” invoked to make room for “innovative” crisis solutions. Another indicator of this increased hyper-scientization is that the majority of members of the ecology hold a PhD; the ways of knowing and the production of knowledge follow the academic standards of publication; in addition, most of these reports have been published in prestigious academic journals and are quoted by the peers in Economics, International Political Economy and European Studies.

In terms of symbolic resources, 51% of the professionals associated to Bruegel’s research and assessment activities hold a PhD; this is comparable to the proportion of researchers holding a PhD involved in CEPS’ activities (49%). Their positions include tenured positions and affiliations at prestigious universities. American Universities are heavily represented in Bruegel’s contribution to the ecology. Among those who contributed to the assessment of EU’s policies with Bruegel, there are 6 who received their PhD from Columbia University, 6 who obtained their PhD at Harvard, 5 earned their PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 3 from the University of Chicago and 3 from Yale. Other American universities are represented such as Princeton, Stanford, Pennsylvania (see table 8). The composition of the CEPS’ contribution is not exactly the same and considering that the number of US experts is lower, we nevertheless observe that some of those who contributed to the CEPS activities received their PhD from Harvard (4), the University of Chicago (4), Johns Hopkins (3), New York (2) and the University of California (2).

Table 8: Bruegel ecology - number of PhD delivered by University

Academy of Economic Studies Bucharest	1	<i>Stanford University</i>	2
Boston University	1	<i>Stockholm School of Economics</i>	2
Carnegie Mellon University	1	Technical University Dresden	1
Central European University	1	University of Ancona	1
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	1	University of Basel	1
<i>Columbia University</i>	6	<i>University of Bonn</i>	2
Corvinus University	1	University of Brown	1
EUI	3	University of California, LA	1
Freie Universitat Berlin	1	Universidad Carlos III in Madrid	1
<i>Harvard University</i>	6	Université catholique de Louvain	1
Université libre de Bruxelles			2
Institute of International Studies Geneva	1	University of Cambridge	1
Johns Hopkins University	1	<i>University of Chicago</i>	3
Kennedy School of Government Harvard University	1	University of Heidelberg	1
KULeuven	2	University of Magdeburg	1
Lodz University	1	University of Pennsylvania	2
London Business School	1	University of Rennes	1
<i>London School of Economics</i>	4	University of Saarlandes	1
<i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i>	5	University of Utrecht	1
<i>NY University</i>	2	University of Waterloo	1
<i>Oxford University</i>	3	University of York	1
Paris 1	3	University Pompeu Fabra	1
Paris Dauphine	1	Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania	1
<i>Princeton University</i>	2	<i>Yale University</i>	3

Graph 11: visualization of table 10 - CEPS ecology – number of PhD and delivering universities



Hyper-scientization takes a wide range of forms. Most of the reports, which are at the origin of this analysis, have been published (with revisions) in a series of prestigious academic journals. The majority of those issued by Bruegel are also available as academic publications on RePEc. RePEc is an international repository of information on current research in economics that emerged in 1997 (see also Mudge and Vauchez 2015). As Karlsson & Krichel 1999 pointed out, in recent years “RePEc became a major reference point in economics, gaining ‘wide acceptance within the discipline’ and establishing itself as ‘the premier source of information’ on developments in economic research (see Mudge and Vauchez 2015). The number of single author papers is relatively reduced as co-authorship has become a widespread practice. Our data also show that most of the articles are produced by the “epistemic core”, i.e. the list of the most productive experts within Bruegel (see table 14 and table 15). This practice is less common when we examine the production of knowledge within the CEPS, where the proportion of reports produced by a single author is higher.

Table 13: CEPS ecology - institutional networks

Think tanks = rose; universities = tan; EU institutions = blue; banks = gray; national institutions = light green; financial service company = orange; consultancy = pale blue

ASSONIME	5	Graduate Institute Geneva	
Aarhus University	1	Institut Jacques Delors	
Amsterdam University	2	Institut Marocain des Relations Internationales	
Bank of England	1	Institute for European Environmental Policy	
Bank of International Settlements	1	Institute of International Relations in Prague	
Bank of Spain	1	Institute of Public Affairs Warsaw	
European Central Bank	9	Italian National Institute of Statistics	
Belgian Federal Planning Bureau	1	KU Leuven	
Bocconi University	1	Lancaster University	
Bundesbank	1	London School of Economics	
Candriam Investors Group	2	Luiiss Guido Carli	
Cass Business School	2	Lund University	
Center for Liberal Strategies	1	Mazars Group	
Central Bank of Iceland	1	Minister of Finance	
Centre de recherche en économie appliquée pour le développement	1	Ministry of Enterprise	
CEPS	26	Morgan Stanley	
CFA Institute	1	National Bank of Belgium	
Cleary Gottlieb	1	Netherlands Institute of International Relations	
College of Europe	1	Nomura	
Cyprus Center of European and International Affairs	1	NY University	
Czech Office Government	1	Paris Dauphine	
Deutsche Bank	1	Peterson Institute for International Economics	
German Institute for Economic Research (DIW)	2	Pinsent Masons (Law firm)	
Duke University	1	Providus (Latvia)	
Dusseldorf Institute for Competition Economics	1	Queen Mary	
EBRD	1	Royal Institute for International Relations	
ECFIN	1	Singapore Management University	
EIPA	1	Slovak Parliament	
EMAE	2	Spinnaker Capital Group	
Euro Working Group	1	Trinity College Dublin	
Euroclear	1	Université Catholique de Louvain	
European Banking Centre	1	Université libre de Bruxelles	
European Commission - Representation Paris	1	University College London	
European Council on Foreign Relations	1	University of Amsterdam	
European Credit Research Institute	1	University of Applied Sciences of Kaiserslautern	
European Investment Bank	1	University of Bochum	
European Parliament	3	University of Duisburg-Essen	
European Security and Market Authorities	1	University of Gottingen	
European University Institute - EUI	1	University of Gottingen	
Finish Institute of International Affairs	1	University of Granada	
Finoconsult	1	University of Monastir	
German Council of Economic Experts	1	University of Osnabrueck	
German Ministry of Economy	1	University of Pennsylvania	
Goethe University	1	University of Santa Cruz	
University of Southern Denmark	2	VOX	
University of Wales	1	Warsaw University	
Vlerick Business School	1		

Conclusion

As stated from the onset, the aim of this research was not to prove the existence of any causal link between the production of knowledge and the nature of the ideas/solutions proposed at the European level by EU institutional actors. The primary aim was rather to document the proximity within the Brussels-based policy-making ecology between the European institutions and central third-party ideational entrepreneurs.

In the immediate and mid-term aftermath of the Eurozone crisis there has been a widespread and consistent dissemination of the reports produced by Bruegel and the CEPS. As such, both think tanks emerge as key ideational

entrepreneurs within the Brussels-based policy-making ecology on macro-economic governance. The conclusions of most of these reports have been publically discussed in conferences and seminars organized in Brussels in the presence of high-level officials as well as in other locations, most notably at the Member State level. In addition, the European Parliament and its committees have repeatedly requested reports on issues related to the Eurozone crisis to the members of the “epistemic core” of the two think tanks under examination. For example, Jean Pisani-Ferry’s report on “Euro Area Governance: What went wrong? How to repair it?” was requested by the European Parliament Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and published in 2010. A further document directly requested in 2010 by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs of the EP to the members of the “epistemic core” of Bruegel – Zsolt Darvas and Jakob von Weizsäcker – dealt with the Financial Transaction Tax. In said context one should note that this proximity with the EP was further confirmed when Jakob von Weizsäcker became Member of the European Parliament following the 2014 elections. Before joining the EP, he proposed with Jacques Delpla the creation of a “dual bond market”, distinguishing between a “blue debt” and a “red debt”. This proposal has been promoted as an “innovative solution” to the problems of the crisis. There are many other similar examples of such ideational cross-polarization (e.g. the report published in 2010 “Future development of global imbalances” produced by Zsolt Darvas and Jean Pisani-Ferry; the report published in 2010 by Carlo Altomonte and Benedicita Marzinotto entitled “Monitoring Macroeconomic Imbalances in Europe: Proposal for a Redefined Analytical Framework”; the report “How effective and legitimate is the European Semester?”, published at the request of the Committee in 2011 by Mark Hallerberg, Benedicita Marzinotto and Guntram Wolff). Overall, the experiences of CEPS and Bruegel’s efforts to champion certain ideas surrounding the EU response to the externally induced disruption that was the Eurozone crisis, confirm the overarching importance of their relative position within the ecology and its corollary ‘field effects’.

The “epistemic core” at Bruegel and CEPS have not only proposed policy solution to “innovate” in the context of the fast-burning Eurozone crisis in the immediate aftermath (i.e. 2010-2012); but they have also assessed the first series of measures taken at the EU level and their implications thus continuing to weigh on the circulation of ideas during as the more slow-burning crisis logics have reasserted themselves (2012 -). As examples of the continued ideational contribution on macro-economic governance one could list among others: “An Assessment of the European Semester” produced in 2012 by Mark Hallerberg, Benedicita Marzinotto and Guntram Wolff; “The Troika and financial assistance in the euro area” written by André Sapir, Guntram Wolff, Carlos de Sousa and Alessio Terzi. As this new phase of the crisis has settled in, the scope of reports produced has broadened as the epistemic cores of Bruegel and CEPS have moved beyond the reports requested by the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, to also

produced reports for the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs on topics dealing with poverty and austerity (e.g. the study “Austerity and Poverty in the European Union” published in 2014 by Szolt Darvas and a team of research assistants from Bruegel). As such the initial response of both actors within the Brussels-ecology to the disruption of the Eurozone crisis was to initially deepen their knowledge through the involvement of new contributors and a heightened production of the actors’ respective “epistemic core”. As the hotter phase of the crisis slowly gave way to more slow-burning concerns energies within the Think Tanks shifted from strengthening their underlying knowledge capital to ensure a wider circulation of their ideas, through a multiplication of their institutional counter-parts at the EU level and a heightened mobilization of the key mechanism of the circulation and legitimation of ideas within the Brussels ecology: cross-location and hyper-scientization.

Here a first clear distinction is to be made between both studied actors, which although equally central to the Brussels ecology, have relatively different means of seeing their ideas circulate, as their respective cross-location and hyper-scientization effects differ in light of their distinct professional environments. On the one hand, Bruegel with its uniquely global and highly specialized professional environment functions mainly as a mediating factor between globally debated ideas and the internal European macro-economic debate. The professional links, academic training and work methods favorite by Bruegel’s “epistemic core” all conspire to see it function as a catalyst for global ideas to permeate the European debate and thus ensure said debates are tested in light of both international standards and the most recent international economic research. Additionally, Bruegel’s unique composition and origin explain its function as echo chambers for particularly strong national continental traditions of economic research (i.e. France, Germany and Italy). On the other hand, whether considering its history, composition, or associated career paths, CEPS offers a more intra-European focus where the circulation of ideas serves the purpose of both mediating countervailing fragmentation while also including peripheral voices from within the EU. CEPS’ “epistemic core” is thus more diverse in terms of disciplines, backgrounds, nationality and outlook; although it is more predominantly European than Bruegel. Accordingly, if both CEPS and Bruegel occupy a central position within the considered field, they do not see their ideas circulate along the same channels, do not have the same primary targets, do not seek to mediate between the same audiences and therefore do not offer completely identical legitimation mechanisms.

This raises the question whether these structural differences between two central ideational entrepreneurs in the Brussels ecology also hints at differences regarding the content of the ideas they can come to circulate. If both actors sought to provide new ideas to help the ecology respond to the externally induced disruption that was the Eurozone crisis, further content analysis of the ideas championed would help determine whether these were

either focused on the stability of the system against interference or on a process of learning and adaptation able to transform the system in response to external challenges but in function of endogenous priorities. As such, whether the identified “epistemic cores” have proven to be champions of resilience or resourcefulness remains a further question to be explored.

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