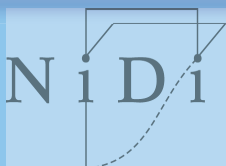
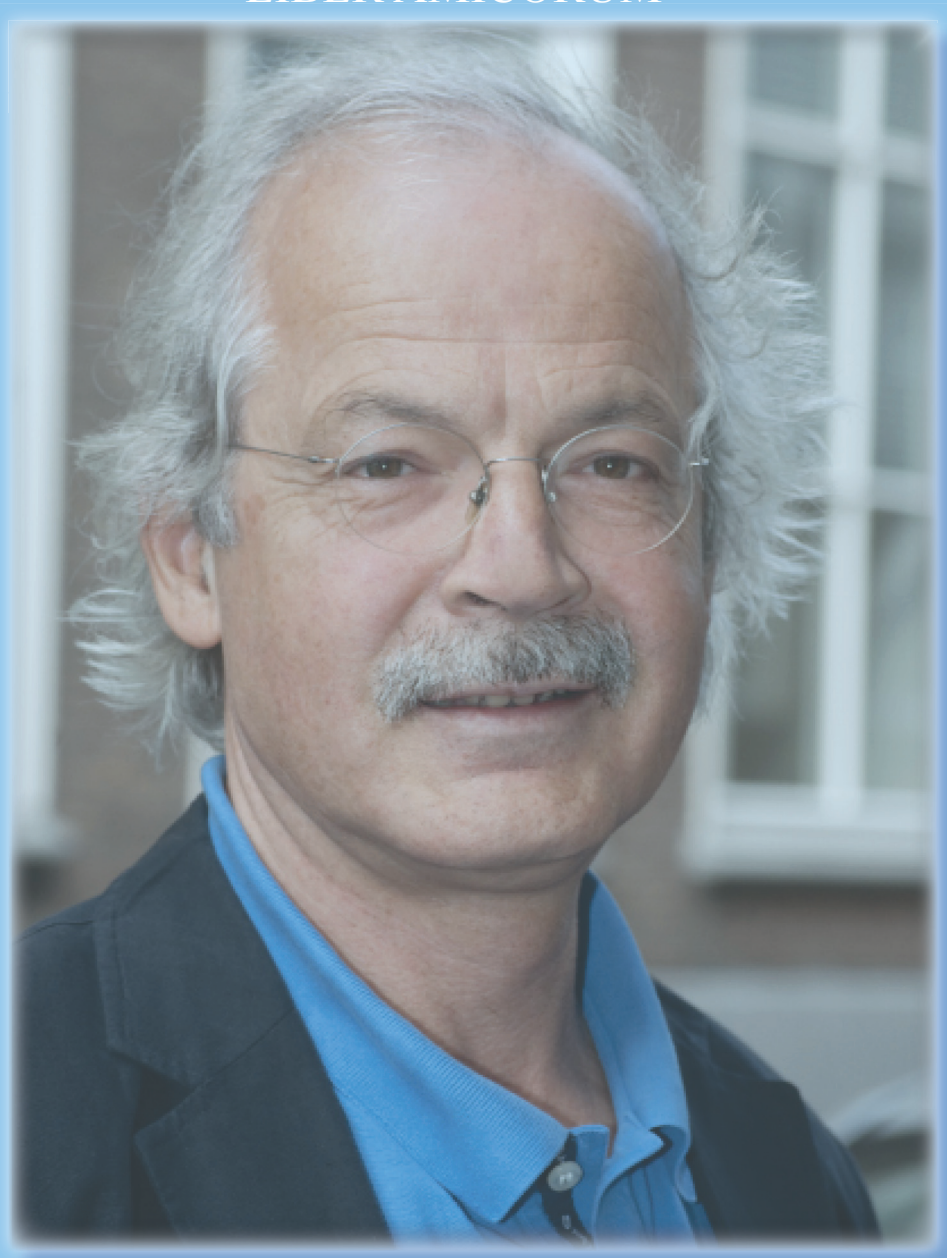


**NICO VAN NIMWEGEN: THE RESOURCEFUL
DEMOGRAPHER
LIBER AMICORUM**



Harry van Dalen and
Ingrid Esveldt (eds.)

Nico van Nimwegen: The resourceful demographer

Liber Amicorum

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Foreword

On April 13 2014, Nico van Nimwegen will reach the age of 65 years and 2 months: Currently the official age at retirement in the Netherlands. Demographers stress that age is not absolute. For some, 65 years of age is old, others are still young at that time. For some, the life expectancy at that age is long, for others short. Nico belongs to the *forever young* generation; he would gladly continue to be active as he has ever been. Nevertheless, there is a change in status at this point in his life. Nico will continue to be active for NIDI, for EAPS and for Population Europe, but in another setting. Therefore, this seems a good point in time to take stock of the accomplishments of his career in demography.

This career spans a period of 38 years, most of which as an employee of NIDI, where he entered on September 15, 1977. He started as the secretary of the National Programme Demographic Research, next as a researcher, and since 1995 as deputy director. He worked together with all directors of the institute, and has known virtually everyone who ever worked at NIDI. He also served as executive secretary for EAPS in various periods; a position he must particularly like, since he is currently doing a new term. More recently he is an active member of Population Europe; an initiative that brings together two of his dearest motivations: The European demographic community and policy and dissemination. Few people will have a network as large as he has in demography.

We asked his scientific friends and closest colleagues, to contribute to this book. They gladly accepted the invitation and were fast in reacting. The contributions, 30 in total, offer a lot of material to get inspiration from. *Never a dull moment* when Nico is around. The main message emanating from these collected contributions is impressive. It is hard to find any other person who has devoted so much of his energy to the benefit of the demographic community: To NIDI, to Dutch demography, and to the international demographic community. His commitment is unconditional and at the very heart of his character; a quality badly needed in times when researchers are primarily evaluated based on their individual academic track record.

Having an impressive academic track record has never been an important inspiration for Nico. For him the value of social science research lies in the usefulness of the results for society. This also explains his lifelong interest in population policies, as well as dissemination of scientific results in society. Especially in translating the fruits of demographic research for policy makers and the wider public he has built an impressive track record. Fortunately we see that in recent years this dimension and policy relevance of scientific research is recognized as an essential aspect of our work.

It is difficult to quantify his added value for demography, but maybe the simple fact that indeed we can speak of a Dutch and European demographic *community* has something to do with it. Nico's colleagues and friends value him highly for his unconditional devotion to the discipline. They express this in many different ways in the following pages. By the way, this book is therefore also a very nice illustration of the evolution of the demographic discipline in the last decades.

This book is the result of a concerted effort of a dedicated team. I thank in the first place Ingrid Esveldt and Harry van Dalen for their editorial work. Moreover, Jeannette van der Aar and Jacqueline van der Helm were able to combine all individual texts into one uniform layout. Of course, I also thank all authors for their swift reply to our request. The contributions offer not only food for thought on current demographic issues but they also offer the reader an insider's perspective on the development of demography as a science within and beyond the Dutch borders and show all aspects of Nico's personality and career in the demography.

In all, these contributions are a tribute to a person to which NIDI and the Dutch as well as the international demographic community owe a lot. I wish Nico in the first place, but also the wider scientific community, a lot of pleasure in reading this *Liber Amicorum*.

Leo van Wissen
Director NIDI

Introduction

On 1 February 2014 Nico van Nimwegen, senior researcher at NIDI in The Hague will retire after more than 40 years of research and management dedicated to demographic research, starting in September 1973 with research on ‘Fertility and family formation’ for the State Committee on Population issues (better known as the *Staatscommissie Bevolkingsvraagstukken*). This brief introduction may suggest that we are going to say farewell to an average demographer. But Nico is far from average and this *Liber Amicorum* is a testimony to that observation. It has become a tribute to the character and contributions of Nico van Nimwegen by his friends and colleagues.

For those who wonder why the cover of this book carries the subtitle *The Resourceful Demographer*, we owe them some explanation. The connoisseurs of the history of demographic thought must have noticed that we have paraphrased the title of the (edited) volume *The Resourceful Earth* by Julian Simon and Herman Kahn (1984), a response and rebuttal to the grim and gloomy *Global 2000* study by President Carter’s Council on Environmental Quality. The authors of the Simon and Kahn volume were far more optimistic about the future of the earth than the officials of government agencies. Optimism is indeed a character trait of Nico which resounds in many contributions in this *Liber Amicorum*. Demographers from the times of Malthus have a reputation for being gloomy as population growth exerts pressures which will generate misery and vice. Fortunately Nico belongs to the camp of happy demographers, those who do not despair and who can always see the silver lining of population growth and decline. From the time of his student years in Utrecht when he wrote his master thesis on ‘Population growth and economic development in Western Africa’ to the present his concern has been with global population issues. And often journalists who might have tried in vain to get a gloomy story from Nico would certainly be disappointed by this optimist. As always he would display his professional optimism by focusing not so much on population size but on what people can do.

To view the earth as resourceful is to believe in the ingenuity of people to turn finite resources in virtually infinite resources. But Nico is resourceful in a number of other dimensions which can also be traced in the essays in this book. The resourcefulness of Nico is very much a story of his ingenuity to make things happen in the most general sense of the expression. Today the community of European demographers enjoy the benefits of the European Association for Population Studies (EAPS) and numerous other off-spins of this scientific society. This is of course the work of many, but the ingenuity, flexibility and pleasant company of Nico must have been a key ingredient in this successful endeavor and numerous contributions recount the essential part which Nico played in this process. Making communities come to live is no small achievement. Some people barely succeed in making one community a nice place to be a part of, but Nico trumps them all. Indeed, many see him as Mr. NIDI, Mr. NVD (the Dutch society for demography), and Mr. EAPS, and give him time and he will become known as Mr. IUSSP. When a person becomes the acronym which has employed him you must have done something right. And this goes to show that we are not witnessing the retirement of a person but of an institution.

Finally, people who have worked with Nico cherish not only his good sense of humor but also his stable character. Listen here to what his former Lieutenant Colonel in the Dutch army had to say about the qualities of Nico when he was applying for his NIDI job in 1977: “..it has become clear that Mister Van Nimwegen [...] possesses very good social qualities. Moreover, he has regularly been confronted with high urgency jobs. With these frequent periods of high work load he has always remained stable.” This character trait is, of course, something which an officer and servant of the King (then Queen) would be able to spot as the Dutch army has as its motto: “Je maintiendrai” (“Ik zal handhaven”). In his final year at NIDI the latter quality came in quite handy as a large reorganization was a period of stress and disappointments. To top it off in May 2013 the Minister of Education announced budget cuts which would wipe out NIDI completely. The fact that we are still standing is the work of many but also Nico has –as the lieutenant Colonel put it– “remained stable” and played an essential part in drafting the report which secured the support of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

All good things come in threes and this rule applies also to the resourceful demographer Nico van Nimwegen. In the various contributions of his ‘amici’ one can distill three themes: His organizing skills, his character and his contributions to demography. And these themes are presented in this book successively under the headings of *Making things happen in demography*; *The character of a character*; and finally, *Bridging the pure and applied science of demography*.

With this official farewell we can only conclude by saying, it has been an honor and a pleasure to have been the colleague of Nico. But as many of his friends and colleagues express it, we also hope that we will enjoy the company of him in the new stage of his private life, and of course his public life in which he will remain active for NIDI, in his new status as honorary fellow, but also for the larger community of demographers through EAPS and Population Europe.

Harry van Dalen and Ingrid Esveldt
January 2013

Part I

Making things happen in demography

“It would be wise to have a young person at hand who could move confidently in a politically complicated setting and who could easily befriend, laugh and drink with a rich variety of Europeans.”

Dirk van de Kaa on his long-term dreams for Nico Nimwegen as someone who could steer NIDI in an international direction.

Nico van Nimwegen and the development of demography in Europe

Dirk van de Kaa

Recruitment

For several years after its establishment the Netherlands Interuniversity Demographic Institute, as it was then called, was heavily committed to the preparation of the scientific report of the State Committee on Population issues (*Staatscommissie Bevolkingsvraagstukken*). As the Minister responsible for the Commission, the Minister for Health and Environmental Hygiene, dr. Stuyt, observed thankfully during his inaugural address on 22 March 1972, the board of NIDI had put its director at the disposal of the Commission in the role of scientific secretary. This implied that NIDI could play a, very welcome and rewarding, role in stimulating demographic research in the country. But for the director it meant that, at least for a while, his own research would have to be put on the back burner.

The final report was completed in December 1976. It was submitted to the government in early 1977 and, mostly, well-received. However, its central recommendation that the end of natural population growth in the country should be welcomed, appeared to be out-dated before the report saw the light. The serious concerns that had led to the decision to establish a *Staatscommissie* to look into population growth issues had evaporated. For as early as 1973 the total fertility rate dropped below replacement level.

The research work that had to be carried out for the Commission had implied a small, but steady flow of money to all deserving population scientists in the country, including those at NIDI. In an effort to let it continue the outline of a national programme of demographic research was prepared at the institute, pro-actively. Using the internal report we had drafted in a small working group (*Verkenningen*, 1974), I started my lobbying task at the Ministry of Education and Science Policy forthwith. Not entirely surprising, perhaps, I received a very favourable response. It turned out that launching ‘national research programmes’ was precisely the means the Minister for Education and Science Policy had chosen to manifest himself as a force to be reckoned with in science and scholarship at the national level. I was promptly invited to come to the Royal Academy in Amsterdam to present the plan for demography in an address at a special session of the General Board of the Academy. When word got out that Queen Juliana would be present, two ministers of the crown vied for pride of place and numerous other dignitaries peopled the first rows. I had quite a distinguished audience!

In anticipation of the successful launching of the National Programme of Demographic Research (NPDO) steps had been taken to recruit a deputy secretary for its Steering Committee. The post was advertised in national newspapers and we soon received applications. One of these was of a young man with dark hair and a luxurious moustache called Nico van Nimwegen. He had majored in sociology at my *alma mater*, had taken demography as a minor and had been involved, on a small scale, in demographic research activities. I was looking for someone with a broad interest in the discipline, who could draft well, could deal



with sponsors, government officials, and researchers smoothly, and who could stand the pressure of having to carry a heavy work load every now and then. Nico looked a promising candidate from that perspective. But as much depended on his ability to get on well with very different people, to produce memoranda quickly, not to become anxious or flustered when difficulties accumulated, and to show a certain willingness to take risks cheerfully if circumstances so demanded, I asked him to submit to a psycho-technical assessment. I was very pleased to find that I had every reason to stick to my intention of appointing him. He entered NIDI as of 15 September 1977 and for as long as funds would allow.¹ My plan for the longer term was to steer him in an international direction. It seemed to me that as time passed NIDI increasingly would be required to assume a really active role in European demography. Thus it would be wise to have a young person at hand who could move confidently in a politically complicated setting and who could easily befriend, laugh and drink with a rich variety of Europeans.

Natural habitat

As it turned out precisely such a setting was Nico's natural habitat. He liked to meet and talk to demographers from abroad whenever we succeeded in having one to visit and lecture at the Institute. I saw with approval that he enjoyed company and parties and was always willing to put his arm around an inviting shoulder, male or female. So, when on 31 March 1983

¹ As it turned out the NPDO only was the first of a long list of research planning activities in demography. In 1983 it was succeeded by the PCDO (Programmeringscollege Demografisch Onderzoek) which, in turn, passed the task of programming research on to the NIDI Advisory Council. In 1990, finally, the national research foundation (NWO) launched its priority programme of demographic research.

Table 1. Overview of the functions of Nico van Nimwegen in the Council of the European Association for Population Studies (EAPS) and at its general conferences

Year of Conference	Place of Conference	Function in Council of EAPS	Function(s) in Conference
1987	Jyväskylä	Executive Secretary	Assistant Secretary
1991	Paris	Executive Secretary	Member Organizing Committee
1995	Milan	Executive Secretary	Member International Organizing Committee
1997	Cracow	Secr. Gen./Treasurer	Member International Organizing Committee
1999	The Hague	Secr. Gen./Treasurer	Secretary International Organizing Committee; Member National Organizing Committee, Chair Executive Committee
2001	Helsinki	Secr. Gen./Treasurer	Member International Organizing Committee
2003	Warsaw	Secr. Gen./Treasurer	Member International Organizing Committee
2006	Liverpool	Vice-President	International Organizing Committee
2008	Barcelona	Vice-President	Member International Organizing Committee
2010	Vienna	--	Member International Organizing Committee
2012	Stockholm	--	Member International Organizing Committee
2014	Budapest	Executive Director	Member International Organizing Committee

Guillaume Wunsch and Charlotte Höhn came to The Hague to effect with me the founding of the European Association for Population Studies (EAPS) I could confidently suggest that we appoint Nico van Nimwegen as the Executive Secretary of the association.

NIDI's board agreed that this task could be made part of his official duties at the Institute, but for him it very quickly became a calling rather than a duty. This first appointment now dates from 30 years ago exactly. During this whole period Nico continued to serve the EAPS in different capacities (*table 1*). His functions ranged from being Executive Secretary in 1983,

to Secretary General and Treasurer, and Vice-President, and back to having a new Executive function as of 2012. All through these years he never complained to me that the organization's resources were inadequate, that the work cost him too much time, or that he had to travel too much. And, whenever I was with him in a group in some out of the way place, he would smilingly guide us to a pub or restaurant where the drinks and food were good and the prices matched our commonly not too generous travel allowances. Nico got along well, extremely well even, with the successive presidents of the EAPS.

More importantly, he played a pivotal role in the organization of 11 European population conferences. It is difficult to overestimate his role in shaping the content and programmes of these conferences. The timely selection of young people as authors, discussants, chairs and conveners is a crucial element in the success of such conferences. For someone who has been present almost continually in the organizational structure of these conferences it is relatively easy to make helpful comments on the best way to achieve a regional balance, on the names of the most promising speakers, on 'hot' themes or topics, and to recall disappointing performances. So, Nico has played an important role in raising the standards at the conferences and in stimulating attendance of those interested in population issues from all the regions of Europe and much further afield.

Model of population

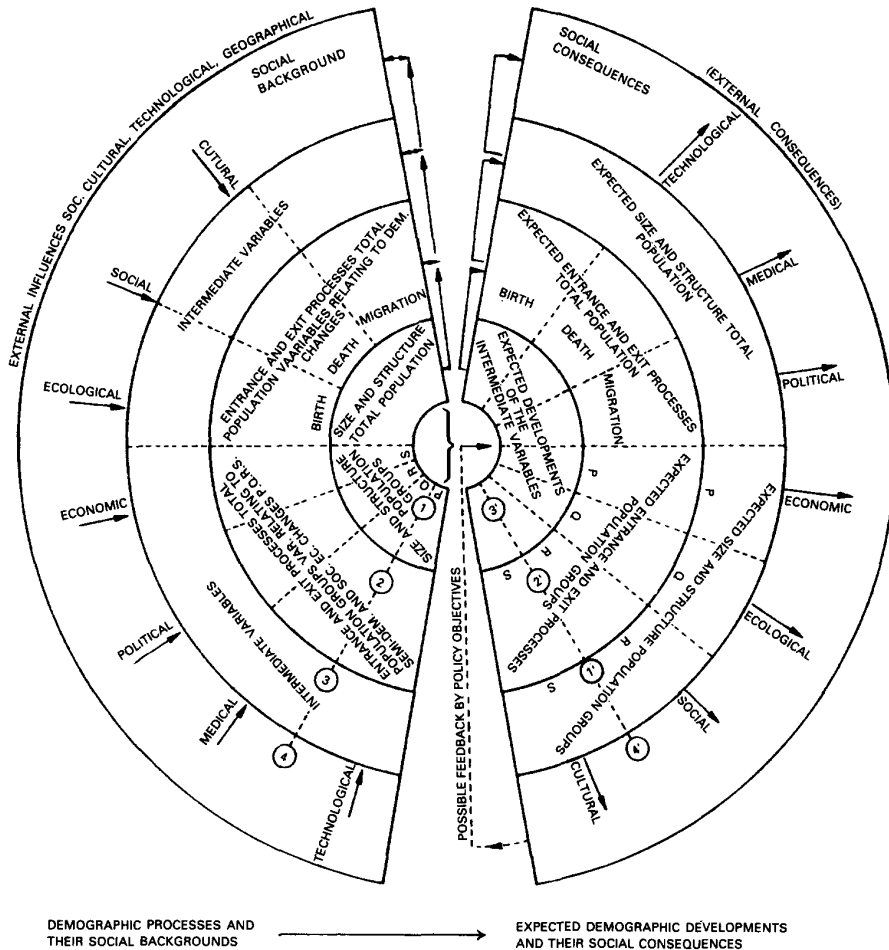
One of the reasons of his success in these functions may well have been the population model he became acquainted with at NIDI. He was not dogmatic about the fields of demography and population studies when he came to the Institute and when he entered his closest colleague was the late Hans van Leusden, the secretary of the Steering Committee of the National Programme. Hans not only was colourful and good company, but also adhered to a model of population research that had been developed at NIDI to structure our work for the *Staatscommissie*.

Its application when drawing up research programmes, or the programmes of scientific conferences, assures that one is unlikely to overlook certain issues. Further it prevents prejudices and one-sided, personal views about what 'demography' really is, from playing a significant role. The figure of the model here included (*figure 1*) shows its emphasis on the processes of entry into and exit from a population, and all sorts of sub-populations, influencing the development of countries or regions.

Focus on societal implications

This approach clearly has also greatly influenced his personal contributions to our field of scholarship. A task which flowed almost naturally from his role in the National Programme was being the chair of a collaborative effort that the Central Bureau of Statistics, the various governmental planning offices, and NIDI had to undertake periodically. This task involved the preparation of a fairly comprehensive report on the state of population in the country. Picking the right topics to be treated, finding the right words to convey their importance, was part of the trick the chair had to perform. And, through skillful planning, people management, and cajoling, where necessary, Nico again and again succeeded in having an interesting

Figure 1. Fields of research and their inter-relationships



Source: Van de Kaa, 1991.

WPRB-report (*Werkverband Periodieke Rapportage Bevolkingsvraagstukken*) published as a consensus document of all the bodies involved. The first report issued in 1984, dealt with a variety of problems and conveyed the significance of governmental actions in these cases. The topics covered included family policies, the consequences of demographic change for collective expenditures, labour supply and education, the demand for health care, and the now even hotter topic: Old age pensions. The tenth and so far last report was published in August 2012 and was entirely devoted to active ageing (Van Nimwegen and Van Praag, 2012). The reports were not meant to provide suggestions or ideas for population policies, but to increase awareness of the significance and implications of the demographic changes taking place.

Most of the 60 or so papers and essays Nico published in the last decade testify to his interest and expertise in population trends in the Netherlands, Europe and at the global level. They document emerging issues in fields such as the development of family relations, the growth of the foreign born population, and the increase in intermarriage. Almost without exception he highlights the societal consequences of the population changes that can be observed and in so doing almost single handedly covered one of the most important tasks NIDI was entrusted with from its inception as a national demographic institute.

Epilogue

It was during the height of the Cold War. The EAPS Council recommended that an ‘official’ visit be brought to the Vice-President of the EAPS, Zdeněk Pavlik, in Prague. So, after participating in a demographic meeting in Germany, Charlotte Höhn, Nico and I set out from Bamberg to travel to Prague. We used my car, an Audi, which as far as I was aware was in good condition. We were kept waiting at the border for hours and hours.

It had become quite dark when we were let through; the road to Prague was narrow, bumpy and unlit. Even so, progress was not too bad until we reached the city. At the time city maps were, of course, unavailable. Navigators using GPS had not even been invented. So, it only was with the help of a kind passer-by that we found the hotel of the Academy in which Pavlik had us booked. To the great dismay of Charlotte and Nico, who had killed time talking about cool, refreshing beer, the bar had long since closed. So they had a ‘Pilsener’ first thing in the morning! The meeting with Pavlik was both informative and fruitful and helped cement the bonds between us. When he saw my Audi, he offered to buy it. I should have accepted for the closer we got to the border on our way back, the worse the engine started to rattle. I didn’t dare turning it off until we had crossed the border: then it conked out for good. It was Sunday night. Even so, a towing truck quickly came to take the car for repair on Monday to a garage in Vohenstrauß. The owner of a small hotel hidden somewhere in the dark fields then turned up with his small car to pick us up. A good meal was prepared without delay. There was plenty of beer in this simple place and Nico impressed me by downing large quantities of it. While dipping his moustache happily in the foam of the *Hefe Weizen* he clearly enjoyed himself. No stress and all smiles. In the true fashion of a born Executive Secretary he must have slept as the proverbial rose.

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An EAPS story with Nico (and God)

Guillaume Wunsch

High up in the Heavens, many years ago, God –sitting on his throne– was looking through his telescope at a small blue planet named *Earth*. At random, moving from country to country, He finally focused his telescope on a city called *The Hague*. And what He saw drew his attention.

A group of persons from the East and from the West of Europe, meeting in the Netherlands, were discussing the idea of setting up a European Association for Population Studies. God thought: ‘Mankind is presently divided between East and West. This cannot remain part of my grand scheme for Humanity. It’s a nice group down there meeting in The Hague, and their ideas are fine indeed, but I must help them a bit by choosing a person, male or female, who will do the actual work’. He picked up his heavy Heavenly Editions encyclopedia, *The 500 Best Persons in the World*, and after much consideration chose one ‘Nico van Nimwegen’ from the NIDI. ‘On this rock’, God declared, ‘I will build EAPS’. And He did.

Few persons are aware of this divine intervention in the creation of EAPS, but I heard the story from a friend who knew a friend who knew one or two angels after having had several drinks. Though the evidence is scant, I am sure this story is true. I will now tell you why.

Some persons are necessary conditions for making things come true. The bozon would still be fast asleep were it not for Higgs and Englert. In the absence of Galileo Galilei, would the earth turn around the sun or would it be the opposite? Would EAPS have survived beyond infancy without Nico and the NIDI’s generous support? We cannot answer this last question but the counterfactuals would most likely have been much less efficient. Remember that at the beginning, EAPS was not only a low-budget organization but it was a no-budget one! Not an easy environment for Nico to start with, but he managed to keep EAPS afloat and even to improve its buoyancy. EAPS was ready to steer ahead.

Organizing the EAPS general conferences in all parts of Europe in collaboration with the national committees, setting up Working Groups, bringing to life the EAPS *Newsletter*, creating the *European Journal of Population* with the collaboration of Springer, developing the EAPS website, were all goals set by the EAPS Council but that had then to be implemented in practice. But who was going to do the hard work? From the start, Nico van Nimwegen was *Mr. EAPS*, and he actively took part in all these activities, though his job at the NIDI did not leave him that much free time. To be sure, he was not alone and I remember with gratitude the collaboration of others from the NIDI, such as Gijs Beets and Vera Holman with whom I have worked.

But Nico was indispensable and apart for a short temporary leave due to tragic personal circumstances, and a much longer one when he was Secretary General of the IUSSP, he was always on board, either as Executive Secretary or Director, Secretary General/Treasurer, or Vice-President, firmly holding the helm in (sometimes) heavy seas. Nico was also instrumental

in developing contacts and collaborations between EAPS and various research institutions in Europe active in the population field, such as the INED in Paris or the MPIDR in Rostock, and had personal contacts with the university demographers in Rome, Louvain-la-Neuve, Warsaw, Barcelona, to name a few. People remember him fondly, be it in Italy, Germany, France, or Hungary, among others. He was also active in the meetings that led to the creation of *Population Europe*, the network of population research centres. Some say that Nico was actually EAPS' incarnation, and I tend to believe them! But, of course, in this matter only God knows...

Now, let's give some reasons for the heavenly choice – in my opinion at least, as I have rather lost contact with the heavens these past years. I doubt if God responded to the situation that Nico was a smoker or enjoyed a drink or two. Most probably, He much appreciated the fact that the candidate was a hard worker, had keen facilities for developing personal contacts, and had a good sense of humour, an important quality when all goes wrong. Working with Nico –as I have done for many years– was indeed a pleasure, either at EAPS headquarters or during the Council meetings abroad. Our discussions and exchange of ideas were always stimulating; many EAPS projects emanated from our conversations at the Schlemmer Café, or in the EAPS office next door at the NIDI. I would like to thank the successive NIDI directors for accepting to host EAPS in such a pleasant environment.

It is now time to end this short, but in fact long, story of EAPS where Nico has played a major role. My failing memory (an age or a period effect?) is the cause of the oblivion of many souvenirs and anecdotes. But I cannot overlook the fact that the initial major goals of EAPS, linking once again both the East and the West of Europe in a time of division, would probably not all have been reached without the active involvement of Nico van Nimwegen. Thank you, *Mr: EAPS!*

Dear Nico, on a more personal note, now that we have both retired, I hope that we will still have the opportunity from time to time to drink some beers together. And –who knows?– after several drinks, we might end up like my friend's friend at the beginning of this story, by getting acquainted with an angel or two. Till then, I wish you all the very best for the years to come.

Nico van Nimwegen: Demographer, popularizer, internationalist

Robert Cliquet

As member of the board of directors of the former Flemish Population and Family Study Centre (CBGS) in Belgium, I had during many years the opportunity and privilege to cooperate with the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute in the domain of population publication policies in the Low Countries¹, and Europe as a whole.²

Whenever the Flemings met with the Dutch colleagues in the editorial boards of the CBGS/NIDI Dutch and English language publications, we often stumbled upon Nico van Nimwegen, in his capacity as the NIDI deputy director. Although Nico never served as chair or Executive Secretary of one of the CBGS/NIDI publication series, all of us knew how very much he was in favour of the population cooperation between Flanders and the Netherlands. As deputy director of NIDI, he supported that cooperation wholeheartedly and that support was very appreciated in the South.

Nico's support for the Flemish-Dutch cooperation is embedded in his general interest for international, and more in particular European cooperative activities in the domain of population studies. Nico's contributions and merits at the European level are extremely important and highly appreciated in the international research community. His long and persistent management role in the European Association for Population Studies (EAPS), first as Executive Secretary, subsequently as Secretary General and Vice-President, and currently as Executive Director, is quite unique. From my research and management experience in CBGS, the European Population Committee in Strasbourg and the UN Committee on Population and Development in New York, I know how important it is to have in such bodies people who can pair scientific and management expertise.

But Nico is not only renowned for his role in national and international scientific management. I have always read with interest and pleasure his scientific contributions on various socio-demographic topics, especially those on population-related policies. I appreciated in particular his many contributions to the excellent popularizing NIDI journal *Demos*. Here, Nico's contributions expose another important and often insufficiently appreciated merit, namely to systematically disseminate to a larger readership societal and policy relevant scientific findings and insights.

At the occasion of his retirement at NIDI, I sincerely express the hope that Nico will not only enjoy the highly deserved quietude of this new life course stage, but that he might find ways to continue cherishing his population interests.

¹ Cf. the Dutch language Journal 'Bevolking en Gezin', the English language monograph series 'Population and Family in the Low Countries', later changed into 'NIDI/CBGS Publications'.

² Cf. 'European Studies of Population'.

“The whole is greater than the sum of its parts” – or why Aristotle would have loved to meet Nico van Nimwegen

Andreas Edel and James W. Vaupel

In 2015, Europe as a political body will celebrate its 65th birthday. Someone who was born in the early 50s has been able to witness and experience the development of a new concept of Europe – and, in some cases, to contribute to and shape facets of this new concept, including basic and applied research.

With regard to European demography, Nico van Nimwegen was certainly not only a ‘tijdgenoot’. Since he joined the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute in 1977 and became its Deputy Director in 1993, and particularly since he became Executive Secretary of the European Association for Population Studies in 1983, he has stood at the forefront of European demographers. Whenever demographic issues arose in the policy arena, Nico’s voice was heard in Brussels. He was involved in various demography-related advisory boards and policy consulting committees at the European level for the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Moreover, he was prominently involved with or he sometimes initiated European cooperation projects and research networks in the field of population studies. He was a member of the organizing committees of ten European Population Conferences between 1987 and 2012, and innumerable other conferences and workshops. In his position at the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute, he also supported the development of the European Doctoral School of Demography, founded in 2005, which promotes the education and exchange of the next generation of population scientists.

Nico was also strongly involved in establishing another European-wide network of demographers, bringing together the leading European research institutes and centres. The goal of this network was to enhance the study of policy-relevant population developments, to authoritatively inform a wider audience of policy makers, as well as opinion leaders and the broader public about the most recent research findings, to provide evidence from meticulous data analysis, and to support evidence-based decision-making through research-driven policy information. Starting in early 2009, this idea was discussed in greater detail among European demographers. After deliberations about a *Memorandum of Understanding* and the first preparatory meeting at the Institut National d’Études Démographiques in Paris in May 2009, the *European Population Partnership* was formally founded on June 15, 2009 during a meeting, notably at the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute in The Hague, through mutual agreement between leading institutes and centers in the field of population studies. At the network’s first board meeting in September 2009 in Marrakech, the partners decided to give the partnership a new name: *Population Europe*.

During the last four years, Nico’s advice and strong support has been instrumental for the development of the partnership. This applies to the various tools used to disseminate demographic knowledge to policy audiences, such as the stakeholder workshops *Population*

Europe Event, the policy briefing series *Population & Policy Compact*, the info-letter *Demographic Insights*, and the discussion paper *Perspectives of policy-relevant population studies*. Moreover, Nico strongly supported the successful fundraising activities of the network in 2009 and 2012. With his constructive suggestions for upcoming topics and his engagement in the review procedures of the materials produced, he was always engaged to ensure that the partnership's publications met the highest scientific standards, as well as the needs of the audiences targeted. Most recently, Nico joined the Steering Committee of the travelling exhibition project *How to get to 100 – and enjoy it*, which is specifically addressed to lay audiences. Whenever his help was needed, Nico has been a reliable ally, supporter, and friend. In Berlin, the Population Europe team has welcomed his insightful advice, and he has provided stability and calm during some stormy times every new institution has to go through.

“The whole is greater than the sum of its parts” – Aristotle's quotation from *Metaphysics* certainly applies to many European endeavours. At first glance, Europe is just an ensemble of states on the same continent. However, it becomes a political body through the enthusiasm and energy of Europeans who are willing to come together for common European endeavours. For his continuous efforts for promoting collaboration among demographers, this is certainly true of Nico van Nimwegen.

Population Europe, and European demographers and demography more generally, owe him profound gratitude. We hope that his voice will also be heard in the future, in Brussels, in Berlin, and wherever scientists and policy makers need advice. Needless to say, our doors will always be wide open for our friend.

Mister NVD himself

Inge Hutter en Andries de Jong

Nico is bijna sinds ‘mensenheugenis’ een zeer gewaardeerd bestuurslid van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Demografie (NVD). Als vast bestuurslid van de NVD (dat wil zeggen, hij bezet de kwaliteitszetel van het NIDI) is Nico al sinds jaar en dag betrokken bij het reilen en zeilen van onze vereniging. Het is een rol die Nico zeer goed past.

De rol van Nico in het NVD-bestuur is die van ... ja, wat? Een netwerker, een oudere, wijze demograaf, een verbinder. Hij hoort fijntjes aan wat er allemaal wordt gezegd door deze en gene hij glimlacht fijntjes, en je ziet hem haast –weer fijntjes– zijn reactie formuleren in zijn hoofd zijn ogen beginnen te twinkelen, hij mompelt en hummm-t eens wat, en dan komt hij met een samenvatting van wat is gezegd, een idee, een oplossing, of suggestie Niet dat die dan altijd wordt geaccepteerd maar toch, verbindend dus.

Vier jaar geleden bespraken we met het NVD-bestuur de activiteiten voor het komende jaar. Eén daarvan was de hoognodige vernieuwing van de website van de vereniging. Het stond al enige tijd op de agenda, waarbij ‘enige’ een understatement is. Nico zei optimistisch dat we misschien eerst eens zouden moeten kijken of het nu echt wel nodig was, misschien was de oude toch nog wel goed genoeg? Toen we op Nico’s kamer bij elkaar zaten en we optimistisch op zijn computer de website wilden openen (was het functietoets F5 of F4?), lukte ons dat van geen kanten. We kwamen niet eens de website van onze eigen vereniging op! Het was duidelijk dat er iets moest gebeuren. Ook Nico was toen wel overtuigd. De hilariteit van die bijeenkomst, op Nico’s kamer: dat zal in het geheugen van de leden van dat NVD bestuur blijven hangen, dat weet ik zeker. En de website? Die is vernieuwd!

De NVD zet zich in om in Nederland de demografie onder het voetlicht te brengen van een groot publiek, onder het motto ‘Demography matters’. Dit is precies zoals Nico de demografie ziet: demografie niet als puur academische wetenschap, maar een praktische wetenschap die relevant is voor maatschappij en beleid. Nico draagt deze mening met verve uit; deze attitude is een rode draad die door zijn leven loopt. Het gaat al ver terug, aangezien de ‘wetenschappelijke bloedgroep’ van Nico de sociologie is, waar de maatschappij centraal staat en waar het leven van de mens in het teken staat van de maatschappij. De stap naar demografie is dan maar klein. Geboorte is natuurlijk de eerste stap in je leven en daarna komen alle andere stappen in je levensloop.

Als demografen onderzoeken we de levensloop van de mens. We doen onderzoek naar geboorte, migratie, relatievorming en sterfte. Al deze gebeurtenissen zijn ook in jouw levensloop heel duidelijk te (h)erkennen. Hoe we echter als mens omgaan met die gebeurtenissen in onze levensloop en er betekenis aan geven, met name aan sterfte: daar zijn we als demografen misschien wel wat minder goed in, om dat te duiden en te benoemen. In onze bijdrage aan dit liber amicorum willen wij dat toch heel even wel benoemen: het verlies van je zoon en vrouw, hoe je opkrabbelde en daarna weer betekenis

gaf aan je leven. Met Anne, met Amber en jullie kleinkinderen. Wat veerkracht in de mens vermag!

De bundeling van de levenslopen van alle mensen vormt in wezen het hart van de maatschappij. Voor Nico zijn alle gebeurtenissen in de levensloop niet alleen interessant, maar vooral relevant. Het is vervolgens aan de demograaf om dit duidelijk te communiceren aan mens en maatschappij. Een voorbeeld vormt Nico's studie over de rol van immigratie om de vergrijzing te keren; nu Nico gaat pensioneren en het 'leger van vergrijsden' gaat versterken extra relevant. Om de zoveel tijd komen politici weer tot de 'ontdekking' dat immigratie de oplossing vormt voor de vergrijzing. Al in 2000 heeft Nico samen met Evert van Imhoff in een artikel in Demos deze fabel doorgeprikt: immigratie vormt niet de remedie omdat immigranten zelf ook oud worden en er zouden absurde aantallen immigranten naar Nederland moeten komen om de vergrijzing in toom te houden.

Ehhhh en hoe zit dat dan met Nico die met pensioen gaat, en de jongere Anne die immigrereert naar Nederland vanuit Canada en nog een carrière in Nederland voor de boeg heeft? Weegt dat –pensionering van Nico en immigratie van Anne– dan niet tegen elkaar op?

En bovendien, wat heet oud en vergrijsd? Nico gaat dan wel met pensioen, maar dat betekent zeker niet dat plotseling zijn inzet en activiteiten zullen afnemen. Nico pleit voor een andere kijk op de vergrijzing: het is geen bedreiging maar een kans, blijktens diverse rapporten en artikelen. Nico zelf is hiervoor eigenlijk het beste bewijs. Hij straalt een sterke vitaliteit uit en is erg betrokken bij de demografische wereld. Dit kwam recent weer duidelijk tot uitdrukking. Toen het NIDI dit jaar in zeer zwaar weer verkeerde, kwam er een speciale uitgave van Demos waarin hij samen met zijn collega's nog eens heeft aangetoond dat ons land niet zonder demografie kan!

Nico betekent veel voor de mensen om hem heen; hij heeft veel contacten met collega's in het binnenland en buitenland en vervult een rol in diverse organisaties. Hij is wat dat betreft een netwerker 'pur sang'. Maar ook een onderhandelaar 'pur sang'.

Ik –Inge– herinner me een bijeenkomst rond 1995 met Nico, waarin Frans Willekens en ik –namens de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (RUG)– naar het NIDI kwamen om te spreken over onze samenwerking in HERA. Ik zou een dag per week worden gedetacheerd bij het NIDI, en de RUG mocht een bedrag noemen dat bij die detachering hoorde. Een voorstel aan het NIDI, aan Nico dus. Groentje die ik was in die tijd, deed ik er uren over om te bedenken wat dat bedrag wel niet zou moeten zijn. Toen ik het noemde, lachte Nico fijntjes en accepteerde meteen mmm, toch te laag ingeschat, denk ik nu!

Ook voor een vereniging als de NVD komt dat netwerken goed van pas. Voor jongeren is hij een inspiratiebron; door zijn kennis, charme maar ook door een kritische houding weet hij ze enthousiast te maken voor de demografie. Hij houdt van prikkelen, zoals bijvoorbeeld zijn stelling 'het is onze hamburger of onze kinderen', waarin hij aangeeft dat bevolkingsgroei en

welvaartsgroei de voedselcrisis veroorzaken. Met dergelijke steken weet hij ook het beleid in het hart te raken. Het beleid moet de demografie serieus nemen. Demografen kunnen dan wel de brenger van de slechte boodschap zijn, maar het beleid moet hen hiervoor dankbaar zijn, omdat beleidsmakers zo op tijd hun beleid hierop kunnen inrichten.

We verwachten en hopen dat Nico op dit pad verder zal gaan zodat we nog veel van hem zullen horen, zien en meemaken, zeker ook voor de NVD!

Vergroting van het demografisch inzicht in Europa

Julius op de Beke

Beste Nico,

Ik kan helaas niet bij je afscheid zijn maar ik maak graag gebruik van deze gelegenheid. Wij leerden elkaar tien jaar geleden kennen, op een moment dat de Europese Commissie opeens weer veel interesse kreeg in de gevolgen van demografische ontwikkelingen. Niet alleen de vergrijzing maar ook de dalende geboortecijfers en de stijgende aantallen immigranten werden als zorgelijke ontwikkelingen gezien en klommen hoger op de Europese beleidsagenda. De Europese Commissie reageerde in 2005 met een Groen Boek dat een jaar later werd gevolgd door een politiek document in de vorm van Mededeling. Dit was ook het begin van een serie van drie tweejaarlijkse Europese Demografie Rapporten en het is bij het schrijven van die rapporten dat jij een sleutelrol hebt gespeeld.

Als coördinator van het demografienetwerk van het Social Situation Observatory, een consortium van vier Europese demografische topinstituten, waaronder NIDI, heb je zeven jaar lang de meest relevante inzichten uit de demografie voor ons verzameld en samengevat. Dankzij jouw inzet hebben deze rapporten, en de onderliggende policy briefs waarop ze zijn gebaseerd, belangrijk bijgedragen aan de vergroting van het demografisch inzicht onder Europese, nationale en regionale beleidsmakers en bij het grote publiek. Je was ook al die tijd een gewaardeerd lid van de European Expert Group on Demographic Issues. Inmiddels is de rol van het Demografie Rapport overgenomen door een vergelijkbaar rapport van de collega's van Eurostat en worden de laatste wetenschappelijk inzichten op het gebied van demografisch onderzoek door het samenwerkingsverband Population Europe gebundeld en verspreid.

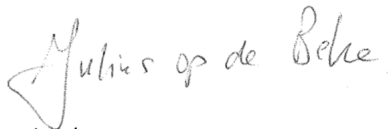
Jij was ook een van de drijvende krachten achter de European Association for Population Studies. Ik kwam je een keer bij INED in Parijs tegen waar je als Mr. Demography Europe zelfs een eigen kantoor had. Je vroeg mij als vertegenwoordiger van de Commissie om een financiële bijdrage voor de tweejaarlijkse European Population Conference (EPC). Gelukkig kon ik op die vraag dankzij een precedent vrij eenvoudig ja zeggen. Ik heb de EPC inmiddels leren waarderen als een van de meest efficiënte, lees zuinige, conferenties die er binnen de EU worden georganiseerd. Ik ken geen andere conferentie die zoveel kwaliteit in de vorm van 'value for money' weet te leveren als de EPC en wij zijn je dankbaar voor dit initiatief.

Beste Nico, afscheid nemen is net als geboorte een integraal onderdeel het demografische proces. Op een gegeven moment moeten we allemaal plaatsmaken voor onze opvolgers. Volgens mij had J.H. Leopold dat 150 jaar geleden al door toen hij schreef:

*“De wereld gaat en gaat, als lang na dezen
mijn roem verging, mijn kennis hooggeprezen.
Wij werden voor ons komen niet gemist,
na ons vertrek zal het niet anders wezen.”*

Met deze tijdloze woorden wil ik je zeer hartelijk bedanken voor de belangrijke bijdrage die je hebt geleverd aan het demografische debat onder Europese beleidsmakers. Ik heb zeer goede herinneringen aan onze uitstekende samenwerking en ik wens dat je nog veel succes en geluk mag beleven in je verdere 'derde' leven.

Met vriendelijke groet,

Handwritten signature of Julius op de Beke.

Vertel me eens, wat heb je hier nu aan?

Nico Keilman

Het moet eind 2000 of begin 2001 zijn geweest. Ik was verstrikt geraakt in het probleem de variantie te berekenen van het Totale Vruchtbaarheidscijfer (TVC) wanneer het verloop van dit cijfer over tijd kan worden opgevat als een Brownse beweging met een absorberende bovengrens. Bij mijn weten was die variantie nog niet eerder afgeleid, dus ik was tamelijk tevreden toen ik na enkele dagen stug doorrekenen de volgende uitdrukking vond:

$$\text{Var}_g(Z_t; z_0, a) = (z_0^2 + \sigma^2 t) + \left\{ -4a(a - z_0) \frac{1 - \Phi(u)}{2\Phi(u) - 1} - \left(a - \frac{a - z_0}{2\Phi(u) - 1} \right)^2 \right\} + \frac{2(a - z_0)}{2\Phi(u) - 1} \sqrt{\frac{\sigma^2 t}{2\pi}} \exp\left(-\frac{u^2}{2}\right).$$

Bij het bekijken van deze gruwelijke formule moest ik opeens aan Nico denken. Het was net alsof ik hem hoorde zeggen: “Vertel me eens, wat heb je hier nu aan?”. En natuurlijk, ik moest hem gelijk geven. Het lukte me deze vondst gepubliceerd te krijgen – weliswaar in half-grijze literatuur. Maar ik heb nog nooit enige aanwijzing gevonden dat iemand anders de formule heeft gebruikt.

Nico’s achterdocht jegens puur theoretisch werk is terecht. De voornaamste taak van demografen is om veranderingen in omvang en samenstelling van de bevolking inzichtelijk te maken, zodat ongewenste ontwikkelingen op tijd kunnen worden gesignaleerd. Of en in welke mate zulke ontwikkelingen kunnen worden bijgestuurd is een andere vraag. Dat is lang niet in alle gevallen mogelijk. Maar puzzeltjes als die hier boven helpen weinig wanneer beleidsmakers op maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen wensen te anticiperen.

Gedurende zijn gehele wetenschappelijke loopbaan heeft Nico dicht tegen het beleid aan gewerkt. Zijn jarenlange betrokkenheid bij het Werkverband Periodieke Rapportage Bevolkingsvraagstukken (WPRB) getuigt daarvan. Dit werkverband werd in 1983 door de regering ingesteld met als doel “... de vinger aan de pols te houden van de demografische ontwikkeling in het besef dat veranderingen in de omvang en samenstelling van de bevolking belangrijk zijn voor de hele samenleving en voor de vormgeving van overheidsbeleid...” zoals Nico het formuleerde in zijn voorwoord tot het tiende WPRB-rapport, dat in 2012 verscheen. Vanaf het derde rapport (1991) heeft Nico een belangrijke rol gespeeld in dit werk, eerst als secretaris van het WPRB, en vanaf het zevende rapport (2003) als voorzitter daarvan. Toen ik bij het schrijven van dit stukje de rapporten nog eens op een rij legde raakte ik onder de indruk van de verscheidenheid aan onderwerpen die in het verleden aan de orde kwamen. Actuele bevolkingsontwikkelingen in Nederland, Europa en elders in de wereld werden uiteraard in ieder der tien rapporten beschreven, maar daarnaast zien we ook onderwerpen als kinderloze vrouwen, bevolking en milieu, concentratie en segregatie van minderheden, toekomstige ontwikkelingen van informele zorg, armoede en demografisch gedrag, achtergronden en

sociale gevolgen van immigratie, werken en zorgen gedurende de individuele levensloop, pensioneringsgedrag, de grote stad in demografisch perspectief en actief ouder worden. De reeks WPRB-rapporten geeft een heel mooi beeld van wat beleidsmakers sinds de jaren tachtig zoal heeft beziggehouden voor wat betreft de gevolgen van demografische veranderingen. Hoewel veel van de hoofdstukken in de achtereenvolgende WPRB-rapporten zijn geschreven door vertegenwoordigers van de planbureaus en het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), zien we toch heel duidelijk Nico's invloed in de keuze der onderwerpen en in de manier waarop de thema's zijn beschreven. Want, zoals het eens door Dick van de Kaa is verwoord: Nico heeft een goede hand van schrijven. Helder en duidelijk, geen overbodige bijzinnen of moeilijke zinsconstructies, direct de boodschap verwoorden. Dat is Nico's stijl. We zien die goede hand van schrijven ook in Nico's stukjes in Demos, waarvan hij sinds jaren redactielid is.

'Dicht tegen het beleid' heeft in Nico's werk nog een andere invulling gekregen. In zijn vroege loopbaan was hij namelijk zeer actief binnen het wetenschapsbeleid, meer speciaal de programmering van demografisch onderzoek. Toen ik begin 1982 bij het NIDI in dienst kwam voerde Nico, samen met Hans van Leusden, het secretariaat van het Nationaal Programma Demografisch Onderzoek. Dit onderzoeksprogramma was in 1974 ingesteld door de toenmalige minister voor Wetenschapsbeleid, op aanbeveling van de Staatscommissie Bevolkingsvraagstukken. De opdracht van het NPDO was de door de Staatscommissie voorgestelde onderzoeksagenda uit te voeren. In de praktijk had het NPDO een coördinerende en stimulerende functie, omdat de wetenschappelijke instellingen en de beleidsinstanties die zich met demografisch onderzoek bezighielden hun eigen werkprogramma's hadden. Maar het NPDO kon dankzij een budget van rond 4 miljoen gulden ook onderzoek initiëren. Het NPDO, dat gedurende de jaren 1974-1982 actief was, kreeg als opvolger het Programmeringscollege Demografisch Onderzoek (PCDO) met een meer beperkte opdracht. Ten eerste werd het PCDO, met Nico als secretaris, voor slechts twee jaar ingesteld, en ten tweede beschikte het niet over eigen middelen om onderzoek uit te laten voeren. Maar mede door de PCDO-activiteiten kon in 1987 de NWO Werkgemeenschap Demografisch Onderzoek in het leven worden geroepen. Deze werkgemeenschap formuleerde een prioriteitenprogramma bevolkingsvraagstukken dat in 1989 door NWO werd aanvaard. Maar ook later speelde Nico een belangrijke rol in de programmering van demografisch onderzoek, zoals de door hem geschreven NIDI-rapporten nr. 23 en 47 uit achtereenvolgens 1991 en 1996 duidelijk maken.

Tegen de achtergrond van het NPDO en het PCDO hadden Nico en ik uitgebreide contacten, meer in het bijzonder in het kader van het project 'Onderzoek naar Relatievorming in Nederland' (ORIN). Dit project werd in het midden van de jaren tachtig door het NIDI georganiseerd, in samenwerking met de Universiteiten van Amsterdam, Tilburg en Wageningen. Het retrospectief opgezette steekproefonderzoek werd gefinancierd door het NPDO. In 1986 verscheen een door het PCDO geïnitieerde programmeerstudie op het terrein van de relatievorming, huishoudensontwikkeling en vruchtbaarheid. In deze studie werd aanbevolen om de verscheidenheid aan leef- en relatievormen in Nederland in de jaren tachtig in kaart te brengen, en na te gaan welke ontwikkelingen zich hierin voordeden. In het verlengde van het ORIN-project ontwikkelde ik een prototype van het huishoudensprognose-

model LIPRO, dat later door Evert van Imhoff verder operationeel werd gemaakt. Ik geloof dat dit prognosemodel bij Nico nog net door de beugel kon, ondanks de vele voor die tijd nieuwe foefjes die we in het model aanbrachten. Dat het later ook door derden veel is gebruikt zal hieraan hebben bijgedragen.

Op Europees gebied heeft Nico zich al vanaf het begin van de jaren tachtig verdienstelijk gemaakt. In 1983 werd de European Association for Population Studies (EAPS) opgericht. Het NIDI speelde daarbij een belangrijke rol. Vanaf het begin tot 1995 was Nico uitvoerend secretaris van EAPS (van 1995 tot 2008 was hij lid van de EAPS-Council). In die hoedanigheid woonde hij de vergaderingen van de EAPS-Council bij. Toen Nico voor een van die vergaderingen verhinderd was mocht ik invallen. Door INED-directeur Gérard Calot, op dat moment de President van EAPS, werd ik prompt ‘the other Nico’ gedoopt. Terug op het NIDI werd de verwarring voor buitenstaanders alleen maar groter toen eind jaren tachtig een derde Nico, namelijk Nico Klaasen van het Bureau Bevolkingszaken van het Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen enige tijd op het NIDI vertoefde.

Ook nadat ik het NIDI in 1990 had verlaten had ik nog veel goede contacten met Nico. Vooral denk ik met plezier terug aan de talloze conferenties die EAPS organiseerde en waarbij Nico vanuit zijn functie aanwezig moest zijn. Al snel ging het gerucht dat Nico tijdens die bijeenkomsten de ‘NIDI-portemonnee’ beheerste – dit heeft sterk bijgedragen aan al die goede herinneringen.

Een van Nico’s opvallende karaktertrekken is zijn goede humeur. Ik heb het niet nagegaan, maar ik ben er vast van overtuigd dat Nico in de jaren zeventig en tachtig de NIDI-medewerker was met de meeste dienstjaren zonder vaste aanstelling. Het derde hem schijnbaar niet, hij bleef goedgeluimd. “Er is altijd wel een potje te vinden om mij in dienst te houden” hoorde ik hem meermaals zeggen. En hij kreeg stevast gelijk. Met de invoering van de doelfinanciering werd het NIDI-budget wat ruimer en kreeg hij alsnog de lang verdiende aanstelling. We gunden het hem van harte. In de jaren negentig werd hij adjunct-directeur. Ik heb hem altijd als ‘mr. NIDI’ beschouwd.

Ook zijn gevoel voor humor tekent hem. Tijdens de lunch- en theepauzes op het NIDI bespraken we regelmatig belangrijke maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen. Nico nam dan stevast stelling op een manier die lijnrecht inging tegen de heersende opvattingen. Ik verdenk hem ervan dat hij niet altijd zijn persoonlijke mening verwoordde, maar vaak (jonge) medewerkers wilde uitdagen – of misschien alleen maar in verwarring brengen?

Nu treedt hij terug. Het NIDI zal hem missen, zowel om zijn persoon als om zijn werk. Het zal niet meevallen het gat op te vullen. Maar zijn pensioen heeft hij zeer wel verdiend, en ik hoop dat hij nog geruime tijd met Anne en met de familie in goede gezondheid zal kunnen doorbrengen.

En nu terug naar Nico’s vraag. Waar gebruik je die variantie nu eigenlijk voor? Ik denk dat ik hem dat maar eens persoonlijk moet uitleggen.

The dilemma of serving two masters

Peter McDonald

Nico spends much of his time providing information, usually upon request, to policy makers and planners at different levels in the Netherlands. This includes areas such as the basic demographic trends, migration, labour force, housing, health and so on. I do a lot of this kind of work in Australia and this gives me something of a feeling of fellowship with Nico. Such work is extremely important at the national or local level but is almost totally unrewarding at the international level or within academic circles. It will not be published in leading international journals. At the same time, the advice provided often has major impacts on people's lives unlike most of the articles published in leading academic journals.

Universities, like the one that I work for, like to see this work being done because they can point to it as indicating the social value of the university. It is service to the broader community. Those that fund universities and research centres also like to see this sort of work being done again because it is service to the broader community. The dilemma, however, is that this work is not rewarding to the career of the individual researcher. Indeed, the opposite is the case. It takes time to do this work carefully and thoroughly and this is time that might have been spent in preparing papers for international academic publication. And, when it comes to recognition of the career of the individual researcher, it is academic recognition through publication that is taken into account. International journals can be ranked and scored and, in a world of metrics, the individual's 'score' can be calculated easily. The researcher's social value through advice to policy makers and planners, on the other hand, is difficult to assess using metrics so we don't do it. In my case and I'm sure in Nico's case as well, often the advice is provided confidentially so it is inherently unknowable. But such confidential advice can be vital advice.

In Australian universities, young academics in the social sciences, particularly economics, often work on US data sets because this is the only way that they will get published in a leading US journal. And getting published in a leading US journal is the way to get promoted. From my perspective in Australia, this dilemma is a long way from being solved because the managerial model that pervades individual assessment is tied to metrics and is unable to measure value.

It is a credit to Nico that throughout his career he has maintained a dedication to provide advice to policy makers and planners within the Netherlands despite the downsides of such dedication as I have described above. Countries only notice the absence of this expertise when it is not there, then they start to panic. The Netherlands has not needed to panic yet because Nico has been there and is still there, ever at the ready with his expertise. Policy makers and planners get very used to access to such reliable expertise. My guess is that Nico will not be allowed to retire.

Part II

The character of a character

“Waar zou het NIDI geweest zijn zonder zijn penvoorderschap? [...]

De NIDI-gedachten en –wensen werden op onnavolgbare wijze vastgelegd in glasheldere taal en vormden daarmee een optimale basis voor onderhandelingen en verantwoording.”

Jenny Gierveld over de kwaliteiten van Nico van Nimwegen in zijn rol als penvoerder en het vermogen om de NIDI-belangen te behartigen.

Communicator, verbindingsman, penvoerder en man van vergezichten

Jenny Gierveld

Bevolkingsvraagstukken: thema's die boeien en altijd boeiend blijven, juist ook voor een publiek van leken.

Mevrouw N., 79 jaar, in gesprek met haar zusters (geen van allen hebben meer onderwijs genoten dan lagere school):

“Nee hoor, dat vak van mijn schoondochter is niet zo moeilijk. Ik kan je gemakkelijk uitleggen waarover het gaat....” en zij praat honderduit over trouwen, kinderen krijgen en werken, en over de verschillen in dit opzicht tussen vrouwen die wel en niet actief betrokken zijn in de kerk.

Dat het Nederlandse publiek zoveel informatie heeft meegekregen over bevolkingsvraagstukken is bepaald niet in de laatste plaats te danken aan al die NIDI-mensen, die zich hebben ingezet voor de doorlopende vertaling van wetenschappelijke demografische gegevens naar de Nederlandse samenleving. Onder hen neemt Nico van Nimwegen een heel speciale plaats in. Een viertal aspecten van het werk van Nico mag ik hier kort uitlichten:

1. Nico, de demografische communicator
2. Nico, de man van vergezichten
3. Nico, de verbindingsman
4. Nico, de onvolprezen penvoerder

1. Nico, de demografisch communicator

De thema's die centraal staan binnen de wetenschappelijke bestudering van de demografie bestrijken een breed terrein en omvatten de gehele levensloop van mannen en vrouwen. De wetenschapper Nico van Nimwegen heeft zich met alle fasen en transities in de levensloop diepgaand bezig gehouden. Dat begint met de voorwaardenscheppende omgeving inzake de start van gezinsvorming, de creatie van een kindvriendelijke omgeving die barrières slecht om tot gezinsvorming te kunnen komen. Passende woonruimte, uitzicht op het kunnen combineren van zorgtaken en werk, waar mogelijk het harmoniseren van de komst van kinderen met kinderopvangmogelijkheden. Het kindertal dat onder meer afhankelijk is van de vraag of de (toekomstige) moeder in de arbeidsmarkt werkzaam is, de religieuze achtergrond en bijbehorende attitudes van vader en moeder, maar ook de leeftijd waarop de ouders het eerste kind wensen te krijgen (laat moederschap), de verzorging en begeleiding van jonge kinderen door adolescentie heen en tot jong-volwassenheid – ook de determinanten van de start en het prille begin van de levensloop worden door Nico bestudeerd, beschreven en verklaard. In dit kader mogen we ook niet vergeten te vermelden zijn schrifturen rond seksueel gedrag en contraceptie.

Veel aandacht kreeg dan ook de transitie van de jongere als verlater van het ouderlijk huis, het aansluitende alleen gaan wonen, het zoeken en vinden van vrienden en een partner en de timing van het gaan samenwonen al of niet als gehuwd koppel. Juist ook de achtergronden van de beslissing om te gaan samenwonen dan wel te trouwen, de opties rond het tijdstip daarvan, de interactie met de wens om kinderen te krijgen, ook op dit vlak is het niet moeilijk publicaties van de hand van Nico te vinden.

Maar de belangstelling van Nico van Nimwegen loopt door en neemt de vervolgfases uit de levensloop ter hand. We treffen studies rond de migratiepatronen van jong-volwassenen en de wijze van inbedding in de Nederlandse samenleving. Studies inzake de kosten en opbrengsten van grootschalige migratie, die steeds voor nieuwe en vaak opvallende discussies in de pers aanleiding zijn geweest. De migratie-vragen zijn vervolgens nauw gerelateerd aan enkele belangrijke vraagstukken die verband houden met de vergrijzing en de dubbele vergrijzing van de samenleving. Kan internationale migratie een oplossing helpen bieden voor de opvang van een mogelijk tekort aan werkers in de zorgsector? Nico van Nimwegen neemt deze vraagstukken bij de kop, hij analyseert, beschrijft en verklaart... Het moet worden opgemerkt, dat nu Nico van Nimwegen zelf de leeftijd van de sterken nadert, ook zijn belangstelling voor de vergrijzingsvragen nog duidelijker gestalte krijgt dan voorheen het geval was. “Een andere kijk op vergrijzing” behoort tot de meer recente publicaties, evenals een uitgave onder de titel “Oud, ouder, oudst”.

2. Nico, de man van de vergezichten

Het hiervoor genoemde onderzoek naar vele facetten van de levensloop leidt Nico van Nimwegen tot een omvangrijk oeuvre aan gedachtenspels en weloverwogen vergezichten inzake het bevolkingsbeleid, dat eerdergenoemde ontwikkelingen moet dragen en faciliteren. Het spreekt vanzelf dat de door Nico en collega's geformuleerde beleidssuggesties op gedegen wijze worden onderbouwd. Daarbij neemt de evaluatie van bevolkingsbeleid uit voorafgaande periodes, soms teruggaand tot periodes rond de Tweede Wereldoorlog, maar zeker omvattend het beleid van de jaren vijftig en zestig van de vorige eeuw, een belangrijke plaats in. Bevolkingscommissies worden aansluitend voorzien van verschillende denkpistes voor toekomstig handelen; via expliciete bevolkingsmodellen of –zoals veel meer gebruikelijk– via verdoken suggesties voor een beleid dat bepaalde bevolkingsontwikkelingen zou kunnen ondersteunen.

3. Nico, de verbindingsman

Nico van Nimwegen is ook bij uitstek de man die op het glibberige veld van suggesties voor bevolkingsbeleid met veel gemak en charme groepen van adviseurs bijeen brengt voor overleg. De vergaderzaal van het NIDI wordt in dit kader heel regelmatig gevuld met demografische collega's en buitenstaanders, bijeengebracht om mee te denken over de optimale paden voor toekomstig beleid. Het was met name het werk van Nico van Nimwegen, die dergelijke groepen van mensen uit allerlei departementen en uit omringende (onderzoeks-)instellingen bijeenbracht in het Werkverband Periodieke Rapportage Bevolkingsvraagstukken (WPRB). De resulterende zware volumes van rapportages zijn steeds door beleidsmakers en de media met grote belangstelling opgepakt.

4. Nico, de onvolprezen penvoerder

Niet direct demografisch van aard, maar voor de volle 100 procent relevant voor de bestudering van bevolkingsvraagstukken in ons land en daarbuiten, is de rol van Nico van Nimwegen als frequent penvoerder van het instituut. Waar zou het NIDI zijn geweest zonder zijn penvoederschap? Als ik me mag beperken tot de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw, dan denk ik persoonlijk met veel dankbaarheid terug aan het werk van Nico als adjunct-directeur van het NIDI, aan al die notities en beleidsdocumenten waarin ons denken over het Instituut in ontwikkeling werd vastgelegd. Of het nu documenten betrof voor het hoog gekwalificeerde NIDI-bestuur, voor het financieel verantwoordelijk departement van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen of voor organisaties elders in Den Haag of in Brussel, de NIDI-gedachten en wensen werden op onnavolgbare wijze vastgelegd in glasheldere taal en vormden daarmee een optimale basis voor onderhandelingen en verantwoording. Daarnaast verschenen er van zijn hand ontelbare andere stukken zoals: onderzoeksplannen, jaarplannen, jaarverslagen en vijf-jaarsmodulen, specifieke overlegstukken voor de verlengingsgesprekken inzake basis- en doelsubsidies van de departementen, enz., enz. Verschillende van de hier genoemde stukken werden na uitvoerige discussies in het Management Team door Nico en ondergetekende mondeling toegelicht in gesprekken met vertegenwoordigers van het Ministerie van OC en W. Ik herinner me de gedeelde vreugde wanneer de stukken en de gesprekken mede hadden geleid tot (soms onverwachte, mooie) meevallers, maar ook de gezamenlijke pijn wanneer de gesprekspartners moeilijk te overtuigen waren. Zoveel jaren van samen 'schaven' aan teksten zal ik me blijven herinneren en zal ik blijven koesteren als voorbeeld van wat mensen met elk hun eigen gaven van hoofd en hart, kunnen bereiken.

Nico, hartelijk dank voor al die jaren van samenwerken, hartelijk dank voor al die jaren waarin je jouw bijzondere inbreng hebt geleverd aan het reilen en zeilen van het NIDI.

The people manager

Mary Ellen Zuppan

I had the privilege of working with Nico when he was elected Secretary General and Treasurer of the International Union for Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) in 2005. I had just been promoted to the position of Executive Director of IUSSP – a position I thought would be temporary. I have stayed in part because of Nico’s support and mentoring during his term as Secretary General.

Nico is an exceptional individual with an innate sense of how to work with people. He genuinely likes people and appreciates what they can contribute and this radiates out to all those who have the opportunity to work with him. As Secretary General and Treasurer of IUSSP, he focused on what was important to make Council meetings efficient; he also went out of his way to make the meetings enjoyable. He had just the right touch. He knew when to listen, and he knew when to speak out and give advice, and he knew when to give others the floor. He draws out the best in people by making it possible for them to contribute and participate, and enjoy participating. He makes sure they are recognized for their roles whether staff or members, a key skill to help a voluntary association grow and thrive, especially an association with many highly gifted members. He believes it is important to find ways for all members to contribute by making top down structures more open to the ideas and work of the members and not just those elected to the governing board. He is also pragmatic – a requirement when resources are limited. I’m sure this is why he has long held key positions in the European Association for Population Studies and IUSSP. I learned much by working with Nico; he imparted to me confidence in my decisions and my ability to manage the day-to-day operations for the Union and work with its Council. Above all, working with Nico was fun – as Nico retires from NIDI, I’m sure he will continue to make life and work fun for all those who have the opportunity to collaborate with him.

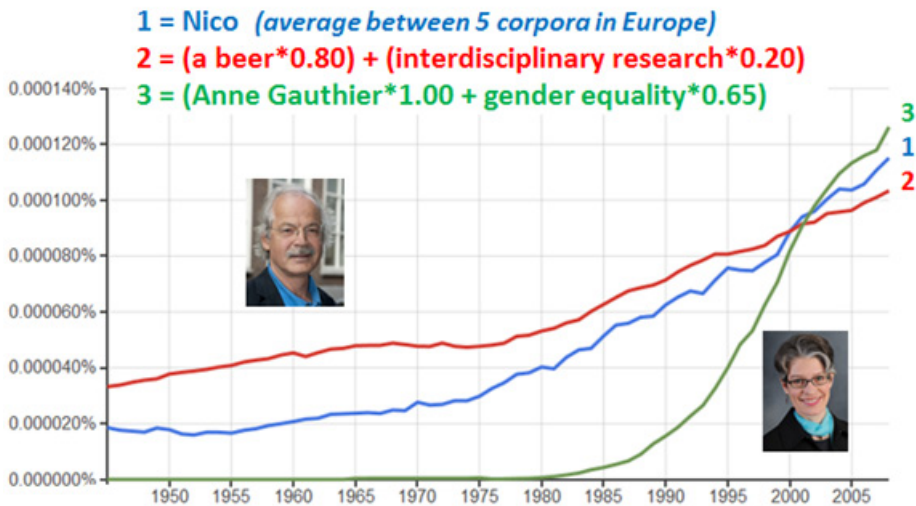
Rising values in European demography

François Héran

Dear Nico,

We have known each other for so many years that my compliments are likely to be somewhat subjective. In order to convert my personal feelings into scientific facts, I requested information about you from Ngram Viewer, the new tool which quantifies the relative frequency of concepts and persons over time in all the documents scanned by Google. There is no doubt about the outcome: You are definitely a rising value in the European landscape of demography, correlated with a wise mix of research and 'bon vivant' way of life, and boosted by your encounter with Anne. A splendid example of 'linked lives'!

A digital exploration with Ngram Viewer



Dear Nico, we are extremely grateful for all the expertise, wisdom and humaneness you have constantly brought to the development of demographic institutions in Europe.

The Grand Tour D'Europe; a rite de passage

Helga de Valk

The famous Grand Tour through Europe was an important aspect in the transition to adulthood of young men in the 18th century. This rite the passage was mainly reserved for those from the higher social classes. These tours, in which main European cities were visited, had an educational component but also involved a lot of pleasure.

In the 21st century Nico thought this is important to be extended partially probably because his own pleasurable experiences in travelling through Europe being known as 'Mr. EAPS'. Gender equal as he is (either by nature or nurture via Anne), he apparently felt this tour d'Europe was important for women too. He therefore introduced me to EAPS and European demography in 2007. It marked the start of me becoming the Executive Secretary of the European Association for Population Studies and Nico remaining the tour leader.

The different components as important in the tour of young men also were found relevant for me as a women. It was the start of a European journey with a lot of new experiences and also a lot of pleasure. And as was the case for young men this experience was very relevant to be able to discuss important (demographic) issues when starting the future career. Big difference between the young guys and me was that they went with many at the same time to travel through Europe. For me it was a unique individual experience into the world of European Demography that Nico knows so well and in which he played (and continues to play) a key role in bringing together different parties and partners.



The tour started in my in the meantime beloved Barcelona. Preparing for the 2008 European Population Conference we paid visits to the city and the Centre for Demographic studies. During those first meetings it was very clear to me that Nico knew what he was talking about and had a vision on how to make things run smoothly for all involved. I learned so much from his way of dealing with different issues and people. At the same time I learned just as much from his ability of combining work and pleasure: With the EAPS council we worked very hard without forgetting it should also be enjoyable! Discussing the latest in demography and lives of demographers in Europe was often done over a beer (or two) and other bad habits that are most enjoyable (like smoking cigarettes).

I seemed to have passed the first step in the tour successfully and was allowed to continue to the next stop: Vienna. Like the men in their days were known for favouring parties and drinks this aspect of the grand tour was introduced at the EPC in Vienna with the first EPC party which putted European demography in a totally different light.

Again we passed this stop and headed for the next main place in Europe: Stockholm. The Nordic work ethic with no beer allowed over lunch remained a puzzle to Nico who so much

likes to make life pleasant. Like a real teacher he however had clear visions on how he wanted things to be organized, but at the same time was open to suggestions by others. Nico had the bigger view, the details were left to be worked out by others. In that regard he also trusted the running of the Association more and more to me even though he continued referring to me (and other women at NIDI) as 'meisje' (also when we had passed the age or innocence of 'meisje' a long time ago ☺). This however also shows his heart for individual people in addition to the heart for the cause of European population studies.

In the old days these young men who had travelled around continental Europe returned to their home country with a lot of experience and respect taking up high positions upon return. The first clearly applies to me too, about the latter one can debate but the first (experience) is anyway much more relevant for an individual rite the passage. Nico has made this journey extremely enriching and enjoyable for me. To me this journey marked an important transition in both personal and professional development for which I am very grateful that Nico invited and guided me. He was and hopefully continues to be the motor behind European collaborations for years to come. Mr. EAPS (Extremely Appreciated and Passionate Scholar) should absolutely remain Nico's middle name. And I hope he will transmit this passion further on to the next generation also after retirement!

Het ga je goed.



“Een meneer van het NIDI”

Harry van Dalen

Zo betitelde een *Volkskrant*-journalist in 2011 ooit Nico van Nimwegen die, meen ik, voor de journalistendag een praatje hield over nieuwste wetenswaardigheden in de demografie. Tot zover de waardering voor het zendingswerk van onze Nico. ‘Een meneer’ is wel de laatste betiteling die je Nico kunt toedichten. Hij is mister NIDI, secretaris-generaal en als de Griekse president Papademos er niet tussen gekomen was had ik hem ook graag betiteld als Papa Demos. Met pijn in mijn hart neem ik afscheid van Nico. Tuurlijk, hij zal terugkeren als fellow, zijn neus herhaaldelijk om de hoek van de deur steken en dat hij een fellow is –vrij vertaald, een mannenman– dat wisten we natuurlijk allang. Maar er gaat toch iets verloren met het officiële vertrek van Mister Van Nimwegen en –mark my words– op een goede dag komt er een minister die de stijl en joie de vivre van een Nico van Nimwegen in een brief aan de kamer voordraagt. De wetenschap is dolgedraaid en wat dit land nodig heeft is een Nico van Nimwegen.

Wat is er dan zo uniek aan Nico en waarom gaan we (en vooral ik) hem missen? Er zijn drie terreinen waarop ‘de meneer van het NIDI’ zijn stille krachten uitoefent en ik zal ze alle drie proberen uit te leggen.

Allereerst is daar zijn rol als spin-in-het-web in de wereld van de demografie. Toen ik de wereld van de demografie binnentrad, als naïeve assistent-in-opleiding in het Finse Jyväskylä in 1987, was Nico al bezig om NIDI en de demografie op de kaart te zetten. En in de loop van de tijd is zijn rol als organisator in allerlei gremia alleen maar verbreed. IUSSP, EAPS, Population Europe, noem ze maar op, Nico was overal aanwezig. Van hoog tot laag, Nico had zijn web geweven in de demografie waarin iedereen zich graag liet vangen. Ik denk dat de reden waarom mensen graag mee deden om de demografie in Europa groot te maken, toch vooral te maken heeft met de ongedwongen stijl waarmee hij mensen benadert. Op menig congres zag ik Nico op recepties of tussen sessies met alle grootheden in het veld converseren. Dat lijkt eenvoudig, maar wie het oliemannetje van de wetenschap wil spelen moet ook de taal van alle aftakkingen binnen de demografie spreken. En ook daarin toonde hij zich een meester omdat hij indachtig de woorden van Maarten Koning uit *Het Bureau* vond dat wetenschap zo moest worden opgeschreven “dat je moeder het nog kan lezen en begrijpen”. Niks geen jargon, multivariate analyse, ingewikkelde latente klasse-analyse, of niet-geobserveerde heterogeniteit. Gewoon een kruistabel, dat is pas echte klasse die je bovendien gewoon observeert. Het is dat Nico in Utrecht woont, maar je zou bijna zeggen dat er een Rotterdammer in hem schuilt.

Ten tweede kan zijn managementstijl niet onbenoemd blijven. In de wandelgangen van het NIDI kwam ik wel eens mensen tegen die minder gecharmeerd waren van zijn stijl van leidinggeven, maar laat ik er eerlijk voor uitkomen: ik lust er wel pap van. En sterker nog, ik denk dat die stijl ooit nog eens de standaard gaat worden voor aankomende universiteitsbestuurders die verplicht moeten afkicken van alle rankings, citatielijstjes en andere

Bokito-verschijnselen. Die stijl laat zich nog het beste omschrijven als ‘management by surprise’ en dat geeft precies aan waarom de een er moeite mee heeft en de ander helemaal niet want je moet wel van surprises houden. En die surprise die dient zich als volgt aan. Je krijgt een telefoontje met de vraag om even langs te komen op zijn kamer. Even gezellig babbelen. En als je daar dan bent dan wordt daar even uit de doeken gedaan wat de plannen zijn, en dan komt zoals verzekeringsagenten dat zo mooi noemen de ‘closer’: “Dat doe je toch wel even, Harry?” Eigenlijk niet eens een vraag, maar meer een opdracht verpakt als surprise. En als je van surprises, Sinterklaas en wetenschap houdt dan zijn die bijeenkomsten dolle pret. Ach, er zat wel eens een surprise bij die je met minder vreugde uitpakte, maar over het algemeen sluit de managementstijl van Nico naadloos aan bij waar het in de wetenschap om draait: verrassing! En als een echte feestsmurf ga je dat soort uitdagingen graag aan. Het maakt het leven onvoorspelbaar en het maakt ook dat je je kunt onderscheiden van de gewone kantoor-slaven waarmee je ’s avonds weer in de trein zit. Het is ook daarom dat ik denk dat er op een goede dag een echt goede minister van onderwijs komt die inziet dat je mensen als Nico nodig hebt en dat aankomende bestuurder zijn managementstijl gaan verinnerlijken.

En dan is er nog de laatste en derde eigenschap –of moet ik zeggen trademark– van Nico: die ontwapende lach en de begroeting die je ten deel valt als je binnenkomt: he maatje! In de jaren dertig van de vorige eeuw had je mensen als Karl Popper die het als een morele plicht zagen om optimistisch te zijn, en tegenwoordig zie je dat bijna niet meer. Ja, je hebt nog wel Matthijs van Nieuwkerk die avond aan avond vrolijk de wereld inkijkt, of verdwaasde Beta-wetenschappers die op tv verschijnen en die denken dat alles oplosbaar is, maar binnen de sociale wetenschappen? Ik ken ze niet. Doemdenkers genoeg, maar blij geesten zijn opvallend afwezig. Nico, daarentegen, heeft altijd een onverwoestbaar optimisme en veerkracht tentoongespreid, ook al zat het in het leven –op zijn zachtst gezegd– niet altijd mee. Ik heb daar diepe bewondering voor. Niet alleen voor de tegenslagen maar ook voor zijn moed om als vergadertijger al die verenigingen of netwerkbijeenkomsten bij te wonen in Brussel, Wenen, Kazachstan of weet ik waar op deze aardbol. En dan niet met een sikkeneurig gezicht, maar echt met een opgeruimd gemoed, her en der een mannenbroeder op de schouders kloppend en Franse dames in hun moerstaal aansprekend en zoenend. En ook als voorzitter kon hij met zijn gebruikelijke charme al die wetenschappers, die zich niet aan tijd of protocol storen, tot de orde roepen met een glimlach en een trek aan zijn pijp. En tja, dat is het enige minpunt, die pijp. Die is al met vervroegd pensioen gegaan. Over het algemeen heb ik een hekel aan rokers en hun uitstootverschijnselen, maar ook hier weer moet ik een uitzondering maken: de pijp van Nico. De zoete geur van pijptabak die opsteeg in zijn donkerbruine kamer op de begane grond, het had iets vertrouwd en gezelligs. Heerlijk, maar gelukkig was het vertrek van de pijp het enige dat met vervroegd pensioen is gegaan en hebben we nog zo lang van Nico kunnen genieten. Het pensioen is Nico van harte gegund, maar ik hoop dat we ook dan nog veel gebruik kunnen maken van ‘De meneer van het NIDI’.

Laat honderd bloemen bloeien

Kène Henkens

Nico, jij bent een echt product van de jaren zestig en begin jaren zeventig zo je wilt. Dat was een tijd waarin links nog gewoon links was en rechts eigenlijk ook links. De tijd dat de sociologieopleiding in Utrecht nog wereldverbeteraars voortbracht. En aan de poten van de zittende generatie hoogleraren driftig werd gezaagd. Jongeren met een positieve kijk op het leven en de mensheid. En wat mij zoveel deugd deed al de jaren is dat jij die achtergrond nooit hebt verloochend. Sterker nog, het stempel oude hippie draag jij als een geuzennaam. Dat is sympathiek. Wie kent niet de betweterige linkse rakkers die eenmaal aan de macht geroken, werden tot zelfvergenoegd glimlachende potentaten. Onze Gerrit Zalm –ooit CPN posters plakkend– bracht het tot nationale schatbewaarder en ABN-bobo. Rita Verdonk –net als jij uit Utrecht– werd van PSP-coryfee tot hoofd van de VVD grensbewaking. Maar jij, Nico bleef al die tijd jezelf. Als jong MT-lid hoorde ik je spreken over “Laat honderd bloemen bloeien”. Daarmee wilde jij zeggen: laat eenieder zijn creativiteit de vrije loop laten. Het bleek een gevleugelde uitdrukking van de grote roerganger Mao te zijn. De honderd bloemen keerden met regelmaat terug als er een netelige kwestie op de agenda stond. Maar de nieuwe generatie, wat wist die nog van Mao’s leer? Die moesten de honderd bloemen nazoeken op Google. En zo veranderde de tijd. Die vroeg steeds meer om nieuw leiderschap volgens die modernste management boeken. De autoritaire zak van vroeger werd ineens een man met visie genoemd. Een volksmenner, werd een inspirerend leider.



Maar jouw stijl bleef ongeschonden. Flexibel en creatief, maar soms ook luchthartig en flegmatiek. Geen stuk van directie of MT zonder een Van Nimwegen 'touch'. MT-stukken werden tot literaire hoogstandjes, huisregels tot een gedicht en rapporten een roman.

En jij gaf leiding met een opgewekt gemoed. De moderne management testen wezen voorzichtig op het model van de Laat-maar-waaien-manager. Maar dat doet je zeer tekort. Want met al jouw veerkracht en positieve gemoed werd je steeds meer tot de Haarlemmer olie van het NIDI. Een smeermiddel dat altijd weer van pas kwam en zaken weer op de rails zette. Maar ook een houvast wanneer de zaken echt penibel werden. Zonder rancune en met het vizier op de goede zaak zet jij dan door. Wanneer een directeur plotseling vertrok of wegviel, of wanneer het leven zich van zijn zwartste kant liet zien. Daar heb je getoond dat je niet kapot te krijgen bent. En dat jouw pensionering niet gepaard is gegaan met het einde van het NIDI is mede te danken aan jouw vermogen flexibiliteit en onverzettelijkheid te combineren. Daarvoor zijn we je veel dank verschuldigd. Gelukkig krijgt het NIDI nu een tweede leven en is jouw afscheid dus maar voor even.



The friendly face of NIDI

Emily Grundy

Dear Nico,

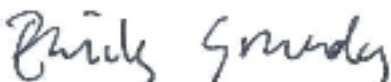
Being committed to Europe, not least through your unstinting work for the European Association for Population Studies as well as your research work, and very active throughout your life, I am sure you know that 2012 was the European Year for Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations. One year later, you are now moving to the next phase of activity in your life.

There are some studies which suggest that carrying on paid work is good for your health, others the complete reverse and of course it is difficult to resolve this issue given all the selection problems we are familiar with when trying to interpret observational data. However, very recently I was in discussion with an EU member of staff from the Netherlands who told me emphatically that the best model of 'retirement' was the Netherlands one involving some phasing down of activities prior to the exit from paid work and this is certainly the model advocated by many organisations. Of course we haven't noticed any phasing down in work activity by you, but I hope that now, if not before, you have the time for some phasing up of other activities too. Here at least the research evidence is clearer: Social contacts, activities (including physical activities) and a secure income are all associated with happiness and well-being in later life. I hope your distinguished record and the Netherlands government have made sure of the last point and I am sure you will continue with the other ones.

Intergenerational Solidarity was the other linked theme of the 2012 year. This is something you have made a great contribution to through your encouragement of younger researchers, as well as in other spheres. Even more notably you have made a major contribution to international solidarity through your activities and as a result have friends in very many places. Sometimes you have combined these roles by being so friendly and encouraging to wandering young researchers at the many various conferences you have had an important part in organising, as well as being the (friendly) face of NIDI. I am sure this played an important part in the unstinting support NIDI secured from colleagues throughout and beyond Europe during the recent time of difficulty.

So very many thanks for all your professional and personal contributions which very many colleagues have greatly appreciated. We are all hoping that your Active Ageing agenda will include some continuation of these activities so we have future chances of engaging demographic discussion and friendly social chats over the odd glass of beer at international congresses well into the future.

Very best wishes,



Emily Grundy

NIEUWSBLAD DEMOS

DONDERDAG 30 JANUARI 2014

Nico van Nimwegen uitgeroepen tot Mister NIDI

Van onze correspondent
Clara Mulder

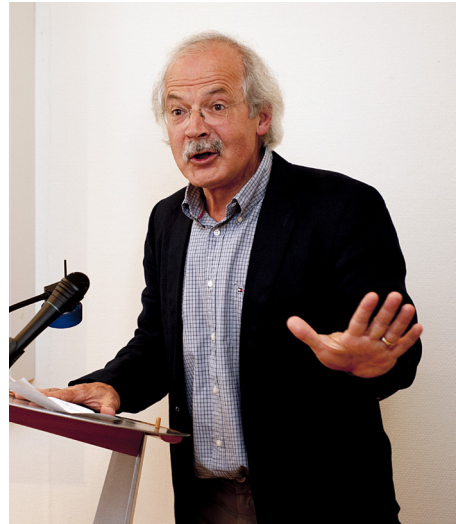
GRONINGEN - Na jarenlange trouwe dienst bij het Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut in Den Haag gaat Nico van Nimwegen met ingang van 1 februari met pensioen. Onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat Van Nimwegen binnen het NIDI en in de rest van de demografische wereld zeer gewaardeerd wordt.

Op basis van expertopinions is Nico van Nimwegen uitgeroepen tot Mister NIDI. In het uitgebreide onderzoek onder vakgenoten worden volgende argumenten naar voren gebracht.

De heer Van Nimwegen is al sinds demografenheugenis verbonden aan het NIDI. Hele generaties demografen associëren hem met het NIDI en het NIDI met Nico van Nimwegen. Naar verluidt zijn er mensen die hem soms NIDI noemen en het NIDI Nico. De verbintenis lijkt onontwarbaar. Volgens alle vooruitberekeningen blijft de verbintenis ook in de toekomst bestaan.

Nico van Nimwegen vertegenwoordigt het NIDI over de hele wereld en doet dat met verve en enthousiasme.

Dat het NIDI bijna dreigde te verdwijnen toen Van Nimwegens pensionering naderbij kwam kan geen toeval zijn.



*Nico van Nimwegen licht WPRB-rapport toe.
Foto: Nieuwsdienst Demos.*

Uit demografenkringen klinken de allerbeste wensen voor een mooie pensioentijd voor de heer Van Nimwegen, maar ook de hoop dat hij onverminderd deel blijft uitmaken van de *demographic community*.

Part III

Bridging the pure and applied science of demography

“To unleash the full potential of an aging and more diverse population, one should emphasize the skills and talents of people. Instead of focusing on population size and composition, one should concentrate on what people can do.”

Frans Willekens on the answer which Nico gave to the question “What are the best ways to tap the rich human resources of an aging and more diverse population?”

Agency in population policies

Frans Willekens

Introduction

Throughout his professional career, Nico demonstrated a strong interest in an adequate demographic knowledge base for social policies. He played key roles in research programming, synthesis of demographic knowledge and dissemination of research findings to policy makers and the general public. Nico came to NIDI to help launch the National Programme for Demographic Research (NPDO) and continued to coordinate periodic studies on the state of the population in the Netherlands, the consequences and their policy implications (WPRB). Around 2004 Nico was instrumental in the establishment by the European Commission of a European demographic observatory with the aim to inform the social policy debate. He assembled a consortium of population research institutes that produced the Demography Monitor 2005, which provided the knowledge base for the Green Paper *Confronting demographic change: A new solidarity between generations* (European Commission, 2005). Other Demography Monitors followed (2007 and 2008) and they provided a basis for Demography Reports of the European Commission (2007, 2008 and 2010). The European network that was established for the Demography Monitor evolved into a more permanent European partnership: *Population Europe*. The partnership, under the auspices of EAPS, was formally founded on 15th June 2009 at a meeting at NIDI. Nico was appointed member of the Board of Governors and the liaison person for the Netherlands. Today, Population Europe is a demographic knowledge infrastructure for policy makers, the media, schools and the general public.

Throughout history, two opposing approaches to population policies and social policies dominated the debate and the policy measures that resulted. The approaches differ mainly in the belief in human agency, *i.e.* in the capability to reason and act independently. People who believe in that capability endorse other policies than those who do not believe. In this paper I illustrate that difference with reference to population growth and population diversity.

Population growth

In a recent paper (Van Nimwegen, 2013), Nico asked the question that is on the minds of many of us: “What are the best ways to tap the rich human resources of an aging and more diverse population?” He gave a simple but most effective answer to these new demographic realities of Europe. To unleash the full potential of an aging and more diverse population, one should emphasize the skills and talents of people. Instead of focusing on population size and composition, one should concentrate on what people can do. That belief in human agency and entrepreneurship is rooted in the best Christian Protestant ethic and the teaching of Max Weber. It characterizes Nico’s responses to the challenges ahead. It underlies his promotion of ‘active aging’ and continued participation, which he sees as a way to make use of the full potential of older persons (Van Nimwegen and Van Praag, 2012; Van Nimwegen, 2012), and his view of migration as an “opportunity for migrants to use their skills and talents which cannot be used in the country that they leave behind.”

The emphasis on capabilities and human agency has a long tradition in population studies. Condorcet believed that humans are “capable of reasoning and of acquiring moral ideas”, *i.e.* they are capable of acting independently and responsibly. As early as 1794, he anticipated the voluntary reduction of fertility and the emergence of a small family norm. That would resolve the population problem. Universal education, according to Condorcet, is the key to success. That enlightenment view at the time of the French Revolution was vigorously opposed in 1798 by Malthus, who did not believe that most people, and in particular the lower classes of society, are capable of reasoned action. He opposed social welfare programs because people would respond by having more children. He also opposed contraception as a preventive check: “Indeed, I should always particularly reprobate any artificial and unnatural methods of checking population, both on account of their immorality and their tendency to remove a necessary stimulus to industry. If it were possible for each married couple to limit by a wish the number of their children, there is certainly reason to fear that the indolence of the human race would be very greatly increased.” (Malthus, 1817 edition, p. 368; also quoted by Winch, 1996, p. 57).¹ The opposing views revealed a very different model of man. For Condorcet, the future will be dominated by freedom of mind and rational and responsible decisions: “The time will therefore come when the sun will shine only on free man who know no other master but their reason; when tyrants and slaves, priests and their stupid or hypocritical instruments will exist only in works of history and on the stage; and when we shall think of them only to pity their victims and their dupes; to maintain ourselves in a state of vigilance by thinking on their excesses; and to learn how to recognize and so to destroy, by force of reason, the first seeds of tyranny and superstition, should they ever dare to reappear among us.” Malthus viewed this as pure speculation. He did not believe in the perfectibility of man and human agency but in laws of nature that apply to both animals and humans. He defended his view that “The perpetual tendency in the race of man to increase beyond the means of subsistence is one of the general laws of animated nature which we can have no reason to expect will change.” (Malthus, 1798, p. 109). The Condorcet-Malthus debate reflects two rival approaches to dealing with the population problem that are rooted in very different beliefs in and respect of individual capabilities. The debate continues today, with Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum and others advocating human development and the capability approach on one side and those favoring restrictive legal, economic and other measures to curtail population growth on the other side (Sen, 1994).

Diversity

One of the subjects Nico addresses in his publications is population diversity. Europe is becoming more diverse. New member countries have social, economic and cultural settings and past experiences that differ considerably from those of the old members states. International migration adds to the diversity. Migration between member states for reasons of study, employment, marriage, climate or cost of living increases the demographic mix of neighbourhoods, regions and countries. Migration across the borders of Europe changes the demographic landscape and triggers a growing cultural diversity, manifested in different values, norms and customs. Nico recognizes that diversity can spur economic growth but can

¹ Malthus considered later marriage as the main preventive check.

also put a strain on social cohesion. By identifying people's capabilities and bringing out their talents, population diversity is turned from a liability into an asset that can be used to address the challenges that confront Europe. Others consider that vision unrealistic and not different from Condorcet's utopianism. They do not trust the power of human agency.

At the workplace, diversity management has become an integral part of human resource management. Individual differences are recognized and, where possible, used to the advantage of the organization. At the macro level, population diversity, in particular cultural diversity, is often considered a threat. In an influential paper, Putnam (2007) claims that, in neighborhoods in the USA, ethnic diversity reduces social solidarity and trust, diminishes social capital and endangers social cohesion. Lancee and Dronkers (2011) found similar results for Europe. The effects dominate in the short run. In the long run, diversity is likely to have significant cultural and economic benefits. Others consider diversity an asset for society. Page (2007) stresses the power of diversity. Individuals with widely different backgrounds and experiences spur creativity and innovation because they have various ways of looking at problems, conditions and challenges. In 2010, US president Obama recognized the power of diversity when he stated, in a remark on comprehensive immigration reform: "In an increasingly interconnected world, the diversity of our country is a powerful advantage in global competition." (Obama, 2011).

The debate on the effects of diversity did not yet produce conclusive evidence. The effects of diversity depend on contextual factors. Dahlberg *et al.* (2012) identified effects of redistribution policies and programs on ways people approach population diversity. Redistribution receives more support if the society is homogeneous. In heterogeneous societies, such as the USA, support is less. In relatively homogeneous welfare states with large redistribution programs, support for redistribution declines with increasing population diversity. The underlying mechanism is homophily. People are supportive for redistribution to other people with similar background. It is an expression of the tendency of people to associate and bond with similar others. As a corollary, an increase in population diversity is often considered a threat to the welfare state, simply because solidarity is generally less with people who are different. Recently, Niejahr (2013) used that insight to advocate a different integration policy in Germany, a policy that is pre-occupied less with groups and differences between groups, and more with individuals and their capabilities and agency. What she advocates is essentially enlightenment in the migration and integration debate and policy.

Conclusion

Throughout his professional career, Nico played a central role in the design of a demographic knowledge base for social policy and he did not refrain from using his demographic expertise to recommend policies and policy perspectives. Social research is usually not value-free. If Malthus would have asked "What are the best ways to tap the rich human resources of a growing population?", he would have reached a completely different conclusion. His model of man discouraged him from asking that question. If Condorcet would have viewed human behavior as governed by 'general laws of animated nature', he would have reached different conclusions. Different models of man lead to different policies. Scientists should follow

Nico's example and be transparent about the mental model they use (and the implied axioms and assumptions) to interpret the world and to recommend policies.

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Demographers and policy makers

Charlotte Höhn

A personal introduction

I met Nico van Nimwegen as early as 1978. He had just started to work for the NIDI, I had already published a number of articles and in particular population projections for (then West) Germany, but still felt pretty new in the world of demographers. As a matter of fact Nico and I belong to the same generation. And so we entered the world of demography practically together in the seventies, in the eighties we expanded our activities to European demography (mainly with the foundation of EAPS) and with that (as representative of our country or EAPS or IUSSP) to World demography. I am sure Nico will agree with me that demographic analysis and population studies are great study fields, even fun. We also both gratefully acknowledge to have met and sometimes even have made friends with the same ‘big wheels’ in demography, mainly those always a little older than we. Those of our generation or younger (and younger and younger) almost immediately became colleagues and friends. There are few (if any) unpleasant demographers in this world. We always have a topic (best discussed over a glass of wine or beer to be replenished). Nico and I have emptied quite a number of beers together. And the good thing about retirement, dear Nico, is: Your friends are still at population conferences and seminars, because we are not dumped after retirement. No! We remain demographers all our life. Since we can talk about demography for many decades to come I will not contribute another demographic analysis, but write a few observations on demographers and policy makers.

A brief typology of policy makers involved in demographic research

Occasionally we demographers meet policy makers of our respective governments; it is actually a long series of policy makers that one encounters in the course of four decades. Some policy makers fortunately are in favour of demographic research, others not. The latter give rise to justification of the research programme, the size and location of the institute, possibly even its existence. Both NIDI and BiB had difficult spells in their existence when evaluations and reorganisation practically stopped demographic research. Both institutes survived, developed and grew.

Some policy makers invite demographers to prepare demographic reports, to present demographic trends and population projections, or even explain certain phenomena, *e.g.* why fertility is so low, why other countries such as France have a higher fertility, what could be done. These are our darling policy makers because we can exhibit our accumulated knowledge.

Some policy makers love to talk about demographic change, others avoid the subject. Those ‘addressing’ demographic change in colourful and moving words too often remain vague (at least we believe so, in our proud opinion). We demographers should be grateful instead, because such political speeches create a public awareness that most demographers with their technical papers can never achieve. The media will give ample coverage to speeches of Minister X and Y (and very little, if any, to our publications or conferences).

Sometimes policy makers will implement measures or reform social security systems, and this is what we demographers always hoped for. If our institute or even a particular demographer is mentioned as inspiration for such welcome policies we just dropped our findings, or were heard in consultation, in the ideal moment, *i.e.* when the policy was ready to be launched. We are at best a justification for what would have been done anyway.

Policy makers at population conferences

Policy makers of the highest possible level quite often are invited to open a population conference. This is a guarantee for media coverage, as I already underscored. We occasionally are asked to draft their speech. The more we hear and read of our contribution the more reason we have to be happy. In my experience the policy maker as a rule has a remarkable gift to focus and at the same time simplify also demographic phenomena. Sentences are simply shorter, more oriented to the audience (and less to academic book and journal style). There are no footnotes and no references, no heavy mathematics and theory discussion. If the simplification reflects the substance this is a much more appealing speech than most of demographers could deliver.

Another place for policy makers at population conferences are panel discussions, sometimes a journalist will ask the questions. It is interesting to listen because one will rarely hear anything problematic. At best there are certain challenges to be tackled. Mostly we will be presented with opportunities and chances. Even rapid demographic ageing is a bright prospect “because living longer is an achievement and opens so many opportunities to virtually everybody”. Indeed life expectancy increased thanks to healthy life styles and medical progress. And it is also true that this is a reason for population ageing. The other reason –low fertility (resulting in a smaller labour force)– is usually not discussed. There were arguments that fewer births and less people should be good for the environment. There still is voiced the hope that women (and in particular mothers) will boost the labour force – as to more birth every effort has to be made to reconcile work and life balance. Nico and I have heard such political assertions for decades, and we still wait for their implementation or even their positive impact.

It is quite clear: Demographic change cannot be a favourite topic of policy makers because there is no immediate remedy to population age structure and no easy success story to increase fertility. Also immigration is no easy measure. Policy makers have understood (with quite some delay) that ‘replacement migration’ will not stop or even reverse demographic ageing. It can mitigate labour shortage (interesting enough a number of European countries has appallingly high youth unemployment!?!). Policy makers do not tire to underscore the benefits of highly skilled immigrants. One could not agree less if only the dire reality of undocumented and ‘less’ skilled immigration would not spoil our appreciation.

Let us stay in the demographers’ world

The problem is: Demographers and policy makers live in different worlds.

Policy makers wish to be elected; for that goal they have the really needed talent to highlight advantages and chances and to propose feasible solutions. They will present positive change; they will not right away tell their electorate the cost of their measures. They mention what can be gained or improved for everybody. They shy to cut existing programmes or to drastically

change benefits. They want to give and not to take. Therefore problems have to be ignored as long as possible.

Demographers (as all scientists) analyse phenomena in depth. They discuss theories and paradigms; they look at issues from all angles. They do not avoid negative or problematic aspects. They do their research *sine ira et studio* as the ancient Romans would say. Demographers attach no value judgements (as far as we can...), and their main interest is to promote knowledge.

I do hope Nico agrees that demographic research is fun, that it remains always interesting to study new data, new methods, new theoretical opinions. This is a marvellous world in which we are and will stay.

In comparison policy makers will stay only for an electoral period, or two or three. Some times they change their field of competence. Why should they invest much energy in specific fields such as demography?

Demographers stay in their field, perhaps shifting from fertility to mortality or immigration. But the methods and materials remain with gradual improvement. The best thing is that demographers live in a relatively small and international community. Once accepted one is never short of interesting colleagues with new ideas at meetings, ready to discuss matters of common interest. The really lucky ones, and Nico belongs to them, find lifelong friends in this small, but great demographic world. Therefore, enjoy demography, dear Nico, as long as you can. Stay with us in the world of demographers.

Is ‘Oranje’ a health risk for Dutch retirees?

Marc Luy

Introduction

Entering retirement is known to be a significant break in life, above all for men (George *et al.*, 1984). The so-called ‘third age’ entails negative as well as positive developmental processes as retirement provides the chance to find a new orientation, after life was for decades determined by occupational commitments (Kim and Moen, 2001). This includes, among others, allocating more time to social contacts, concentrating on new hobbies and deepening old interests (Gauthier and Smeeding, 2003). Typical for men is an enhanced devotion toward the support of their favourite sport team. On the one hand, it seems plausible that identification with a successful team provides happy moments with positive effects on life satisfaction and health. For instance, it was reported that in France mortality from myocardial infarction was significantly lower on the day when the French football team won the World Cup in 1998 (Berthier and Boulay, 2003). On the other hand, however, devotion to a rather unsuccessful team could have detrimental effects on health and wellbeing. In fact, Witte *et al.* (2000) showed that all-cause mortality as well as mortality from coronary heart disease and stroke was significantly increased among Dutch men aged 45 years and older after their team was eliminated from the European Football Championship in 1996. This finding is worrisome as improvements in mortality in the Netherlands lag already behind the general trends in Western Europe (Luy *et al.*, 2011) and, moreover, the recent performances of the Dutch football team have not given reason for optimism regarding forthcoming tournaments. The aim of this contribution is therefore to test the findings of Witte *et al.* (2000) by analysing mortality in the Netherlands in relation to the eliminations of the Dutch national football team from the World Cups and European Championships since 1996. A special focus is given to retirees as their number continues to increase in the course of the actual ageing of European populations (see Van Nimwegen, 2013).

Data and methods

I used mortality data from Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) comprising the age- and sex-specific number of deaths by day for the periods of major football events since 1996. These include the FIFA World Cups in 1998, 2006, and 2010 and the UEFA European Championships in 2000, 2004, and 2008. I analysed all-cause mortality of women and men for the age groups 45-64, 65-79, 45+, 65+ and 80+ during the 11-day periods around the days at which the Dutch team was eliminated (see *table 1*). The periods include the day of the game plus the five preceding and following days. Relative risks for each day related to the 11-days average with 95 per cent confidence intervals were calculated. The population at risk was derived from the Human Mortality Database.¹ In addition, I compared the data with those from the corresponding periods in the years before and after the six included football tournaments. The 2002 World Cup and the European Championship of 2012 had to be excluded because the Dutch team failed to qualify for the former and lost all three first

¹ Available at <http://www.mortality.org> (data downloaded on October 29, 2013).

Table 1. Eliminations of the Dutch national football team from FIFA World Cups and UEFA European Championships (EURO), 1998-2010

Event	Day	Round	Opponent	Result
1998 World Cup	July 7	Semi-final	Brazil	2-4 (penalties)
2000 EURO	June 29	Semi-final	Italy	1-3 (penalties)
2004 EURO	June 30	Semi-final	Portugal	1-2
2006 World Cup	June 25	Round of 16	Portugal	0-1
2008 EURO	June 21	Quarter-final	Russia	1-3 (extra time)
2010 World Cup	July 11	Final	Spain	0-1 (extra time)

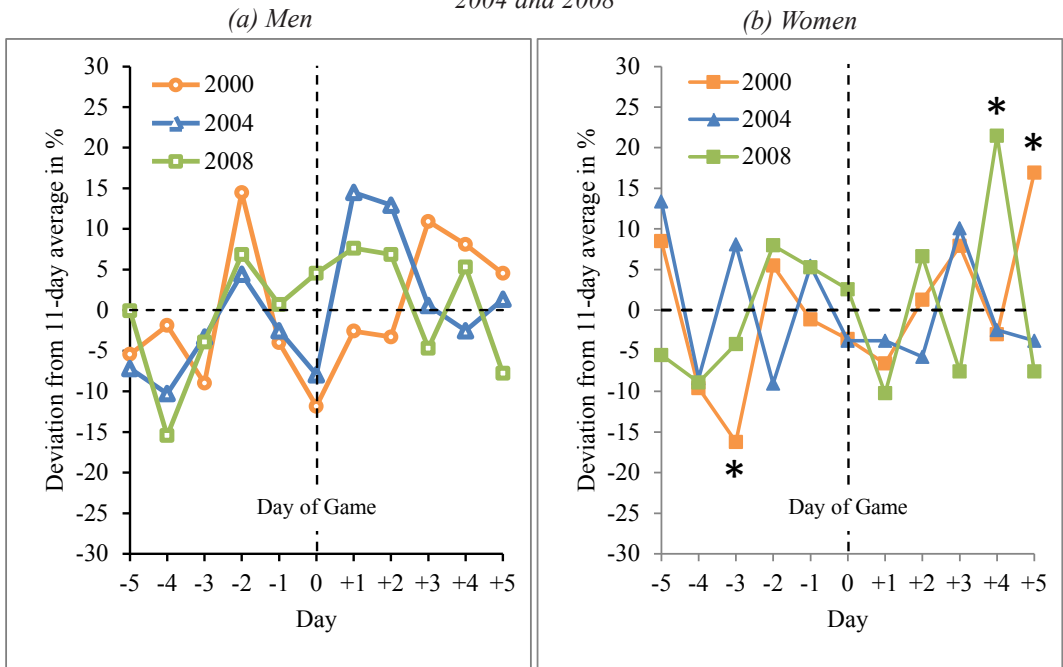
round games of the latter. Because these games took place within only eight days it was not possible to analyse independent 11-day periods around each of the defeats during the most recent tournament.

Results

Figure 1 shows the deviation of the daily number of deaths at age 65 and older (in per cent) from the 11-day averages around the days of elimination of the Dutch national football team from the UEFA European Championships in 2000, 2004 and 2008. Among men (*figure 1a*) it appears that mortality increased on the first few days after the games, whereas the day of the game itself seems to be characterised by comparatively low mortality. The increase peaked during the European Championships of 2004 and 2008 at the days after the games and during the 2000 tournament at the third day after the Dutch team was eliminated. However, none of these observations is statistically significant. A noticeable increase of all-cause mortality was expected after the elimination of the Dutch team from the European Championship in 2000 which took place in the Netherlands and Belgium. The expectation of supporters towards their own team is always especially high in ‘home tournaments’. Consequently, the lost semi-final against Italy in Amsterdam should have caused higher stress for the ‘Oranje fans’ than the other defeats. This was not the case, however. Statistically significant increases of mortality on the 95 per cent confidence level after the eliminations of European Championships can be found only among Dutch women (*figure 1b*). This occurred five days after the Dutch team’s defeat in 2000, and four days after the elimination in 2008. However, the defeat in the semi-final against Portugal in 2004 was not associated with an increase of women’s mortality in the Netherlands.

The corresponding results for the eliminations from the FIFA World Cups in 1998, 2006 and 2010 are displayed in figure 2. Among men (*figure 2a*), a statistically significant excess in mortality can only be found for 2006 when the Dutch team lost against Portugal in the round of the last 16. However, the mortality increase peaked as late as five days after the game, following a statistically significant decrease of mortality on the first day after the defeat. The significant mortality increase five days before the game in which the Dutch team was eliminated speaks also against an increased risk of death as a consequence of lost games. This day (June 20, 2006) was between the third game of the group stage against Argentina

Figure 1. Deviation of number of deaths at ages 65+ from 11-days average around days of elimination of the Dutch national football team from the UEFA European Championships in 2000, 2004 and 2008



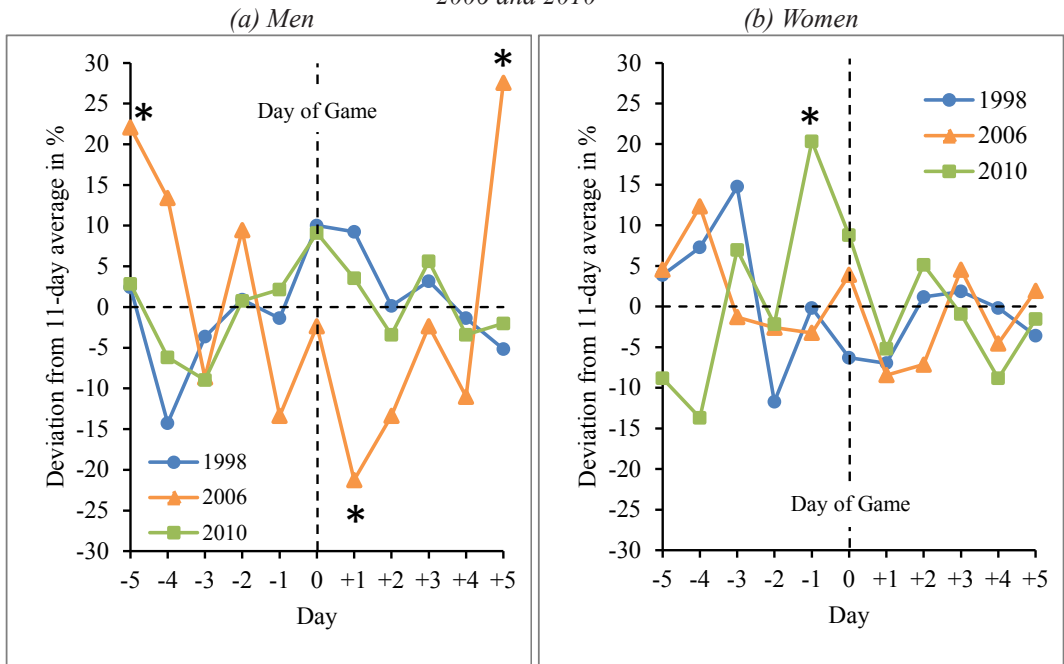
Notes: Day 0 = Day of game (see table 1); *statistically significant observations ($p < 0.05$).
Source: Own calculations.

on June 21 (0-0) and the 2-1 victory against Ivory Coast in the second game on June 16 through which the Dutch team achieved early qualification for the round of the last 16. During the World Cups of 1998 and 2010, mortality of Dutch men appears to peak on the days when their football team was eliminated as described by Witte *et al.* (2000) for the 1996 European Championship. However, none of these results is statistically significant. Not even the dramatic 0-1 defeat in extra time against Spain in the final of the 2010 World Cup had a notable effect on the mortality of Dutch men. The pattern of female mortality during the same periods does also not show any sign of increased mortality after eliminations of the Dutch football team. The only statistically significant excess in mortality occurred one day before the final in 2010.

Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this contribution was to replicate the analysis of Witte *et al.* (2000), who showed that among Dutch men (but not among women) all-cause mortality as well as mortality from coronary heart disease and stroke increased on the day when the national football team lost the semi-final against France on a penalty shootout. The present study which is based on a larger number of observations including three World Cups and three European Championships does not provide support for these findings. This holds true for all performed analyses including

Figure 2. Deviation of number of deaths at ages 65+ from 11-days average around days of elimination of the Dutch national football team from the FIFA World Cups in 1998, 2006 and 2010



Notes: Day 0 = Day of game (see Table 1); *statistically significant observations ($p < 0.05$).
Source: own calculations.

the age groups 45-64, 65-79, 45+, 65+ and 80+. Even the probably most stressful events for Dutch football fans –i.e. the defeats in the semi-final of the European Championship 2000 at home and in the final of the 2010 World Cup– did not increase male mortality from all causes in the Netherlands. Furthermore, I could not detect any specific effect for defeats in the regular time of the game, in extra time or in penalty shootouts. Also the round of the tournament in which the elimination occurred seems to have no influence on all-cause mortality. The few statistically significant increases of mortality after the Dutch football team was eliminated appear to occur rather arbitrary as I found a similar number of days with excess mortality during the corresponding periods in the years before and after the championships (data not shown). Likewise, statistically significant deviations below the averages of the analysed 11-day periods occur to a similar extent.²

² I analysed additionally the mortality in the 11-day period around the defeat of the Dutch football team against Ireland on September 1, 2001 when the Netherlands definitely failed to qualify for the World Cup in 2002. Among men, the pattern of mortality around this day looks similar to the results for the eliminations from European Championships (figure 1a). However, significant effects could only be found for the age groups 45-64 and 45+ on the fourth and fifth day after the game. Among women, a significant increase of all-cause mortality occurred only on the second day after

These results for all-cause mortality do not exclude that mortality due to specific conditions was increased as it is known that great sport events are “afflicted with an [...] enormous emotional strain for certain groups of spectators” with consequential effects on cardiovascular health (Baumhäkel *et al.*, 2007: 152, for pathophysiological details see Leeka *et al.*, 2010). In this respect, the results reported by Witte *et al.* (2000) were confirmed in other studies. Carroll *et al.* (2002) showed that in England the risk of admission for acute myocardial infarction increased by 25 per cent on the day the English team lost against Argentina in penalties in the round of the last 16 of the World Cup in 1998. Katz and colleagues analysed sudden cardiac deaths in Switzerland during the 2002 World Cup and also out-of-hospital cardiac arrests during the 1998 FIFA World Cup and found evidence for increases in both cases (Katz *et al.*, 2005, Katz *et al.*, 2006). An investigation of changes in the rates of cardiac emergencies in Bavaria (Germany) during the World Cup of 2006 revealed a 2.7-fold increase in the incidence in the 12 hours before and after the football games involving the German team (Wilbert-Lampen *et al.*, 2008). Moreover, Kirkup and Merrick (2003) found that on days when local football teams from northern England lost at home, male mortality attributable to myocardial infarction and stroke increased significantly. This study followed the fortunes of the football clubs Newcastle United, Sunderland AFC, Middlesbrough FC and Leeds United for five years over which time the findings remained consistent.

Other studies, however, failed to detect corresponding effects of specific football games. For instance, Barone-Adesi *et al.* (2010) did not find an increase of admission for acute myocardial infarction among the Italian population on the days of football games involving Italy during the World Cups of 2002 and 2006 and the European Championship in 2004. Toubiana *et al.* (2001) re-analysed the same game as Witte *et al.* (2000) from the French perspective. They found no effects on all-cause mortality as well as mortality from myocardial infarction and stroke in France, who were the winners of this quarter-final of the 1996 European Championship. Jauss *et al.* (2009) challenged the results of Wilbert-Lampen *et al.* (2008) as they did not find any increase in cerebrovascular events in Hesse during the games with German involvement in the 2006 World Cup. Also an investigation carried out in Australia could not detect any sign of increased stress and health problems in association with watching big football events (Bauman *et al.*, 2006). It is important to note, however, that the studies summarized here are hardly comparable. They differ substantially in the number of exposure days evaluated, the control period selected, the extent to which other variables were adjusted for, the definition of the outcome and the method used for the analysis (see also Hoek, 2010).

To conclude, I cannot confirm the results of Witte *et al.* (2000) that supporting the Dutch national football team is a notable health risk for men in the Netherlands. It seems that watching the games of the national football team is rather a riskless activity for Dutch retirees. Brunekreef and Hoek (2002) arrived at the same conclusion in their replication of the Witte

the game in age group 45+. I also analysed the period June 4-17, 2012 including the three defeats of the Dutch team in the first round of the most recent European Championship. In accordance with the presented results, no conclusive pattern of all-cause mortality could be detected. Not even the defeat against archrival Germany caused an elevated peak in the number of daily deaths.

et al. study for five major football games of the Dutch national team between 1988 and 1994, however without providing information about the analysed age group and with no separation between women and men. According to the results obtained in the present study it seems that for women, the days after the lost games are characterized by below-average mortality (see figures 1b and 2b). Speculation about the causes of this phenomenon exceeds the scope of this article. Future research might target the question whether the behaviour of Dutch men on the days after the defeats is to some extent stress reducing for their wives. For men themselves, however, these frustrating events have no effect on all-cause mortality at the day of the game and the following days. It seems therefore not necessary to medicate the entire male population with beta blockers during the days around important football games as suggested by McCrory (2005). Nevertheless, it would not harm to follow the alternative advices outlined by Čulić (2011), including a before-the-game and clear-minded consideration of the possibility that the Dutch team may lose and avoidance of concomitant triggers, in particular alcohol, cigarettes and illicit drugs.

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Nederland is vol. Een kwestie van smaak?

Aat Liefbroer

In zijn lange carrière bij het NIDI is Nico van Nimwegen altijd de man geweest van ‘de vinger aan de pols’. Als hoofdverantwoordelijke voor het driejaarlijkse WPRB-rapport (WPRB staat voor ‘Wetenschappelijk Werkverband Rapportage Bevolkingsvraagstukken’ – een samenwerking met de diverse planbureaus en het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS)), verkende hij als geen ander de demografische ontwikkelingen die ons land doormaakte en de wijze waarop bevolking en overheid op die ontwikkelingen reageerden. Dit soort werk –op het snijvlak van onderzoek en beleid– was en is Nico op het lijf geschreven. En dat komt volgens mij vooral omdat hierin dat wat *is* –de wetenschappelijk feiten– en dat wat *kan* of *moet* –de normatieve beoordeling van de feiten– elkaar raken of bijna raken.

In dit soort gevallen doet Nico zich het liefst voor als de beschouwer; de wetenschapper die beschrijft hoe het is, en aan anderen –de politiek, het beleid– overlaat om daar conclusies aan te verbinden. Maar soms lijkt er toch iets van een mening door te klinken in wat hij over de demografische ontwikkelingen communiceert met de publieke opinie en beleidsmakers. Maar zelfs dan, als hij een mening poneert, is Nico moeilijk vast te pinnen. Ook dan lijkt het nog alle kanten op te kunnen. Dat wordt waarschijnlijk het best geïllustreerd door de discussie over de vraag of Nederland ‘vol’ is of niet.

In 2000, bij de verschijning van het WPRB-rapport, was Nico daar glashelder over. In een gesprek met Frank Renout (Algemeen Dagblad, 5 september 2000) zei hij in reactie op het feit dat D66-coryfee Boris Dittrich Nederland vol had genoemd: “Ja, dat is zo. Ik denk ook dat Nederland vol is. We zijn in Europa, na Malta, het dichtstbevolkte land. En het is een gegeven dat de ruimte die we hebben beperkt is. Kijk naar de congestie in de Randstad. Als meer mensen komen, moeten meer mensen delen. En daar zit een einde aan..” Er zat zeker wat ironie in die uitspraak: de adjunct-directeur van een instituut dat ooit was opgericht vanuit de angst dat Nederland in 2000 vol zou zijn, verklaart in dat jaar dat dat laatste inderdaad het geval is..... Behalve dat zijn uitspraak zeker enkele wenkbrauwen heeft doen fronsen, was het vooral koren op de molen van die clubs –zoals de Club van 10 miljoen– die hun gelijk bevestigd zagen. Een jaar later, in 2001, bij de geboorte van de 16 miljoenste Nederlander, leek diezelfde Nico van Nimwegen er toch enigszins anders over te denken. Nu vertrouwde hij het Nederlandse volk toe dat het wel los liep met die volte. Trouw citeerde hem als volgt: “Het gevoel van drukte wordt overdreven, vindt Van Nimwegen. “Persoonlijk vind ik het hier ook vol als ik terugkom van vakantie. Maar dat is een kwestie van smaak. We zijn gewend geraakt aan steeds meer ruimte per persoon. Om te wonen, om te rijden, te recreëren. Wetenschappelijk gezien is het vrijwel onmogelijk dat Nederland te vol wordt. Dan zou echt het welzijn achteruit moeten gaan en daarvoor zijn we gewoon veel te rijk” (Trouw, 7 maart 2001).

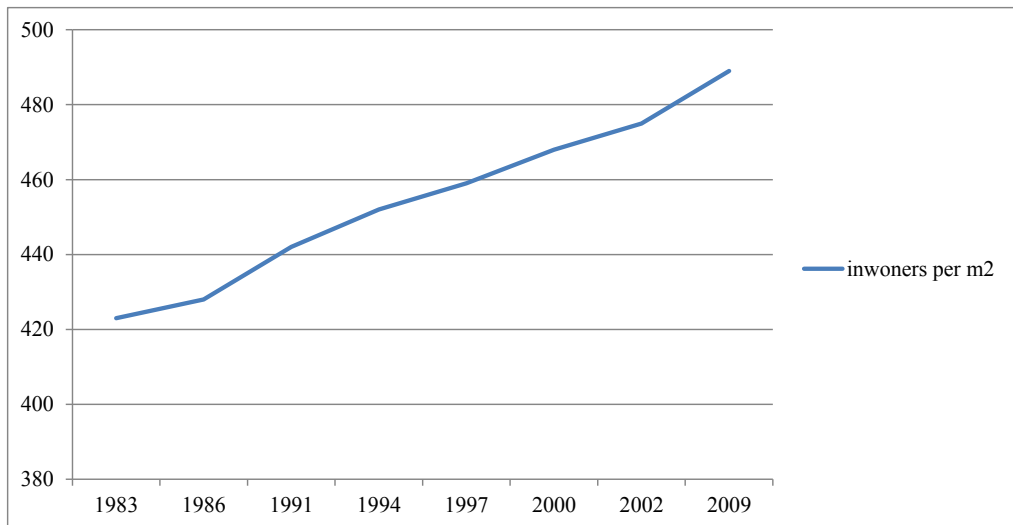
Dit roept de vraag op welke Nico van Nimwegen het nu bij het rechte eind heeft. Is het de Nico van 2000 die van mening was dat Nederland vol is, of de Nico van 2001 die meende dat het gewoon een kwestie van smaak is? Waar kun je dan beter je toevlucht toe nemen

dan bij de cijfers – de harde cijfers van onze vrienden van het CBS, maar vooral ook de zachte cijfers, verzameld door het NIDI zelf in opeenvolgende surveys over hoe de bevolking denkt over het bevolkingsvraagstuk? En daarbij richt ik mij vooral op cijfers over de periode 1983-2009, een periode die grotendeels de tijd omspannt waarin Nico zich met dergelijke vragen bezig hield.

De harde cijfers van het CBS (zie *figuur 1*) bevestigen dat Nederland tussen 1983 en 2009 aanmerkelijk voller is geworden. Het aantal inwoners per vierkante kilometer liep in die periode op van 423 naar 498, een toename van 18 procent. Maar dat Nederland voller is geworden, betekent natuurlijk nog niet dat het land ook vol is. Kan er niemand meer bij? Natuurlijk wel. Een objectieve maatstaf dat Nederland vol is, is, kortom, niet te halen uit de ontwikkeling van de bevolkingsdichtheid. Helpen subjectieve gegevens ons dan verder?

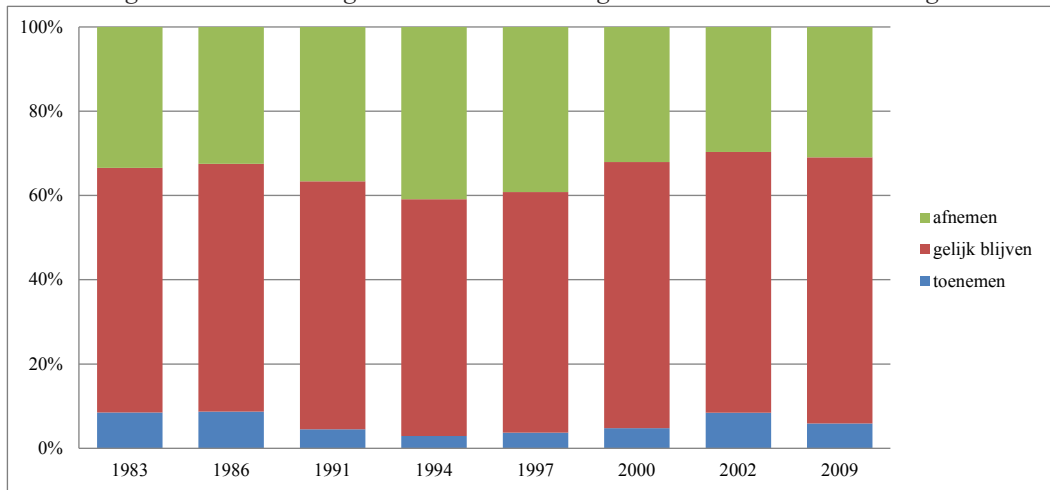
In het onderzoek naar Meningingen en Opvattingen Aangaande het Bevolkingsvraagstuk (MOAB), dat regelmatig door het NIDI is gehouden in de periode 1983-2009 is een vraag gesteld over de wenselijke ontwikkeling van het aantal inwoners van ons land. Mensen werd de volgende vraag voorgelegd: “Vindt u het wenselijk dat het aantal inwoners van Nederland verder toeneemt of afneemt, of zou het volgens u juist ongeveer gelijk moeten blijven?” Mensen konden kiezen uit drie antwoordmogelijkheden, te weten ‘afnemen’, ‘gelijk blijven’ of ‘toenemen’. In *figuur 2* wordt weergegeven hoe de Nederlandse bevolking in de loop der tijd op deze vraag geantwoord heeft.

Figuur 1. Ontwikkeling van de bevolkingsdichtheid, 1983-2009



Bron: CBS Statline.

Figuur 2. Wat moet er gebeuren met de omvang van de Nederlandse bevolking?



Bron: NIDI MOAB surveys.

Uit figuur 2 blijkt in de eerste plaats dat de meerderheid op alle tijdstippen van mening was dat het aantal zo ongeveer wel goed was. Men vond dat het gelijk moest blijven. Slechts weinig mensen (altijd minder dan 10%) vond dat het aantal Nederlanders moest toenemen. Maar gedurende de gehele periode vond zo rond een derde van de ondervraagden dat de bevolkingsomvang van ons land zou moeten afnemen. Je zou kunnen zeggen dat een substantiële minderheid van de bevolking vindt dat Nederland niet vol, maar te vol is. Wat echter ook opvalt is dat het percentage Nederlanders dat vindt dat Nederland te vol is, eigenlijk behoorlijk constant is in de tijd. Terwijl ons land tussen 1983 en 2009 objectief gesproken voller is geworden (denk aan de eerder genoemde stijging van de bevolkingsdichtheid met 18%), is het percentage Nederlanders dat vindt dat we met minder mensen toe zouden moeten kunnen, niet toegenomen. Kortom, er zit een duidelijk verschil tussen objectieve gegevens en subjectieve gevoelens over de volte van ons land (vgl. ook Van Dalen en Henkens, 2011).

Maar wie vindt het nu te vol in Nederland en wie niet? Van Dalen en Henkens (2011) leggen een verband met waar men woont; in de stad is het drukker dan op het platteland en dus vinden stadsbewoners ons land sneller te vol dan bewoners van het platteland. Toch blijkt dat verband maar relatief zwak, en dat komt waarschijnlijk vooral doordat er selectie plaatsvindt. Stadsbewoners die het prima vinden om in een drukke omgeving te wonen hebben een veel grotere kans in de stad te blijven wonen, en juist die stadsbewoners die het te vol vinden verhuizen naar het platteland. Nadere analyses op de MOAB-gegevens laten zien dat er weinig sociale factoren zijn die goed voorspellen of mensen vinden dat het aantal Nederlanders zou moeten afnemen of niet. Een uitzondering vormt het stemgedrag. In het laatste MOAB, in 2009, waren stemmers op de christelijke partijen het minst van mening dat het aantal Nederlanders zou moeten afnemen. Terwijl gemiddeld 31 procent van de bevolking vond dat het aantal Nederlanders omlaag zou moeten, gold dat slechts voor 17 procent van

de stemmers op de ChristenUnie en voor 25 procent van de stemmers op het CDA. Maar onder de populistische partijen lag dat heel anders. Van de stemmers op Trots op Nederland vond 42 procent dat het aantal Nederlanders zou moeten afnemen, en onder PVV-stemmers lag dit percentage zelfs op 64. Vanwege de harde opstelling van TON en PVV ten aanzien van migranten, dringt de vraag zich op of er dan wellicht een verband is tussen het gevoel dat Nederland vol is en het gevoel dat migranten een probleem vormen. Dat blijkt inderdaad het geval. Mensen die stellen dat het aantal Nederlanders zou moeten afnemen, vinden vaker dan anderen (1) dat de groei van het aantal buitenlanders tot een toename van criminaliteit leidt, (2) dat de multiculturele samenleving geen verrijking van de Nederlandse cultuur is, en (3) dat immigratie *geen* oplossing voor bevolkingskrimp is. Kortom, hoewel het gevoel dat Nederland vol is tamelijk breed gedragen wordt onder de Nederlandse bevolking, zijn het vooral aanhangers van PVV en TON die daar zo over denken, en verbinden zij die gevoelens met negatieve gevoelens tegenover migranten.

Ik keer terug naar mijn oorspronkelijke vraag. Is het nu zo dat Nederland echt vol is, of is dat slechts een kwestie van smaak? Het antwoord lijkt meerkleurig. In de eerste plaats is slechts een hele kleine minderheid van mening dat de bevolking moet toenemen. Met andere woorden: Nederland is volgens de meesten vol. Maar, voor een minderheid van ongeveer 30 procent geldt dat ze Nederland ook *te* vol vinden. Zij achten het wenselijk dat de bevolking krimpt. En verder lijkt het vooral een kwestie van smaak wie Nederland te vol vindt, want die opvatting hangt maar nauwelijks samen met klassieke sociaal-economische en demografische persoonskenmerken. Echter, het blijkt wel dat de mening dat Nederland te vol is, sterke aanhang vindt onder PVV-stemmers en onder hen die een negatieve houding hebben ten opzichte van migranten.

Het antwoord op de vraag of Nederland vol is, is dus net zo meerkleurig als de opvattingen die Nico van Nimwegen aan het begin van dit millennium ventileerde. Nederland is vol, maar of het ook te vol is, is een kwestie van smaak. Met andere woorden: linksom of rechtsom had Nico gelijk – of toch minstens voor een deel... Die meesterlijke meerkleurigheid kenmerkte Nico in zijn werk als beleids- en trendwatcher in demografische aangelegenheden. Ik hoop van harte dat het hem ook in de toekomst nog lang zal blijven typeren.

Literatuur

Van Dalen, H. en K. Henkens (2011), Nederlanders over bevolkingsdruk en levensgeluk. *Demos*, vol. 27, nr. 5, pp. 1-5.

Nederland als buitenbeentje

Han Entzinger

Nico en ik hadden voor het eerst intensief met elkaar te maken toen ik namens de WRR ten behoeve van het fameuze rapport *Allochtonenbeleid* (1989) bij hem te rade ging over de demografische impact van de immigratie. Dat is inmiddels meer dan 25 jaar geleden. Het NIDI bleef ook nadien hofleverancier van demografische data aan de WRR, want het volgende rapport waarbij ik was betrokken ging over de te verwachten vergrijzing en de effecten daarvan voor de samenleving. Dat rapport, *Ouderen voor ouderen* geheten, verscheen in 1993, maar kreeg helaas veel minder aandacht van media en politiek dan *Allochtonenbeleid*. Dat is opmerkelijk, want het roerde toen al precies die vragen aan die de laatste jaren hoog op de agenda staan: de betaalbaarheid van de pensioenen en de zorg, en de rol van immigratie als mogelijk substituut voor de vergrijzing. Kennelijk was het toen nog te vroeg om daarover echt serieus na te denken.

Jammer genoeg is dat lot demografisch onderzoek wel vaker beschoren. Demografen kunnen dikwijls veel verder en veel betrouwbaarder vooruitkijken dan bijvoorbeeld sociologen (om over economen maar helemaal te zwijgen), maar hun boodschappen worden lang niet altijd gehoord en op waarde geschat. Nico heeft daar naar mijn indruk nooit echt onder geleden. Jarenlang heeft hij met veel enthousiasme en veel deskundigheid zijn werk voor NIDI verricht, ook in perioden waarin het hem in zijn privéleven erg tegenzat.

Na onze gezamenlijke activiteiten voor de WRR zijn we elkaar nog dikwijls tegengekomen. Ik maakte enige tijd deel uit van het Werkverband Periodieke Rapportage Bevolkingsvraagstukken, waarvan Nico een van de coördinatoren was. Eind jaren negentig werd ik uitgenodigd voorzitter te worden van de Raad van Advies van het NIDI, waarvan Nico het secretariaat vervulde, en toen het NIDI in 2003 een KNAW-instituut werd, werd ik lid van de Wetenschappelijke Adviesraad, die ik pas enkele maanden geleden heb verlaten. Ook in deze adviesraad speelde Nico een sleutelrol, en zo is hij voor mij bijna de verpersoonlijking van het NIDI geworden.

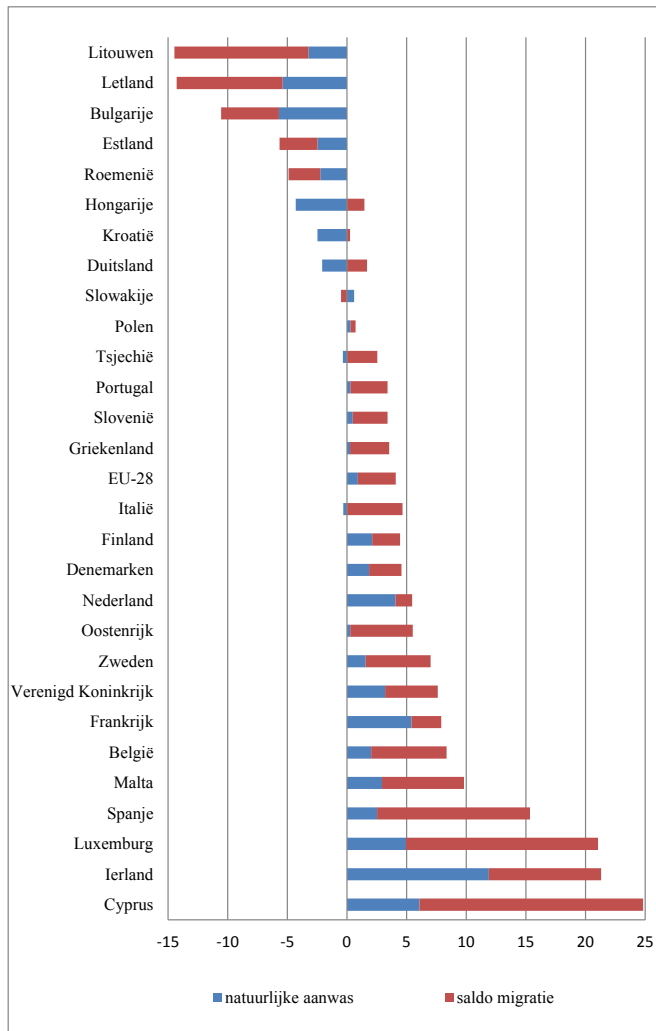
Nico's grote kracht is dat hij onmiskenbare bestuurlijke en managementkwaliteiten koppelt aan een sterke inhoudelijke kennis en een uitgesproken academische attitude. Ik herken in hem ook het verlangen onderzoeksresultaten toegankelijk te maken voor de beleidsuitvoering en ik herken eveneens een grote belangstelling voor Europa – beide eigenschappen die ik ook bij mijzelf aanwezig acht. Misschien dat wij het daarom al die jaren ook op het persoonlijke vlak goed met elkaar hebben kunnen vinden.

Toch wil ik mij hier niet beperken tot deze lovende woorden over de loopbaan van Nico bij het NIDI. Ik zou van de gelegenheid ook gebruik willen maken om de aandacht te vragen voor een fenomeen waarover ik nooit eerder heb gelezen, ook niet in het mij bekende werk van Nico en zijn collega-demografen, maar dat telkens mijn aandacht trekt wanneer ik de

hierbij afgedrukte figuur zie (die laatstelijk nog werd gepubliceerd bij het artikel van Rob van der Erf in het septembernummer 2013 van *Demos*).

Figuur 1 toont de veranderingen sinds 2000 in de bevolkingsomvang van de lidstaten van de EU en het aandeel dat de natuurlijke bevolkingsgroei *c.q.* -krimp en het migratiesaldo aan die veranderingen hebben geleverd. Ik laat dit overzicht –en eerdere versies daarvan– vaak

Figuur 1. Bevolkingsgroei in de landen van de Europese Unie (EU-28), 2000-2011 (in % van de beginbevolking)



Bron: Eurostat.

aan mijn studenten zien, vooral omdat het in een notendop aantoont hoe belangrijk migratie voor Europa is geworden. Ook toont de grafiek hoe sterk de bevolking in een groot aantal oostelijke lidstaten nu al krimpt, zowel door emigratie als door een sterfteoverschot, mede het gevolg van een extreem laag geboortecijfer.

Maar wat de grafiek ook laat zien, en waarvoor volgens mij weinig aandacht bestaat, is de uitzonderlijke demografische positie van Nederland. Die uitzonderlijkheid zit hem niet in de totale groei van de bevolking sinds de millenniumwisseling, want die ligt maar nauwelijks boven het EU-gemiddelde en vertoont qua omvang veel overeenkomst met die in de Noordse lidstaten. Wel uitzonderlijk is echter de bijzonder geringe bijdrage die het migratiesaldo levert aan de totale groei van de Nederlandse bevolking, terwijl de natuurlijke bevolkingsaanwas daarop juist een relatief zwaar stempel drukt. Zelfs bij een snelle blik op alle balkjes in de grafiek ziet men dat er geen land in de EU is waar het migratiesaldo zo'n geringe rol speelt bij de bevolkingsaanwas. De landen die nog het dichtst bij Nederland in de buurt komen, zijn Ierland en Frankrijk, van oudsher bekend om hun hoge geboortecijfers. Gezien de uiterst beperkte bijdrage van migratie aan de bevolkingstoename is het verbazend dat juist in Nederland veel burgers en 'de politiek' zich daarover zo druk maken. Op deze paradox zal ik hier niet nader ingaan.

Wel wil ik stilstaan bij de meer demografisch getinte vraag waarom Nederland zo'n Europees buitenbeentje is. Daarvoor zijn volgens mij twee oorzaken aan te geven, die ik hier alleen terloops aanstip, maar die stellig nader onderzoek behoeven. De eerste is dat de bevolking van Nederland nog altijd relatief jong is: het sterftecijfer is daardoor laag, terwijl het geboortecijfer rond het (West-)Europees gemiddelde ligt. De tweede, volgens mij belangrijkere oorzaak is dat het migratiesaldo sinds 2000 buitensporig laag is geweest. In de jaren 2004 tot en met 2007 kende Nederland zelfs een vertrekoverschot. Binnen de toenmalige EU stond Nederland daarin bijna alleen; alleen voor Polen en Litouwen gold in die jaren hetzelfde.

Hoe komt dit? Eén duidelijke oorzaak lijkt er niet te zijn, maar het is een combinatie van verschillende oorzaken, zowel aan de immigratie- als aan de emigratiekant. In 2001 werd in Nederland de huidige Vreemdelingenwet van kracht, die al spoedig leidde tot een drastische daling van het aantal asielzoekers. Die daling trad ook elders in Europa op, mede door een afnemend aantal conflicten in de wereld, maar nergens was de daling zo snel als in Nederland. Kennelijk had de mare zich verspreid dat de kansen op een verblijfstitel in Nederland sterk waren verminderd.

Verder zien we in de jaren 2004 tot 2007 ook een scherpe daling van het aantal gezinsmigranten. Aannemelijk is dat dit een gevolg is geweest van het strengere gezinsmigratiebeleid in de post-Fortuynjaren: striktere inkomens-, leeftijds- en inburgeringseisen maakten het voor veel potentiële gezinsmigranten onmogelijk te komen. Ook gaat binnen de oudere migrantengroepen de tweede generatie steeds vaker op zoek naar partners die weliswaar dezelfde etnische achtergrond hebben, maar die wel woonachtig zijn in Nederland. Vanaf 2008 zien we overigens weer een toename van de gezinsmigratie van buiten de EU, maar niet meer onder Turken en Marokkanen. Kennelijk slagen steeds meer mensen erin aan de

toelatingseisen te voldoen, dan wel die te omzeilen, bijvoorbeeld door eerst met partner in een ander EU-land te gaan wonen.

Ook de emigratie vanuit Nederland vertoont in de achterliggende jaren een in Europees perspectief atypisch patroon. Vaak wordt beweerd dat vanwege het verslechterde politieke en culturele klimaat in Nederland veel al langer hier wonende migranten, of zelfs hun kinderen, massaal zouden zijn teruggekeerd naar het land van herkomst. Dat blijkt echter niet of nauwelijks uit de cijfers. Misschien keren sommigen wel terug om het te proberen, maar schrijven zij zich niet uit, om zodoende hun kansen op terugkeer niet in de waagschaal te stellen. Toch kan het hierbij niet om grote aantallen gaan: veruit de meeste Turken en Marokkanen in Nederland hebben intussen ook een Nederlands paspoort en mogen dus altijd terugkomen. Veel autochtone Nederlanders zouden ook dromen van emigratie naar Canada, maar –blijkens de Canadese statistieken– vestigen zij zich daar toch niet in grotere aantallen dan voorheen.

Nee, de belangrijkste determinant van de hoge emigratie is de emigratie van Nederlanders naar andere EU-landen, waar zij zich in beginsel vrij kunnen vestigen. Wellicht onder invloed van televisieprogramma's à la *Ik vertrek* denken velen daarbij het eerst aan de 'pensionado's' die zich aan de zonnige Spaanse costa's vestigen, aan boeren die het in Zweden gaan proberen of aan gezinnen in de midlifecrisis die een oude Franse bouwval willen omtoveren tot een gemoedelijk pensionnetje. Echter, hun aantallen vallen in het niet bij de aantallen die zijn vertrokken naar de buurlanden Duitsland en België, vaak niet meer dan enkele kilometers over de grens.

Sinds de eeuwwisseling is de vestiging van Nederlanders in België fors toegenomen: het fiscale klimaat is er aangenamer, de woningen zijn er goedkoper en Albert Heijn heeft inmiddels diverse vestigingen in het Antwerpse, zodat men zich zelfs het tripje naar Roosendaal kan besparen. In het grensgebied met Duitsland geldt hetzelfde: diverse Duitse grensgemeenten hebben plotseling de Nederlanders ontdekt, die tamelijk massaal zijn neergestreken in de zogeheten 'Holländerviertel', nieuwbouwwijkjes op veel plaatsen langs de oostgrens met woningen die aanzienlijk goedkoper en vaak veel degelijker zijn dan die in de welbekende vinexwijken.

We hebben het hier over vele tienduizenden mensen die in het afgelopen decennium zijn 'geëmigreerd'. Dat wil zeggen dat het formeel om emigratie gaat: men schrijft zich uit de Nederlandse GBA uit en wordt ingezetene van België of Duitsland. Echter, veel van deze mensen migreren in sociaal en cultureel opzicht nauwelijks. Zij blijven met handen en voeten aan Nederland gebonden, zij werken er nog, hun kinderen gaan er vaak nog naar school, zij doen er hun boodschappen (behalve de benzine dan) en zij nemen niet of nauwelijks deel aan het lokale leven in hun nieuwe omgeving. Dat wordt hun door hun nieuwe dorpsgenoten niet altijd in dank afgenomen. Wie zei er iets over het geringe aanpassingsvermogen van immigranten in Nederland....?

De laatste jaren is de vlucht naar de buurlanden weer wat afgenomen, misschien ook door de crisis. Sommige Nederlanders keren zelfs weer terug. Tegelijkertijd stijgt de immigratie ook om andere redenen weer, bijvoorbeeld omdat steeds meer EU-migranten uit Roemenië, Bulgarije en de door stijgende werkloosheid getroffen zuidelijke lidstaten de weg naar Nederland weten te vinden. De migratie uit Polen lijkt inmiddels over haar hoogtepunt heen; dat land gaat het nu veel beter dan voorheen. Het is zelfs het enige land in de EU dat in geen van de afgelopen 20 jaren een negatieve economische groei heeft vertoond.

Als gevolg van al deze ontwikkelingen lijkt Nederland zijn positie als buitenbeentje in de grafiek te gaan verliezen. De verhouding tussen natuurlijke bevolkingsaanwas en migratieoverschot gaat meer lijken op die van andere EU-landen en ook wij gaan het moment tegemoet waarop we alleen dankzij een migratieoverschot nog enige bevolkingsgroei hebben, een situatie waarin Duitsland al jaren verkeert.

Nico, als je straks met pensioen bent, zou het misschien de moeite waard zijn eens nader uit te zoeken hoe Nederland nu precies aan die positie als buitenbeentje is gekomen. Wie weet kunnen we op dit punt samen nog een iets ondernemen. We hebben nu de tijd – ook al valt dat in de praktijk behoorlijk tegen, zoals ik inmiddels al heb mogen ervaren. Intussen dank ik je hartelijk voor de plezierige contacten in al die jaren en voor je waardevolle bijdragen aan de demografie. Het zal je toch treurig stemmen dat je je geliefde NIDI juist nu, in de moeilijkste periode van zijn bestaan, moet verlaten. Desondanks hoop ik dat je ook gaat genieten van wat voor je ligt. Het ga je goed!

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The death of Europe has been postponed

David Coleman

Nico van Nimwegen has devoted much thought to the problems and opportunities in the varied demographic trends in the countries of Europe. Undaunted by challenges, he sees benefits in diversity and hope in the prospect that wise policies can surmount problems such as population ageing. This cautiously optimistic view (see, *e.g.* Van Nimwegen, 2013) contrasts with much more gloomy prospects foreseen by others. This short paper looks at the indicators of European failure and the likelihood of its marginalization on the world stage, which some expect to see.

In recent years much has been written about the ‘death of the Europe’ notably by transatlantic critics. One of its major symptoms and causes is claimed to be its demographic weakness, and those values that supposedly lead to low birth rates: The decline of religion, a preference for welfare over production and reproduction. Demographic ‘decline’ and the heavy burdens of welfare and ageing that follow from it will lead to eclipse on the world stage. Military security, energy security, geopolitical weight will be lost. The EU will be marginalised by the US (Laqueur, 2007), both, eventually, by the growing size and power of currently developing countries (Last, 2013). The economic and geopolitical future is Chinese according to Jacques (2012), or possibly Indian.

Here we examine critically these two propositions: Of European decline, demographic and otherwise, and the supposedly inevitable rapid rise to global domination of the major countries of the developing world.

Recent evidence suggests that reports of the inevitable demographic demise of the West (Europe and the countries of European heritage) have been exaggerated. Conventional period indicators such as the TFR have given an unduly downbeat view of fertility thanks to tempo distortion. In any case a slow upward trend in period fertility has been apparent since the 1980s in some countries of Northern- and Western Europe; and more recently that trend has become general. Under the impact of the recession, birth rates in many countries have faltered (not, *e.g.* in France). But there is no reason to suppose that is permanent. All the underlying trends supporting population remain in place. Recuperation (Bongaarts and Sobotka, 2012) and intensification of fertility have replaced postponement. Cohort fertility in Northern- and Western Europe has remained relatively robust and in most countries its projected trend is upwards (Myrskylä *et al.*, 2012).

At national level favourable relationships of fertility with female workforce participation, human capital and –possibly– education, GDP and HDI (Human Development Index) have emerged (Myrskylä *et al.*, 2009), all of which can be expected to develop further, and a positive (though variable) effect of higher education on second birth intensity and on projected labour force productivity. Furthermore, although large-scale immigration has brought substantial problems, population reproduction is powerfully augmented by immigration, to replacement

levels and beyond in many EU countries (Ediev *et al.*, 2013). This option cannot be available to very large populations with low fertility (Coleman, 2009).

For all their undoubted ills, European societies enjoy some advantages of age, of demographic and social maturity. Many European societies possess long-term properties of resilience: Of established and consensual democratic institutions, rule of law and of complex civil society. Whatever the new problems of social fission arising from immigration, most societies have put behind them ancestral divisions of tribe and language; trust tends to be relatively high. For the most part, *Gesellschaft* has replaced *Gemeinschaft*. More broadly, European populations appear to face less severe climate change than in the ‘global South’.

In terms of numbers, the rise of Asia, Latin America and Africa is inevitable. As those economies develop, a great re-equilibration should be in progress, with economic growth transforming mere population size into economic, political and military power. That might be expected to restore the balance of power and wealth between East and West to its position in the 17th century. Indeed it should go beyond that, as Europe will henceforth comprise hardly 7 per cent of global population instead of its historical 20 per cent. Furthermore, modern communications and globalization could enable the future dominant powers of the East and ‘global South’ to exercise much more power globally than was possible in previous centuries. Are those critics right, then, who see future demographic marginalization confining Europe henceforth to the sidelines, even if it can survive its internal demographic problems?

Possibly not. The developing world is likely to encounter some stumbling blocks on the road to world primacy. The high speed of demographic transitions and of economic growth in some non-Western countries is often unmatched by needful adjustment in society, culture and political institutions. Cultures very different from those in which economic and demographic transition arose may find it difficult to adjust to the conditions necessary for success.

It is already apparent that fertility in some developing countries may fall lower than that in Northern- and Western Europe and the Anglosphere, bringing rapid and severe ageing such that some countries (*e.g.* China) become ‘old before rich’ (Bloom *et al.*, 2011). Over two billion people in the developing world now live in countries where total fertility is at or below replacement, in a number of cases below the level seen in the developed world. UN projections –themselves ‘optimistic’– assume that some countries face decades of sub-replacement fertility (*e.g.* China, Iran, Thailand and Indonesia). Some of these (*e.g.* China, India and Brazil) are too big to be ‘rescued’ by migration from population ageing and labour shortage (Coleman, 2009). Do they face a very low fertility future like the present state of the developed countries of East Asia such as Taiwan and South Korea? Might fertility recovery not happen, and a new ‘great divergence’ arise, this time in demographic behavior?

Some evidence already points to the emergence of sub-replacement fertility ideals. Desired/ideal family size, previously almost always above two children, is no longer in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China (Gu and Basten, 2013). Chinese urban generations free to have two children do not want two children and do not have two children. This pattern is now seen

more widely: For example period fertility in Thailand is now 1.85. In urban India, surveys of vanguard groups there reveal that up to 25 per cent desire a one-child family. Increasingly in those societies, no stigma attaches to a 'One Child Family'. Has China, and others, therefore, fallen into a 'low fertility trap'?

Why is this happening? According to some, cultural factors may reinforce low fertility in those societies. Many are by tradition authoritarian, familist, with low trust (*e.g.* Almond and Verba, 1963; Landes, 1998, Harrison and Huntington, 2000). The gender revolution of public and private roles for women is incomplete or scarcely begun. An obsessive investment in education in East Asia is an extra burden that falls on women. Marriage has become less attractive to increasingly well educated and independent women but so far seen remains the only acceptable setting for childbearing. Population is increasingly concentrated in large cities that offer only small family-unfriendly apartments. Family policies to restore demographic balance have for the most part been ineffective, ignoring or unable to reach the fundamental cultural causes of low birth rates.

Some familist societies in the course of modernisation have been slow to adjust gender roles to new opportunities for women outside the home, tending to impose a dual burden on women and thus restricting fertility. Many societies in the developing world, especially in Asia, are 'familist' in some sense. If and when such societies modernise, fertility may well fall to a low level, slow cultural change preventing rapid recovery. If that is so, a long period of damaging population ageing, possibly eventual decline, may be expected. Population ageing in the developing world could overtake ageing in Northern and Western Europe. UN projections suggest that population ageing in Brazil, China, Iran, Mexico, Turkey and others may equal that in Northern and Western Europe and the US by around mid-century, while economic projections give them only half the per capita GDP.

Other special challenges need to be considered. Rapid economic growth unchecked by democratic pressure has generated damaging levels of environmental pollution, especially of water. China, followed by India (Sengupta, 2012), appear to have the world's most damaged environments. Centralised economic policy, corruption, low economic freedom, has handicapped economic growth and led to extreme forms of economic change. Job-poor growth risks wasting 'demographic dividends'.

Problems of resource adequacy from large population size and continued population growth risks provoking shortage of natural resources. In India, urban population is projected to rise from 380 million to 600 million and energy demand to triple by 2030. 80 per cent of the India of 2030 is yet unbuilt. Most scenarios suggest that the most severe climate change challenges will fall on the 'global South' (*e.g.* Beardson, 2013; Luttwak, 2012; Guha, 2012; Schambaugh, 2013). In many of the populations concerned, democratic transition lags well behind demographic and economic change. In China, rigid party control impedes the solution of corruption, local oppression and economic inequality, perhaps provoking political instability.

We conclude that while the West's share of world population, power and wealth must decline, its demographic outlook is more stable and sustainable than supposed. That positive outlook cannot, however, yet apply to all European countries. Substantial cultural and political change is still needed in some Southern and Eastern European countries to enable them to escape from the rigidities of the 'European Social Model' and familist traditions that keep their labour market inflexible and their birth rates low. The premature admission of some Eastern European countries to the EU, notably Bulgaria and Romania, may have done them more harm than good, in weakening the incentive for needed reforms.

Most existing developed countries benefit from some degree of economic and political maturity. As Nico van Nimwegen has pointed out, European countries are the future. They are the pioneers in the demographic challenges that all must eventually face, and have had time to learn much.

They have geographical advantages that may lead to a more manageable future environment. The currently developing world has to overcome some challenges of its own which may hamper their progress. These include faster transitions from initially higher fertility levels, leading to faster ageing, persistent traditional, authoritarian or 'familist' cultures and immature political systems ill-suited to adapting to rapid economic growth and with non-family adaptations to population ageing. Some must cope with substantial population growth in environmentally vulnerable areas. And their size and growth will encounter resource problems, especially if confronted by severe climate change. It would be wrong to exaggerate these difficulties, or assume that they cannot be overcome, but their rise to the global primacy implied by demographic growth faces some serious impediments (De Jonquieres, 2012).

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‘Double dwelling’: A brief note on the analysis of the transition to adulthood¹

Zsolt Spéder

The profound changes that affected European fertility in the past decades have brought the research on transition to adulthood into the spotlight. The need for understanding sub-replacement fertility and the search for its causes required us to explore the antecedents and preconditions of childbearing and to understand shifts in the family formation, which led to the research on the characteristics of transition to adulthood. The appreciation of issues is shown by the fact that one of the most powerful demographic theories of recent date, the ‘theory of second demographic transition’, pays considerable attention to the change of family formation (Lesthaeghe and Moors, 2000). The growing interest in transition to adulthood research became an inevitable element of the analysis of recent and actual European demographic processes (Van Nimwegen *et al.*, 2005).

The enormous challenges of research to understand changes in the transition to adulthood (Liefbroer, 1999) spawned a wealth of analyses, which in turn provided answers to a lot of questions, and as customary, also gave rise to a number of new research issues. It has become unquestionable that the events (‘milestones’) of the transitions are postponed to a later age, their standardization and tight connections have loosened, and the process of the transitions has been prolonged (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010). Sociologists established a separate life stage, the sovereign inclusion of the ‘post-adolescent’ neither child, nor adult stage into the life course (Vaskovics, 1997). Finally, social psychological analyses, assuming the prolongation and destandardization of the process, connect the transition to adulthood with the development of identity, the ability of making sovereign, responsible decisions, and the image of the ‘own maturity’ (Arnett, 2000).

The demographic analysis addresses the description, the relations (sequences) and understanding of five events: Finishing school, obtaining the first job, leaving home, the first partnership and becoming a parent. Of these events, we will focus on leaving the parents’ home, and its less topical feature, ‘double dwelling’. Our observations are limited in time and space; we analyze the life and housing conditions of the Hungarian youths of the new millennium aged 20-29.

There are no clear tendencies of leaving home in Europe at the turn of the millennium. Although the transition to adulthood is everywhere connected with postponement, leaving home early is a structural phenomenon in Northern European countries, whereas in Southern Europe it is typical –although not (always) deliberately– that young people stay longer in their parents’ home. The analyses based on the data of the Hungarian GGS indicate the *postponement* of

¹ Nico regularly participates in the discourse on the overall trends of European population, but has always taken an interest in and paid great attention to outlier phenomena too. My salutation to him is the description of adolescence, itself an outlier phenomenon.

leaving the parental home, which has been constantly increasing starting with those born in 1970-74 (Murinko, 2009). This analysis also points out that the *heterogeneity* of the timing of leaving home is increasing (op. cit. 114). Thus the average (median) age of leaving home increases in a way that there are groups which continue to leave home young, and there are those (too) who (will) leave home (much) later.

However, there are features escaping the horizon of analyses that allow for the above statements and are usually based on the now classic survival function analysis, which deals with the process-like separation from parents, the fluidity of the process. In fact there may be periods when young people have a (dwelling) place in the parental home and one of their own. Our description, therefore, concentrates on the situation when a period of ‘double dwelling’ is wedged between living with the parents and separation from the parents, *i.e.*, when the youth are members of two households.

This double dwelling is difficult to identify if the surveys are not specifically aimed at tracing it, since living in two places is often characterized by a state of ‘like this, like that’. Therefore we tried to identify the ‘double dwelling’ of people on the basis of the current household structure of data collection. Respondents were considered ‘double dwelling’ if they placed themselves among those staying three days per week on average also in another household. Nearly one-tenth of those aged 20-29 (8.8%) can be classified under the double dwelling category so created.

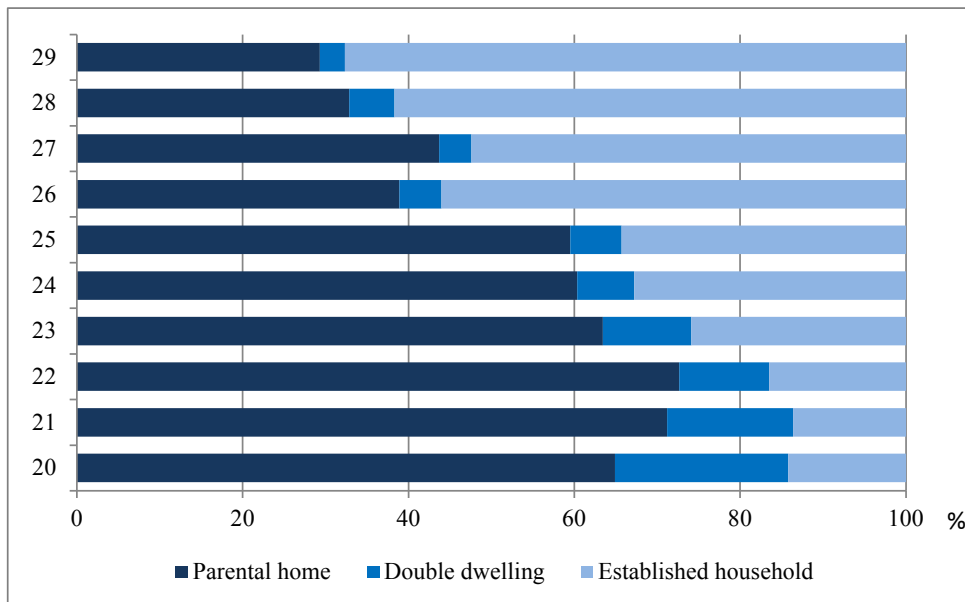
We have good reason to assume that this ‘double dwelling’ can be viewed as an interim station of leaving the parental home. On the one hand, it is because we know from the youths’ responses that they live with their parents (too), and also belong to another household and live elsewhere. On the other hand (a stronger reason) it is because ‘double dwelling’ has a clear age profile (see *figure 1*). One-fifth of those aged 20 (20.9%), 6.3 per cent of those aged 24, and 3.9 per cent of those aged 27 are characterized by this life situation.² The figure also shows clearly that the rate of those living apart from parents grows as the age increases. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that, although not for everybody, for a specific part of the young the period of ‘double dwelling’ is wedged between living with parents and living apart from parents. Hence in Hungary, following the turn of the millennium, ‘double dwelling’ characterizes the process of separation from parents along with postponement.

Those simultaneously belonging to two households are divided between two statuses that are important in the study of post-adolescence. Two-thirds of them are still students (and do not have a lasting intimate relationship), so their other domicile is a rented flat or a dormitory located in a settlement (probably) different from the parents’ dwelling place.³ The remaining third already work and also have a lasting intimate relationship (LAT relation) (see *table 1*). It is obvious that they are in a transitional or interim situation regarding their partnership formation, since although they have their own earnings (they are financially independent) they still cannot or do not want to live in cohabitation.

² Gender differences are not addressed here.

³ By the way, there is practically no one among those with a student status who has left home and has a separate household.

Figure 1. Stages of leaving the parents' home for those aged 20-29, by age, in 2008



Source: Own calculation, 3rd wave of the 'Turning points of the life course' survey, the Hungarian GGS.

Table 1. Distribution of those aged 20-29 by leaving home status and by partnership status, in Hungary, in 2008

Leaving home status	Partnership forms				All (%)
	No partner	LAT partner	Cohabitation	Marriage	
Parental household	32.2	16.2	3.8	1.5	53.6
'Double dwelling' (Parental and other HH)	5.4	2.8	0.3	0.2	8.8
Established HH	6.8	2.9	15.0	12.9	37.5
All (%)	44.4	21.9	19.1	14.8	100
N=					2027

Source: Own calculation, 3rd wave of the 'Turning points of the life course' survey, the Hungarian GGS.

The details of the joint distribution of partnership status and its relationship with the status of leaving home not only demonstrate 'double dwelling' but other situations too which point out the ambivalence of the youths' status. With respect to transition to adulthood typical in modern societies, three-fourths of the young, but not everybody, can be classified under clear-cut types. These are the early 20-year-olds living with their parents (32.2%), those living apart from their parents and in a lasting partnership (27.9%), those who left home and live in a LAT-relationship (2.9%). Young single people not living with their parents make up 6.8 per cent of young people in their 20s. Those 'double dwelling' (8.8%), already addressed, are in the initial stage of post-adolescence. One-fourth of young people can be clearly considered ambivalent. Mainly those who live with their partner in the parental home (5.3%), but also those who have a lasting intimate partnership (LAT) but could not or did not want to leave the parents' home (19.0%).

Just as in Europe, transition to adulthood in Hungary is also a prolonged and complex process; and although post-adolescence –the life stage between childhood and adulthood– is tangible, its pattern is not very distinct. Postponement and reorganization of sequences are characteristic of Hungary too, along with the increase of heterogeneity. In our description, we focused on 'double dwelling', a status that has attracted less interest in the analysis of transition to adulthood. We do not claim that this situation uniformly characterizes today's post-adolescent youth but there is a considerable rate of young people who experience double dwelling in their becoming adults. Finally, while emphasizing the process-like separation from parents, we unintentionally mounted further challenges to transition to adulthood research.

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Youth autonomy and higher fertility: A new life course regime?

Francesco C. Billari

In this short paper I argue that, within the new life course regime of advanced societies, there is no opposition between youth autonomy and higher fertility. In fact, the puzzling positive cross-country association between late home-leaving and total fertility rate has reversed and has become negative. These results are consistent with the idea that in highly developed societies, social environments that are conducive to youth autonomy also tend to be conducive to higher fertility and to a better ability to combine motherhood and work.

A new life course regime?

The idea of a life course regime has been used in parallel to the idea of ‘welfare regimes’ (Kohli, 2007; Mayer, 2001) to indicate the intersection of welfare regimes with actual patterning of the life course in the domain of family and education. The idea of a ‘regime’ is attractive insofar as it indicates a consistent set of policies, institutions, culture and behaviour that indicate a distinct pattern. The comparative life course literature on advanced societies (usually with an emphasis on Europe) has also focussed, sometimes in a separated way, on the transition to adulthood and on low fertility.

For the transition to adulthood, the issue of the emergence of a new pattern has been extensively discussed, also including the amount of within-society diversity that this pattern should imply (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010; Billari and Wilson, 2001; Buchmann and Kriesi, 2011). What emerges, among other factors, is a generalised postponement of family formation, which is not, however, automatically linked to the postponement of youth autonomy, as indicated chiefly by the age at leaving the parental home.

The postponement of family formation is a chief explanans for the emergence of lowest-low fertility in advanced societies (Billari and Kohler, 2004; Kohler, Billari and Ortega, 2002). Indeed, the ability to have higher fertility rates at older ages (sometimes called ‘recuperation’) is a chief factor to both explain cross-national differences and country-level trends showing the exit from lowest-low fertility (Goldstein, Sobotka and Jasilioniene, 2009; Lesthaeghe, 2010; Sobotka, 2004). The fundamental reversal of the relationship between development and fertility in highly developed countries is indeed fully accounted for by the reversal of the relationship at ages 30 and above (Myrskylä, Billari and Kohler, 2011).

The puzzle of reversing cross-country association is particularly useful to analyse the emergence of a consistent life course regime. Therefore, in what follows the relationship between the age at leaving home and fertility is specifically discussed.

The reversal of the relationship between the age at leaving home and fertility

Societies that are making it easier for youth to become independent, as signalled by the age at home-leaving, have also become the societies where it is easier to have more children. To substantiate this, figure 1 depicts the changing association between fertility and the age at

home-leaving in 26 European countries for which it is possible to analyse this association. The cross-country correlation between the median age at home-leaving for the 1940-1949 birth cohort and the TFR in 1975 (*figure 1a*) was 0.40 (*i.e.*, in countries where home leaving happened later, fertility was higher). This situation has completely reversed later, with the emergence of very low and lowest low fertility – indicating that the emergence of a new fertility regime in highly developed countries has been associated with a broad sweep of changes in population-related phenomena, including the transition to adulthood. The cross-country correlation between the median age at home-leaving for the 1970-1979 birth cohort and the TFR in 2008 (*figure 1b*) is -0.57 (*i.e.*, in countries where home leaving happened later, fertility was lower). This correlation is negative even if we take into account cohort fertility (for 24 countries, estimates of the 1970 birth cohort fertility are available): -0.61.

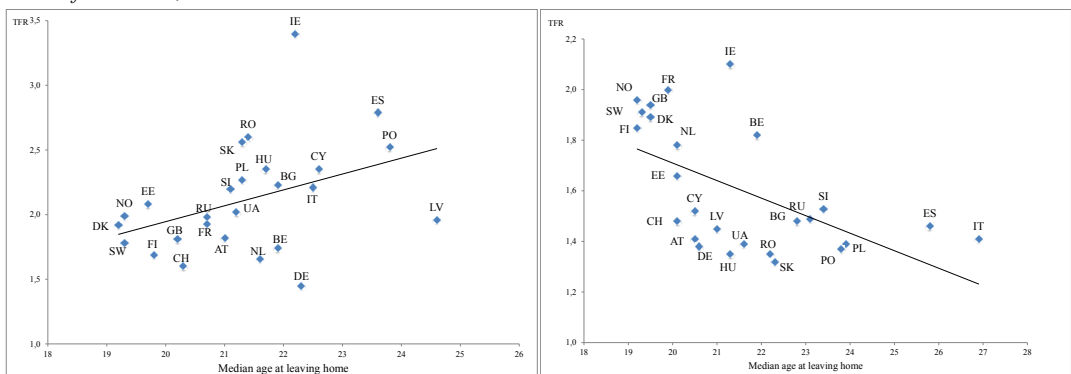
There can and should not be a causal interpretation of figure 1 (as in the several cases in which macro-level relationships shift). For instance, the cross-country correlation between the median age at home-leaving and the median age at first birth has shifted from positive and low (0.11) to negative but close to zero (-0.03) in the same interval.

What this changing relationship may suggest, although not prove, is that in the new life course regime youth autonomy and fertility (which, as we know, is very much conditioned by the combination of motherhood and work) now go hand-in-hand. Mechanisms and exceptions should be the subject of further, accurate research.

Figure 1. Relationship between fertility (TFR) and median age at leaving home for women, 1970s and 2000s, European countries

a) TFR in 1975 and median age at leaving home for women, 1940-49 birth cohort

b) TFR in 2008 and median age at leaving home for women, 1970-79 birth cohort



Source: Own analyses of data from Billari and Liefbroer (2010) and United Nations.

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Changes in fertility and family behaviour in Europe

Janina Józwiak and Irena E. Kotowska

Fundamental changes in family-related behaviour have been observed in Europe for around four decades. The intensity of these changes varies across countries but at the same time they have some common patterns. De-standardisation of demographic behaviour, changes in timing and sequence of demographic events, and relaxation (or breaking) of relations between them, *e.g.* between marriage and childbearing, result in new forms of family and in a growing variety of family and household types.

The following four processes can be identified as common factors underlying demographic change and defining the new demographic regime in Europe: (1) Postponement of union formation and childbearing, (2) fertility decline, (3) deinstitutionalization of the family and (4) its destabilization, *i.e.* increasing risk of dissolution, growing frequency of other forms of unions.

Even though these trends are similar, high and multidirectional diversification in the course of these processes can be observed across different regions of Europe (Kotowska and Józwiak, 2012). Postponement of first marriage in Central and Eastern Europe started much later than in other regions (in the 1990s). Consequently, although the average age at first marriage in CEE countries grows steadily, women entering their first marriage union in this region remain younger than in countries of Northern, Western and Southern Europe.

When we take into account regional differences in the level of fertility, a new line of division can be identified: The most pronounced disparity in the TFR appears between the North and West of Europe and the countries of Southern and Central-Eastern European regions.

Postponement of family formation, late childbearing, new alternatives to marriage forms of unions (cohabitation, LAT) and high intensity of union dissolutions are important features of family changes in Northern Europe, while in the South of the continent decisions to enter a union and to have a child are also made at later stages in life but marital union remains the prevailing form of family which, at the same time, is more stable than in the North. Degrees of deinstitutionalization and destabilization of the family in Scandinavia are markedly higher than in other countries, nevertheless, postponement of family formation is similar.

Except Estonia, which in this respect is close to the Scandinavian countries, the other CEE countries are not homogeneous from the point of view of importance of marriage for family formation and its stability.

The noteworthy fact is that the most rapid and deepest change in family-related behaviour occurred in countries which joined these common trends with some delay. This is the case in Southern Europe where fertility decline and the postponement of family formation started in the 1980s – more than a decade later than in the North and the West of Europe. From the

point of view of the speed and depth of changes the so-called ‘countries in transition’ were the most spectacular group. Dramatic shifts in fertility and family formation patterns started in the CEE countries at the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century together with transformations of the political and economic system. And, to some extent, transformation processes triggered the demographic change.

The new demographic regime in Europe has far-reaching consequences. In recent decades, due to the postponement of childbearing and family formation (and its destabilisation and deinstitutionalization), interrelationships between fertility and nuptiality have been reversed at the macro-demographic level. This reversal became an important feature of the transformation of the European family formation process (*e.g.* Billari and Kohler, 2004; Sobotka and Toulemon, 2008; Prskawetz *et al.*, 2010). Cross-sectional data indicate that the correlation between the TFR and out-of-wedlock births shifted from negative to positive while the correlation between the TFR and the first marriage rate became insignificant. In Southern Europe, German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, where family is formed mainly through marriage and unions are relatively stable, fertility is at the low or the lowest-low levels, while the countries of Northern Europe, the Netherlands, Belgium, France (where formal marriage is not that important for forming a family and frequency of divorce is relatively high) usually have visibly higher fertility.

In other words, fertility is higher in the countries where processes constituting the new demographic regime are more advanced. However, in these countries the declining propensity to marry, the high intensity of divorce and the postponement of childbearing do not mean resignation from forming families or a spread of childlessness, because at the same time, traditional forms of union are replaced by cohabitation and extra-marital births contribute significantly to the total number of births. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that in neither of those two groups of countries fertility reaches replacement level.

What are the reasons for the reversal of the correlation between fertility and these characteristics of family behaviour? A broad discussion of this question revealed that the problem is rather complex and that the answer is not obvious nor one-dimensional. First of all, the shift from the negative to positive correlation between the discussed indicators of demographic processes did not occur overnight but it took more than two decades and obviously was associated with profound changes in norms, system of values and gender roles as well as in the institutional environment for family formation (*e.g.* Kotowska and Józwiak, 2012; Prskawetz *et al.*, 2010). The structural, institutional and cultural as well as socio-economic contexts have played a crucial role in this shift. However, it has to be stressed that the changes of individual behaviour related to family formation contributed the most to this transformation of relations at the macro (population) level. When we take into account the correlation between the TFR and other parameters of fertility patterns (like the mean age at childbearing), it is still positive although the relation is much weaker in Northern and Western Europe than in countries of Central, Eastern or Southern Europe. Constraints in the possibility to reconcile family life and other activities (education, work, recreation) seem to be the main source of regional differences in this case.

Obviously, all these changes in fertility and family behaviour have significant effects on structures of families and households in Europe which can be described by a *decrease* of the number of families with children, families formed through marriage, and the average size of households; and simultaneously, by *an increase* in the number of childless families, one-parent families, reconstructed families, new forms of unions (cohabitation, LAT), and one-person households.

Since the shifts in behaviour and emerging interrelationships at the micro level bring about important effects on the whole population (its structures and macro demographic processes) a reconciliation of macro and micro approaches and a life-course perspective are necessary to understand contemporary changes in family and fertility in Europe. The same concerns the analysis of factors underlying regional diversity of these processes. A macro perspective prevails in the discussion on the consequences of the new demography of Europe and, especially, on the economic consequences of a shifting age-structure of population. However, an analysis of the impact of changes in demographic processes on families and households, on the one hand, and the contribution of family change to developments of demographic structures, on the other hand, must not be ignored and has to be taken into account in this discussion.

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Akeantos

Graziella Caselli

As life expectancy after retirement has gradually extended, it has radically modified our survival prospects, leading experts to speak of new limits for human longevity. The most recent figures indicate that in the Netherlands men at the age of 65 have an average of 18.3 years ahead of them, one of the longest in Europe. Moreover, the trend in the last decade indicates an unprecedented increase, with an additional 2.4 years added to the 15.9 observed in 2001. If this positive development continues, what new targets of long-term life expectancy might a pensioner hope to achieve?

For many years demographers have been speculating about the idea of an ‘age limit’, presenting the results of their ‘exercises’ on the search for a possible ‘biological’ age at death. Some experts have recently suggested that there is no sign of convergence on a limit, demonstrating that the effect of selection may allow the strongest people who have reached retirement age to continue up to a hundred years, and that a significant number of them might hope to live at least until the age of 115-117. That there is no convergence on a fixed limit is very likely, given that Jeanne Calment –the most studied and most authenticated super centenarian in the world– died at the age of 122 and a half years.

Thus, a man who crosses the threshold of retirement finds new horizons opening up for him in terms of life expectancy. These horizons, however, bring new uncertainties and increasing problems for society. The shadow that falls over the future of survival is cast by the growing numbers of this part of the population, which expects from society a positive solution of its problems of quality of life – problems that involve guaranteeing acceptable health conditions as well as more years of life. If the individual’s greatest desire is to live as long as possible, his aspiration is that of always being in good health. The progress made in recent years in the fight against diseases has been remarkable, and there is no reason to believe that even more effective treatments will not become available in the near future. On the other hand, the effects of preventive medicine more closely connected to the individual requirements of the new generations of the aged, will continue to play a decisive role, not only against lethal diseases, but also on extremely incapacitating ones.

Indeed, the querelle on the increasing survival of the old becomes extremely lively when we focus on their health – that is to say, when we start talking about the quality of their survival and we wonder if the gains obtained, or obtainable, are years of life in good or bad health. Age certainly brings with it a decline in health conditions, and we can reasonably suppose that as the individuals who escape death grow old, they will accumulate a series of incapacities produced by a sequence of accidents or chronic diseases typical of the elderly. Moving from the individual to the population, there is a consideration based on the inverse relationship between age and good health which may induce pessimism: An increase in the proportion of years of advanced age that each generation will experience in his life may involve a worsening of the average level of health of the population (the so-called ‘ageing

effect of the life history'). This is a possible, but not inevitable consequence, as the onset of at least some illnesses might be later, which would be reasonable to expect if the lengthening of life were accompanied by a slowdown in the processes of ageing.

There have been various theories about the quantity and quality of survival in recent years. The most optimistic claims that the lengthening of life is determined by a reduced risk of diseases, resulting in an increase in the proportion of years lived in good health, both absolutely and relatively. In short, now and even more so in the future, individuals may enjoy the benefits of a longer, healthier life, experiencing the onset of disease and the lack of autonomy at later and later ages. Obviously, if we want to know if Nico will be able to count on the validity of this theory we need to measure not only the survival but also the health of the population. As it is generally known, the most widely used measurements of the state of health are those based on the idea of perceived health. Contrary to all expectations, this has actually proved highly accurate in predicting the real conditions of survival in the aged. Analysis of the data from the period 2001 to 2012 allows us to evaluate the dynamics of health characteristics of the Dutch with regard to their functional limitations (presence of the various degrees of disability). According to the results, in 2001 a 65-year-old could expect on average little more than 9.2 years of complete autonomy (58% of the years remaining), while in 2012 this figure had risen to 11.2 (61%). In addition, if we think in terms of the remaining life expectancy spent in good mental health, in 2001 it was 13.5 years (85% of average life expectancy), while in 2012 it had become 16.8 years (92%). Comparing these figures it comes into evidence that there has been a gradual, significant increase in the health conditions of the aged. A longer and healthy life after retirement age becomes even more important if we consider those over 65 years old with the highest level of education: In the period 2007-2010 they had a life expectancy of 19.6 years, 15.3 (78%) of which should be spent in good health.

If the indicators that indirectly measure the quality of life continue to increase at the same rate or even faster than those measuring its quantity, then the prospects seem quite positive: the foreseeable progress in terms of reduction in mortality and disability levels is remarkable, particularly if the 'average' man is a highly educated 65-year-old and, we might add without fear of contradiction, still more if he is involved in extremely rewarding intellectual activity. Nico should be optimistic about his future old age, then, although the prospects are not wholly reassuring for those who have to govern society in the future. In fact, the effects of progress, along with the foreseeable increase in over-65-year-olds (from 16% of the total in 2012 to 22% in 2025), will involve a significant increase in the number of the disabled amongst the whole elderly population, particularly for those over the age of seventy. In the next few decades those born in the immediate post-war years will cross the threshold of 70 and then 80 years, followed by the baby-boomers. Moreover, the increasing number of immigrants who came to the country in youth or adult age and who will probably remain there till old age, should be considered. But this is a problem the whole of Europe has to face. It must also bear in mind that, very probably, as the present generation of adults become aged, the needs that the future aged will place on society tomorrow could become much more complex than those created by the old today.

Now that he is retiring, Nico will contribute to tackling some of these problems as he will be leaving room for a young person to be employed; and also being freed from social and economic burdens, he will continue his own high quality research.

European demographers should be very grateful to Nico for all that he has given to demography during his youth and in his prime, and for what he will continue to give in the course of a retirement which, as he will be less pestered by other calls on his time, will be still more creative –if possible– than in the past.

My own personal gratitude can be best and most simply expressed in the Sardinian dialect ‘AKEANTOS’, which means ‘good health and may you live to be 100...’ and over.

Zijn ouderen de motor van de ‘silver economy’?

Carlo van Praag en Jeannette Schoorl

De vergrijzing is geen lolletje. Wij spreken uit ervaring. Wij zien hectares marmoleum vanwege ons frequente bezoek aan ziekenhuis en polikliniek, kunnen fietsend niet meer achteromkijken zonder in het kanaal te geraken, vermogen geen kleine lettertjes meer te lezen en staan bij elke automaat te klungelen. Ook de samenleving heeft van de vergrijzing te lijden. De kosten van sociale zekerheid en zorg rijzen de pan uit en kunnen niet, zoals de onderwijsuitgaven, beschouwd worden als een investering die ons later wat oplevert. De beroepsbevolking dunt uit, waardoor steeds minder werkenden moeten zorgen voor een steeds groter aantal ouderen. Ik zou ze trouwens gewoon bejaarden noemen: een veel beter woord. Ouderen.....? Ouder dan wie...? Die beroepsbevolking vergrijsst trouwens ook, waardoor de arbeidsproductiviteit afneemt. Die ouderen kunnen of willen niks meer leren en zijn ook niet meer bestand tegen fysiek belastende arbeid. Zij zetten zich schrap bij elke innovatie. Dit is althans het beeld dat bij velen bestaat.

Het Centraal Planbureau (CPB) heeft, voor wat betreft het financiële aspect van de vergrijzing ook het een en ander gedocumenteerd. Bij herhaling heeft het vastgesteld dat de vergrijzing, zonder passende maatregelen, de houdbaarheid van de overheidsfinanciën bedreigt. Terwijl in de CPB-berekeningen de AOW en de zorg anno 2015 samen 15,7 procent van ons nationale budget beslaan, zou dat percentage in 2040 zijn opgelopen tot 22,8. Daar staat weliswaar tegenover dat de vergrijzing ook extra belastinginkomsten genereert, maar per saldo zou tussen de genoemde jaren het overheidstekort met zes procentpunten toenemen, niet geheel maar wel grotendeels als gevolg van de vergrijzing; dit alles bij behoud van het huidige verzorgingsniveau op het gebied van uitkeringen, onderwijs, zorg en andere quartaire voorzieningen (CPB, 2010, p. 17).

Er zijn ook meer optimistische geluiden verneembaar

Neem de Raad van Economisch Adviseurs (REA) die overigens in 2008 is opgeheven.

Vergrijzing is geen probleem, maar een zegening, zegt de REA. Vergrijzing is een zegening, omdat het verschijnsel voortkomt uit modernisering, emancipatie en keuzevrijheid, want die processen hebben geleid tot een vermindering van het kindertal in het verleden.

In zoverre heeft de REA gelijk dat die daling van het kindertal de Nederlandse bevolking niet is overkomen; zij heeft daarvoor gekozen. Het resultaat maakt zich niet alleen kenbaar als vergrijzing, maar ook als een leefbaarder land. Had de vruchtbaarheid van de vroege jaren zestig aangehouden dan had Nederland volgens een prognose uit 1965 in het midden van de jaren negentig al 19 miljoen inwoners gehad (Keilman, 1990) in welk cijfer dan nog niet eens de destijds onvoorziene toestroom van migranten uit het buitenland is opgenomen. Wellicht zou Nederland al met al op dit moment zo'n 25 miljoen inwoners hebben geteld. Joop de Beer moet ons maar corrigeren als het niet klopt. De bevolkingsdichtheid had dan ruim 600 per vierkante kilometer bedragen in plaats van het huidige, ook niet geringe getal van ruim 400. Een dergelijk als-dan-scenario staat natuurlijk volstrekt los van enige werkelijkheid. Het fungeert hier slechts als illustratie van het feit dat vergrijzing voortkomt uit een op zichzelf

gewenste ontwikkeling. Maar het argument betreft zich ten onrechte op de oorzaken van de vergrijzing en niet op de gevolgen. Als de oorzaken deugen wil dat nog niet zeggen dat er geen problematische gevolgen zijn.

Optimistische geluiden zijn ook te vernemen uit het laatste WPRB-rapport over de vergrijzing. Nico heeft hieraan als projectleider en als auteur zijn naam verbonden en zijn stem klinkt duidelijk door in de aanhef van het rapport waarin Nico, aarzelend bijgestaan door mede-auteur Carlo van Praag, een pleidooi houdt voor een positieve kijk op de vergrijzing.

VERGRIJZING: REGIONALE VERSCHILLEN

De vergrijzing slaat niet overal in Nederland even hard toe. Zo vergrijzen de steden minder snel dan het platteland en de Randstad minder dan de periferie. Het zuiden van Limburg, Zeeland, Drenthe en het oosten van Groningen en Gelderland hebben relatief de meeste ouderen. In sommige delen zal het aandeel 65-plussers hier zelfs toenemen tot meer dan 30 procent in 2040 (De Jong en Van Duin, 2010). Dat wordt mede veroorzaakt door selectieve migratie: jongeren trekken weg om in de steden te gaan studeren en werken. Voor hen komen nauwelijks andere jongeren of jonge gezinnen in de plaats.

Nico, sinds jaar en dag een stedelijke Utrechenaar, heeft dus minder te maken met de gevolgen van de vergrijzing dan de bevolking in de perifere plattelandsgemeenten. In de stad Utrecht lag het percentage 65-plussers in 2011 nog onder de 10, in de sterk vergrijzde gemeenten in de periferie van Nederland op het dubbele daarvan (RIVM, Nationale Atlas Volksgezondheid). Er zijn niettemin al klagende jongere stedelingen die de ouderen liever naar de dorpen zien vertrekken uit angst dat hun lokale overheid te veel geld zal willen uitgeven aan de aanleg van een netwerk van rollatorpaden en de bouw van leeftijdsbestendige woningen, in plaats van aan voorzieningen die een dynamische en creatieve (*lees*: jongere) bevolking ten dienste staan (Gerard Marlet in NRC Handelsblad van 27 november 2013).

Toch zal aanpassing aan de gevolgen van de vergrijzing wellicht in de steden een minder zware –of in ieder geval een andere– wissel op de maatschappij trekken dan in de sterker vergrijzde en krimpende periferie. Dan gaat het niet alleen om de in toenemende mate lokaal georganiseerde financiering van de zorg en om behoud van essentiële voorzieningen, maar ook om het functioneren van zaken als mantelzorg en (klein)kinderopvang in de ‘participatiemaatschappij’ waar kinderen en ouders op aanzienlijke afstand van elkaar wonen.

Het “eendimensionale beeld van de vergrijzing is niet terecht” constateren de auteurs. Weliswaar, zo gaat de inleiding van het rapport verder, stelt de vergrijzing ons voor ‘uitdagingen’ en er zijn wel degelijk grote kosten mee gemoeid. Maar wij moeten niet onze ogen sluiten voor het ‘rijke potentieel’ in een oudere bevolking, die kan worden gezien als de ‘motor van een silver economy’. Ouderen zijn voorts niet alleen consumenten van mantelzorg en objecten van vrijwilligerswerk, zij zijn ook in groten getale betrokken bij de verstrekking van deze voorzieningen. Met het WPRB-rapport over ‘active ageing’ “hopen de auteurs een bijdrage te leveren aan het bijstellen van het soms hardnekkig eenzijdige beeld van vergrijzing en van ouderen”.

Nico staat nu zelf op de drempel van de derde levensfase en het vooruitzicht om als bejaarde sta-in-de-weg te worden gekenschetst bevalt hem natuurlijk maar matig. Wie wil als een molensteen om de nek van de natie hangen? Nico heeft dus een persoonlijk belang om bij de oproep om de ouderen toch voor vol aan te zien.

Nico, laten wij je een hart onder de riem steken. Hoe eenzijdig negatief en hoe generaliserend de goegemeente ook over ons ouderen mag oordelen, wij weten zeker dat jij je nog geruime tijd aan dat oordeel zult onttrekken. Je zult blijven fungeren als de steunpilaar voor je directe omgeving en de bredere samenleving die je nu ook bent. ‘Vitale senior’? Ongetwijfeld, maar het klinkt zo propagandistisch. Gewoon lekker meedoen, zouden wij zeggen.

Maar ook niet klagen als niemand in de bus voor je opstaat!

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Population-related policies and optimization of human well-being

Dimiter Philipov

During one of the last years of the totalitarian regime or shortly after its fall I had the chance to visit an international meeting where policy matters were discussed. At this meeting I heard for the first time the concept of ‘population-related policies’. It was used by Nico van Nimwegen¹ while exposing his views on policy matters. At that time I worked in Bulgaria where access to contemporary research and achievements was close to nil; my occasional visits to international meetings served as an important source of information.

At that time population policies in the totalitarian regimes were explicitly pro-natalistic. Towards the end of the 1980s policy measures and tools applied to increase fertility were no longer repressive and priority was given to measures supporting families. Many of us, scientists from Eastern Europe, regarded similar policies as rightfully constructed without their repressive contents and instruments. Suddenly I heard that policies do not need to target directly fertility; rather they should reflect the diversity of needs that individuals and families experience and hence a wide range of policies needs to be considered. Instead of pro-natalistic policies we should consider population-related policies. I conceived this new paradigm as a logical change of policy focus from consequences towards causes. My knowledge base of demography in which pro-natalistic policies figured prominently was shaken.

Many years later, in March 2013, Nico reviewed a manuscript which I co-authored. The draft was too crude and the comments were like keywords. One of them included the term ‘population-related’, placed in a section where policies were considered. Following the hint I reworked the text to improve the discussion on population policies. Yet now I did not find the concept as clear as I understood it a quarter of a century earlier. What do we mean by ‘population-related policies’ today? Specifically, what is their domain? What are their objectives? With what kind of measures and instruments are these policies applied? How is their effectiveness evaluated? I believe that answers to these four questions will help understand the concept which apparently has been used in its narrative understanding. I failed to find a rigorous discussion in recent publications. For example, Nico did not use it in a number of related publications (Van Nimwegen, 2013; Van Nimwegen and Van der Erf, 2010). And there is a counter-question: Why was it useful to my work? In this note I will follow up on the above stated questions to share my views on whether the concept has a rigorous context or only a narrative understanding.

Consider first the domain of population-related policies. It is evident that all policies and all activities of the state relate to population. Since demographers narrow their interests to issues linked with fertility, mortality, and migration, it is tempting to define population-related policies as a package of those policies which exercise an effect on these three areas. For

¹ The discussion throughout this note reflects my personal understanding and ideas. It does not involve Nico van Nimwegen in any way and it is my fault in case I have misinterpreted him.

example, we tend to discuss issues related to gender, retirement, poverty and the family, education and many other topics in relation to their potential impact on population size and structure. The decline of the traditional breadwinner model raised the work-and-nurture problem which families solve frequently by having less children. Active ageing helps prolong life expectancy, and the integration of immigrants changes population size. So policies related to the division of labour in the family, to healthy ageing and to helping migrants accommodate to their new destination include population-related segments. However, these same examples can be considered from the point of view of labour economics with their impact on labour supply; I would not consider this field as population-related. In a population-related conceptual framework the same issues are considered from the point of view of individual and family well-being and thus intersect with other policies that aim towards protection of human rights and well-being. The boundary between population-related and contiguous domains is thus subtle and I am not sure it can be defined at all. Sciences merge and interdisciplinary research is nowadays common; probably the same is true for policies although I have not heard of any expression that might correspond to 'interdisciplinary' policies. The domain of population-related policies is also a domain of other policies.

What are the objectives of population-related policies? Answering this question is easy for population policies of the past: increasing the crude birth rate or the total fertility rate, increasing life expectancy, or achieving a larger or respectively smaller migration flow. These objectives are defined at a population level, *i.e.* at the macro-level. A most distinguished characteristic of population-related policies is that they do not define similar objectives (for example, increase in fertility is not a proper policy objective, although it can be a concern to policy makers). A pertinent definition of proper objectives is more difficult to articulate than pointing out what they are not. Again, we relate to well-being with a reference to population change. Family policies help women nurture and thus may stimulate births; policies that help women to work may contribute to a decline in fertility. In both cases the effect on fertility is only a by-product, whether desirable or not. It is not a policy objective. What counts are the choices women want to make: either to work, or to nurture, or combine both; fertility is not considered at all.

This example introduces a new dimension: the choices that people can make. It indicates that improvement of well-being can be achieved by providing individuals and families with an enlarged set of choices where they can make preferred decisions about their own lives. It is the choice of families to have or not to have children, although fertility might be assessed as low. So the objectives of the population-related policies are unclear once we want them to be separated from other policies.

What type of measures and instruments do population-related policies imply? The answer to this question requires specifying measures and instruments that belong explicitly to population-related policies and not to others. I am not able to identify even a single one.

How is effectiveness of population-related policies defined? Given no rigorous definition of objectives this question remains without an answer. In the good old time policies with

macro-level objectives effectiveness could be evaluated with an examination of changes in the relevant indicators: If the aim was to increase the TFR, its increase after the introduction of a new policy package would be considered as indicating policy effectiveness. When the objectives are related to well-being, an improvement in the latter might be the result of other policies and therefore effectiveness cannot be properly evaluated.

So, while the domain of population-related policies can be fuzzily defined, their objectives, instruments and effectiveness remain indivisible of those related to other policies. A failure to define the latter can be understood as a lack of adequate research (valid is also the trivial explanation that the author might be unaware of relevant achievements). I pertain to a different explanation: This failure is due to the fact that population-related policies do not exist at least as a specified set of specific policies delineated from any other public or social policies. In other words, a population-related package of policies does not exist. To make myself clear I sketch briefly the genesis of the concept.

The term emerged at a time when objectives of traditional population policies defined in terms of macro-level indicators were seen as potentially harmful for human rights: Policies stimulating births might conflict with personal preferences, values and attitudes which are ‘taboo’ for policy-making in advanced societies. Policies should reflect peoples’ preferences without changing them. This paradigm was not so new several decades ago among advanced countries but it was not widespread. The International Conference for Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994 outlined it explicitly with turning the focus of population policies towards the individual human being. It emphasized protection of human rights and freedom of choices as primary policy principles. To recall a relevant phrase from those times that expresses the paradigm change: “From population numbers to human beings”.

Both the old and the new paradigms rest on the understanding that population changes are an aggregate of individual behaviour. The idea to shift changes by corresponding shifts in behaviour is the old paradigm. The idea to expand the set of choices is the new paradigm; it is left to individuals to decide by themselves whether and how behaviour should be changed. Specifically, the new paradigm sets the task to release the pressure of obstacles that prevent people from fulfilling their preferences. Thus policy objectives changed: From higher (or lower) fertility, lower mortality and managed migration towards a broader set of individual choices and improved individual well-being. Since improvement in well-being is the ultimate aim of all policies, it has become increasingly fuzzy to delineate the set of population-related policies from others.

What is the situation today? Pertinent information is provided by the project *ICPD beyond 2014* designed to report on the fulfilment of the Programme of Action adopted at the ICPD. The report of the UNECE region informs us about population policies in 56 countries in this region of the United Nations, based on questionnaires filled by the countries-members of the UNECE.² The traditional population policy approach, usually formulated as Demographic

² The report and the questionnaires can be found on the website of the Population Unit at the UNECE, www.unecce.org/pau.

Strategy, is dominant among Eastern European, Central Asian, and Trans-Caucasian countries. Increases in TFR (from the value of x to the value of y) and in life expectancy (from x to y) are frequently cited objectives but specific policies designed to reach these objectives aim at the improvement of the well-being of the targeted population. Thus population-related policy making in these countries is traditional in terms of grand objectives and contemporary in terms specific objectives. The situation is entirely different where Western countries are considered. Some of them stated the absence of policies in certain specific areas included in the questionnaires, such as policies related to population and development, or population-related policies concerned with migration and urbanization; others did not answer these modules of the questionnaire. This does not mean that policies are unavailable at all; they do exist but do not refer to population growth. For example, issues about immigrants can be regulated with legal matter that refers to all citizens without exception: Immigrants have equal rights for work, schooling, housing, religion, language, etc. Any exception would be a form of discrimination, independently of whether the number of immigrants might raise concerns about population size.

So far I did not discuss populations targeted by population-related policies. The paradigm change is explicitly apparent in this respect. Conventionally policies aiming to increase fertility target families; old-age policies consider old-age population, etc. Under the new policy paradigm target populations are those that can be vulnerable with respect to the well-being of their members. Poor people are vulnerable; so are the disabled, the aged, adolescents and youth, migrants, and families. All of them can be vulnerable in a specific context and hence should be a target of corresponding public policies. The issue of population growth or decline is not present at all in targeting these populations.

Ultimately the new policy paradigm does not refer at all to population growth. Yet the latter can be a concern to policy makers, especially where fertility is low and populations decline. Policy makers do not need to be neglecting the issue. However, before starting policy construction they should be aware of factors and causes of the undesirable population change; identify what aspects of individual preferences have been restricted by existing obstacles; outline feasible measures that can help to expand the relevant set of alternatives in individual-level decision-taking, and finally construct relevant policies that could help individuals realize their preferred choices. This chain of analysis preceding policy construction starts with population change and ends with improved individual well-being. Thus population change, although not within a specific policy domain, is informative about issues which may need specified policy action with respect to the improvement of individual choices and relevant well-being.

Hence 'population-related' policies might be named those specific policy tools and instruments that have originated after a scrupulous examination of population change, although their domain and objectives do not relate to population change. In this respect the term 'population-related' can be useful as it brings attention to the various links between population change and well-being. This is how contemporary demographic challenges are being addressed today. They may lead, and are expected to lead to demographic changes by

introducing improvements in people's lives. As Van Nimwegen (2013, p. 16) puts it "The main policy challenge of population change seems to optimize human well-being". This is how Nico's last remark was found useful for us to restate our ideas on policies. I greatly hope that Nico van Nimwegen will continue maintaining his interests in population affairs and policies.

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Will Nico's grandson reach an age of 100 years?

Joop de Beer

On 24 August 2013 Nico was interviewed by the Dutch national newspaper *de Volkskrant* about demographic forecasts. In the interview Nico pointed out that life expectancy has increased strongly and that this increase will continue in the future. He expects that his recently born grandson has a 50 per cent chance of living to be 100 years or older.

This forecast is typical for Nico for several reasons. First, Nico's forecast is based on his interpretation of projections made by other experts rather than on his own calculations. Nico is very good in translating results from demographic analyses in a language that is understandable for policy makers and journalists. Rather than discussing differences in life expectancy based on period and cohort life tables, Nico simply talks about the chances of young children of living to be 100. And to make information even more accessible, he does not talk about an arbitrary child, but about his own grandson who was born in the summer of 2013. This personal interpretation of demographic data makes statistics much easier to digest.

Another way the forecast is typical of Nico is that he is an optimist. Nico sees challenges where others see problems. In the debate on the future of longevity experts do not agree about the rate of progress. Jim Vaupel is the best known advocate of the optimistic school. He claims that life expectancy has been increasing steadily during the last 150 years or so and that there is no indication whatsoever that this trend will come to an end in the foreseeable future. He projects that a large proportion of new born children will reach the age of 100.

Other experts think that the rate of increase in life expectancy will slow down. In the past, life expectancy at birth has increased very strongly due to a decrease in mortality at very young ages, but the increase in future life expectancy has to come from a decline in mortality at advanced ages. Since the decrease in mortality at advanced ages has been smaller than at the very young ages, those experts expect that the increase in life expectancy will slow down.

It is only natural for Nico to adopt the optimistic view and thus to project that his grandson born in 2013 will have a considerable chance of living to be 100. Is this forecast realistic? Let's have a look at the figures.

Figure 1 shows that the development in life expectancy at birth of Dutch boys has been about linear since 1980. Thus a linear projection into the future seems plausible. This is Vaupel's approach. According to this projection life expectancy will increase to 100 years in the year 2110. So life expectancy of men could increase to 100 years but not in this century. Does this mean that Nico's projection is too optimistic?

What Nico did was not projecting life expectancy, but the so-called median age at dying, *i.e.* the age to be reached by 50 per cent of new born boys. The median age can be calculated from the so-called survival curve. *Figure 2* shows the survival curve of Dutch men in 1980

Figure 1. Life expectancy at birth, Dutch men, 1950-2110

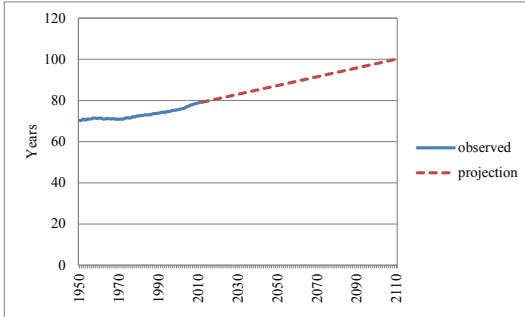
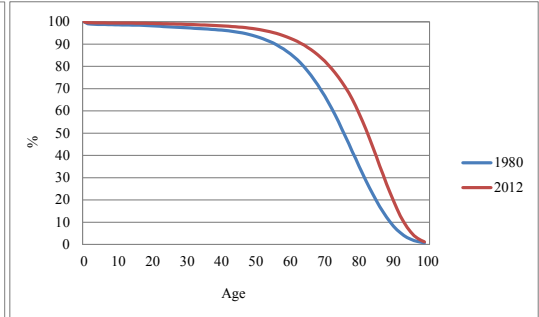


Figure 2. Survival curve for Dutch men, 1980 and 2012



and 2012. According to the survival curve for 2012 the median age equals 82 years, *i.e.* 50 per cent of men reaches the age of 82 years. In 1980 this was 75 years. Thus in 32 years the median age has increased by 7 years, or 0.2 years per year.

Figure 3 shows that the median age has followed a gradual increase since the early 1980s. If we assume that this rate of increase will continue, the median age will reach the level of 100 in the year 2090. Thus Nico’s projection that his young grandson has a fifty-fifty chance of living to be 100 does not seem to be overly optimistic.

However, in order to assess the validity of Nico’s projection we should look at life tables for birth cohorts rather than period life tables. Nico’s projection in August stimulated me to calculate projections of longevity of young generations. One month after Nico’s projection, I published two scenarios. Following Nico’s approach I focused on the probability of younger generations to reach the age of 100 years or over rather than on their life expectancy. This turned out to be a very useful strategy: The scenarios received a lot of media exposure.

One scenario assumes that the survival curve of young generations can be projected by shifting the survival curve of older generations to the right. This is the so-called delay scenario. It

Figure 3. Median age at dying, Dutch men, 1950-2110

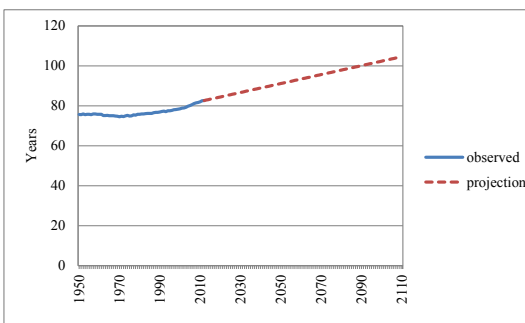
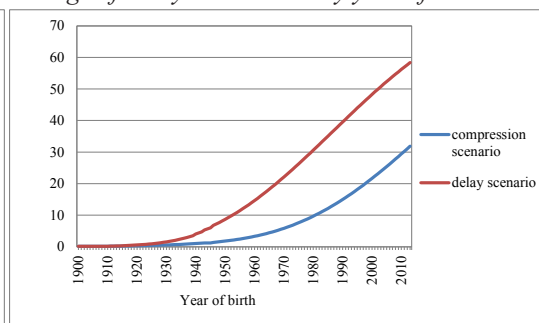


Figure 4. Percentage of men that will reach an age of 100 years or over by year of birth



assumes that the age at death can be delayed to older ages. According to this scenario 60 per cent of the boys born in 2013 will reach the age of 100 years (see *figure 4*). This is even higher than Nico's projection!

But this scenario may be overly optimistic. Figure 2 shows that for men aged 90 years or over, the movement of the survival curve to the right has been smaller than for men in their 70s or 80s. If it is assumed that this development will continue in the future, the increase in the percentage of young generations reaching an age of 100 or over will be smaller. This is the so-called compression scenario. Figure 4 shows that according to this scenario one third of recently born boys will reach the age of 100. Even though this is slightly lower than Nico's projection, the increase in the percentage is still substantial.

All in all, I have to conclude that Nico's projection that his grandson's will have a fifty-fifty chance of living to be 100 years or over may be a bit optimistic, but it is certainly not an unrealistic scenario.

This is only one example to demonstrate Nico's contribution to demography. Nico is an all-round demographer with a very well developed intuition about the kind of information that is interesting for policy makers, journalists and the general public. I have enjoyed working together with Nico very much and I hope that many years of collaboration will follow.

Crossing the Dutch borders in the past: Lessons from marriage registers

Peter Ekamper en Frans van Poppel

Introduction

Since the mid-1950s, borders inside Western Europe seem to have lost their political, social, economic and cultural importance. The process of supra-national integration, globalisation and the revolution in communication and transport has challenged the function of state borders. Their role in separating territories and peoples, in ordering our daily life, strengthening our belonging to and identification with others has gradually diminished. During the past ten years, however, it looks as if this process has come to a halt. In many countries in Western Europe but elsewhere too a counter-movement has emerged that again has stressed the legal and political sovereignty of countries and has refocused attention on the traditional function of borders to create barriers to movement.

Borders always have attracted the attention of geographers and historians: Their dynamic nature and their changing function over time make a historical approach essential whereas the local and regional differences in their effects ask for a geographical approach. One way to examine the temporal and spatial effects of borders in different periods of history or in different regions is by studying patterns of social interaction between the populations living on both sides of the border. This kind of information can teach us about the way space and national identity have been interpreted and how this interpretation has determined the effect of the border (Baud and Van Schendel, 1997).

Marital distance

Determining patterns of interaction in historical populations necessitates the use of uncommon sources of information. One of these sources are marriage certificates. This source gives information about intense face-to-face relationships not only between the two individuals directly involved but also between the families of bride and groom (Heady, Gruber *et al.*, 2010). Marital distances between spouses give an indication of social contacts and social knowledge arising through day-to-day life (Coleman and Haskey, 1986) and are indicative of the social distance and contact between communities (Coleman, 1979 and Snell, 2002). Marriages between grooms and brides who were born or lived on different sides of a border thus link individuals and families across borders and strengthen the feeling of those involved that one is part of one community. This kind of information has been used on a small local scale in various Dutch studies (Peeters, 1967; Hart, 1976; Boekholt, 1981; Rutten, 1989; Boekholt, 1990 and Rutten, 2005).

State borders

By using marriage certificates over a very long period of time, for different regions of the Netherlands, bordering to different countries, and by studying whether and how borders had different effects on social classes we explore what Baud and Van Schendel have called the spatial dimension of state borders and the life cycle of borders. The spatial dimension has to do with the fact that the influence of the border on social interaction varies with the (spatial,

cultural and economic) distances between regions on both sides of the border. The authors distinguish between the border heartland (the area dominated by the existence of the border where social networks are shaped directly by the border and depend on it for their survival), the intermediate borderland (the region that always feels the influence of the border but in varying intensity), and the outer borderland (which only under specific circumstances feels the effect of the border). The meanings and consequences of borders change over time and for that reason Baud and Van Schendel speak of stages in the life-cycle of borderlands. A first stage exists just after the border line has been drawn and pre-existing social and economic networks are still visible and people on both sides of the border are connected by close kinship ties. In a second stage the border has become an undeniable reality but old networks have not yet disintegrated and still form powerful links across the border. In a third stage social networks follow the contours of the border and social and kin relationships may continue to exist but become increasingly scarcer and are seen as problematic. This process can be reversed when the border loses its political importance and new networks emerge; eventually the border might be abolished, physical barriers removed and border-induced networks might be falling apart.

Marriage register data

The data that we use include all marriages contracted in the period 1812-1922 in 5 (of the at that time 11) provinces of the Netherlands: Gelderland, Groningen, Limburg, Overijssel and Zeeland. The more than one million marriage certificates in these provinces have been entered into a database within the framework of the so-called GENLIAS project (a joint initiative of the National Archive Services and the Regional Historical Centers and officially started in 2004). The five provinces each have their own particular ecological, social, and economic structure, and include larger and smaller cities, as well as rural areas. All provinces border or to the German border or adjoin a Belgian province whereas Limburg is bordering Belgium as well as Germany. Together, the five regions cover a large part of the economic and cultural landscape of 19th-century Netherlands. The marriages in the five provinces were grouped together. For each place in which the marriage took place we classified the places of birth of bride and groom according to the country of which they were part. We distinguished between Belgium, Germany, France, and various groups of other countries. We used country definitions as these would apply to the current borders. In many cases it proved difficult to determine the exact name and location of the places of birth of bride and groom, usually due to errors and omissions committed during the process of data entry. We also used information on the occupation of the groom to classify marriages by social class and applied for that purpose the HISCLASS classification scheme (Van Leeuwen and Maas, 2011).

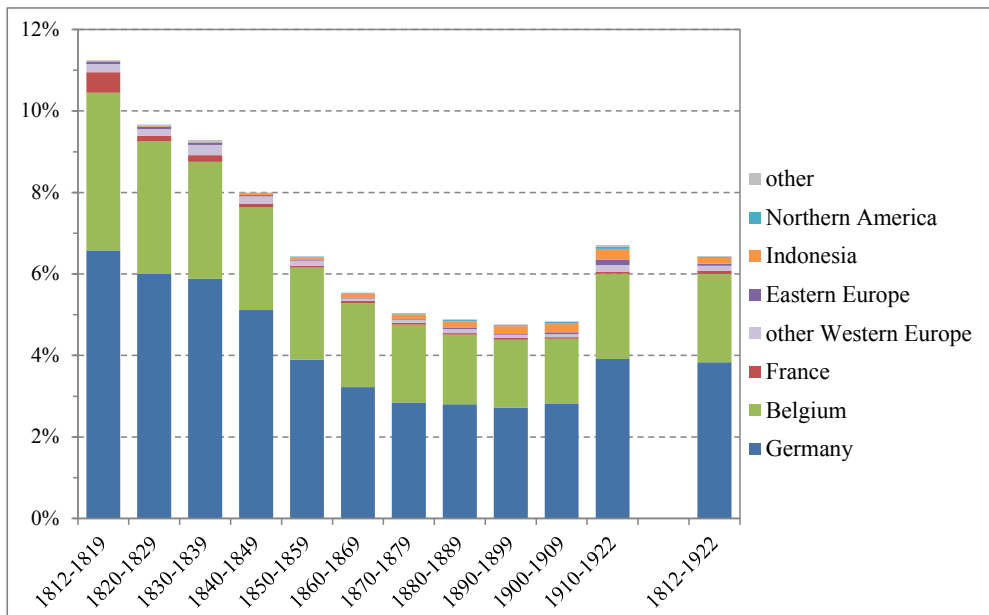
Trends over time

Figure 1 gives per period of marriage the percentage of marriages in which at least one of the spouses had been born outside the Netherlands. The figure shows a clear trend with that percentage decreasing continuously from 11 per cent in the second decade of the 19th century to less than 5 per cent till 1900. Only in the most recent period this percentage started to increase again. As could be expected, given the distance, by far the most important countries of origin were Germany (60%) and Belgium (34%). In the first decade France still occupied a

prominent position, at a time when France had a strong military, economic and political role in the Netherlands. In the second half of the 19th century, the percentage of spouses coming from the Dutch East Indies is increasing. After 1910, the role of spouses coming from Eastern Europe is gaining weight; probably related to the growing numbers of miners in Limburg and increasing numbers of Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe. The number of spouses born in Northern America was limited, but increasing in the last three decades. The figure fits in the consecutive stages that have been depicted by Baud and Van Schendel (1997) with ever-decreasing proportions of cross-border marriages during the process of national state formation and integration.

The decreasing proportions of cross-border marriages over time can be related to a series of changes that fundamentally transformed cultural preferences and the opportunities to meet potential spouses. The Netherlands became culturally more and more a unity. Distinctive local accents and vocabulary decreased in importance, enhancing the communication with members of the national community. Local costume, customs, and habits disappeared, national newspapers and political and economic integration caused an ever-growing connectedness, emotionally as well as cognitively, between different regions and their inhabitants, stimulating cultural homogenization. Identification with the national state created a sense of membership in a national community (Knippenberg and De Pater, 1988 and Knippenberg, 1999). A radical transformation of the communication and transport systems increased the possibility of direct

*Figure 1. Marriages with a partner born abroad by region of birth, 1812-1922
(% of all marriages)*



interaction between the border regions and the centre. General conscription led to regular displacement of individuals and to contacts with inhabitants from a variety of regions, with marriage as one result. Educational expansion at secondary and university levels beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century brought with it social intercourse between youngsters from a wide variety of areas. The growth of the national community was not confined to the economy and the state. Local sporting clubs, political parties, and labor unions became part of tightly organized national networks. At the same time there was a major improvement in transportation, facilitating mobility, and in methods of communication, which made it easier to keep in touch (telegraph, telephone, postal services). The increase in the means and speed of transportation brought about by new and improved roads and canals, and by new means of transport such as the train, the bicycle, and the tram brought a wider range of potential spouses within reach. In 1850 the geographical center of the country could be reached by people living in Groningen, most parts of Limburg, and large parts of Zeeland in around 12.5 hours. In 1870 travel time to the center had been reduced to between, at most, 7.5 to 10 hours from the more isolated parts of the provinces, and in 1920 people from almost all parts of the country were able to reach the center of the country within 2.5 to 5 hours (Thurkow, 1984).

Border regions

By focusing on the municipal level and calculating for each place of marriage the proportion of marriages with brides or grooms from Belgium and Germany one is able to differentiate between the spatial dimensions of border regions. *Figure 2* depicts the percentage of marriages with brides or grooms from either Belgium or Germany per place (municipality) of marriage over the period 1812-1922. The map clearly shows higher proportions of foreign born spouses in municipalities closer to the border. In the southern part of Limburg high proportions of both Belgian and German spouses can be observed. In particular the municipality of Vaals stands out with 15 per cent Belgian and 27 per cent German spouses. Outside the border regions proportions of foreign spouses are (slightly) higher in urban areas and garrison towns. The general observed pattern is first of all explained by the structure of interaction opportunities. When people live near each other, they tend to meet more frequently, increasing the chances of meeting a potential partner. Proximity thus increases meeting probabilities and thereby has a direct effect on partner choice and thus in places directly on the border chances are higher that people marry over the border. Factors that could lead to a decreased preference for a nearby partner from over the border such as physical and mental barriers (hampering circulation, differences in religion, in dialect or language) did play only a limited role. Drenthe and Groningen shared with the bordering German areas a regional language that deviated slightly from the standard Dutch and German and for the Limburg area bordering to Germany and the Zeeland area bordering Flanders that was the case as well. The bordering regions also shared the same religion and in their political history the orientation at the Dutch state had started late. Isolation partly due to underdeveloped infrastructure, common to many national states that looked more to the interests of the centre than to those of the periphery played a role as well. Until the middle of the 19th century, particularly in the eastern and southern parts of the country, connections between one settlement and another were relatively poor and the means of transport limited.

Figure 2. Marriages with a partner born in Belgium or Germany by municipality of marriage, 1812-1922 (% of all marriages)

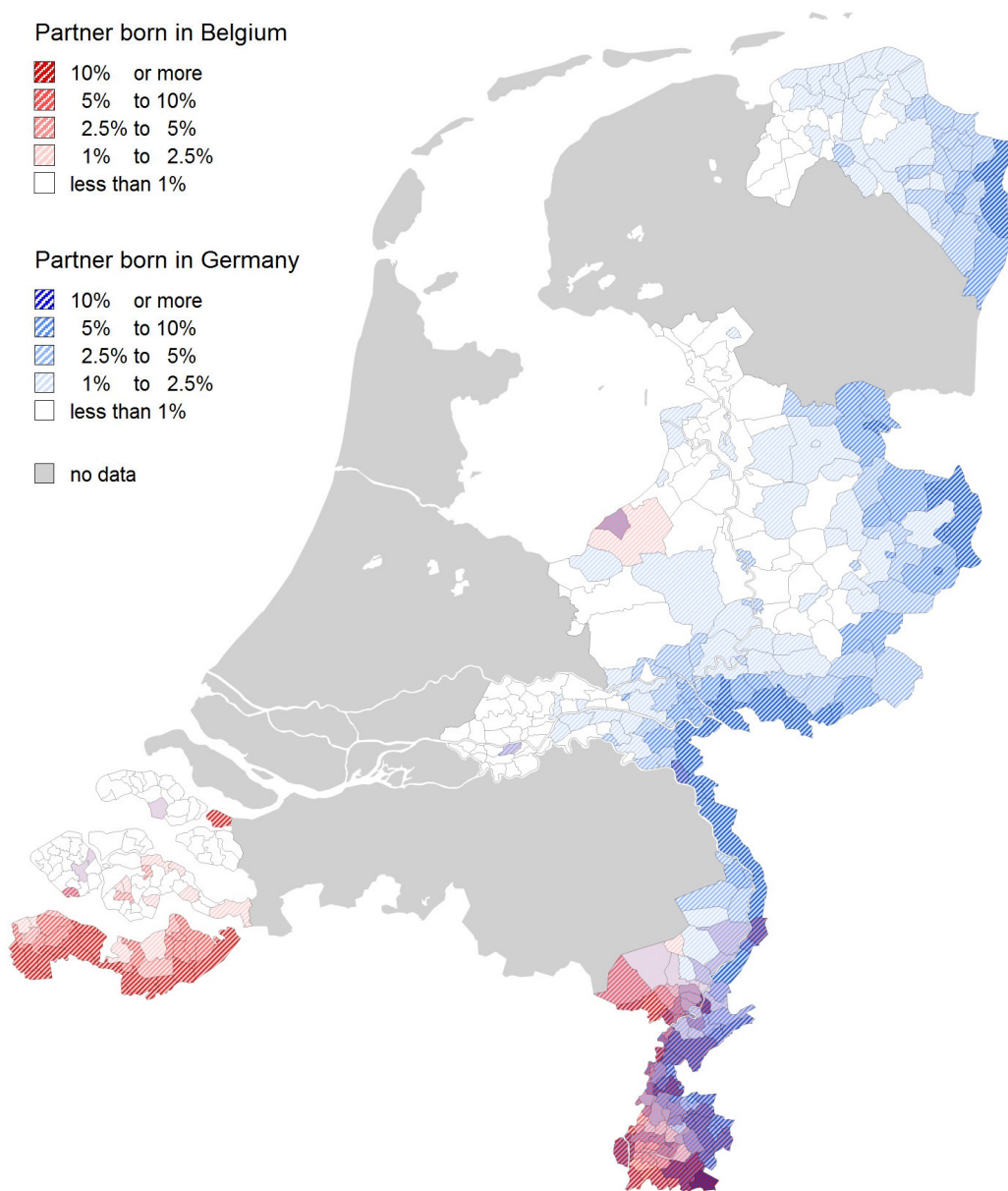
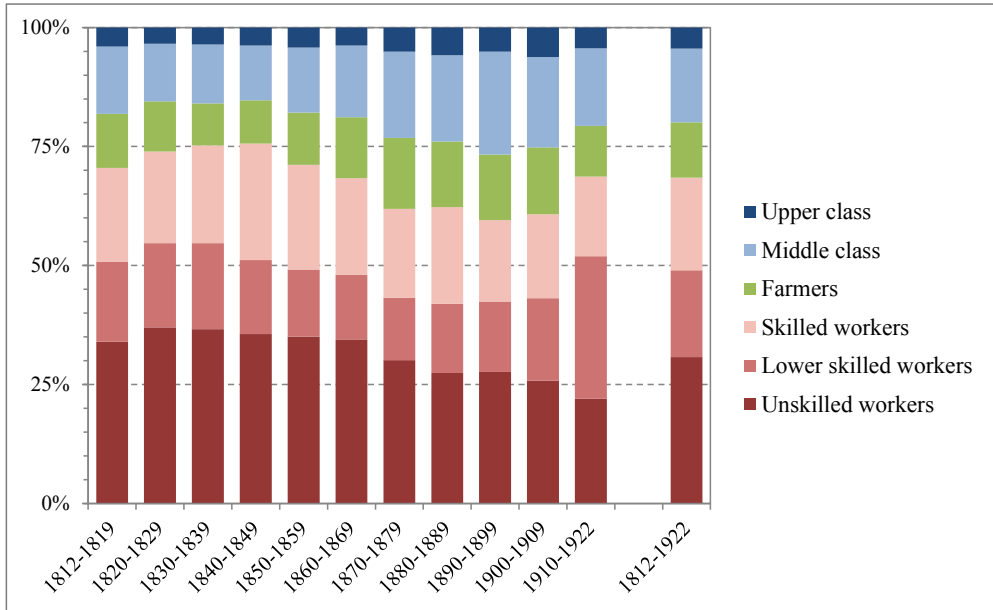
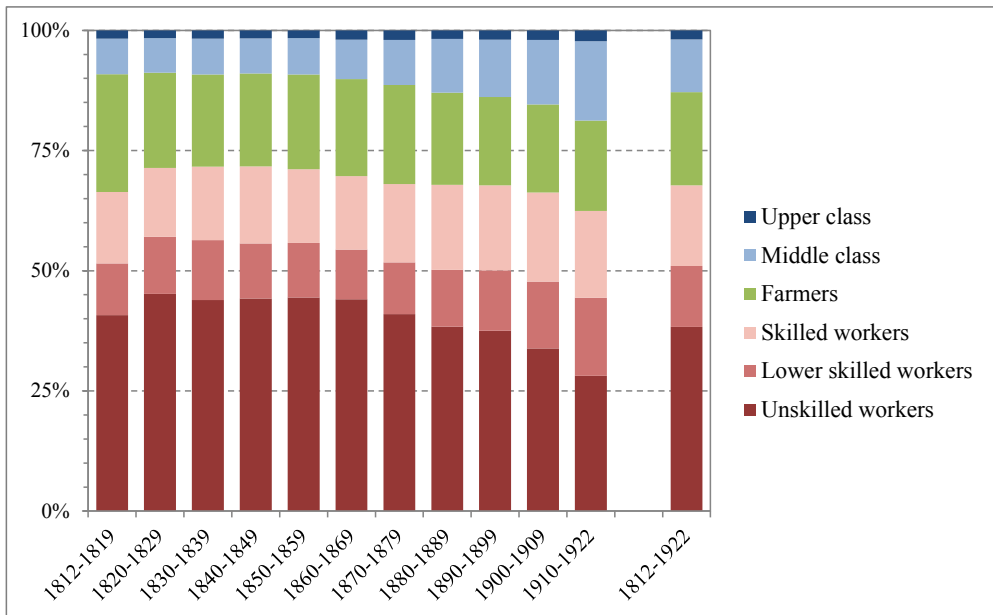


Figure 3. Marriages by social class and country of birth, 1812-1922 (% distributions)

(a) Marriages with a partner born abroad



(b) Marriages with both partners born in the Netherlands



Social class

Figure 3 shows how far social classes differ in the degree in which they have face-to-face contacts resulting in marriage with men and women born outside the Netherlands. *Figure 3a* gives by period the distribution of non-Dutch born marriages over the social classes, *figure 3b* does the same for completely Dutch-born marriages. By comparing the two proportions for each social class we can observe whether in some social classes cross-border marriages are over- or underrepresented. In the upper class (higher managers and higher professionals) these cross-border marriages are strongly overrepresented: 4 per cent of all cross-border marriages to 2 per cent of the non-cross-border marriages; the same applies, but to a lesser degree, to the middle class (lower managers, lower professionals and clerical and sales personnel, lower clerical and sales personnel, and foremen): 16 versus 11 per cent. Lower skilled workers (miners included) are over-represented as well: 16 versus 12 per cent till 1910 and rapidly increasing to 30 versus 16 per cent in the period 1910-1922. Two groups are strongly underrepresented: Farmers (12 versus 19%) and unskilled workers (31 versus 38%). These differences between social classes have to do with opportunities to meet potential spouses from more distant areas and preferences for spouses from far-away regions. Peasants tended to be rooted to the soil. The upper and middle classes were more mobile as they possessed the time and money needed to travel far and often, and had more knowledge of farther-off areas, giving them an advantage in getting in touch with areas farther from their places of birth. The higher classes also had a more universalistic value orientation, and spoke foreign languages. They disposed of wider means of communication (including letter-writing) and participated in a geographically more extensive political, economic, and friendship network. Several of them spent an educational and training period outside their own country.

Conclusion

This article shows that marriage certificates can be fruitfully explored to add to our knowledge of the effect of state borders on social interaction. For a more comprehensive view it would be important to complete the dataset with marriage certificates from other provinces, those bordering to Germany and Belgium as well as those from the urban, more market-oriented western part of the country. Furthermore, data from our neighboring countries, becoming available in digitalized form have to be added as well to inform us about the way our neighbors viewed the Dutch grooms and brides. Extending our data in time, forwards and backwards, would allow us to find out whether there are again periods in which state borders had smaller or hardly any effect on the choice of a spouse.

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