CONTENTS

List of	Figures	XX
List of	Tables	xxii
List of	Appendix Tables	xxv
List of	Contributors	xxvii
1 Edi	itors' introduction: the dynamics of pension politics	1
	len M. Immergut and Karen M. Anderson	VIII
I	The political-institutional framework for pension politics	4
	The impact of political institutions on public policies	4
	Veto points and veto players	7
	Political institutions and the welfare state	8
	The new politics of the welfare state	10
	Bringing labor back in	13
	Varieties of capitalism	14
	Demographic and budgetary pressures	16
	Ideas, learning and discourse	17
II	The policy framework for pension politics	18
	Contours of the pension problem and favored solutions	18
	The structure of pension systems: tiers and pillars	21
III	Pension politics	23
	An institutional approach to pension politics	23
	Pension politics in Western Europe	24
	Single veto player governments; no veto points	24
	Multiple veto points	26

	Many partisan veto players	28
	Moderate veto points and veto players	30
	Classed veto points, moderate veto players, unusual electoral	
	configurations	34
	Political competition	36
	The future of pension politics	37
DAI	RT I SINGLE VETO PLAYER GOVERNMENT	c.
IAI		3,
	NO VETO POINTS	
2 [United Kingdom: pension politics in an adversarial system	49
1	Isabelle Schulze and Michael Moran	
т.	Internal and a second	
I	Introduction Political system	49
III	Political system Pension system	51
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	59 66
1 4	Overview	66
	The Carial County Advance	67
	The Pensions Act 1005	74
	The Welfare Reform and Pensions Act 1999	76
	The Child Support Pensions and Social Security Act	79
V	Conclusion	82
3 (Greece: political competition in a majoritarian system	97
pl i	Polyxeni Triantafillou	
I	Introduction	0=
II	Political system	97 98
III	Pension system	109
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	117
	Overview Control of the Control of t	117
	The 1980s: a period of expansion	122
	1990: the Souflias Reform (Law 1902/90)	123
	1991: the Fakiolas Committee and Law 1976/91	130
	1992: the Souflias Reform (Law 2084/92)	131
	1997–1999: the Spraos Report and the "Mini Reform Package"	
	(Law 2676/99)	135

	CONTENTS	xiii
	The attempt that failed: the Giannitsis Proposals of 2001	137
	The Reppas Reform (Law 3029/02)	139
V	Conclusion	140
4	France: the importance of the electoral cycle	150
	Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt	
I	Politics of pension reform since 1980	
-	Introduction	150
П	Political system	151
III	Pension system	166
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	173
	Overview	173
	The Mauroy Reform of 1982: retirement at age 60 and minimum contributions	177
	The Balladur Reform of 1993: the reform of private sector pensions	177 178
	The 1995 Juppé Plan: a first attempt to reform the special schemes	182
	The stillborn Thomas Law of 1997: the controversial	102
	establishment of private capital-funded plans	184
	The 2003 Raffarin Reform: a further attempt	104
	to reform the special schemes	187
V	Conclusion	190
		190
	Political system matrix [cold]	
	PART II MULTIPLE VETO POINTS	
5	Switzerland: the impact of direct democracy	203
	Giuliano Bonoli	
	Incremental rejorms SanitoN mods obs four Social addi-	
I	Introduction	203
II	Political system	205
III	Pension system	217
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	223
	Overview	223
	The adoption of a law on occupational pensions 1982	226
	The 10th AHV/AVS Revision	230
	The 11th AHV/AVS Revision	233
	The 1st BVG/LPP Revision	235
	The stock market crisis of the early 2000s and occupational pensions	237
V	Conclusion	239

6	Finland: labor markets against politics	248
	Olli Kangas	
-	Introduction and (plane)	
	Political system	248
-		251
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	264
	Overview goldenbound	273
	The introduction of employee contributions 1992	273
	The 1992 harmonization of private and public sector pensions	274
	The 1995 reform of the income base for calculating employment	280
	pensions	281
	The 1995 reform of national pensions	282
	Reforms of private sector pensions in 2002 and	202
	public sector pensions in 2004	284
V	Conclusion Conclusion of the C	287
		-0,
7]	Belgium: linguistic veto players and pension reform	297
	Karen M. Anderson, Sanneke Kuipers, Isabelle Schulze and	
	Wendy van den Nouland	
I	Introduction	V
II	Political system	297
III	Pension system	298
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	312
1	Overview	317
	Incremental reforms	317
	Reform of early retirement 1982	321
	The Mainil Reform of 1984	323
	The St Anna Plan 1986	323
		325
	Flexible pension age and repackaging early retirement 1990	327
	Attempts at comprehensive reform	329
V	The 1996 pension reform Conclusion	332
V	Conclusion WANTA More and	338

PART III MANY PARTISAN VETO PLAYERS

8 S	Sweden: after social democratic hegemony	349
I	Karen M. Anderson and Ellen M. Immergut	
I	Introduction	349
П	Political system	351
Ш	Pension system	360
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	367
	Overview Overview	367
	The 1980s: political competition and policy stability	367
	The 1990s	370
	The 1994/98 reform	372
	Sticking to the agreement and working out the details	380
V	Conclusion	386
9 I	Italy: a narrow gate for path-shift	396
	Maurizio Ferrera and Matteo Jessoula	
	Spain: between majority rule and incrementalism	
I	Introduction https://www.new.new.new.new.new.new.new.new.new.	396
П	Political system	398
Ш	Pension system	415
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	422
	Overview	422
	The 1980s: "Much Ado About Nothing"	422
	The 1992 Amato Reform	431
	The 1994 Berlusconi Reform	434
	The 1995 Dini Reform	436
	The 1997 Prodi Reform	439
	A new multi-pillar architecture for Italian pensions	440
	The Berlusconi-Tremonti Reform: 2001-2005	443
V	Conclusion	445

10 I	Denmark: a "World Bank" pension system	454
9	Christoffer Green-Pedersen	
I	Introduction	454
II	Political system	456
Ш	Pension system	464
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	470
	Overview analysis Inching a	470
	Tax on interest gains of funded pension scheme 1982	474
	Improvements to the national pension 1986–1990	476
	The introduction of occupational pensions 1986–1991	479
	ATP for recipients of cash benefits	484
	Increased means testing of the national pension 1993	486
	Introduction of the Special Pension scheme (SP)	488
V	Conclusion	489
	PART IV MODERATE VETO POINTS	
	AND VETO PLAYERS	
11 5	Spain: between majority rule and incrementalism	499
	Elisa Chuliá	1397
I	Introduction	499
II	Political system	501
III	Pension system	514
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	520
	Overview	520
	1985 Reform: Law of urgent measures for the rationalization	
	of the structure and protective action of the Social Security system	522
	1987 Reform: Law on regulation of pension plans and funds	529
	1990 Reform: Law on non-contributory pensions of	
	the Social Security system	532
	Excursus: the guidelines of Spanish pension policy since 1995 – The Toledo Pact	534
	1997 Reform: Law on consolidation and rationalization	
	of the Social Security system	538
	2002 Reform: Law on measures for the establishment	
	of a system of gradual and flexible retirement	541
	The institutional solidity of the Toledo Pact	542
V	Conclusion	544

The 1999 measures to introduce a flexible retirement age, and to improve the benefits for dependent pensioners

Restructuring Social Security: the 2000 and 2002 Social

Conclusion

Security Framework Laws and the issue of the "plafonamento"

644

645

650

14 (Germany: beyond policy gridlock	660
1	Isabelle Schulze and Sven Jochem	
I	Introduction mobaukona	660
II	Political system meters lacinite	662
Ш	Pension system approximation and approximation a	671
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	676
	Overview	676
	Blūm I reform 1989: Pension Reform Act 1992	679
	Blūm II reform 1997: Pension Reform Act 1999	682
	The Riester reform 2001	686
	The Rürup reform 2004 (RV-Nachhaltigkeitsgesetz)	693
V	Conclusion	695
D	ART V CLOSED VETO POINTS, MODERA	ATE
	ension reform 2005: Pensionsharmonnaerunuskesetz	
VEI	TO PLAYERS, UNUSUAL ELECTORAL SYS	IEMS
15	The Netherlands: political competition in a proportional system	713
	Karen M. Anderson	109 /13
	a Challa and Mark Aseaso	
I	Introduction	713
II	Political system	71.4
III	Pension system	724
IV	Politics of pension reform since 1980	720
	Overview	729
	Cost containment of the AOW in the 1980s	732
	Supplementary pensions	733
	Adapting to European equal treatment law	734
	The EU and occupational pensions	736
	Supplementary pensions: improving coverage	737
	AOW cost containment in the 1990s	738
	The 1994 election	740
	The introduction of the AOW reserve fund	742
	Reforming occupational pensions	744
	The stock market downturn	746
	Revision of the PSF	748
V	Conclusion	749