The Politics of Pension Ker Control Management Consultants Institutions and Policy Change in Western Europe

Giuliano Bonoli University of Fribourg



Contents

List of tables pa Acknowledgements					
					List of abbreviations
In	troduc	tion	1		
1	Dime	ensions of the pension problem: institutions, economics	7		
	and politics				
	1.1	The institutional level; an overview of pension systems	9		
	1.2	The economic debate: ageing, pension financing and pensioners' welfare	e 14		
	1.3	Options for reform	23		
	1.4	From the economics to the politics of pensions	27		
2	Understanding the politics of pension reform: a theoretical 2				
	frame	ework			
	2.1	The logic of social policy-making	30		
	2.2	Retrenchment in the area of pensions	35		
	2.3	Institutions and policy-making	38		
	2.4	Veto points in democratic polities	43		
	2.5	Political institutions and policy-making strategies	49		
3	Britain: pension reform through majority rule				
	3.1	The politics of majoritarian democracy in the UK	53		
	3.2	The British pension system	58		
	3.3	The pension debate in the early 1980s	65		
	3.4	The 1986 Social Security Act	67		
	3.5	Key elements of the 1986 pension reform	78		
	3.6	Developments in the 1990s	81		
	3.7	Majoritarian politics and pension reform	83		
4	Switzerland: the politics of consensual retrenchment		86		
	4.1	The politics of consensus democracy	87		
	4.2	The Swiss pension system	95		
	4.3	The 1995 pension reform (tenth AVS revision)	101		
	4.4	Key elements of the 1995 pension reform	112		
	4.5	Consensus democracy and the politics of welfare retrenchment	114		

	~
V1	Contents

5	France: the search for an elusive consensus		118
	5.1	Institutions and patterns of policy-making	118
	5.2	The French pension system	126
	5.3	The pension debate in the 1980s and early 1990s	131
	5.4	The Balladur government and the 1993 pension reform	137
	5.5	The reform of public sector pensions: the Juppé plan	141
	5.6	Institutions and the politics of pension reform in France	146
6	Institutions, power concentration and pension reform		150
	6.1	Policy-making strategies in pension reform	151
	6.2	Developments in other countries	155
	6.3	Political institutions and policy-making strategies	159
	6.4	The impact of policy-making patterns on pension reform	164
	6.5	Pension scheme design and opportunities for quid pro quos	170
	6.6	Political institutions and the future of retirement	172
Re	eference	es .	174
	Index		