Ideational Leadership in German Welfare State Reform

How Politicians and Policy Ideas Transform Resilient Institutions

Sabina Stiller

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements 7

4	Intro	duction	

- 1.1 Sources of Welfare State Persistence 10
- 1.2 Major Welfare State Reforms Do Occur 14
- 1.3 Ideational Leadership and Structural Reforms 17
- 1.4 Structure of the Book 19

2 Ideational Leadership: Key to Overcoming Welfare State Resistance to Change 21

- 2.1 Situating IL Among Reform Explanations 21
- 2.2 Contributions from the Leadership Literature 23
- 2.3 Contributions from the Ideational Literature 27
- 2.4 IL as a Joint Concept 33
- 2.5 Aspects, Mechanisms and Effects of IL 34
- 2.6 IL and Theorizing on Gradual Institutional Change 39
- 2.7 Conclusion 42

3 A Bird's-Eye View of the German Welfare State 45

- 3.1 Germany as Prototype of the Bismarckian Welfare State 46
- 3.2 Sources of Resilience: Political Institutions and Policy Legacies 52
- 3.3 How Have German Governments Responded to Pressures? 60
- 3.4 General Patterns of Change in Major Programmes 71
- 3.5 Conclusion 72

Transformation of Health Care Policy? The Legacy of Minister Seehofer 75

- 4.1 A Sketch of Statutory Health Insurance in the Early 1990s 76
- 4.2 The 1992 Structural Health Care Reform Act 78
- 4.3 Seehofer's Role: A Minister 'Taking on the Sharks' 85
- 4.4 The 1997 Health Care Reorganization Acts 93

4.5 The Role of Minister Seehofer: Fighting Against the Tid	100
---	-----

4.6 Conclusion 107

5 Transforming Public Pensions: the Riester Pension Reform 111

- 5.1 The Reform Process: Chronology, Actors and Policy Positions 113
- 5.2 Tracing Ideational Leadership 121
- 5.3 Assessing the Role of Ideational Leadership 134
- 5.4 Conclusion 143

6 Transforming Unemployment Policy:

The Hartz IV Reform 145

- 6.1 The Reform Process: Chronology, Actors and Policy Positions 148
- 6.2 Tracing Ideational Leadership 157
- 6.3 Assessing the Role of IL 172
- 6.4 Conclusion 177

7 Conclusion 181

- 7.1 Family Policy: From Familialism Towards ReconciliatingWork and Family Life 183
- 7.2 Transforming Bismarckian Principles 188
- 7.3 Towards a New Hybrid Welfare State Edifice 190

List of Abbreviations 201

List of Interviewees 203

Notes 205

Bibliography 235

Index 249