

Table of contents

Introduction	19
I. Ideas, interests and the emergence of international organizations as corporate actors	34
1. Reductionist theories of international organizations	38
a) Neorealism	38
aa) The anarchic international system	38
bb) Patterns of state-interaction	41
cc) Organizations as instruments	42
b) Rational choice institutionalism	46
aa) States as rational actors	46
bb) Absolute gains and the enforcement of cooperation	47
cc) Reductionism and autonomy	51
2. Theorizing emergence of international organizations	55
a) Symbolic interactionism	55
b) Social constructivism	56
3. Emergence, autonomy and power of international organizations	60
a) High-order corporate actors	60
b) Knowledge-generation, epistemic communities and the productive power of discourses	68
4. Ideas, interests and international organizations: A conceptual framework	74
a) Ideas and interests: Shifting relationships	74
b) Interests shape ideas: Programs and frames	80
c) Ideas shape interests: Paradigms	81
5. Chapter conclusion	83
II. World Bank and International Labour Organization – historical phases, institutional structures and activities	85
1. The World Bank	86
a) From a financial institution to a knowledge agency	90
aa) Reconstruction and infrastructure projects (1944–1968)	90
bb) Poverty reduction and expansion (1968–1979)	93
cc) Structural adjustment (1979–1995)	95
dd) Towards a post-Washington consensus? (since 1995)	101
(1) Criticism of the Washington consensus	101
(2) CDF and PRSP – a new development approach?	102
(3) Criticism of the post-Washington consensus	106

b) Organizational structure.....	108
aa) The Board of Governors and the Executive Directors.....	111
bb) Special organizational units	113
(1) The Development Economics Vice Presidency: Gatekeepers of ideological mainstreaming	113
(2) The Human Development Network, the Sustainable Development Network and the role of the Social Protection Sector	117
c) Operational and ideational activities	123
aa) Lending and conditionality	123
bb) Knowledge-generation and agenda-setting	129
2. The International Labour Organization	132
a) From a standard setting to a development agency	133
aa) International labor standards for workers (1919–1944).....	133
bb) Human rights and development (1944–today).....	135
(1) The Declaration of Philadelphia	135
(2) Poverty alleviation.....	137
b) Organizational structure.....	141
aa) The International Labour Conference.....	142
bb) The Governing Body	143
cc) The International Labour Office	144
(1) The organization's think tank.....	144
(2) The Social Security Department	147
c) Operational and ideational activities	151
aa) Knowledge-generation and technical assistance	151
bb) Elaboration of norms	154
cc) The supervisory system	157
(1) Reporting on ratified and non-ratified Conventions	157
(2) Representations and complaints.....	162
(3) Excursus: Application of Article 33 of the Constitution: Myanmar	164
(4) Special procedure concerning the violation of the freedom of association	168
3. Chapter conclusion	171
III. Ideational foundations of global pension policies	174
1. Programs, frames and paradigms: A typology for the analysis of ideas ..	175
2. Ideas within the World Bank	181
a) Programs	181
aa) The Swiss Chilanpore model	181
bb) The three pillar model (1994)	185
cc) The five pillar model (2005): More pillars – less radical?.....	186
b) Frames	190

aa) Individual autonomy	190
bb) Generational equity	191
cc) Demography and financial sustainability	195
dd) Work incentives	197
c) Paradigms	197
aa) Neoclassical labor market theory	198
bb) Neoclassical growth theory	200
cc) Life cycle hypothesis	203
dd) Public choice theory	203
3. Ideas within the International Labour Organization	205
a) Programs	205
aa) The official programmatic	205
bb) Three generations of social security standards	208
(1) The first generation: 1919–1944	208
(2) The second generation: 1944–1952	209
(3) The third generation: Since 1952	213
cc) The Social Security Department: Towards a development ap- proach	215
b) Frames	221
aa) Social justice	221
bb) Demographic crisis?	222
cc) Globalization	222
dd) Investment	223
c) Paradigms	224
aa) Social values and social rights	225
bb) Tripartism and state responsibility	226
cc) Heterogeneity of economic paradigms	227
(1) Challenged by the mainstream	228
(2) The funding controversy	230
(3) The saving-investment-growth nexus	233
4. Chapter conclusion	235
5. Outlook: Pension policy transfer in Europe	238
a) Coercive and voluntary policy transfer	239
b) NDC systems and EU enlargement	242
c) Towards a pan-European NDC pension system?	248
aa) The NDC-pillar	250
bb) The funded pillar	251
cc) The social pension pillar and a minimum pension	253
Conclusion	256
References	260
Index	294