

Table of Contents

Figures and Tables	XIII
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Guiding Idea of the Study.....	5
1.2 Brief Overview of the Study.....	6
2 The Professionalization of Politics.....	11
2.1 Parliamentarians Today: Professional Politicians	14
2.2 Living ‘Off’ Politics: Paying Parliamentarians.....	16
2.2.1 Emergence and Institutionalization of Political Pay	17
2.2.2 Use and Significance of Parliamentary Remuneration	20
2.2.3 Representatives’ Income: Structure and Amount.....	22
2.3 Living ‘Off’ Politics <i>After</i> Legislative Service	29
2.4 The Design of Parliamentary Pension Schemes.....	31
2.5 Implications for Analyzing Parliamentary Pension Politics.....	33
3 Analytical Framework.....	35
3.1 Theoretical Approaches.....	35
3.1.1 Sociology of Professions: Being Special – Deserving Privileges	35
3.1.2 Responsiveness: Establishing a Balance to Voters.....	38
3.1.3 Principal-Agent: Self-Serving MPs versus Voters’ Interests.....	41
3.1.4 Welfare State Theory: Retrenchment as Credit Claiming	45
3.2 Explaining the Self-Sacrificing Decisions of Parliamentarians.....	48
4 Research Design and Methods	53
4.1 Research Design: Multiple Case Study Design	53
4.1.1 Case Study as a Research Strategy	53
4.1.2 Case Study Research Design	54

4.2 Case Selection.....	56
4.3 Data Collection	58
4.4 Data Analysis.....	61
4.4.1 Process-Tracing.....	61
4.4.2 Content Analysis.....	62
5 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions. Evidence from Germany:	
Gradual Decline	65
5.1 Introduction.....	65
5.1.1 Public Old-Age Pensions and the German Welfare State.....	65
5.1.2 Members of the <i>Bundestag</i> and Their Income Package	67
5.2 The German Parliamentary Pension Scheme.....	69
5.2.1 Historical Overview	69
5.2.2 Key Features of the PPS	70
5.3 Reforms to the Public and Parliamentary Pension Schemes.....	71
5.3.1 Reforms to the Public Pension Scheme	71
5.3.2 Reforms to the Parliamentary Pension Scheme	73
5.3.2.1 Major Alterations to the Parliamentary Pension Scheme	73
5.3.2.2 The Dimensions of Parliamentary Pension Cutbacks.....	75
5.4 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions in Germany: Explanatory Factors and Arguments.....	78
5.4.1 Policy Making Background: Why Was a Change Proposed at All?	79
5.4.2 Chronological Proximity and Content-based Links between Public and Parliamentary Reforms.....	83
5.4.3 How do Members of Parliament Explain Their Own Pension Cutbacks? MPs' Arguments and Strategies in Parliament	87
5.4.4 Position of Opposition and Alternative Reform Options	94
5.4.5 Role of the Federal Constitutional Court.....	96
5.4.6 Role of the German Association of Taxpayers and Political Pundits.....	98
5.5 Conclusion.....	101

6 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions. Evidence from Austria: MPs Becoming Equal	107
6.1 Introduction.....	107
6.1.1 Old-Age Pensions and the Austrian Welfare State.....	107
6.1.2 Members of the National Council and Their Income Package.....	109
6.2 The Parliamentary Pension Scheme in Austria.....	110
6.2.1 Historical Overview	110
6.2.2 Key Features of the Terminating Parliamentary Pension Scheme (<i>Alt-Politikerpension</i>).....	111
6.3 Reforms to the Public and Parliamentary Pension Schemes.....	112
6.3.1 Reforms to the Public Pension Scheme	112
6.3.2 Reforms to the Parliamentary Pension Scheme	113
6.3.2.1 1997: Termination of the Parliamentary Pension Scheme (<i>Alt-Politikerpension</i>)	115
6.3.2.2 2003: <i>Pensionssicherungsreform</i> of the Alt-Politikerpension.....	117
6.3.2.3 2005: Harmonization of All Pension Schemes.....	118
6.3.2.4 The Dimensions of Parliamentary Pension Cutbacks.....	119
6.4 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions in Austria: Explanatory Factors and Arguments	121
6.4.1 Policy Making Background: Why Was a Change Proposed at All?	122
6.4.2 Chronological Proximity and Content-based Links between Public and Parliamentary Reforms.....	127
6.4.3 How do Members of Parliament Explain Their Own Pension Cutbacks? MPs' Arguments and Strategies in Parliament	129
6.4.4 The Role of the Parliamentary Opposition	138
6.5 Conclusion.....	142
7 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions. Evidence from Australia: Aligning MPs and Government Employees	147
7.1 Introduction.....	147
7.1.1 Public Old-Age Pensions and the Australian Welfare State.....	147

7.1.2 Members of the House of Representatives and Their Income Package	150
7.2 The Australian Parliamentary Pension Scheme.....	153
7.2.1 Historical Overview	153
7.2.2 Key Features of the Terminating PCSS	154
7.3 Reforms to the Public and the Parliamentary Pension Schemes	155
7.3.1 Reforms to the Public Pension Scheme	155
7.3.2 Reforms to the Parliamentary Pension Scheme	156
7.4 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions in Australia: Explanatory Factors and Arguments	158
7.4.1 Policy Making Background: Why Was a Change Proposed at All?	158
7.4.2 Chronological Proximity and Content-based Links between Public and Parliamentary Reforms.....	163
7.4.3 How do Members of Parliament Explain Their Own Pension Cutbacks? MPs' Arguments and Strategies in Parliament	167
7.5 Conclusion.....	172
8 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions. Evidence from Canada: 'Notional Cutbacks'	177
8.1 Introduction.....	177
8.1.1 Public Old-Age Pensions and the Canadian Welfare State	177
8.1.2 Members of the House of Commons and Their Income Package	181
8.2 The Parliamentary Pension Scheme in Canada	183
8.2.1 Historical Overview	183
8.2.2 Key Features of the Parliamentary Pension Plan.....	184
8.3 Reforms to the Public and the Parliamentary Pension Schemes	185
8.3.1 Reforms to the Public Pension Scheme	185
8.3.2 Reforms to the Parliamentary Pension Scheme	186
8.3.2.1 Major Parliamentary Pension Reforms.....	187
8.3.2.2 The Dimensions of Parliamentary Pension Cutbacks.....	190

8.4 Reforming Parliamentary Pensions in Canada: Explanatory Factors and Arguments	195
8.4.1 Policy Making Background: Why Was a Change Proposed at All?	195
8.4.2 Chronological Proximity and Content-based Links between Public and Parliamentary Reforms.....	200
8.4.3 How do Members of Parliament Explain Their Own Pension Cutbacks? MPs' Arguments and Strategies in Parliament	205
8.4.4 Parliamentary Opposition: The Role of the Reform Party.....	211
8.4.5 Watchdogs: The Role of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation and the National Citizens Coalition.....	214
8.5 Conclusion.....	217
 9 The Politics of Parliamentary Pensions in Australia, Austria, Canada, and Germany	221
9.1 Comparing Parliamentary Pension Politics	222
9.1.1 History and Type of Parliamentary Pension Schemes.....	222
9.1.2 Parliamentary Pension Reforms	224
9.1.3 Current Arrangement of Parliamentary Pension Schemes.....	227
9.2 Explaining Parliamentary Pension Cutbacks	236
9.2.1 The Driving Forces Behind Parliamentary Pension Cutbacks	237
9.2.2 Legislation of Parliamentary Pension Cutbacks	246
9.2.3 MPs' Arguments and Strategies in Parliament	248
9.2.4 Consideration of Theoretical Implications.....	252
 10 Conclusion.....	259
 References.....	265