

Table of contents

David Natali and Philippe Pochet

Introduction

The last wave of social pacts in Europe:

problems, actors and institutions	13
Introduction.....	13
1. Defining social pacts in the Eurozone.....	17
2. Social pacts in the EMU era: some open analytical questions to address.....	19
3. Social pacts in the post-EMU context.....	27
Conclusion.....	37

Franz Traxler

Corporatism(s) and pacts: changing functions and structures under rising economic liberalism and declining liberal democracy.....

Introduction.....	45
1. Organised interests and macro governance: analytical dimensions and key propositions.....	50
2. Organised interests and instrumental governance: from Keynesianism to orthodox economics.....	54
3. Organised interests and expressive governance: the legitimacy crisis of liberal democracy.....	61
4. Categorising macro governance and cross-national mapping.....	66
5. Corporatism and pacts: what future?.....	72

Christos A. Ioannou

'Odysseus or Sisyphus' revisited: failed attempts to conclude social-liberal pacts in Greece.....

Introduction.....	83
1. A decade of social pact efforts: from 'stop-go' to 'intensive' dialogue.....	84
2. 'Raining cats and dogs': social dialogues, strikes and failed social pacts.....	88
3. Wage formation in the context of EMU: collective bargaining gradually moves away from coordinated wage setting.....	98
Conclusion: an accumulation of Sisyphian outcomes and doubly uneven institutionalisation.....	104

António Dornelas	
Social pacts in Portugal: still uneven?	109
1. The institutionalisation of the industrial relations system	110
2. The institutionalisation of social concertation in Portugal	114
3. More recent developments and future prospects for social concertation in Portugal	124
Concluding remarks	132
Serafino Negrelli and Valeria Pulignano	
The evolution of social pacts in Italy: crisis or metamorphosis?	137
Introduction: waves of social pacts in Italy amidst economic crisis and political instability	137
1. Social pacts in Italy: a development consistent with a long, specific history of social concertation and participative industrial relations	141
2. Italian social concertation in crisis	145
3. Pushing towards decentralised collective action and 'social dialogue': the second Berlusconi government (2001-2006)	147
4. Recent developments: the 2007 Welfare Protocol and the 22 January 2009 'separate' agreements on collective bargaining	151
Conclusion: the metamorphosis of Italian social pacts	154
Sofia A. Pérez	
Social pacts in Spain: from post-EMU boom to bust	161
1. Background: Spanish social pacts prior to EMU	164
2. The institutional bases: employers, unions, and the collective bargaining structure	167
3. Social pacts in Spain under Monetary Union	174
4. The limits of social concertation: from Spanish boom to bust under EMU	183
Rory O'Donnell, Noel Cahill and Damian Thomas	
Ireland: the evolution of social pacts in the EMU era	191
Introduction	191
1. Irish partnership before EMU (1987-2000)	192
2. The changing determinants and content of Irish social pacts since 2000	198
3. Interpreting the institutionalisation of social partnership in Ireland	207
Conclusion	212

Aleksi Kuusisto

Finland – four decades of incomes policy agreements

coming to an end?	223
Introduction.....	223
1. The Finnish tradition of social pacts	226
2. The 1999 bargaining round.....	228
3. A return to incomes policy.....	232
4. The legislative reforms of 2001-2002	235
5. The incomes policy agreement of 2003-2004.....	237
6. The incomes policy agreement of 2005-2007.....	239
7. The end of the era of incomes policy agreements?.....	243
Conclusion.....	246

Marc van der Meer and Jelle Visser

'Doing together what is possible'

Social pacts and negotiated welfare reform in the Netherlands	251
Introduction.....	251
1. The institutions and actors.....	252
2. From procedural agreements to neo-corporatist pacts: how politics re-enters industrial relations.....	257
Conclusion and outlook.....	276

David Natali and Philippe Pochet

The recent evolution of social dialogue in Cyprus and Malta:

any scope for social pacts?	281
Introduction.....	281
1. Cyprus and Malta: two micro-states in the European Union.....	282
2. Mapping the social dialogue actors and institutions.....	293
3. Social dialogue and recent attempts to establish social pacts in the shadow of EU and EMU participation.....	303
Conclusion.....	311

Miroslav Stanojevic	
Social pacts in Slovenia	317
Introduction.....	317
1. The 1988-1992 juncture: formation of the actors.....	319
2. Stabilisation and the beginning of economic recovery: the early chain of social pacts	324
3. Accommodation with the EU and EMU regime.....	329
4. Post-EU development: third phase of EMU, attempt and failure of a grand neo-liberal shift, and post-euro social pact (2007-2009).....	334
Conclusion: the changing nature of competitiveness?	338
Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits	
Slovakia and Hungary: successful and failed euro entry without social pacts	345
Introduction.....	345
1. Preparing for the euro: reforms without social dialogue in Slovakia and Hungary.....	347
2. The rise and decline of tripartism in Slovakia and Hungary: high formal and limited real competences	353
3. Is there a need for social pacts at all in East-Central Europe?	358
4. Substitutes for social pacts: identity politics, targeted reforms and picking the 'right' losers.....	364
Conclusion.....	366
Juliusz Gardawski and Guglielmo Meardi	
Keep trying? Polish failures and half-successes in social pacting	371
Introduction.....	371
1. The 'transition' mark: the negotiated exit from communism (1980-1989).....	373
2. From shock therapy to the Tripartite Commission	374
3. Social dialogue in the period of EU negotiations (1993-2002)	377
4. Hausner's 'window of opportunity' for a social pact (2002-2005).....	379
5. In the EU: a new political and economic outlook (2005-2008).....	384
Conclusion: assessment, unintended effects and prospects	388

Maarten Keune and Philippe Pochet

Conclusions: trade union structures, the virtual absence of social pacts in the new Member States and the relationship between sheltered and exposed sectors 395

Introduction..... 395

1. Social pacts, trade union structures and the crisis in the EU-15..... 396

2. The (virtual) absence of social pacts in Central and Eastern Europe..... 399

3. Sheltered and exposed sectors 409

List of abbreviations 417

List of contributors 423

