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Georgios Symeonidis

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The fiscal effect of the recalculation of main old-age pensions stemming from L. 4387/2016

Georgios Symeonidis, Board Member, Hellenic Actuarial Authority

Η δημοσιονομική επίπτωση των επανυπολογισμών κύριων συντάξεων του Ν.4387/2016

Γεώργιος Συμεωνίδης, Μέλος Δ.Σ., Εθνική Αναλογιστική Αρχή

ABSTRACT

L.4387/2016 introduced the recalculation of existent pensions based on a new type of formula and replacement. The difference between the amounts paid to pensioners at that time and the amounts calculated based on the new law, quoted as personal difference, was later legislated to be either cut, if it was positive, or paid in the long run, if it was negative. This coincided with legislation that froze pension indexation for the years up to 2022. Even though the pension indexation freeze is still valid, the pension reductions initially planned for 2019 were avoided. The pension increases, where applicable, were paid as planned, again in 2019. The extensive workload demanded to make the recalculation and the fiscal gap in contributions in the Greek pension system creates space for possible future application. In this view, this paper focuses on the fiscal effect of the reduction of the personal difference in combination with the freeze in pension indexation.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ο Νόμος 4387/2016, γνωστός και ως ασφαλιστικό Κατρούγκαλου, από το όνομα του Υπουργού που το εισήγαγε, προβλέπει τον επανυπολογισμό των συντάξεων –κυρίων και επικουρικών– με ένα νέο τρόπο υπολογισμού. Ο επανυπολογισμός αφορά ένα ποσό το οποίο ονομάστηκε προσωπική διαφορά και αποτελεί το ποσό κατά το οποίο διαφέρει το θεωρητικό ποσό που θα έπρεπε να λαμβάνει ο ασφαλισμένος σε σχέση με αυτό που στην πραγματικότητα λάμβανε κατά την ψήφιση του Νόμου, το Μάιο του 2016. Στην πορεία, νομοθετήθηκε η περικοπή της προσωπικής διαφοράς για τους συνταξιούχους οι οποίοι λάμβαναν περισσότερα χρήματα με τον επανυπολογισμό καθώς και η σταδιακή επανόρθωση αυτών που λάμβαναν ποσά χαμηλότερα. Συνδυαστικά, ψηφίστηκε μηδενική αύξηση συντάξεων έως και το 2022. Παρότι το 2019 αποφεύχθηκε η περικοπή της προσωπικής διαφοράς, η ύπαρξη των υπολογισμών σε συνδυασμό με τις ελλείψεις εισφορές στο σύστημα κοινωνικής ασφάλισης δίνει λαβή για πιθανή μελλοντική επιβολή της περικοπής. Με τη λογική αυτή, η παρούσα εργασία επικεντρώνεται στο δημοσιονομικό αποτέλεσμα της εφαρμογής της περικοπής της προσωπικής διαφοράς συνδυαστικά με τη μηδενική αύξηση των συντάξεων.

KEY WORDS: Pension recalculations, Greek pension reform, personal difference in pensions

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Επανυπολογισμός συντάξεων, μεταρρύθμιση Ελληνικού συνταξιοδοτικού συστήματος, προσωπική διαφορά συντάξεων

1. Introduction

Following the Greek bailout program and the respective pension reforms since 2010, the newly elected –in 2015– left-wing party promised to change the pension legislation and did so in May 2016 with L.4387. Some parts of the 2010 legislation were kept intact, while others were extensively changed, especially in the pension calculation formulas which will be highlighted in the next chapters.

At the same time, L.4387/2016 acted a precursor of recalculation of all the existing pensions at the time the legislation was passed. Recalculation of pensions received great attention in Greece because of the fact that it also foresaw the reduction of the part of the pension that was outstanding. Even though skeptical at first, pensioners soon realized that the recalculations could easily lead to new reductions. The legal authorization of the reductions did come in July 2017, along with 3 years of no indexations for pensioners, with L.4472 followed by L.4475, which added one more year of no indexation. The second evaluation of the Greek bailout program of that time led to the government signing on the reductions taking place from January 2019 on, which practically meant that at the end of 2018, the pensions received by pensioners were calculated on the new formulas (pensions in Greece are paid a few days before the beginning of the month). As earlier reductions were horizontal, there have been people whose pensions were reduced greatly and these would see an increase after the recalculations.

However, the expected pension cuts did not take place in 2019 after all. After having negotiated with the Institutions¹, the government passed legislation in December 2018 which prevents the reductions. The same does not apply for the pensions for which larger amounts are calculated based on the new formula. These will be increased throughout a five-year transitional period. Finally, the freeze in pension indexation was not abolished.

2. The legal background

In Greece there are three pillars to the pension system. Pillar II accounts for Occupational Schemes (IORPS) and Pillar III for Private Insurance. Neither of the two is very popular though, thus the first Pillar, Social Security, accounts for the greatest part of the system. The latter operated as a Defined Benefit Pay-as-you-go system until recently (DB PAYG) and provided three types of benefits: a main pension, a secondary (auxiliary) pension, lump sum amounts and provident grants (EKAS). The secondary (auxiliary) pension has now been turned into a Notional Defined Contribution System. The system used to work on 14-time a year deposits. People would be paid 14 times a year, contributions would be made accordingly and pensions were also paid 14 times a year. After the reforms, benefits are paid 12 times a year only.

As stated earlier, L.4387/2016 was the one which called for new calculation formulas and recalculations of all existing pensions.

The reforms leading up to this last piece of legislation had brought on a lot of horizontal pension reductions. Most specifically, more than 12 pension reduction rounds were applied, yet not all applicable to everyone. However, since the reductions were blindfoldedly applied, there were lots of cases where people were actually being savagely wronged. One of these cases was studied at (Symeonidis Diliagka Tsetoura, 2014) and refers to the self-employed who were paying

higher contributions voluntarily and yet had their pensions reduced by 3 to 8 times more than the people who contributed the least possible.

Beyond the reductions, there was legislation passed in 2010 (L.3863/2010 and L.3865/2010). This would include a new calculation formula starting 2015, but was not implemented because the new government passed a different reform in May 2016. Hence, the 2010 reform was doomed to never be applied, however important pieces of it were included in the 2016 reform in an identical manner, the pension formula not being one of these pieces. The 2016 legislation is now the current.

In brief, this legislation calls for two components of the main pension. Firstly, one called National Pension and provided to those who have certain prerequisites including having resided in Greece for a minimum of years, as well as having contributed to the Greek pension system for a minimum of years. The full pension amount is provided based on certain minima being fulfilled, but at the same time one of these minima refers to years of service, it would be important to point out here this is indeed not a welfare grant, but rather a hybrid between a grant and an earnings-related pension amount. The idea behind it, as with most pension systems nowadays, is to promote longer working lives but also secure the safety net in order to cater for old-age poverty. In one word, it could be characterized as a bonus.

The full National pension amount is set at 384 euros at the onset of the system. Three possible reductions apply, based on years of service, years of residence in Greece, and statutory retirement age. To better understand how these reductions apply, let us look at the main options for retirement and possible divergence.

A full pension is considered when someone has 40 years of contributions at age 62, or at least 15 years of contributions at age 67². Any age between 62 and 67 is also available for retirement where there are 15 years of contributions but there is a 6% reduction yearly, for anyone who decides to take on this option.

The legislation also stipulates that 15 years of contributions will suffice for someone to get a National pension, however, the full amount is only provided for 20 years of service. From 15 to 20 years, a yearly reduction of 2% is applied. The reductions add up if the retiree to be has more than one source of reduction.

Finally, the reduction for non-residence in Greece is 1/40 per year for the full working life of 40 years.

If we leave this last reduction out as a special case, and focus on the other two which are the ones considered here, it would be interesting to help the reader with a few examples which will better help the incubation of these legislative prerequisites.

Table 1: Different values of the National pension for a few indicative cases of retirement

National pension amounts for different cases		
Age	Contribution years	Amount
67	20	384,00
67	15	345,60
65	20	337,92

63	17	274,33
63	15	262,66
62	20	268,80
62	15	241,92

Source: Calculations of the author

As stated earlier and can be inferred from the table above, the reductions add up for both early retirement age and reduced contribution years.

The second component of the main pension is contributory in essence and is calculated in marginal replacement rates that one can see below.

Table 2: Marginal replacement rates for the calculation of the contributory component of the main pension in L.4387/2016

Replacement Rates L.4387/2016 (marginal)	Classes based on years of service	
	From	to
0,77%	0	15
0,84%	15	18
0,90%	18	21
0,96%	21	24
1,03%	24	27
1,21%	27	30
1,42%	30	33
1,59%	33	36
1,80%	36	39
2,00%	39	42 +

Source: Legislation

Calculating the contributory part of the pension is practically the most difficult part both as far as data availability and complexity of the calculations are concerned.

To begin with, data on monthly income in Greece is widely available after 2002, when a new integrated information system (IIS)³ was implemented for the largest private sector pension fund (IKA). Therefore, legislation builds on that and suggests that the calculations are made on a post-2002 basis and then spread throughout the whole working period for new pensions. Another implication has to do with the indexation of income at the time of the calculations. Since the factor used is the consumer price index (CPI) and Greece experienced negative CPI values during the crisis, there had to be specific ways to avoid pension amounts being lowered.

As regards the complexity of calculations, this mostly affects the understanding and therefore ownership of the pension. As it becomes obvious in the calculations provided in the chapter to come, there is a very small portion of the population which could understand, let alone repro-

duce the calculation methods in order to identify the amount they would be getting and to some extent prioritize their needs and decide on possible retirement options. Needless to say that the agencies producing the pension amounts will have automated the process and therefore no need for the employees taking time to understand or reproduce lies. However, one would expect that there should be people trained for this task in order to keep the system up to date and scout for possible bugs and difficulties.

3. Calculation of new pensions

The new way of calculating the pensions became legally effective at the time of passing of the legislation in May 2016 and in essence somewhat later, when basic practical problems were solved.

One of the most important parameters is the CPI and its values starting from 2002, when all pensionable income is available for most of the insured. Let us look at the values of the CPI starting 2002 and follow the rules of the legislation along with secondary legislation⁴ in order to define the use of these values.

We derive the values from ELSTAT (2018) and proceed to suppose a simple time series of a person's income starting at 25.000 euro yearly in 2002 and maturing at 2% per year, all other variables steady.

This time series (1) would be in the form of:

25.000, 25.500, 26.010, 26.530, 27.061, 27.602, 28.154, 28.717, 29.291, 29.877, 30.475, 31.084, 31.706, 32.340, 32.987

for the years 2002-2016.

To reach the final average income at retirement, one would have to undergo the complex calculation including the aforementioned parameters and reach the final factor, which in our case is the average income amount, 2.586,65. This is now our most useful tool in order to derive the final pension amount.

We started the calculation at 2002, since this is the directive. However, we have not yet mentioned how long this person has actually been working, nor have we chosen a condition on his retirement date.

Therefore, let us create a few examples using this average income amount and simplifying by assuming that the person in question leaves the workforce at age 67, which is the statutory in most cases. In case this person has indeed been working for 15 years only, then the contributory part of the pension will be derived using the replacement rates in table 2. Hence, this part shall be equal to $2.586,65 * 0,77\% * 15 \text{ years of service} = 298,76 \text{ €}$.

Now, if the person retires at the age of 67 they are entitled to a National pension amount of $384 - 6\% * 5$ as described in chapter 2. Therefore, as in table 1, their National pension shall be equal to € 345,60. Adding these two components together, we derive a total pension amount of € 644,36. This shall indeed be their total pension amount under L.4387/2016.

If we stay with the average income amount and experiment with different values of years of service, e.g. 15, 20, 25, 30, 35 and 40, we can see the results below. Adding the National pension amount respectively, as discussed in Chapter 2, we can also see the total pension amount listed on the final column.

Table 3: Different calculations on the steady average income and respective National and total pension amounts

Years of service (person leaving at 67)	Contributory part with the average income amount set at 2.586,65 €	Respective National Pension amount €	Total pension amount in €
15	298,76	345,60	644,36
20	410,50	384,00	794,50
25	534,92	384,00	918,92
30	682,10	384,00	1066,10
35	874,55	384,00	1258,55
40	1107,08	384,00	1491,08

Source: Calculations of the author

4. Re-calculation of pensions paid in May 2016

As stated earlier, in May 2016, the legislation passed stipulates in article 14 that all existing main pensions at that time shall be recalculated based on the new pension formula. The main principle involved in the recalculations is the use of the average income as it was calculated at the time of the original calculation of each and every retiree. Since the average income is the main variable needed to calculate pensions with the new legislation, this simplifies things to a certain level. On the other hand, it is deemed necessary that all the average income data shall be indeed available, an assumption which calls for a lot of discussion and is up to this day not reaffirmed. A similar process has been voted for the secondary pension, but it is not analyzed in this paper.

Immediately after the voting of the legislation, people and the media were anxious⁵ that new pension reductions could be applied in the long term. This principle, even though fiercely thwarted by the government, became prevalent as the mere recalculation of the pensions was such a big undertaking, that no other practical application was left to justify the cause. This turmoil lasted until late 2018, when the reductions were cancelled for 2019.

The original article stated that if the new pension amount, starting January 2019, exceeded the pension amount paid to the pensioner in December 2018, the amount in excess will still continue to be paid to the pensioner until it is offset by possible future pension indexation.

After negotiations with the Institutions, the Greek government succeeded in avoiding the pension reductions, at the same time implementing the increases where applicable. This was based on L. 4583, voted for in December 2018. There is, however, the question of whether the financial well-being of the social security system will allow for the reductions to not be applied in the years to come as well. The Institutions as well as the government have both agreed in non-implementation in 2019, which leaves a grey area for the future. Hopefully the fiscal situation will allow for the reductions to be evadable.

Now, to understand the reductions and count their fiscal impact, let us make the following calculations, starting from an example of a worker. If someone was paid 1.000 euros per month in December 2018 and his new pension amount when recalculated was 980 euros, then the remain-

ing 20 euros would not be subtracted from the pension amount in January 2019. If, however, an indexation of 3% was given to pension in 2019, then this would be applied to the amount of 980 euros and the pensioner would get 1.009,4 euros instead of $1.000 \cdot 1,03 = 1030$ euros.

If the recalculated pension amount was found to be higher than the one paid in December 2018, the remainder would then be paid to the pensioner starting January 2019, in increments of 1/5 of the total remainder, starting from the conclusion of the fiscal supervision program. Therefore, if the program concludes in 2018, the new –full– pension amount would be paid to the pensioner for the first time in 2023.

(MoL 2016a), as corrected with (MoL 2016b) and the delegated (subordinate) legislation of L.4387/2016, described the method of the recalculations more extensively. The most important variable remains the average income as calculated at the time of the original retirement and the marginal replacement rates of Table 1 are applied to this amount. Finally, the respective National pension amount is added to the contributory part giving us the final pension amount of the recalculation. The Ministerial Decree (MD) further analyzes cases where presumptive earnings are used rather than actual income (this applies to the self-employed mainly) and restates the respective articles of L.4387/2016.

The MD also states for the first time that the relative data pertaining to the average income have to be available and refers to the respective agencies in charge of reaffirming this. Even more importantly, it is stated that in case the necessary data is not indeed available, other statistical data of some analogy have to be used. This of course leaves room for great errors and major inequalities between people whose data are available in full, and those whose data are not. A safety valve has been set, however, that if the pension paid and recalculated amount differ more than 5%, then an extra audit of the original available data shall be made, trying to cross-link possibly existent data from multiple databases. This could also potentially lead to delays to the application of the new pension amounts.

At that point in time, June 2016, the MD repeated the notion that the possible remainder of the pension amount paid versus the one recalculated would still be payable to pensioners and offset with possible future indexation of pensions. The same applies for possible larger amounts, which would be payable at 1/5 per year for a five-year period following the termination of the fiscal supervision. The difference between the amount paid and the one recalculated has been named personal difference⁶ of the pensioners and is quoted as such in most legal texts in Greek.

The recalculation period was set to be at 10% finished in December 2016 as a pilot and then after another two time points, to have been completely finished and registered in the new IIS⁷ in September 30th, 2017. The pensioners whose pensions have been recalculated would rightfully be informed of the changes at a certain point in time, obviously preceding the application of the new amounts. Nevertheless, the agencies whose work is related to pensions had not officially announced having concluded the workload based on time schedules and the pensioners themselves had not received any kind of information on the recalculation when they should have, without this being proof that the job had not been finished in time.

In May 2017, the reduction became official starting January 2019, as part of legislation that finalized the second assessment of the Greek bailout program. L.4472/2017 stipulated that starting January 2019, the pension amount of people whose recalculated amount was less than the one paid would be reduced imminently. An 18% ceiling was set for the reduction, calling for the further amount to be offset with possible pension indexation in the future. For example, if a pensioner was due for a 30% reduction, an imminent 18% would have been applied in January

2019 and the rest of the reduction, 12%, would have been offset in the future with respective indexation. The same law called for 0% indexation on pensions until 2021, and L.4475/2017 voted for in June, called for 0% indexation on pensions for 2022 as well. This sentences pensioners to a reduction in their standard of living of at least another five years, not taking into consideration the ones that would need to offset their possible remainder beyond the 18% reduction. Of course, there are still people whose recalculated pension amount is higher and paid in 1/5 increments for five years, after the end of the bailout program. The finalization of the current –and last until now bailout– program was on Tuesday, August 21st, 2018.

The main result of the reductions based on recalculations was initially the fiscal alleviation from a part of the public pension expenditure. The fiscal results of the first three years are recorded in the Medium Term Fiscal Strategy (MTFS) and can be viewed in the table below, along with the expected result from the freezing of pension indexation for the respective years. One has to read this table keeping in mind two important things. Firstly, the amounts mentioned for recalculations would have been reduced one-off in December 2018, aiming at the pension referring to January 2019. These reductions, around 2 billion euros, would only take place once, but the fiscal alleviation would continue as long as pensioners who were in the system at that very moment continued to be there. Therefore, the projection of the reduced expenditure would continue saving money for decades, even though applicable just once. Secondly, the reduction stemming from the freezing of the indexation on pensions works additively. The amount not credited to pensioners in the first year as an indexation adds up to the amount not credited the second year, as the amount projected is somewhat smaller. Therefore, the reduction follows an arithmetic sequence.

Table 4: Fiscal savings due to the recalculations and freezing of pension indexation

	2019	2020	2021	2022
Fiscal saving due to recalculations	2.133	2.066	2.001	
Cumulative fiscal saving due to the freezing of pensions indexation	128	292	504	=504+250=754
Total fiscal saving	2.261	2.358	2.505	754

Source: General Accounting Office, Ministry of Finance of Greece

It is really interesting to mention at this point that the initial savings amount as a product of recalculation was provided by the General Accounting Office⁸ under no clear terms of how it was calculated. At the best experience of the author, this amount was determined as a total and then, through the analysis of the possible reductions using the new pension formula calculations, the 18% reduction cap in 2019 was set. Moreover, the evolution of the amount for years 2020 and 2021 was provided without the necessary methodology with which it was calculated. In this case however, as the initial population of the pensioners in the system in 2019 die, the abovementioned amount could be projected using the percentages of pensioners dying every year from the respective valuation of HAA (2015). These percentages are calculated using the initial available pensioners' population for each year and the way it evolves. The results are depicted in the table below for every five years.

Table 5: Percentages of reduction of the population of pensioners initially in the system (January 2019)

Percentages of reduction of the population of pensioners initially in the system (January 2019)	
Year	Percentage
2020	-5%
2025	-5%
2030	-6%
2035	-8%
2040	-10%
2045	-12%
2050	-14%
2055	-13%
2060	-9%

Source: calculations of the author

By applying these percentages to the initial amount we derive the respective amounts which would be fiscally removed each year. The results are depicted in the table below, again every five years.

Table 6: Reduction in benefit expenditure as a result of the recalculation of pensions in absolute values, current prices, in mil. Euros and respective % GDP values

Year	Reduction in benefit expenditure in mil. Euros	% GDP reduction in benefit expenditure
2019	2.133	1,1
2020	2.066	1,0
2025	1.627	0,7
2030	1.199	0,4
2035	823	0,2
2040	510	0,1
2045	281	0,1
2050	139	0,0
2055	68	0,0
2060	39	0,0

Source: calculations of the author

Following the same principal of calculations and Table 5, we can generate the respective results for the fiscal gains from the freezing of the indexation of pensions for years 2019 to 2022. There, the amount projected will be the final one for 2022, as this is the one legislated thus far, and hopefully the last year that the pensioners will see their pensions frozen. The reader is reminded that pension indexation freezing is still applied, in contrast to reductions which were cancelled. The results for this calculation are depicted in the table below:

Table 7: Total fiscal gains in benefit expenditure from the freezing of pension indexation in absolute values, current prices, in mil. Euros and respective % GDP values

Year	Reduction in benefit expenditure in mil. Euros	% GDP reduction in benefit expenditure
2019	128	0,1
2020	754	0,1
2025	644	0,3
2030	474	0,2
2035	326	0,1
2040	202	0,1
2045	111	0,0
2050	55	0,0
2055	27	0,0
2060	15	0,0

Source: Calculations of the author

The two different reductions have now got to be added together in order to account for the total fiscal gains and in order to assess the total impact. The respective –coherent– results can be viewed in the table below.

Table 8: Reduction in benefit expenditure from recalculation of pensions and the freezing of pension indexation in absolute values, current prices, in mil. Euros and respective % GDP values

Year	Reduction in benefit expenditure in mil. Euros	% GDP reduction in benefit expenditure
2019	2.261	1,1
2022	2.659	1,1
2025	2.270	1
2030	1.673	0,6
2035	1.148	0,3

2040	712	0,2
2045	393	0,1
2050	194	0
2055	94	0
2060	54	0

Source: Calculations of the author

The fact that the reductions were not applied in 2019, as stated earlier, does not definitely mean they will not be applied in the future. Having this in mind, the years that the above calculations were made can be presumed for later points in time.

5. Technical analysis, adequacy of data, time frames and the interference of standard of living of the pensioners as well as political planning

The recalculation of pensions is a many-fold task and –as analyzed above– it requires all of the correct preparation, the adequacy of respective data, the timely extraction of the expected results as well as possible cross-examination of pensions whose amounts do not meet the 5% criterion (see chapter 4 for more information) as far as divergence from the originally paid amount is concerned. Already, the timely release of the new recalculated amounts has failed multiple times in the past as it was not timely available when originally planned to the final users, the pensioners themselves.

However, another important parameter is added to the aforementioned, that of the standard of living of pensioners and the attempt to preserve it. It goes without saying that, even though no sane person maintains that the reduction of pensions is a positive thing and there are ethical issues in question when reductions are applied, the fiscal analysis calls for one immediately. The balance of income/outgo in the main and secondary pension in Greece is at 50% at this point with contributions being almost 12 billion per year, while benefit expenditure rises to almost double, at 24 billion euros.

The above reasons mingle with political planning, as pension reductions have proven to be a critical point of survival of each and every government elected in the time of the fiscal crisis in Greece, but even before that.

For these reasons (ethical and political), the government which originally passed the 2016 legislation as well as the one in 2017, sealing the 2019 reductions, has pressed and succeeded in reversing these for now. It does not remain certain that the reductions will not be applied in the future. However, judging from recorded material of the Minister in charge herself, even if a reduction were to be applied, this could be smaller. Addressing a conference in Brussels in June 2018, the Minister of Labor, Effie Achtsioglou⁹ mentioned that the government was looking into using the excessive primary surplus of 2018 to reduce the maximum rate of pension cuts from 18 percent –to have been applied starting January 2019– or find other means of easing the pressure on the pensioners that suffer the reductions. More statements arose from both government

members and Troika representatives in the following months with the International Monetary Fund (IMF 2018) clearly pointing towards timely application of the reductions. As an election is legally planned for October of 2019, following a four-year term based on constitution, the reductions are indeed also a matter of political planning besides any other variable affecting them. If the reductions are applied in the future and to what extent, remains to be seen.

The complexity of the formulae, the time needed for the new system to incubate, the availability of data and the respective specialized workforce will of course play their own part in what becomes of the implementation of what was legally a solid pension reduction to begin with. And even though the announcements made and the recorded headway of the recalculations was not made public as it proceeded, the necessity of the actual implementation might be underlined by the growing fiscal gap in the social protection budget. The only true answer to the question of pension reductions, however, is growth, part and parcel with increased contributions to cater for present benefits.

Notes

1. European Commission, European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund, formerly referred to as the Troika as regards the Greek bail-out program
2. As of 2021, the statutory retirement ages are expected to increase by a portion of the increase in life expectancy. Such an increase is not discussed here because it lies beyond the scope of this article.
3. The Greek name and acronym for this system is Ολοκληρωμένο Πληροφοριακό Σύστημα (Ο.Π.Σ.).
4. Circural ΑΔΑ: 7ΙΣΒ465Θ1Ω-ΘΕΒ <https://diavgeia.gov.gr/doc/7%CE%99%CE%A3%CE%92465%CE%981%CE%A9-%CE%98%CE%95%CE%92>
5. <http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/kindynos-meiosis-ton-syntaxon-apo-2019-me-katargisi-tis-prosopikis-diaforas>
<http://www.capital.gr/oikonomia/3132712/nees-perikopes-stis-suntaxeis-krubei-i-prosopiki-diafora>
6. The Greek term is “προσωπική διαφορά”.
7. A core role is attributed to a non-profit limited company operating in the public interest by the name Social Insurance E-Governance (IDIKA) (Greek name and acronym is Ηλεκτρονική Διακυβέρνηση Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης – ΗΔΙΚΑ), website: <http://www.idika.gr/>. This could be acknowledged as an intricate evolution of the original IIS of IKA.
8. The exact text was submitted along with the draft of L.4472/2017 and can be found at <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/c8827c35-4399-4fbb-8ea6-aebdc768f4f7/10057358.pdf>, page 32, II, 1.
9. <http://www.ekathimerini.com/229632/article/ekathimerini/business/achtsioglou-promises-relief-for-pensioners-who-suffer-fresh-cuts>

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Biographical note

George Symeonidis is a Board Member of the Hellenic Actuarial Authority, which monitors pension expenditure in Greece yearly through actuarial analysis. In the past, he has independently produced actuarial valuations for several Greek funds. He follows the Ageing Working Group, the EU subgroup which monitors age related spending in the long-term. Since 2006, he has collaborated closely with the International Labor Organization and has been trained on the ILO model in Geneva. His education includes Pure and Applied Mathematics at a graduate and postgraduate level as well as certified knowledge of Economics used in actuarial valuations. He issues a paper on the Greek Pension System and its recent reform process every year. Address: Hellenic Actuarial Authority, Stadiou 29, Athens, 10110, Greece. Email: g.simeonidis@eaa.gr, george.simeonidis@gmail.com