

# Socio-Economic Transformations and the Changing Patterns of Political Order: from the Perspective of Welfare State Theory<sup>1)</sup>

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## 【Abstract】

Advanced capitalist societies are experiencing new political phenomena these days. These include the rise of right-wing populism and radical left-wing movements, growing apathy among people towards public problems, inflow of immigrants and foreign workers, declining ability of states to provide social protection, rising importance of the market in public policy, rise of non-state actors, such as NGOs, NPOs, and so on. To be sure, political scientists dealt with these issues separately and accumulated knowledge regarding them which had its own academic value. However, because of focusing on individual issues, they overlooked the whole picture of political order in the new era and did not capture the structural causation behind it. Thus, we cannot fully understand why advanced societies simultaneously faced similar problems.

This paper analyzes the characteristics and bases of political order from the perspective of welfare state theory. In this context, welfare state

means the political system which provides citizens living within the national community with social protection and attains their political support through public policies. Thus, welfare state theory helps show the whole picture of political order and grasp the structural causation behind it. Through focusing on political actors, policy autonomy, and state apparatus, this paper draws a contrast between welfare states before and after globalization and post-industrialization. This paper shows that welfare state is transforming from the Keynesian welfare state to the competitive welfare state. Moreover, the pattern of social integration is also shifting from the interest mediation through class-based parties and groups and the redistribution of wealth among citizens through state intervention which enhanced equality to the volatility of interest mediation and the unequal redistribution of wealth. Finally, these changes imply the crisis of liberal democracy as the postwar model.

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## 1. Introduction: The Debate on New Political Phenomena

Advanced capitalist societies are experiencing new political phenomena these days. These include the rise of right-wing populism and radical left-wing movements, growing apathy among people towards public problems, inflow of people who have no nationality, declining ability of states to provide social protection, rising importance of the market in public policy, rise of non-state actors, and so on. For example, we can see new types of political leaders, such as Donald Trump in the USA and Boris Johnson in the UK, who are sometimes considered populist. Moreover, we can see new political movements on both sides of political stance. The left includes Podemos in Spain, Syriza in Greece, and the Occupy Movement in the USA. The right includes AfD in Germany and National Rally in France. People who live within national communities are also changing. While the political indifference is growing, the number of people without a nationality, such as foreign workers is rising. Thus, the commitment to political concerns is declining. The role of states in public life is also transforming. While social protection provided by the state is fragile, the market has a dominant presence in the field of not only economic policy, but also social and employment policies. The state shares its power with other actors, such as IOs, NGOs, and NPOs.

To be sure, political scientists dealt with the above-mentioned issues separately and accumulated knowledge regarding them. While the rise of populism and radical movements is one of the most discussed issues in political science (Mude and Kaltwasser 2017, Muller 2017, Mouffe 2017), declining commitment to politics is also discussed (Hay 2007, Stoker 2016). Moreover, the influence of immigration on politics is also examined in social science

(Castles and Miller 2009). In addition, the theory of governance explores the changing role of states (Bevir 2012, Bell and Hindmore 2009, Pierre and Peters 2000). These studies possess their own academic value. For example, we can understand the characteristics and causation behind the above-mentioned political phenomena in details. However, because of focusing on individual issues, they overlooked the whole picture of political order in the new era and did not capture the structural causation behind it. Thus, we cannot fully understand why advanced societies faced the similar problems at the same time. In other words, we need an analytical framework for appreciating the political order as a whole.

This paper analyzes the characteristics and bases of political order from the perspective of welfare state theory. As shown in the next section, welfare state implies a political system which provides citizens living within the national community with social protection and attains their political support through public policies. Thus, welfare state theory helps show the whole picture of political order and grasp the structural causation behind it. It shows that globalization and post-industrialization were turning points in the development of welfare states. While the welfare states prior to these socio-economic phenomena were said to be in their golden age, the welfare state after them were said to be in their silver age (Ferrera 2008). This paper contrasts the golden age with the silver age by focusing on political actors, policy options, and state apparatus. This paper shows that the welfare state is changing from the Keynesian welfare state to the competitive welfare state. Moreover, the pattern of social integration is also shifting from interest mediation through class-based parties and groups and the redistribution of wealth among citizens through state intervention which enhanced equality to the volatility of interest

mediation and the unequal redistribution of wealth. Finally, these changes imply the crisis of liberal democracy as the postwar model.

## 2. The Welfare State and its Transformation

This section goes back to the definition of the welfare state and considers the analytical implications of it. Moreover, socio-economic transformations, such as globalization and post-industrialization are important for analyzing the characteristics of a welfare state.

The standard textbooks<sup>2)</sup> in social science define the welfare state in several ways. David Garland, who is a sociologist, characterizes the welfare state as “welfare for the poor,” “social insurance, social rights, and social services,” and “economic management (Garland 2016, pp. 7–8).” He insisted that the welfare state consisted of five institutional sectors, including “social insurance,” “social assistance,” “public funded social services,” “social work and personal social services,” and “economic governance (ibid. p. 46).” Nicolas Barr, whose major is Economy, showed “the welfare state exists to enhance the welfare of people” who 1) “are weak and vulnerable,” 2) “are poor” and 3) “are neither vulnerable nor poor (Barr 2004, p. 7).” Christopher Pierson, who is political scientist, defined the welfare state as “state measures for meeting key welfare needs” in a narrow sense, and “1) a particular form of state; 2) a distinctive form of polity; 3) a specific type of society” in a broad sense (C. Pierson 2008, p. 10). Importantly, these showed that the welfare state exists not only for the poor, but for everyone. Moreover, the welfare state is the core of economic governance and political stability which make social integration possible in an advanced capitalist society. According to these textbooks, I

define welfare state as the political system which provides citizens living within the national community with social protection and attains their political support through public policies (c.f. Kato 2012, Kato 2017). In other words, welfare state is the political order that can accomplish not only economic growth and social development, but also provides political support through state interventions. Thus, welfare state fulfills economic prosperity, political stability, and social integration at the same time.

This definition has implications. First, welfare state is a historical existence (C. Pierson 2008, Garland 2016). This implies that the welfare state presupposed representative democracy, capitalist economy, modernization (i.e., urbanization, industrialization, and decline of traditional ties), modern bureaucracy, liberal international economy, and so on. In other words, because of the rise of unemployment produced by capitalist economy, and the decline of traditional welfare provided by family and voluntary organizations, the welfare state was needed by the citizens who had suffrage. Second, welfare state is a political project (Gamble 2016, Kuhnle and Sander 2010, C. Pierson 2008). The above-mentioned definition shows that the welfare state have not only social and economic functions (i.e., the accomplishment of economic growth and providing social protection), but also political functions (i.e., social integration through acquiring political support). In other words, clarifying the characteristics of a welfare state allowed us to understand the political order at that time. Third, welfare state can have different forms (Jessop 2002, Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999). While the form of welfare state is constrained by the socio-economic and political contexts, a state has diverse options of providing social protection at a given time. Thus, welfare state theory has two frameworks to capture the characteristics of a welfare state. One is the stage

theory for understanding the diachronic similarity of welfare states (Jessop 2002). The other is the typology of welfare state at that time (Esping-Andersen 1990 1999). Since this paper considers the features of political order, we focused on the former.

As mentioned previously, the socio-economic and political contexts influence the form of welfare state. According to welfare state theory, globalization and post-industrialization were turning points in the development of welfare states (Armingeon and Bonoli 2005, Tayler-Gooby 2004). Thus, some scholars said that while the period of the welfare state before these socio-economic transformations was considered the golden age, the period of the welfare state after them is considered the silver age (Ferrera 2008)<sup>3</sup>. Before exploring their impact on political order, we should understand their meaning.

Generally speaking, globalization was regarded as the increased flow of capital, money, goods, information, and people. In the academic circle, while there are many definitions and discussion on globalization, there are some similarities (Held et al. 1999, Steger 2017). According to Steger, who is famous for globalization studies, globalization is defined as “the expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across world time and world space (Steger 2017, p. 15).” This implies that the process was already ongoing. Thus, we must focus on the features of globalization in recent times (i.e., from the 1980’s). In this context, the concept of neoliberalism is useful. While there are surely many definitions of neoliberalism (Birch 2018), the scholars who use this term agree with the tendencies of society (Steger and Roy 2010, Harvey 2005, Cahill and Konings 2017). That is, the concept of neoliberalism means 1) the predominance of economy over other areas, and 2) the importance

of market as coordinate mechanism in economy and other areas. Thus, we consider contemporary globalization as a neoliberal one, meaning the expansion and intensification of market mechanism through domestic and global politics in each policy area (e.g., not only economic, but also social policy) and each level (e.g., national, local, and global). Post-industrialization was ordinarily considered as the shift in industrial structure from manufacture-centered economy to service-sector-centered economy. In welfare state theory, it is used as a useful word to understand the endogenous changes in the welfare state development (P. Pierson 2001, chapter 3). P. Pierson showed that post-industrialization consists of four trends: the rise of service economy, the change in population composition (i.e., ageing and the decline of fertility), the maturation of social policy program, and the change in gender roles (i.e., the rise of women workers) (ibid.).

Important point is that these socio-economic transformations have greatly impacted political order, but their direction is indeterminate. For example, because neoliberal globalization may intensify the competition between/within advanced and developing countries, it constrains the government's policy options. However, the way states enhance the competitiveness is an open question and depends on a given situation. Moreover, the rise of service economy produces the risk of unemployment, resulting in the need for new social policies. However, there are some policy options for easing this. The change in population composition and maturation of social policy also produces financial problems of social security, which presses the try to reform the welfare state. However, the governments have some options to reform this. While the change in gender roles brings the need for social care, there are some options for mitigating it too. Thus, changes which come from post-



industrialization also do not determine the policy options but constrain it. In short, two socio-economic transformations may have a great effect on the welfare state. However, this effect is analytically unexpected. Thus, we should explore actual studies.

### 3. Political Order Before Socio-Economic Transformations: The Keynesian Welfare State

This section investigates the features of welfare state in the golden age. The welfare state in its golden age is considered as the Keynesian welfare state<sup>4)</sup> (Offe 1984, Jessop 2002), which comes from the importance of demand management policy and redistribution of wealth through state intervention. This policy mix originated from John Maynard Keynes, who is one of the greatest economists of the 20th century. To begin with, this section shows the economic, social, political bases, and policy features of the Keynesian welfare state. Next, we analyze its characteristics focusing on political actors, policy autonomy, and state apparatus. Finally, we clarify the mode of social integration related with political legitimacy.

First, we show the bases and policy features of the Keynesian welfare state<sup>5)</sup>. 1) As for the economic base, “the embedded liberalism” in international economy (Ruggie 1982) and the “Fordism (Boyer 1990)” in domestic formation. The embedded liberalism meant that some IOs (i.e., IMF, GATT, and IBRD) kept the international economy liberal, but every country had policy autonomy in domestic issues. Fordism showed that every country could accomplish economic growth through mass production/consumption and harmonious labor relations which were based on state intervention. Thus, the economic

base is the economic growth and redistribution through state intervention. 2) As for the social base, the stability of employment and family based on the sexual division of labor (Lewis 1992, Orloff 1993) and economic growth. The stability of employment means that male workers were guaranteed with long-term employment and good wages through harmonious labor relations under economic growth (Boyer 1990). The stability of family and sexual division of labor means that women mainly engaged in housework (and care for the aged and children) and/or supplementary work. In short, the social base is the centrality of family welfare and the male breadwinner model. 3) As for political base, the consensus on economic growth, and (re)distribution among citizens in party politics and labor politics (Ono 2000, Gamble 2016). Major political parties (not only left/progressive, but also right/conservative) agreed with economic growth and (re)distribution of wealth among citizens. Moreover, the agreement between capitalists and laborers on mixed capitalist economy and representative democracy was emerging. In other words, the political base is the consensus on economic system and polity. To ensure these mix well, a particular policy mix was needed (Kato 2012): to support economic growth, the macro demand management (e.g., counter cyclical policy) as economic policy (Jessop, 2002), and to support the life during income loss, the de-commodification (e.g., the improvement of cash benefit) as social policy (Esping-Andersen 1990).

Next, we move to political actors, policy autonomy, and state apparatus of the Keynesian welfare state based on above-mentioned discussion. As for political actors, given the national community which presupposed the conformity to nationality, people's interests were conveyed to the decision-making process by class-based parties and groups. As for policy autonomy,

nation-states had high autonomy regarding policy choice based on a relatively closed world economy. As for state apparatus, the state as actor was the most important within the political order (e.g., politics directly controlled market; nation-states had responsibility of providing social protection through public policy). Further, we consider the mode of social integration. Before exploring it, we clarify the concept of social integration in this context. I use this term as the continuous and stable achievement of political legitimacy. In considering the way in which political legitimacy is achieved, the distinction of legitimacy proposed by Fritz Scharpf, a famous social scientist from Germany was very useful (Scharpf 1996, 1999). According to Scharpf, the legitimacy of political system consists of “input” and “output.” The former means that citizen’s view and opinion are appropriately represented and conveyed to the decision-making process. The latter means that citizen’s preference is appropriately reflected in public policy. Given the input and output legitimacy, above-mentioned discussion shows the mode of social integration as follows: 1) based on the importance of materialistic value, class-based parties and groups input their interests into the political system (input side), and 2) governments directly (re) distribute the wealth to provide social protection and maintain political support through public policies (output side). However, there are some excluded issues, such as gender equality and ecology (C. Pierson 2008). In other words, the Keynesian welfare state is based on the productivism (Goodin 2001) and male breadwinner model (cf. Lewis 1992, Orloff 1993) (figure 1).

Thus, considering the bases and features of the Keynesian welfare state allowed us to understand the conditions and presupposition within which this model could work well in the economic, social, and political sense. If socio-economic transformations undermined the bases of it, it could not work and

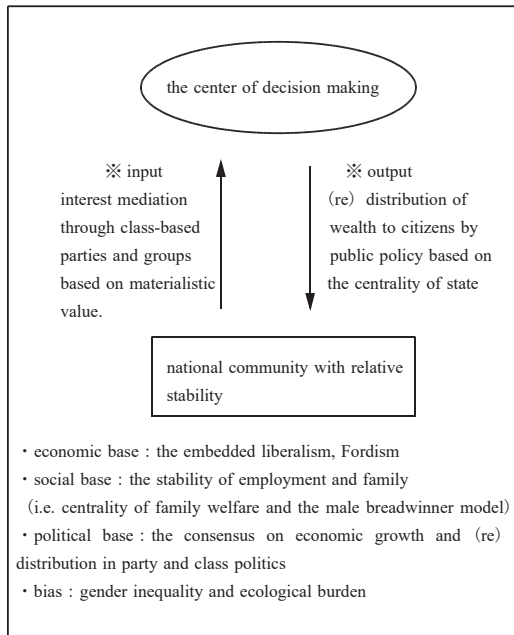


figure 1. social integration of the welfare state

would try to seek a new model of social integration under new socio-economic transformations.

#### 4. Political Order After Socio-Economic Transformations: The Competitive Welfare State

This section explores features of the welfare state in the silver age. To begin with, we show that neoliberal globalization and post-industrialization eroded the bases of the Keynesian welfare state. Next, we analyze the new emerging welfare state focusing on the economic, social, political bases, and policy features. Moreover, we consider the political actors, policy autonomy,

and state apparatus. Finally, we clarify the mode of social integration which is related with political legitimacy.

As mentioned above, the form of welfare state depends on socio-economic and political contexts. If the socio-economic context changes, however, its impact on the welfare state may be indeterminate. The welfare state has its own dynamism. Thus, we must consider if neoliberal globalization and post-industrialization undermined the bases of the Keynesian welfare state. Scholars of welfare state theory insist that two socio-economic transformations were turning points in welfare state development (Ferrera 2008, Jessop, 2002, Tayler-Gooby 2004, Bonoli and Armingeon 2005). While neoliberal globalization made state intervention in economy illegitimate and ineffective, market mechanisms were regarded as important. The rise of service economy made economic growth more difficult, enhanced the risk of unemployment, and increased atypical work. Change in population composition and gender roles brought the need for new social policy, such as social care and gender equality programs. Globalization and the rise of service economy enhanced the need for active labor market policy. Finally, because of change in power balance between capitalists and laborers, class-based groups and parties (especially, labor union and social democratic party) became weaker. In short, because the socio-economic transformations eroded the bases of the Keynesian welfare state, it did not work well under new situations and led to new social problems which were called the “new social risks<sup>6)</sup>” (Tayler-Gooby 2004, Bonoli and Armingeon 2005). As result, each country tried to adapt the political order to new socio-economic contexts, leading to the emergence of the new welfare state.

While each scholar of welfare state theory used different terms (Armingeon

and Bonoli 2005, Jessop 2002, Morel et al. 2012)<sup>7)</sup>, they have the same opinion that the welfare state experienced big qualitative and radical changes (cf. Hall, 1993)<sup>8)</sup>. For example, the policy objects are changing from economic growth with full employment and the expansion of social rights to the rise of international competitiveness and the social inclusion through enhancement of agency or emphasis on self-help (Kato 2012). Thus, policy instruments are also changing from macro demand management (economic policy) and de-commodification policies (social policy) to the micro supply side, re-commodification, and de-familiarization policies. Due to the importance of change in policy objects, this paper defined the emerging welfare state (or welfare state in the silver age) as the competitive welfare state.

Next, we show the bases and policy features of the competitive welfare state<sup>9)</sup>. 1) As for the economic base, neoliberal international economy system (Boyer 2011), and Post Fordism (Boyer 2007, Jessop 2002). Neoliberal globalization made the international economic system more market-friendly. Post Fordism means that main growth sector was changing from manufacturing to high-technology and knowledge-based sector and from mass production-based manufacturing to flexible manufacturing. Thus, market mechanism was regarded as main instruments to improve competitiveness in world economy, which changed the object of economic policies. 2) As for the social base, the instability of employment and diversity of family (Giddens 1990, 1991). The change in economic bases resulted in the instability of employment, yielding the growth of precarious work (e.g., risk of unemployment, low wage, and bad labor conditions). The diversity of family included the decline of nuclear family, the rise of other family models (e.g., single, parents with no children), and the rise of female labor participation. Thus, these changes imply the limits of family welfare and rise of new social risks. To do so, the object of

social policies is changing. 3) As for the political base, the decline of class-based parties and interest groups, and the rise of new political actors (Ono 2000). The change of power balance between capitalist and laborers, rise of diversified or indifferent individuals, inflow of people without suffrage brought radical changes in political input. For example, we faced the decline of class-based parties and groups (especially, labor union and left-wing parties). Moreover, mentioned in the introduction, we faced the rise of new political actors (e.g., left libertarian parties, populists, extreme right-wing parties, new social movements, right and left radical movements). Importantly, people who do not want to participate or cannot participate in politics were increasing. The former implies politically indifferent people. The latter implies social excluded people, foreign workers, and immigrants. Thus, these changes imply instability and fluidity of political support for a new political order. As mentioned above, the policy objects and instruments are also changing (Kato 2012): economic policy is the micro supply side policy to improve the competitiveness, social policy is the re-commodification and de-familiarization policy to deal with the new social risks (e.g., workfare, cutting unemployment benefits, activation, social investment, reform of care services).

Then, we move on to the political actors, policy autonomy, and state apparatus of competitive welfare state based on above-mentioned discussion. As for political actors, while we find the decline of class-based parties and groups and the rise of new political actors, these changes do not represent citizen's interests adequately. Moreover, the inflow of immigrants and the rise of the politically apathetic and socially excluded people show an existence outside the political system. As for policy autonomy, because of neoliberal globalization which promoted the introduction of market mechanism, the nation-state lost

the autonomy in policy choices (especially, economic policies). However, the diversity of the competitive welfare state (see note 9) implied that they had some autonomy in social and labor market policies. As for state apparatus, while the centrality of state is weakening, the importance of non-state actors (e.g., market, NPOs, NGOs, community, IOs, independent public body) is rising. However, states have their own role as the center of governance (Bell and Hindmore 2009). As for the mode of social integration, the input of interests into the political system is diversified (i.e., the decline of class-based parties and groups, the rise of new political actors) (input side). However, this new situation cannot represent citizen's interests adequately. Importantly, there is the existence outside the political system. The governments provide social protection through diverse options (not only direct public policy, but also the use of market, NPO, community) (output side). However, states could not fully control economy and society. Moreover, the social protection was not distributed equally and fairly. In other words, despite of the improvement in gender biases through de-familiarization policy, social divide (e.g. inequality, dualism, social exclusion) widened (figure 2).

In short, while the two socio-economic transformations eroded the bases of the Keynesian welfare state, the new welfare state emerged. The competitive welfare state has own economic, social, political bases, policy features, and the mode of social integration. Thus, we can consider the competitive welfare state as the new political order. However, it has own weakness and problems, such as malfunction of input and output. The former is the existence outside the political system and volatility of interest mediation. The latter is the provision of unequal and unfair social protection, which produced social divide. In conclusion, we consider the implications of this paper.



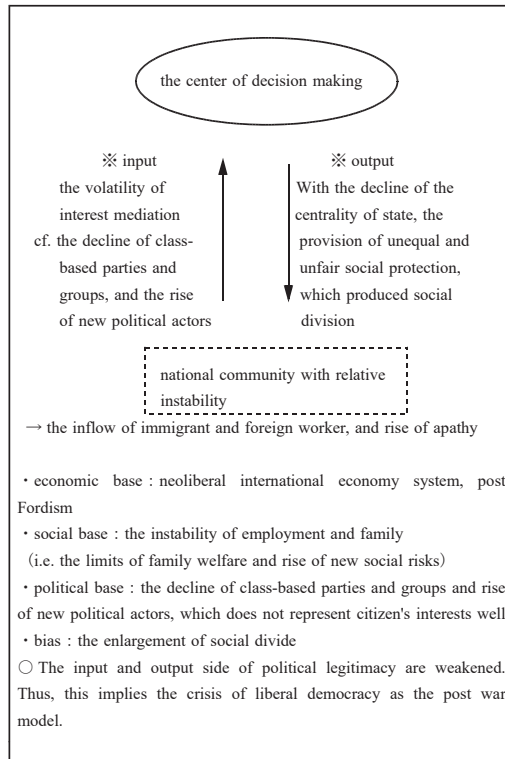


figure 2. social integration of the competitive welfare state

## 5. Conclusion: The Crisis and Future of Liberal Democracy

While advanced capitalist societies experienced new political phenomena, we could not understand why these phenomena were occurring simultaneously and across different countries. While political scientists accumulated knowledge on individual issues which had its own academic value, they could not capture adequately the whole picture of political order<sup>10)</sup>. This paper tried to

understand the changing patterns of political order from the perspective of welfare state theory.

Faced with neoliberal globalization and post-industrialization, the welfare state is changing from the Keynesian welfare state in the postwar era to the competitive welfare state in recent times. The Keynesian welfare state was based on the “embedded liberalism” and “Fordism”, stability of employment and family based on sexual division of labor, consensus on economic growth and (re) distribution to citizens within party and labor politics, and the macro demand management policy and de-commodification policy. Two socio-economic transformations eroded the bases of the Keynesian welfare state. As result, the competitive welfare state was emerging. It was based on the neoliberal international economy system and post Fordism, instability of employment and diversity of family, decline of class-based parties and interest groups and the rise of new political actors, and the micro supply side policy, re-commodification and de-familiarization policies.

Following the radical change of welfare state, the political order consisting of political actors, policy autonomy, and state apparatus is also changing. As for political actors, while class-based parties and groups are declining, new political actors are emerging. However, these changes do not represent citizen's interests well, implying the volatility of political support. As result, the dissatisfaction with and distrust towards politics is rising. Moreover, with the inflow of immigration, maintaining national community is becoming more and more difficult. Thus, there is the existence outside the political system. As for policy autonomy, because of socio-economic transformations, nation-states introduce market mechanism in economic and social policies. This implied the loss of

state autonomy. However, the diversity in types of welfare state shows each country had some autonomy on social policy. The type chosen was depended on political choice. In short, nation-states had various policy options depending on policy areas. Thus, simply stating that “nation state is dying” and/ or “nation state is alive” is wrong. As for state apparatus, while the role of non-state actors (e.g. market, NPOs, IOs, community) are increasing, the role of state is changing from direct actor to center of governance. Moreover, nation-states do not have enough ability to control economy and society. Thus, the centrality of state is declining. Finally, the mode of social integration is also changing. As for input side, the input of people’s interests to political system is diversified. However, these new situation cannot represent citizen’s interests well. As for output side, the governments provide social protection through diverse actors (not only direct public policy but also the use of market, NPOs, community) and new policy instruments, such as re-commodification and de-familiarization policies. However, the social protection was not distributed equally and fairly. In other words, social divide (e.g. inequality, dualism, social exclusion) deepened. In short, we find the existence outside political system, decline of state and rise of non-state actors, malfunction of interest mediation, and decline of social protection. In other words, democratic legitimacy through input and output was declining, revealing showed the crisis of liberal democracy in the postwar era. Thus, the new political phenomena which were referred to in the introduction should be considered as the expression of deadlock of liberal democracy advancing at a deep level.

Then, how we should cope with the new political phenomena? Since my discussion is an analytical and theoretical one, it does not give us a specific prescription. However, it provides us with some insights. To begin with, the

new political phenomena were resulted from the structural transformations in economic, social and political areas on which neoliberal globalization and post-industrialization had a big influence. Thus, individual responses to each problem were necessary, but not sufficient. Comprehensive response was required to make the political order stable and sustainable. To cope with some problems, such as the existence outside the political system, decline of state and rise of non-state actors, malfunction of interest mediation, and decline of social protection, we should reconstruct the input and output of political system. For example, the input related reforms included granting immigrants the political citizenship, encouraging involvement of the politically apathetic people, and introduction of diverse participation and reasonable discussion in political arena (c.f. the practice of deliberative democracy) (Dryzek 2000, Tamura 2008). The output related reforms included rebuilding of state control in economy and society, and the introduction of new social policy for everyone's decent life, such as basic income and social investment (Gamble 2016, Shinkawa 2014, Miyamoto 2013). Moreover, we should create an ethical and moral base of solidarity in new days. If these reforms in the input and output side are carried out, the political order under neoliberal globalization and post-industrialization will be more legitimate.

- 1) Earlier version of this paper was presented in the workshop in Yokohama Law Association (at Yokohama National University, 2016), and the lecture on "Global Project (2016-2019)" coordinated by the faculty of social sciences in Ritsumeikan University and co-organized by the department of Sociology in Chung-Ang University (Korea). I appreciate the constructive and impressive comments from the participants. Moreover, this paper is partly taken from my previous studies written in Japanese. About detailed discussion and references, also see Kato (2012, 2017).

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- 2) Claus Offe, who is social theorist, defined the welfare state as the “crisis management” of capitalist society (Offe 1984, p. 13). Based on Offe’s and others’ work, Andrew Gamble, who is political scientist, insisted that the capitalist society needs the welfare state to continue to work well (Gamble 2016).
- 3) While other scholars use the different terms, they agree with the importance of globalization and post-industrialization. For example, Jessop (2002) claimed that the Keynesian Welfare National State became a Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime. Armingeon and Bonoli (2005) revealed the shift from the industrial to the post-industrial welfare state. Morel et al. (2012) investigated the change from a Keynesian to a social investment welfare state. Bonoli and Morel (2012) insisted the change from the welfare state to the new welfare state.
- 4) As mentioned in notes 3, Armingeon and Bonoli (2005) called it the industrial welfare state, focusing on the socio-economic base. Morel et al. (2012) paid attention to the type of citizenship and called it as the Keynesian welfare state.
- 5) The diversity of the Keynesian welfare state is known as the typology of Esping-Andersen’s welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999). Thus, social democratic regime is characterized by the generous welfare and relative gender equality through the state. Liberal regime has the residual welfare and the centrality of market mechanism, which brought a high level of inequality and a middle level of gender equality. Conservative regime based on the subsidiarity and status secure, which brought dualism and gender inequality.
- 6) In welfare state theory, “new social risks” was used for the newly emerging social problems resulting from socio-economic transformations (especially post-industrialization). For example, the inclusion of the youth and long unemployed into the labor market, the escape from the dependence on family welfare.
- 7) For example, the Schumpeterian Workfare Post National Regimes (Jessop, 2002), the social investment welfare state (Morel et al. 2013), the post-industrial welfare state (Armingeon and Bonoli, 2005), the new welfare state (Bonoli and Morel 2012), the competition state (Cerny 1990, Clark 1997). While Pierson emphasized the continuity of the welfare state focusing the failure of retrenchment in program level, he did not deny the qualitative change which advanced at a deeper level (P. Pierson 1994).

- 8) According to Hall(1993), the change in both the policy instruments and objects is considered as the third level change(e.g. paradigm change or radical change), which may go hand in with the change in power relationship between political actors.
- 9) As for the diversity of the competitive welfare state, there are two types. To cope with new social risks, such as the shortage of care and growing unemployment, governments have some policy options from a more market-based type (e.g. workfare in narrow sense, cut of social policy) to a more state-centered type (e.g. social investment, activation). (Theodore and Peck, 2000, Miyamoto 2013, Shinkawa, 2014). Thus, one is the retrenchment of welfare state and the other is the modernization of welfare state (Kato 2012).
- 10) As exceptions, there are some outstanding works for capturing the whole picture of political order. See also, Miyamoto (2013), Shinkawa (2014), Mounk (2017), Revitsky and Ziblatt (2018), Hay (2007).

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