



IPSA RC02 POLITICAL ELITES

NEWSLETTER 01/2012

Important notice to all members attending the upcoming IPSA World Congress in Madrid (Please note the change of time!):

The Business Meeting of RC02 will take place on Wednesday, July 11, from 9:00-10.45 in Tutorial 23B. This meeting is especially important since the RC has to elect a new chair and new board members. So please try to attend!

A joint Business Meeting of RC02 and RC37 (Rethinking Political Development) will take place on Wednesday, July 11, from 13.00–14.45 in Tutorial 23A

The RC Dinner will take place on Wednesday evening. Time and place tba

1. Welcome

Dear Colleagues: This is the first newsletter of our Research Committee. Please let us know if you have any suggestions for improving its format. We plan to produce this newsletter on a bi-annual basis from now on. However, for doing this we need your help. The Newsletter will include a number of regular items, in particular recent events, forthcoming events and recent publications in English by RC02 members, including monographs, articles in academic journals, newspaper features, links to videos etc. Other items may be included as well. So please do send us anything that you think would be of interest to our members, e.g. information on new research projects, research notes, innovative course outlines, interesting new books in English, book reviews, etc. We will send out reminders in April and October in time for the newsletter to be sent out in May and November.

2. Recent Events

2.1. IPSA International Conference: Is There a European Models of Governance? A Comparative Perspective, University of Luxemburg, March 18-20, 2010

Panel: Political Elites in Multilevel Systems

Co-Chairs: Heinrich Best, John Higley

Daniel Gaxie, Nicolas Hubé: Elites' Views On EU Institutions

Max Haller: European Integration as A Model For The World? Considerations From The Perspective Of Elite-Citizens Relations

Pierangelo Isernia: European Elite and Public on Transatlantic Relations

Scott James: Exploring Elite Empowerment: 'Intergovernmental Spillover' and the Strengthening of National Executives

Régis Dandoy, Patrick Dumont, Stefaan Fiers: Multilevel Deselection of Ministers in Belgium (1981-2009)

Maurizio Cotta: Contending Models Of European Governance: The Views Of National Elites

2.2. IPSA-ECPR Joint Conference "Whatever Happened to North-South?", São Paulo, 16-19 February 2011

Panel: "Consolidation of Third Wave Democracies in South and North: The Role of Elites"

Co-Chairs: Heinrich Best and Ursula Hoffmann-Lange

Entrepreneurial Elite: Political Culture, Political Action and Prospects for Democracy in Brazil

Paulo Roberto Neves Costa, Universidade Federal do Paraná, paulocosta@ufpr.br

Elite perceptions of poverty and inequality in Brazil and Uruguay

Mr. Matias López, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, matiaslopez.uy@gmail.com

Support for Democracy Among Elites and Mass Publics in Old and New Democracies

Prof. Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, University of Bamberg, ursula.hoffmann-lange@uni-bamberg.de

The Elitist Approach to Democracy: (Initial) Confirmation, (Recent) Critique and (Future) Challenge

Dr. Michael Edinger, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, michael.edinger@uni-jena.de

Elite Configuration and Circulation in Post-Communist Russia

Elena Semenova, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, elena.semenova@uni-jena.de

2.3. 6th ECPR General Conference, Reykjavik, 25-27 August 2011

Section 35: The Emergence of Global Elites

Convenors: Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, John Higley, Patrick Dumont

Panel 4 - Classic Elite Theory, Global Democratic Governance and the Emergence of Global Elites

Chairs: António Marques Bessa, Mário Rodrigues Pontes

Discussant: Sandra Rodrigues Balão

Sandra Rodrigues Balão: Elite Theory, Multiglobal Democratic Governance and the Emergence of Global Elites. The Case of Private Groups

Jean-Marie Chenou: Is Internet Governance a Democratic Process? Multistakeholderism and Transnational Elites

Ursula Hoffmann-Lange: Vertical and Horizontal Accountability of Global Elites: Some Theoretical Reflections and a Preliminary Research Agenda

Panel 3: Elite Recruitment in National and International Settings

Chairs: John Higley, Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, Patrick Dumont

Angela Movileanu: A Diachronic Perspective on Political Recruitment of Women in European Countries

Francisco-Javier Luque-Castillo: Does Specialisation Matter at the Top? Economic Ministers in Spain (1902-2012): A Framework for Analysis

Jan Pakulski: Global Elite: A Myth of Reality?

Joanna Szalacha: Interlocking Directorates in Poland. Global Corporate Culture and the Process of Shaping Local Corporate Elites

Tetiana Kostiuhenko: Political, Business and Non-Profit Sectors: Network Embeddedness of Power Structures

Stephan Hensell , Felix Gerdes: The Formation of Post-War Elites
Ine Vanlangenakker, Bart Maddens: Turnover at the Micro Level: Leaving Regional Parliament (In)voluntarily

Panel 21: From the Bottom to the Top? Career Paths of Political Leaders in Multi-Level Settings

Chairs: Patrick Dumont, Matthew Kerby

William Daniel: All Roads Lead through Brussels? Career Ambition in the European Parliament
Elena Semenova: All Roads Lead to Moscow? Careers of Russian Political Elite in Multi-level System
Jos Real-Dato, Juan Rodríguez-Teruel, Miguel Jerez-Mir: In Search of the 'Ladder Model': Career Paths of Spanish Diputados (1977-2010)
Richard Whitaker: Legislative Careers at the Supranational Level? The Stability of Membership of the European Parliament and Internal Advancement
Matthew Kerby, Graham White: Provincial Ministerial Duration and Exit in Canada: 1911-1996

Panel 22: Political Elites and Institutions: Recruitment Patterns and Turnover

Chairs: Hanna Bäck, Keith Dowding, Indridi Indridason

Matthew Kerby, Keith Dowding: Comparative Ministerial Turnover in Canada and Australia: 1945-2010
Sebastian Jäckle: Ministerial Turnover in the German Länder: An Event History Analysis of Macro-Political Factors and Biographic Determinants
Juan Rodriguez Teruel, Oscar Barberà, Astrid Barrio: Party Government in Multilevel Settings: The Determinants of Ministerial Turnover in Spanish Regional Cabinets (1980-2011)
Marcelo Camerlò, Aníbal Pérez Liñán: Presidential Cabinets. Minister Turnover and Critical Events in Latin America

Panel 8: Recruitment and Career Patterns of Global Elites

Chairs: Heinrich Best, Daniel Gaxie

Stéphanie Guyon: The Career of International "Indigenous" Leaders in the UN : A Dynamical Process
Dominique Connan: The Career Patterns of a "Service Club" Membership in Africa: The Case of Kenyan Rotarians
Anchrit Wille: The Politicisation of the EU Commission: New Challenges, New Professionals?
Martin Schuerz: The Wealthy After the Financial Crisis
Jeremy Schulz: Working, Partnering, and Parenting in France, Norway, and the United States

2.4. Elites and Trans-Atlantic Crisis: A Symposium; University of Texas at Austin, 2-4 April 2012

9:00-9:15: Welcoming Remarks

John Higley, IPSA Research Committee on Political Elites
Douglas Biow, Director, UT Center for European Studies

9:15-10:30: European Elites and Crisis in Wide Compass

Chair: Daniel Gaxie, University of Paris I

European Political Elites: Limits of Crisis Resolution in a Limitless Crisis

Heinrich Best, University of Jena

Facing the Crisis: The Variable Geometry of the European Elite System

Maurizio Cotta, University of Siena

11:00-12:15: American Elites and Crisis in Wide Compass

Chair: Gwen Moore, State University of New York, Albany

Why Can't Corporate Capitalists be Keynesians? The Issue is Power, not Economics

G. William Domhoff, University of California, Santa Cruz

Elites, Crisis, and Postindustrial Problems of Work in the United States

Michael Burton, Loyola University, and John Higley, University of Texas

1:45-3:00: Elites and Crisis in Central Eastern Europe

Chair: Oxana Gaman-Golutvina, MIGMO University, Moscow

Elites and Crisis in Central Eastern Europe

Sóna Szomolányi, Comenius University, Bratislava

Political and Economic Elites in Hard Times: The Hungarian Case
György Lengyel, Corvinus University, Budapest

3:30-4:45: Russian Elites as Spectators of Crisis?

Chair: David Lane, Cambridge University

Russian Elites and Political Crisis
Peter Rutland, Wesleyan University

Transformations of Post-Soviet Elites: Metaphysical Dimensions
Oxana Gaman-Golutvina, MGIMO University, Moscow

Tuesday 3 April: Conceptual and Research Issues

9:15-10:30: Elites and Classes

Chair: Jan Pakulski, University of Tasmania

Structure and Agency: Some Hidden Methodological Parallels between Pareto and Marx
Joseph Femia, Liverpool University

The De-Coupling of National Political Elites from National Classes under Neo-Liberal Globalization
David Lane, Cambridge University

11:00-12:15: Elites and Publics: More Distant, More Near?

Chair: G. William Domhoff, University of California, Santa Cruz

Machiavellians or "Homeboys"? On Elite Manipulation and Cultural Constraints
Jean-Pascal Daloz, University of Strasbourg

Political Leadership in Times of Citizen Unrest
Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, University of Bamberg

1:45-3:00: Elite Solidarities

Chair: Antonio Costa-Pinto, University of Lisbon

Power Elite or Elite Power?
Fredrik Engelstad, University of Oslo

Programmatic Elites in an Organizational State: French Health Policy Since 1981
William Genieys, University of Montpellier (with Patrick Hassenteufel)

3:30-4:45: Elite Recruitment: Modalities and Perturbations

Chair: Heinrich Best, University of Jena

Continuity and Changes in Political Recruitment: The French Case
Daniel Gaxie, University of Paris 1

The Shift to Technocratic and Non-Partisan Ministers in European Democracies: Lessons from Portugal
Antonio Costa-Pinto, University of Lisbon, Pedro Tavares de Almeida, Nova University, Lisbon

Wednesday 4 April: Elites and Crisis Reconsidered

9:00-10:15: Elite Uncertainties Amid Crisis

Chair: Michael Burton, Loyola University

Ambivalence Towards Crisis Leadership: Follower and Leader Perspective in the U.K.
Alasdair Marshall, University of Southampton

National Elite Networks in the United States: Visible and Invisible
Gwen Moore, State University of New York, Albany (with Scott Dolan)

10:45-11:30: Symposium Conclusions

Chair: Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, University of Bamberg

Trans-Atlantic Crisis and the Elite Perspective
John Higley, University of Texas, and Jan Pakulski, University of Tasmania

3. Upcoming Events

3.1. IPSA World Congress, Madrid 2012

(For a list of accepted papers please click the links below)

[Elite Circulation and Recruitment: Changing Intensities and Patterns](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C005

Wednesday, July 11 - 15:00-16:45

[Elite Dilemmas and Democracy's Future](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C005

Tuesday, July 10 - 13:00-14:45

[Elite Foundations of New Democracies](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C005

Monday, July 9 - 17:00-18:45

[Elite Foundations of Transnational Governments: Orientations and Accountability](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C005

Wednesday, July 11 - 17:00-18:45

[Elite Social Distinction: New or Diminishing Forms?](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C005

Monday, July 9 - 13:00-14:45

[Elites and Populist Leaders](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C005

Sunday, July 8 - 15:00-16:45

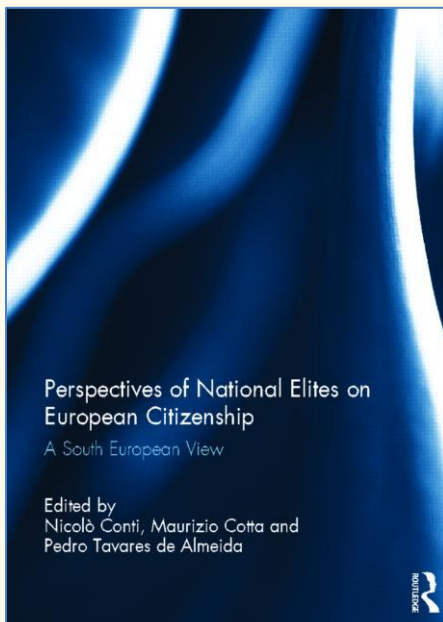
[Experts and Non-partisan Ministers in European Democracies](#)

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM / FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACION (JOUR) - C006

Wednesday, July 11 - 13:00-14:45

4. Recent Publications By Our Members

4.1. Books

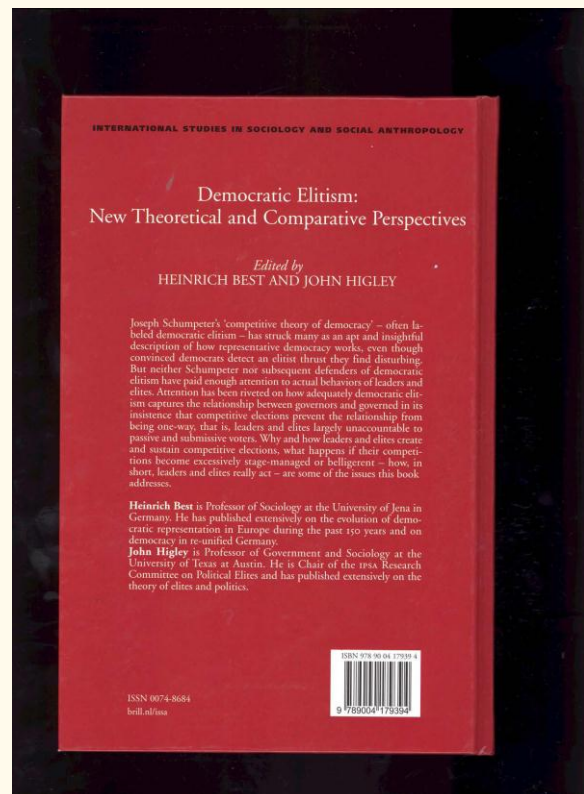
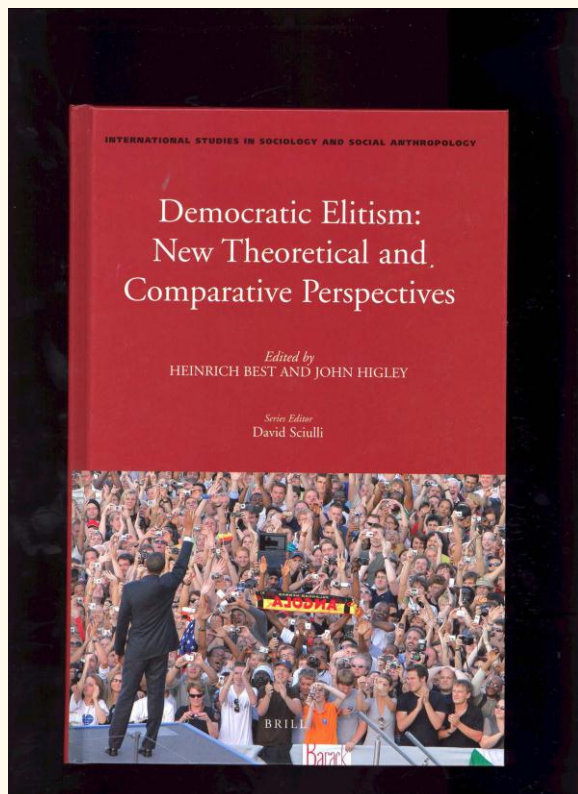


Perspectives of National Elites on European Citizenship A South European View

Edited by Nicolò Conti, Maurizio Cotta, Pedro Tavares de Almeida

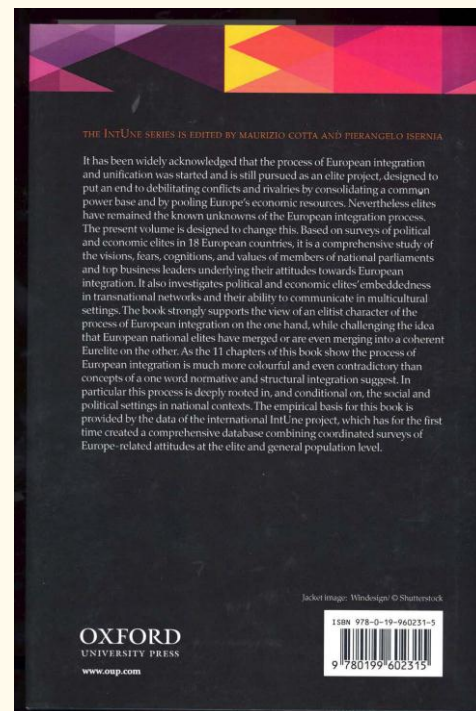
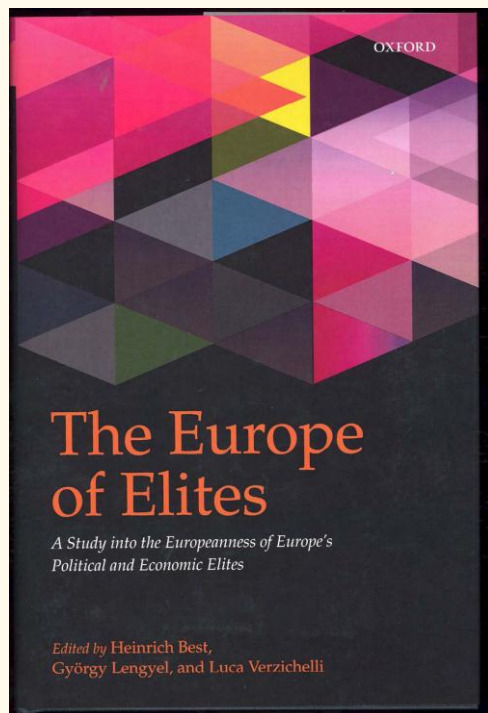
London: Routledge 2011

Over the last two decades, the process of European integration has become interwoven with the theme of citizenship and the debate on the democratic quality of the EU and of its institutions has become more salient. What are the views about Europe which emerge when we interrogate the national elites of the four large South European countries, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and what is their vision of a supra-national citizenship in its different facets? Are these views sufficiently homogeneous and do they distinguish themselves from those of the rest of the European Union to the point of enabling us to talk about a "distinctive region of Europe"? Which interpretation(s) of European citizenship emerges from a systematic exploration of these opinions?



Heinrich Best, John Higley (eds.): Democratic Elitism: New Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives. Leiden: Brill 2010

Joseph Schumpeter's "competitive theory of democracy" – often labeled democratic elitism - has struck many as an apt and insightful description of how representative democracy works, even though convinced democrats detect an elitist thrust they find disturbing. But neither Schumpeter nor subsequent defenders of democratic elitism have paid enough attention to actual behaviors of leaders and elites. Attention has been riveted on how adequately democratic elitism captures the relationship between governors and governed in its insistence that competitive elections prevent the relationship from being one-way, that is, leaders and elites largely unaccountable to passive and submissive voters. Why and how leaders and elites create and sustain competitive elections, what happens if their competitions become excessively stage-managed or belligerent – how, in short, leaders and elites really act - are some of the issues this book addresses.



Heinrich Best, György Lengyel, Luca Verzichelli (eds.), 2012: *The Europe of Elites. A Study into the Europeaness of Europe's Political and Economic Elites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

It has been widely acknowledged that the process of European integration and unification was started and is still pursued as an elite project, designed to put an end to debilitating conflicts and rivalries by consolidating a common power base and by pooling Europe's economic resources. Nevertheless elites have remained the known unknowns of the European integration process. The present volume is designed to change this. Based on surveys of political and economic elites in 18 European countries, it is a comprehensive study of the visions, fears, cognitions and values of members of national parliaments and top business leaders underlying their attitudes towards European integration. It also investigates political and economic elites' embeddedness in transnational networks and their ability to communicate in multicultural settings. The book strongly supports the view of an elitist character of the process of European integration on the one hand, while challenging the idea that European national elites have merged or are even merging into a coherent Eurlite on the other. As the 11 chapters of this book show the process of European integration is much more colourful and even contradictory than concepts of a straight forward normative and structural integration suggest. In particular this process is deeply rooted in, and conditional on, the social and political settings in national contexts. The empirical basis for this book is provided by the data of the international IntUne project, which has for the first time created a comprehensive database combining coordinated surveys of Europe-related attitudes at the elite and general population level.



Historical Social Research Vol. 37 (2012), No. 2

Heinrich Best, Ronald Gebauer & Axel Salheiser (Eds.): *Political and Functional Elites in Post-Socialist Transformation: Central and East Europe since 1989/90*

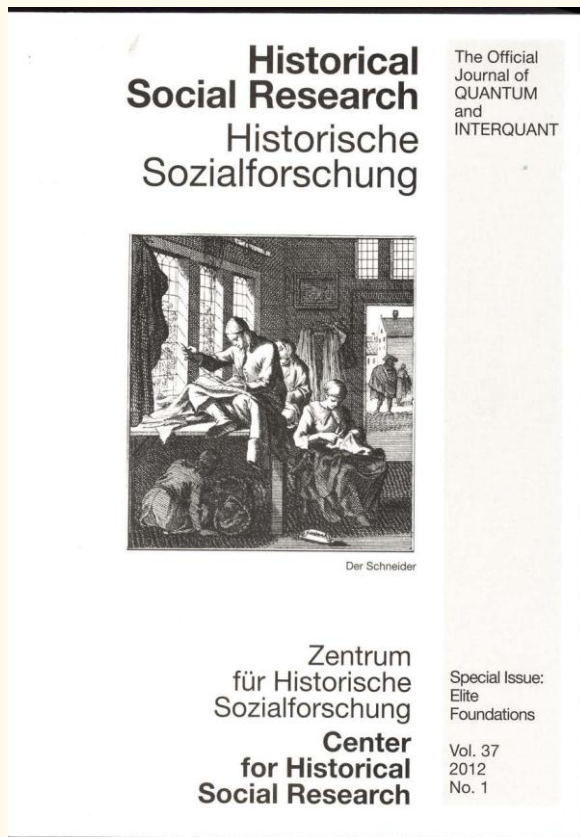
After the breakdown of Communist regimes in the East at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s unparalleled societal transitory processes have evolved and reshaped the political world map. After two decades, Central and East European societies still have to master difficulties that have been inherited from Socialism or face conditions that are specifically post-Socialist legacies.

Moreover, throughout the first decade of the 21st century, international and national crises have drastically challenged the functioning and legitimacy of market economy, representative democracies, and welfare states. New political and social movements have emerged and ignited discourses on the redistribution of power and the renewal of institutions. Today's Central and East European societies face increasing social inequality, decreasing social mobility, alarming demographical change, and dramatic ecological risks. However, there is a great variety of preconditions, speeds, and paths of developments.

How have representative and functional elites in Central and East Europe affected and been affected by this 'double' transformation? Have they found and embraced strategies of change or have they sought ways of persistence? And how do elites react to newly arising social problems? The emergence, the success or failure, and the survival or replacement of elites is closely bound to these questions. Accordingly, this HSR special issue focuses on elite continuity and elite discontinuity in the context of societal change observing both past and current post-Socialist developments and, thus, combining historical and contemporary perspectives.

Table of Contents:

- Heinrich Best, Ronald Gebauer & Axel Salheiser: Political and Functional Elites in Post-Socialist Transformation: Central and East Europe since 1989/90. An Introduction. 7-13
- Tetiana Kostiuhenko: Elite Continuity in Ukraine: When Networks Matter (?). 14-25
- Catalin Augustin Stoica: "Our Martyrs of 1989 Did Not Die for This!": Political Capitalism in Post-Communist Romania. 26-52
- Frane Adam & Matevž Tomšič: The Dynamics of Elites and the Type of Capitalism: Slovenian Exceptionalism? 53-70
- Elena Semenova: Continuities in the Formation of Russian Political Elites. 71-90
- Diana Digol: Transformation of Diplomatic Elites in Post-Communist Societies. 91-107
- Luca Kristóf: What Happened Afterwards? Change and Continuity in the Hungarian Elite between 1988 and 2009. 108-122
- Axel Salheiser: Socialist and Post-Socialist Functional Elites in East Germany. 123-138
- Ronald Gebauer: Cadrelites? Career Continuity, Discontinuity, or Disruption of former Socialist Elites in the Early 1990s. An Event History Analysis on the Basis of Statistically Matched Data. 139-152
- Ronald Gebauer & Stefan Jahr: Second Life in the Bundestag? Former GDR Delegates in German Parliaments. 153-162



Historical Social Research Vol. 37 (2012), No. 1

Jan Pakulski, Heinrich Best, Verona Christmas-Best & Ursula Hoffmann-Lange (Eds.): *Elite Foundations of Social Theory and Politics*

This special issue of the HSR is dedicated to John Higley in honour of his continued accomplishment as a distinguished scholar and prolific author whose seminal publications on the role of elites in politics and society have contributed to the contemporary revival of elite research. The volume assembles contributions from fourteen authors, ranging from theoretical analyses to empirical studies of elites in old and new democracies. Proceeding from the emergence of elites with the advent of complex societies, the chapters show the wide application of elite theory in understanding social and political developments.

One group of chapters focuses on the continued relevance of three classics of elite theory, Max Weber, Gaetano Mosca, and Joseph Schumpeter, which call into question some unrealistically optimistic assumptions of the theory of democratic elitism and egalitarian socialism. Another group addresses post-communist elite transformations and the formation of transnational elites, and demonstrates the relevance of elite studies for understanding abrupt as well as gradual regime change.

A final group of papers discusses the dynamics of elite-mass relations by comparing the attitudes and behaviours of elites to those of mass publics. In addition to these dedicated contributions, the issue also includes reprints of a selection of John Higley's seminal articles and book chapters.

Table of Contents:

Jan Pakulski: Introduction: John Higley's Work on Elite Foundations of Social Theory and Politics. 9-20

G. William Domhoff: An Invitation to a Four-Network Theory of Power: A New Viewpoint Compatible with Elite Theory. 23-37

Jan Pakulski: The Weberian Foundations of Modern Elite Theory and Democratic Elitism. 38-56

András Körösenyi: Monopolistic Competition, Auction and Authorization. A Schumpeterian View of Leadership and the Political Market. 57-72

Heinrich Best: Marx or Mosca? An Inquiry into the Foundations of Ideocratic Regimes. 73-89

Thomas A. Baylis: Elite Consensus and Political Polarization: Cases from Central Europe. 90-106

György Lengyel & Gabriella Ilonszki: Simulated Democracy and Pseudo-Transformational Leadership in Hungary. 107-126

Anton Steen: Elite and Mass Confidence in New Democracies – Towards Congruence? The Baltic States 1992-2007. 127-147

Trygve Gulbrandsen: Elite Integration – An Empirical Study. 148-166

Maurizio Cotta: Political Elites and a Polity in the Making: The Case of the EU. 167-192

Ursula Hoffmann-Lange: Vertical and Horizontal Accountability of Global Elites: Some Theoretical Reflections and a Preliminary Research Agenda. 193-208

Jean-Pascal Daloz: Elite (Un)Conspicuousness: Theoretical Reflections on Ostentation vs. Understatement. 209-222

Gwen Moore & Scott Dolan: U.S. Elite and Public Views on Anti-Terrorist Military Action: Are Women Less Militaristic? 223-242

APPENDIX: JOHN HIGLEY: SELECTED CONTRIBUTIONS

John Higley & Michael G. Burton: The Elite Variable in Democratic Transitions and Breakdowns [1989]. 245-268

Mattei Dogan & John Higley: Elites, Crises, and Regimes in Comparative Analysis [1998]. 269-291

John Higley & Jan Pakulski: Elite Power Games and Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe [1999]. 292-319

John Higley & Jan Pakulski: Elite Theory versus Marxism: The Twentieth Century's Verdict [2000]. 320-332

John Higley & Jan Pakulski: Elite and Leadership Change in Liberal Democracies [2007]. 333-350

John Higley: Democratic Elitism and Western Political Thought [2009]. 351-366



Jan Pakulski, András Körösi: *Toward Leader Democracy*. London: Anthem Press 2012.

In today's liberal democracies, does the political process focus on the people, or on the political leaders representing them? Building upon the ideas of Joseph Schumpeter and Max Weber, 'Toward Leader Democracy' argues that we are currently seeing a movement toward an increasingly pronounced focus on political leaders – 'leader democracy'. This form of democracy is fashioned by the political will, determination and commitment of top politicians, and is exercised through elite persuasion that actively shapes the preferences of voters so as to give meaning to political processes. As the text reveals, this marks a definite evolution within the world's 'advanced democracies': democratic representation is today realised increasingly through active political leadership, as opposed to the former practices of statistically 'mirroring' constituencies, or the deliberative self-adjustment of the executive to match citizen preferences.

4.2. Articles in Academic Journals (English only)

Narud, Hanne Marthe, 2011: Ascent of the Young, the Smart, and the Professional: Norway's Parliamentary Elite. *Comparative Sociology*; Vol. 10 (6): 840-872.

Higley, John, 2011: Circulations and Qualities of Political Elites. *Comparative Sociology*; Vol. 10 (6): 829-839.

Higley, John, Pakulski, Jan, 2011: Do Ruling Elites Degenerate? American and British Elites Through Pareto's Lens. *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 10 (6): 949-967.

Best, Heinrich, 2011: Does Personality Matter in Politics? Personality Factors as Determinants of Parliamentary Recruitment and Policy Preferences. *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 10 (6): 928-948.

Semenova, Elena, 2011: Ministerial and Parliamentary Elites in an Executive-Dominated System: Post-Soviet Russia 1991-2009. *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 10 (6): 908-927.

Rodríguez-Teruel, Juan, 2011: Ministerial and Parliamentary Elites in Multilevel Spain 1977-2009. *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 10 (6): 887-907.

Kjaer, Ulrik, 2011: The Depth of Parliamentary Elite Circulation: Long-Term Trends and Critical Elections in Denmark. *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 10 (6): 873-886,