

Elite Theory
in Political Sociology
Ph.D. seminar (4 credits)
Comparative Politics Track
Winter 2009

András Bozóki
Professor of Political Science, CEU
Office hours: Faculty Tower, 907. Tuesday, Thursday 11-12 am
bozokia@ceu.hu

This is a doctoral seminar building on courses in comparative politics, political theory, and political sociology in the Political Science, international relations and sociology MA programs at CEU or other universities.

The course on elite theory includes discussions of classical elite theories (Pareto, Mosca, Michels), democratic elitism (Weber, Schumpeter) and radical elite theories (Burnham, Mills). Attention is paid to the issues of elite transformation and sources of social power in comparative and historical perspective. Different power elites in communist and capitalist societies will be compared. Academic research on informal power, i.e. the role of intellectuals, technocratic domination, mediocracy, and the rise of the New Class theories will be discussed in detail.

To sum up, the course offers a comprehensive overview in classic and recent theories on elites with special emphasis 1. on the similarities and contradictions of class, new class and elite research approaches, 2. on positional and non-positional elite groups (politicians, intellectuals, cultural elites), 3. on the relationship between political transformation and elite change, and finally, 4. it also discusses issues in elite political culture and cultural politics

Each student has to write a minimum 12, maximum 15 pages long (1.5-spaced) paper on one of the topics discussed during the semester. The topic must be chosen and submitted for the lecturer's approval by mid-February. The final paper must be turned in a late March meeting and they are to be presented to other students in classes of last week.

Students will be asked to give shorter presentations on selected readings in order to introduce the topic for further discussion. Presenters are required to write a short, 1-2 page(s), handout for others by the beginning of the class. The seminars are based on close reading of the texts and active participation of students. Participants are required to follow the readings to ensure a lively group discussion on each topic. Occasionally, short position papers will also be required. The seminar is designed to be highly inter-active and to give students a chance to develop their oral and written ability to marshal analytical arguments concerning issues in elite theory and research.

The course will empower students to be able to understand and to use approaches and tools of elite research with special focus on the more developed societies. Evaluation will be based on

- participation and the quality of oral presentations in seminar discussions (40 %),
- on short written presentations, e.g. handouts, position papers (30 %),
- on the quality of the final paper (30 %).

TOPICS AND READINGS

WEEK 1. (January 6, 8). **Introduction: Forms of Capital \ Sources of Power**

Mandatory readings:

Pierre Bourdieu (1983), „Forms of Capital” in J. G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, 241-258.

Michael Mann (1986), „Societies as Organized Power Networks” in M. Mann: *The Sources of Power*. Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-33.

Suzanne Keller (1968), „Elites” in David Sills (ed.): *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. 5. London: Macmillan, 26-29.

Optional readings:

Ralf Dahrendorf (1976 [1957]), *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Daniel Bell (1976), *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books

Pierre Bourdieu & J. C. Passeron (1977), *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage

Robert C. Tucker ed. (1978), *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: W. W. Norton

Michel Foucault (1980), *Power / Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books

Paul Rabinow ed. (1984), *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books. (Especially 32-50, 51-75, 239-56, 373-80.)

Steven Lukes ed. (1986), *Power*. New York: New York University Press

Zygmunt Bauman (1987), *Legislators and Interpreters*. Ithaca - New York: Cornell Univ. Press

Pierre Bourdieu (1991), *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Steven Lukes (2005), *Power: A Radical View*. [Second edition] Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005.

WEEK 2. (January 13, 15) **Classes and Elites: Classic Approaches**

Mandatory readings:

Max Weber (1997), „Democracy and the Countervailing Powers of Bureaucracy, Charisma, and Parliament” in Eva Etzioni-Halévy (ed.), *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland, 62-70.

Vilfredo Pareto (1997), „The Governing Elite in Present-Day Democracy” in Eva Etzioni-Halévy (ed.): *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland, 47-52.

Gaetano Mosca (1967 [1939]), excerpts from *The Ruling Class*. In Harry K. Girvetz (ed.), *Democracy and Elitism*. New York: Scribner's, 280-299.

Robert Michels (1997), „The Oligarchical Tendencies in Working Class Organizations” in Eva Etzioni-Halévy (ed.): *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland, 243-250.

Optional readings:

From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (1991), (Ed. by H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills) London: Routledge, 159-264.

Vilfredo Pareto (1966), *Sociological Writings*. (Ed. by S. E. Finer) London: Pall Mall Press, New York: Praeger

Vilfredo Pareto (1968), *The Rise and Fall of the Elites*. Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press

Vilfredo Pareto (1984), *The Transformation of Democracy*. New Brunswick: Transaction

Robert Michels (1962) *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Societies*. New York: The Free Press, 333-71.

James Burnham (1970), *The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom*. Freeport N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press

Geraint Parry (1969), „The Classical Elitist Thesis” in Geraint Parry: *Political Elites*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 30-63.

WEEK 3. (January 20, 22) Early New Class Theories and Elitism

Mandatory readings:

Mikhail Bakunin (1980), „The International and Karl Marx” in M. Bakunin: *On Anarchy*. (Edited by Sam Dolgoff) Montréal: Black Rose, 286-320.

Joseph A. Schumpeter (1950), *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row. Excerpts in Eva Etzioni-Halévy ed. (1997), *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland, 78-85.

Charles W. Mills (1956), *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Excerpts in Eva Etzioni-Halévy ed. (1997), *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland, 71-77.

Milovan Djilas (1966), *The New Class*. London: Unwin Books, 47-72.

Michael G. Burton & John Higley (1987), „Invitation to Elite Theory: The Basic Contentions Reconsidered” in G. William Domhoff & Thomas R. Dye (eds.), *Power Elites and Organizations*. Newbury Park: Sage, 219-238.

Optional readings:

- Mikhail Bakunin (1966), „Marx, the Bismarck of Socialism” in L. Krimermann & L. Perry (eds.), *Patterns of Anarchy*. New York: Anchor, 882-893.
- Max Weber (1991 [1918]), „Politics as a Vocation” in H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London: Routledge, 77-128.
- Leon Trotsky (1962 [1937]), *The Revolution Betrayed*. New York: Pathfinder Press
- Max Nomad (1961), *Aspects of Revolt*. New York: The Noonday Press, 96-117.
- James Burnham (1962), *The Managerial Revolution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Max Shachtman (1962), *The Bureaucratic Revolution: The Rise of the Stalinist State*. New York: Donald Press
- Tom Bottomore (1982 [1964]), *Elites and Society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Harold Lasswell & Daniel Lerner (1965), *World Revolutionary Elites*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press
- David T. Bazelon (1967), *Power in America: The Politics of the New Class*. New York: New American Library, 307-332.
- Peter Bachrach (1969), *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique*. London: University of London Press, 1969.
- James Burnham (1970), *The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom*. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press
- Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner & C. Easton Rothwell (1971), „The Elite Concept” in Peter Bachrach (ed.), *Elites in a Democracy*. New York: Atherton Press, 13-26.
- Burnham C. Beckwith (1972), *Government by Experts: The Next Stage in Political Evolution*. New York: Exposition Press, 36-73.
- John Plamenatz (1973), *Democracy and Illusion*. London: Longman
- G. Lowell Field & John Higley (1980), *Elitism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 18-47. and 117-130.

WEEK 4. (January 27, 29) *Intelligentsia and Intellectuals: Their Origins and Functions*

Mandatory readings:

- Robert Michels (1937), „Intellectuals” *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 118-125.
- Antonio Gramsci (1971), „The Intellectuals” in A. Gramsci: *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. (Ed. by Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith) London: Lawrence and Wishart, 5-23.
- Martin Malia (1961), „What Is the Intellectual?” in Richard Pipes (ed.), *The Russian Intelligentsia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-18.
- Edward Shils (1972), „The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis” in E. Shils: *The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3-22.

Isaiah Berlin (1978), „The Birth of the Russian Intelligentsia” in I. Berlin: *Russian Thinkers*. New York: Viking Press, 114-135.

Optional readings:

Julien Benda (1955), *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals*. Boston: The Beacon Press

Karl Mannheim (1936), *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936. 97-171.

Karl Mannheim (1956), „The Problem of Intelligentsia: An Enquiry into Its Past and Present Role” in K. Mannheim: *Essays on the Sociology of Culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 91-170.

Stuart R. Tompkins (1957), *The Russian Intelligentsia: Makers of the Revolutionary State*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

George B. de Huszar ed. (1960), *The Intellectuals*. Glencoe: The Free Press

Seymour Martin Lipset (1960), „American Intellectuals: Their Politics and Status” in S. M. Lipset: *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. London: Heinemann, 332-371.

Richard Pipes (1961), *The Russian Intelligentsia*. New York: Columbia University Press

Florian Znaniecki (1965), *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*. New York: Octagon Books

Marshall S. Shatz (1967), „Jan Waclaw Machajski, the 'Conspiracy' of the Intellectuals” *Survey*, Vol. 62. 45-57.

Michael Confino (1973), „On Intellectuals and Intellectual Traditions in Eighteen- and Nineteenth Century Russia” in S. N. Eisenstadt & S. R. Graubard (eds.), *Intellectuals and Tradition*. New York: Humanities Press, 117-149.

Charles Kadushin (1974), *The American Intellectual Elite*. Boston-London: Little, Brown & Co.

Robert Brym (1980), *Intellectuals and Politics*. London: George Allen & Unwin

Alain G. Gagnon ed. (1987), *Intellectuals in Liberal Democracies*. New York: Praeger

Marshall S. Shatz (1989), *Jan Waclaw Machajski: A Radical Critic of the Russian Intelligentsia and Socialism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press

Michael Walzer (1989), *The Company of Critics*. London: Peter Halban

Ian MacLean, Alan Montefiore & Peter Winch eds. (1990), *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Paul Johnson (1993), *Intellectuals*. London: Phoenix

WEEKS 5-6. (February 3, 5, 10, 12). **New Class and the Representations of Intellectuals**

Mandatory readings:

Max Nomad (1960), „Masters – Old and New” in George B. de Huszar (ed.), *The Intellectuals*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 338-345.

Alvin Gouldner (1979), *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of New Class*. New York: The Seabury Press

B. Bruce-Briggs (1981), „An Introduction to the Idea of the New Class” in B. Bruce-Briggs (ed.): *The New Class?* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1-18.

Daniel Bell (1980), „The New Class: A Muddled Concept” in D. Bell: *The Winding Passage. Essays and Sociological Journeys, 1960-1980*. New York: Basic Books, 144-164.

Ron Eyerman & Andrew Jamison (1991), „Social Movements and Their Intellectuals” in R. Eyerman & A. Jamison: *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 94-119.

Zygmunt Bauman (1992), „Love in Adversity: On the State and the Intellectuals, and the State of the Intellectuals” *Thesis Eleven*, No. 31. 81-104.

Edward W. Said (1994), *Representations of the Intellectual*. London: Vintage, 3-17.

Optional readings:

Max Nomad (1932), *Rebels and Renegades*. New York: Macmillan

Max Nomad (1939), *Apostles of Revolution*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Raymond Aron (1962), *The Opium of the Intellectuals*. New York: W. W. Norton, 35-65.

Lewis A. Coser (1965), *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View*. New York: Free Press

Georg Lukács (1971 [1923]), *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press

Alastair Hamilton (1971), *The Appeal of Fascism: A Study of Intellectuals and Fascism, 1919-1945*. New York: Macmillan

Alvin Gouldner (1975-76), „Prologue to the Theory of Revolutionary Intellectuals” *Telos*, Winter, 3-36.

George Konrád & Iván Szelényi (1979), *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich. (Especially 63-85.)

Paul Hollander (1981), *Political Pilgrims*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

B. Bruce-Briggs ed. (1981), *The New Class?* New York: McGraw-Hill

Irving Kristol (1983), „The Adversary Culture of Intellectuals” in I. Kristol: *Reflections of a Neoconservative*. New York: Basic Books, 27-42.

Eva Etzioni-Halévy (1985), *The Knowledge Elite and the Failure of Prophecy*. London: George Allen & Unwin

Paul A. Bové (1986), *Intellectuals in Power: A Genealogy of Critical Humanism*. New York: Columbia University Press

Richard Collins et al. eds. (1986), *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader*. London-Beverly Hills: Sage, 1986.

Bill Martin & Iván Szelényi (1988), „Three Waves of New Class Theories” *Theory and Society*, September, 645-667.

Ron Eyerman (1990), „Intellectuals and Progress: The Origins, Decline, and Revival of a Critical Group” in Jeffrey C. Alexander & Piotr Sztompka eds. *Rethinking Progress: Movement, Forces and Ideas at the End of the 20th Century*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 91-105.

Tony Judt (1992), *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944-1956*. Berkeley: University of

- California Press
- Harold Perkin (1996), *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World*. London: Routledge
- Lena Dominelli & Ankie Hoogvelt (1996), „The Taylorization of Intellectual Labour” in Philip K. Lawrence & Mathias Döbler (eds.), *Knowledge and Power: The Changing Role of European Intellectuals*. Aldershot - Hong Kong - Sydney: Avebury, 60-87.
- Jeffrey C. Goldfarb (1998), *Civility and Subversion: The Intellectual in Democratic Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lawrence Peter King & Iván Szelényi (2004), *Theories of the New Class: Intellectuals and Power*. Minneapolis – London: University of Minnesota Press

WEEK 7. (February 17, 19). Reformism, Dissidence and Anti-Politics: Intellectuals under Communism

Mandatory readings:

George Konrád (1984), *Antipolitics*. London: Methuen, 208-243.

Václav Havel (1985), „The Power of the Powerless” in Václav Havel et al.: *The Power of the Powerless*. (Edited by John Keane), London: Hutchinson, 23-61.

Iván Szelényi (1986-7), „The Prospects and Limits of the East European New Class Project: An Auto-Critical Reflection on *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*” *Politics and Society*, Vol. 15. No. 2. 103-144.

Zygmunt Bauman (1987), „Intellectuals in East Central Europe: Continuity and Change” *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol. 1. No. 2. Spring, 162-186.

Jerome Karabel (1996), „Towards a Theory of Intellectuals and Politics” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 25. No. 2. April, 205-233.

Optional readings:

Peter Raina (1978), *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*. London: Poets and Painters Press

Rudolf L. Tóké ed. (1979), *Opposition in Eastern Europe*. London: Macmillan

George Konrád & Iván Szelényi (1979), *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich

F. Silnitsky, L. Silnitsky, & K. Reyman (1979) *Communism and Eastern Europe* New York Katz

Jane Leftwich Curry ed. (1983), *Dissent in Eastern Europe*. New York: Praeger

Roger Woods (1986), „Dissident Intellectuals” in R. Woods: *Opposition in the GDR under Honecker, 1971-85*. London: Macmillan, 138-169.

János Mátyás Kovács (1990), „Reform Economics: A Classification Gap” *Daedalus*, Vol. 119.

No. 1. Winter, 215-248.

- Jens Reich (1990), „Reflections on Becoming an East German Dissident, on Losing the Wall and a Country” in Gwyn Prins (ed.), *Spring in Winter: The 1989 Revolutions*. Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 65-98.
- Jason McDonald (1993), „Transition to Utopia: A Reinterpretation of Economics, Ideas, and Politics in Hungary, 1984 to 1990” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 7. No. 2. Spring, 203-239.
- Ivan Bernik (1994), „The Forgotten Legacy of Marginal Intellectuals” in János M. Kovacs ed. *Transition to Capitalism?* New Brunswick: Transaction, 205-216.
- Ivan Bernik (1994), „The Role of Intellectuals in the Slovenian 'Velvet Evolution' from Authoritarianism to Democracy” in András Bozóki (ed.), *Democratic Legitimacy in Post-Communist Societies*. Budapest: T-Twins, 157-169.
- Rudolf L. Tóké (1996), „Opposition and Dissent: Ideas, Personalities, and Strategies” in Rudolf L. Tóké: *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. 167-209.
- Anthony Kemp-Welch (1997), „Politics and the Polish Intellectuals, 1945-89” in Jeremy Jennings & A. Kemp-Welch (eds.): *Intellectuals in Politics: From the Dreyfus Affair to Salman Rushdie*. London: Routledge, 169-194.
- Flam, Helena (1999), „Dissenting Intellectuals and Plain Dissenters: The Cases of Poland and East Germany” in András Bozóki (ed.), *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press, 19-41.
- Barbara Falk (2003), *Dilemmas of Dissidence in Eastern Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press
- Alan Renwick (2006), „Anti-Political or Just Anti-Communist? Varieties of Dissidence in East Central Europe and Their Implications for the Development of Political Society” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 20. No. 2. 286-318.

WEEK 8. (February 24, 26) Elite Change and the Role of Intellectuals in the Transition

Mandatory readings:

- Michael G. Burton & John Higley (1987), „Elite Settlement” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52. June, 295-307.
- Elemér Hankiss (1990), „The Grand Coalition” in E. Hankiss: *East European Alternatives*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 234-266.
- Michael Burton, Richard Gunther & John Higley (1992), „Introduction: Elite Transformation and Democratic Regimes” In J. Higley & R. Gunther (eds.): *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-37.
- John Higley & Jan Pakulski (1992), „Revolution and Elite Transformation in Eastern Europe” *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 27. 104-119.

George Konrád & Iván Szelényi (1991), „Intellectuals and Domination in Post-Communist Societies” in Pierre Bourdieu & James S. Coleman (eds.): *Social Theory in a Changing Society*. Boulder: Westview, 337-361 and the debate on it between Szelényi and Lipset: 362-372.

Mattei Dogan & John Higley (1998), „Elites, Crises, and Regimes in Comparative Analysis” in M. Dogan & J. Higley (eds.), *Elites, Crises, and the Origins of Regimes*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 3-27.

Optional readings:

Moshe M. Czudnowski ed. (1982), *Does Who Governs Matter? Elite Circulation in Contemporary Societies*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 13-32.

Jack Bielasiak (1984), „Elite Studies and Communist Systems” in Ronald H. Linden & Bert A. Rockham (eds.), *Elite Studies and Communist Politics*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 103-124.

Guillermo O'Donnell & Philippe C. Schmitter (1986), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Erzsébet Szalai (1989), „The New Elite” *Across Frontiers*, Fall-Winter, 1989. 25-29.

Jirina Siklová (1990), „The 'Gray Zone' and the Future of Dissent in Czechoslovakia” *Social Research*, Vol. 57. No. 2. Summer, 343-367.

Akos Rona-Tas (1991), „The Selected and the Elected: The Making of the New Parliamentary Elite in Hungary” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 5. No. 3. Fall, 357-393.

George Kolankiewicz (1994) „Elites in Search of Political Formula” *Daedalus*, Summer 143-57.

András Bozóki (1994), „Intellectuals and Democratization in Hungary” in Chris Rootes & Howard Davis (eds.): *A New Europe? Social Change and Political Transformation*. London: UCL Press, 149-175.

Christian Joppke (1995), *East German Dissidents and the Revolution of 1989*. New York: New York University Press

Lewis A. Coser (1996), „The Social Role of Eastern European Intellectuals Reconsidered” in Richard Kilmister & Ian Varcoe (eds.), *Culture, Modernity and Revolution*. London: Routledge, 166-183.

Roumen Daskalov (1996), „Transformation of the East European Intelligentsia: Reflections on the Bulgarian Case” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 10. No. 1. Winter, 46-84.

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (1996), „Intellectuals as Political Actors in Eastern Europe: The Romanian Case” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 10. No. 2. Spring, 333-364.

András Bozóki ed. (1999), *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press

András Bozóki ed. (2002), *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy*

Budapest: CEU Press

András Bozóki & Gergely Karácsony (2002), „The Making of a Political Elite: Participants of the Hungarian Roundtable Talks of 1989” in A. Bozóki ed. *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy*. New York – Budapest: CEU Press, 71-136.

Tomasz Zarycki (2003), „Cultural Capital and the Political Role of the Intelligentsia in Poland”

Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 19. No. 4. December, 91-108.

Gideon Rahat (2007), „Candidate Selection: The Choice Before the Choice” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18. No. 1. January, 157-170.

WEEK 9. (March 3, 5). **Elites and Elite Research in the New Democracies**

Mandatory readings:

Iván Szelényi & Szonja Szelényi (1995), „Circulation or Reproduction of Elites during the Postcommunist Transformation of Eastern Europe” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 24. No. 5. 615-638.

Gil Eyal, Eleanor Townsley, & Iván Szelényi (1997), „The Theory of Post-Communist Managerialism” *New Left Review*, No. 222. 60-92.

Gil Eyal (2000), „Anti-politics and the Spirit of Capitalism: Dissidents, Monetarists, and the Czech Transition to Capitalism” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29. No. 1. February, 50-92.

John Higley & György Lengyel (2000), „Elite Configurations after State Socialism” in Higley & Lengyel (eds.), *Elites After State Socialism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1-21.

Jacek Wasilewski (2001), „Three Elites of the Central East European Democratization” in Radoslaw Markowski & Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski (eds.), *Transformative Paths in Central and Eastern Europe*. Warsaw: Fiedrich Ebert Stiftung - PAN ISP, 133-142.

András Bozóki (2003), „Theoretical Interpretations of Elite Change in East Central Europe” in Mattei Dogan (ed.), *Elite Configurations at the Apex of Power*. Leiden - Boston: Brill, 215-248

Jacek Raciborski (2007), „Forming Government Elites in a New Democracy: The Case of Poland” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 40. No. 1. March, 17-40.

Optional readings:

Erzsébet Szalai (1995), „The Metamorphosis of the Elites” in Béla K. Király & András Bozóki (eds.): *Lawful Revolution in Hungary, 1989-94*. Boulder: SSM, 159-174.

John Higley, Judith Kullberg, & Jan Pakulski (1996), „The Persistence of Post-Communist Elites” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 133-147.

Gil Eyal, Iván Szelényi & Eleanor Townsley (1998), *Making Capitalism Without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*. London: Verso. Especially the chapter on „The Ideology of the Post-Communist Power Elite” 86-112.

Heinrich Best & Ulrike Becker eds. (1997), *Elites in Transition: Elite Research in Central and Eastern Europe*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich

Anton Steen (1997), *Between Past and Future: Elites, Democracy, and the State in Post-*

Communist Countries. A Comparison of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. Aldershot: Ashgate
John Higley, Jan Pakulski, & Włodzimierz Wesolowski (1998), „Introduction: Elite Change and Democratic Regimes in Eastern Europe” in Higley, Pakulski & Wesolowski eds.
Postcommunist Elites and Democracy in Eastern Europe. Basingstoke: Macmillan 1-33.
Jacek Wasilewski (1998), „Hungary, Poland and Russia: The Fate of Nomenklatura Elites” in Mattei Dogan & John Higley (eds.), *Elites, Crises, and the Origins of Regimes.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 147-167.
Carmen González Enriquez (1998), „Elites and Decommunization in Eastern Europe” in Higley, Pakulski, Wesolowski (eds.), *Postcommunist Elites and Democracy in Eastern Europe.* London: Macmillan, 277-295.
John Higley & György Lengyel ed. (2000), *Elites After State Socialism: Theories and Analysis.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield

WEEK 10. (March 10, 12) **Classes, Elites, Networks: New Approaches in Elite Research**

Mandatory readings:

Jan Pakulski & Malcolm Waters (1996), „The Reshaping and Dissolution of Social Class in Advanced Society” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 25. No. 5. October, 667-691.

Erik Olin Wright (1996), „The Continuing Relevance of Class Analysis – Comments” *Theory and Society* Vol. 25. No. 5. October, 693-716.

John Higley & Jan Pakulski (2000), „Elite Theory versus Marxism: The Twentieth Century Verdict” in John Higley & György Lengyel (eds.), *Elites After State Socialism.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 229-241.

Nicolas Guilhot (2005), „International Relations Theory and the Emancipatory Narrative of Human Rights Networks” in Nicolas Guilhot: *The Democracy Makers.* New York: Columbia University Press, 166-187.

John Higley & Jan Pakulski (2007), „Elite and Leadership Change in Liberal Democracies” *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 6. Nos. 1-2. 6-26.

Heinrich Best (2007), „New Challenges, New Elites? Changes in the Recruitment and Career Patterns of European Representative Elites” *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 6. Nos. 1-2. 85-113.

Optional readings:

Robert D. Putnam (1976), *The Comparative Study of Political Elites.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall

G. Lowell Field & John Higley (1985), „National Elites and Political Stability” in Gwen Moore (ed.): *Studies of the Structure of National Elite Groups.* Greenwich CT: JAI Press, 1-44.

Eva Etzioni-Halévy (1990), „The Relative Autonomy of Elites: The Absorption of Protest and

- Social Progress in Western Democracies” in Jeffrey C. Alexander & Piotr Sztompka (eds.): *Rethinking Progress*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 202-25.
- Eva Etzioni-Halévy ed. (1997), *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland
- Nicolas Guilhot (2005), *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and International Order*. New York: Columbia University Press
- John Higley & Richard Burton (2006), *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy*. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield
- Jean-Pascal Daloz (2007), „Elite Distinction: Grand Theory and Comparative Perspectives” *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 6. Nos. 1-2. 27-74.

WEEK 11. (December 17, 19).

Elite Culture and Cultural Politics

Mandatory readings:

Zygmunt Bauman (1992), „Legislators and Interpreters: Culture as the Ideology of Intellectuals” in Z. Bauman: *Intimations of Postmodernity*. London: Routledge, 1-25.

Ron Eyerman (1994), *Between Culture and Politics: Intellectuals in Modern Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-31.

Optional readings:

Richard J. Ellis & Michael Thompson eds. (1997), *Culture Matters*. Boulder: Westview Press

Francois Matarasso & Charles Landry (1999), *Balancing Act: 21 Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing

Immanuel Wallerstein (2000), „Culture as the Ideological Battleground of the Modern World System” in *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press, 264-289.

Gil Eyal, Iván Széleányi & Eleanor Townsley (2003), „On Irony: An Invitation to Neoclassical Sociology” *Thesis Eleven*, No. 73. May, 5-41.

András Bozóki (2005), *The Culture of Freedom*. Budapest: Ministry of Cultural Heritage

Yudhishtir Raj Isar ed. (2005), *Inclusive Europe? Horizon 2020*. Budapest: Kultúrpoint

P. Inkei, B. Lázár, A. Zongor eds. (2006), *Inclusive Europe? Proceedings*. Budapest: Kultúrpoint

Thomas Medvetz (2007), „Hybrid Intellectuals” mimeo. (forthcoming)

John Higley & Jan Pakulski (2007), „The Quality of Elites and the Illusions of Ideology” A paper prepared for the 4th ECPR Conference, Pisa, Italy, September 6-9.

András Bozóki (2007), „The Making of Reform: Elite Dilemmas and Political Options” Op. cit.

WEEK 12. (March 24, 26). **Students’ Presentations and Concluding Discussion**