

## **Political Sociology**

PhD seminar (4 credits)

Fall semester, 2010.

Monday & Wednesday 15.30 – 17.10

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### **Course description**

This is a doctoral seminar building on the comparative politics and political theory MA courses. Basic questions in political sociology mostly focus on the holders of power and the way power is exercised in a society. In this seminar, sociological analysis is applied to the political field, and attention is paid to social determinants and sources of political power, state formation, theories of the state, civil society, and social movements. Beyond these topics the seminar offers an overview in classic and recent theories of elites and classes with emphasis on New Class and edifferent positional and reputational elite groups (politicians, intellectuals, cultural elites). The relationship between political transformation and elite change, between current forms of globalization and the global justice movements will also be discussed, just as the structure vs agency debate.

### **Expectations and assignments**

Students are expected to attend classes, to be active and prepared for the discussion of a given topic. In each meeting, an introductory presentation of the topic will be followed by student presentations and discussion. Presentation handouts will be requested, just as, occasionally, position papers.

### **Course objectives**

The main aim of the course is to help students understand the social embeddedness of political processes and to familiarize them with some of the most fundamental approaches in the domain of political sociology as well with its contemporary currents. It will allow students to understand the different theoretical approaches to the study of power, state, civil society, classes, elites, and movements. The seminar program is designed in such a way that maximizes the interactions between different schools of thoughts of studying political sociology.

### **Learning outcome**

During the course students enhance their capacity of critical thinking and ability to express their own opinions. They are expected to learn how to analyze and interpret political processes and political behavior from sociological perspective and, at the same time, understand the political impact on social structure, on citizens social and labor market position and their attitudes, aspirations and values.

### **Requirements and assessments**

Since this is a reading seminar, students are expected to do the reading thoroughly *before* the class meeting for which it is assigned, and to participate actively in class meetings. The seminar is based on close reading of the texts and active participation of students to ensure a

lively group discussion on each topic. The seminar is designed to be highly interactive and to give students a chance to develop their oral and written ability to marshal analytical arguments concerning issues at hand.

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 handout for others by the beginning of the class. Occasionally, short position papers will also be required.

Finally, each student has to write a 12-14 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 October 31. The final paper must be turned in the December 6 meeting.

**Evaluation** is based

1. on the participation, activity, and the quality of presentations in seminar discussions (40 per cent),
2. on short written presentations, e.g. handouts, position papers (20 per cent), and
3. on the quality of the final paper (40 per cent).

## **Topics and readings**

**WEEK 1.** September 20. **Introduction and Overview of the Course**

### ***Mandatory reading***

Reinhard Bendix , 1977 [1960] "Basic Concepts of Political Sociology," in Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. Berkeley: University of California Press, 285-297.

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

### ***Optional reading***

Giovanni Sartori, 1969. „From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology” in S. M.

Lipset ed. Politics and the Social Sciences. London: Oxford Univ. Press

Kate Nash, 2000. Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics, and Power,

Blackwell Publishers, Malden, Mass. 1-19.

Nick Crossley, 2005. Key Concepts in Critical Social Theory. Los Angeles: Sage

Colin Hay, 2007. Why We Hate Politics. Cambridge: Polity Press

Hans Joas & Wolfgang Knöbl, 2009. Social Theory: Twenty Introductory Lectures.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

September 22. **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.

Max Weber 1991. „The Sociology of Charismatic Authority” in H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills eds. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. London: Routledge, 245-262.

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

### ***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

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

Zygmunt Bauman 1987. Legislators and Interpreters. Ithaca - New York: Cornell University Press

Loic J. D. Wacquant, 1989. “Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu.” Sociological Theory 7:26-63.

Craig Calhoun, 1995. “Habitus, Field, and Capital: Historical Specificity in the Theory of Practice,” in Critical Social Theory. Oxford: Blackwell, 132-161.

**WEEK 2.** September 27, 29. **Power**

### ***Mandatory readings***

C. Wright Mills, 1956. The Power Elite. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 3-29.

Nelson W. Polsby, 1960. “How to Study Community Power: The Pluralist Alternative.” Journal of Politics 22: 474-484.

Robert A. Dahl, 1961. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1-8., 85-86.

Steven Lukes, 1986. “Introduction.” in Power, edited by Steven Lukes. New York: New York University Press, 1-18.

Pierre Bourdieu, 1989. “Social Space and Symbolic Power” Sociological Theory. Vol. 7. No. 1. 14-25.

### ***Optional readings***

Robert A. Dahl. 1958. “A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model.” American Political Science Review 52: 463-9.

Robert A. Dahl 1961. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 89-103, 223-228, 271-275, 305-325.

Daniel Bell 1958. “The Power Elite Reconsidered.” American Journal of Sociology 64: 238-50.

Michel Foucault 1980. Power / Knowledge. New York: Pantheon Books

- Michel Foucault, 1991. "Governmentality," 87-104 in The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, edited by Graham Buchell, Collin Gordon, and Peter Miller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- William G. Domhoff 1990. The Power Elite and the State: How Policy is Made in America. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 29-64.
- Pierre Bourdieu 1991. Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Mark Haugaard ed., 2002. Power: A Reader. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Carl Schmitt, 2007 [1929] The Concept of the Political. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Martin J. Smith, 2009. Power and the State. Basingstoke: Palgrave

**WEEK 3.**      October 4, 6.                      **The State I.**

***Mandatory readings***

Max Weber, 1991 [1948]. „Bureaucracy” in H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills eds. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. London: Routledge, 196-244.

Michael Mann, 1984. “The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results” European Journal of Sociology Vol. 25. No. 2. 185-213.

Theda Skocpol, 1985. „Bringing the State Back in: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research” in Peter Evans et al. eds. Bringing the State Back In, New York: Cambridge University Press, 3-37.

Charles Tilly, 1985. „War Making and State Making as Organized Crime” in P. Evans et al. eds. Bringing the State Back In. New York Cambridge University Press, 169-191.

Pierre Bourdieu, 1994. “Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field” Sociological Theory. Vol. 12. No. 1. March, 1-18.

***Optional readings***

J. P. Nettl, 1968. “The State as a Conceptual Variable.” World Politics, 20. 4. 559-592.

Stein Rokkan, 1975. “Dimensions of state formation and nation-building: a possible paradigm for research on variations within Europe”, in Tilly, C. (1975), The Formation of Nation States in Western Europe, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 562-600.

Philip Abrams (1988 [1977]), “Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State.” Journal of Historical Sociology, Vol. 1. No. 1. 58-69.

Gianfranco Poggi, 1978. The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Alfred Stepan, 1978. The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-72.

John Gaventa 1982. “Power and Participation” in J. Gaventa, Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 3-32.

Frank Harrison, 1983. The Modern State: An Anarchist Analysis. Montréal: Black Rose Press

Stephen D. Krasner, 1984. “Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and

- Historical Dynamics” *Comparative Politics* Vol. 16. No. 2. 223-246.
- Martin Carnoy, 1984. The State and Political Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Andrew Vincent, 1987. Theories of the State. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1-146; 181-217.
- Gianfranco Poggi, 1990. The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Michael Mann, 1992. States, War and Capitalism 1992. Blackwell, Oxford U.K. 1-32.
- Katherine Verdery, 1995. “The ‘etatization’ of time in Ceausescu’s Romania”, in What Was Socialism and What Comes Next (1995), Princeton University Press, Princeton, 39-58.

**WEEK 4.**      October 11, 13.      **The State II.**

***Mandatory readings***

- Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 1978 [1847]. The German Ideology excerpts, in Robert Tucker ed. The Marx-Engels Reader, New York: W. W. Norton, 176-191.
- Nicos Poulantzas 1969. „The Problem of the Capitalist State” New Left Review, 58: 67-78.
- Ralph Miliband (1983 [1970 and 1973]). “The Capitalist State: Two Exchanges with Nicos Poulantzas,” in Class Power and State Power. London: Verso, 26-48.
- Nicos Poulantzas 1976. The Capitalist State: A Reply to Miliband and Laclau.” New Left Review, 95: 63-83.
- Ralph Miliband 1983, “State Power and Class Interests,” in Class Power and State Power. London: Verso, 63-78.

***Optional readings***

- Nicos Poulantzas, 1973. Political Power and Social Classes. New York: Verso. (Especially 25-141, 147-152; 187-194, 225-245, 255-321.)
- Amy Bridges, 1974. ”Nicos Poulantzas and the Marxist Theory of the State.” Politics & Society 4 (2): 161-190.
- Claus Offe, 1974. “Structural Problems of the Capitalist State: Class Rule and the Political System. On the Selectiveness of Political Institutions.” German Political Studies, I: 31-57.
- Simon Clarke, 1977. “Marxism, Sociology and Poulantzas’ Theory of the State.” Capital and Class 2: 1-31.
- Nicos Poulantzas, 1978. State, Power, Socialism. New York: Verso. 11-27, 35-53, 123-160.
- Goran Therborn, 1978. What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules? London: New Left Books
- Claus Offe, 1984. Contradictions of the Welfare State. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press. Chapter 3. “Social Policy and the Theory of the State”. Chapter 4. “Theses on the Theory of the State,” 88-118, 119-129;
- Andrew Vincent, 1987. Theories of the State. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 147-180.
- Clyde Barrow (1993), Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Post-Marxist. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 51-76. 96-124.

- Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer & Theda Skocpol, (1985), "On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State" In P. Evans et al. ed. Bringing the State Back In. New York: Cambridge University Press, 347-366.
- Bob Jessop. 1990. "Recent Theories of the Capitalist State" and "Accumulation Strategies, State Forms and Hegemonic Projects" in State Theory: Putting States in their Place. Penn State University Press. 24-47, 196-219.
- Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo. 1991. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." Pp. 1-32 in Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis, edited by Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Timothy Mitchell, 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics." American Political Science Review 85 (1): 77-96.
- Evans, Peter. 1995. "A Comparative Institutional Approach" in Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 21-42.
- Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant. 1999. "On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason." Theory, Culture and Society 16(1): 41-58.
- Akhil Gupta, 1995. "Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics and the Imagined State." American Ethnologist 22(2), 375-402.
- George Steinmetz, 1999 "Introduction: Culture and the State," 1-49 in State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn, edited by George Steinmetz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Bob Jessop (2002), The Future of the Capitalist State. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Francis Fukuyama (2004), "The Imperative of State-Building" Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15. No. 2. April, 17-31.

**WEEK 5.**      October 18, 20. **Structure/Culture vs Agency: The Case of Revolutions**

***Mandatory readings***

Theda Skocpol, 1979. States and Social Revolutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 3-43.

William H. Sewell, 1994. „Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case" in T. Skocpol ed. Social Revolutions in the Modern World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169-198.

Theda Skocpol, 1994. „Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell" in T. Skocpol ed., Social Revolutions in the Modern World, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 199-209.

Eric Selbin, 1997. „Revolution and the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In" in John Foran ed., Theorizing Revolutions. London: Routledge, 123-136.

***Optional readings***

Robert Wuthnow, 1989. Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the

- Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989. 515-583.
- Jeffrey C. Alexander & Steven Seidman eds. 1990. Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Theda Skocpol ed. 1993. Vision and Method in Historical Sociology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-21 and 356-391.
- Theda Skocpol, 1993. Social Revolutions in the Modern World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169-209.
- Paul Abramson & Ronald Inglehart, 1995. Value Change in Global Perspective. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press
- John Foran, 1997. „Discourses and Social Forces: The Role of Culture and Cultural Studies in Understanding Revolutions” in J. Foran ed., Theorizing Revolutions. London: Routledge, 203-226.
- Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, 1997. „Structural Theories of Revolution” in J. Foran: Theorizing Revolutions. London: Routledge, 38-72.
- Mark N. Katz, 1997. Revolutions and Revolutionary Waves. New York: St. Martin’s Press
- Jeff Goodwin, 2001. No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Richard Sakwa, 2001. „The Age of Paradox: The Anti-revolutionary Revolutions of 1989-91” in Moira Donald and Tim Rees (eds.), Reinterpreting Revolutions in Twentieth-Century Europe. London: Macmillan, 159-176.
- Colin Hay, 2002. Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 89-134.
- Charles H. Fairbanks (2007), „Revolution Reconsidered” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 18. No. 1. January, 42-57.
- Eric Selbin, 2010. Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of the Story. London: Zed Books

**WEEK 6.**     October 25, 27.     **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.

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

### *Optional readings*

- H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills eds. 1991. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. 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.
- Tom Bottomore, 1982 [1964] Elites and Society. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Harold Lasswell & Daniel Lerner, 1965. World Revolutionary Elites. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press
- 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.
- Peter Bachrach, 1969. The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique. London: University of London 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.

- WEEK 7.** November 1. Public holiday, no class  
November 3. **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 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 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.
- Antonio Gramsci. 1971. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. New York: International Publishers. “State and The Civil Society” (206-275); “Problems of Marxism: Economy and Ideology” (407-409); “The Formation of Intellectuals” (5-14); “The Modern Prince” (123-202).
- 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: 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
- Perry Anderson. 1976. ”The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci.” New Left Review 100: 5-78.
- Joseph Femia, 1975. „Hegemony and Consciousness in the Thought of Antonio Gramsci” Political Studies 23 (1): 29-48.

**WEEK 8.** November 8, 10. **New Class Theories**

***Mandatory readings:***

Mikhail Bakunin, 1980. „The International and Karl Marx” in 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.

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

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

***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
- David T. Bazelon, 1967. Power in America: The Politics of the New Class. New York: New American Library, 307-332.
- 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.
- Michael G. Burton and John Higley (1987), „Invitation to Elite Theory: The Basic Contentions Reconsidered” in G. William Domhoff and Thomas R. Dye (eds.), Power Elites and Organizations. Newbury Park: Sage, 219-238.

**WEEK 9.** November 15, 17. **Intellectuals and Criticism on the New Class**

***Mandatory readings:***

- Max Nomad, 1960. „Masters – Old and New” in George B. de Huszar (ed.), The Intellectuals. Glencoe: The Free Press, 338-345.
- 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.
- Jerome Karabel (1996), „Towards a Theory of Intellectuals and Politics” Theory and Society, Vol. 25. No. 2. April, 205-233.

***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
- 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.
- 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 Sztopka eds. Rethinking Progress: Movement Forces and Ideas at the End of the 20th Century. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 91-105.
- George Konrád and 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.
- Zygmunt Bauman, 1992, „Love in Adversity: On the State and the Intellectuals, and the State of the Intellectuals” Thesis Eleven, No. 31. 81-104.
- 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: 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 10.** November 22, 24. **Civil Society and Competing Theories of Social Transformation**

**Mandatory readings**

Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, 1992. „Introduction” in Civil Society and Political Theory. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1-26.

Andrew Arato, 1981. „Civil Society Against the State: Poland 1980-81” Telos, Vol. 47. 1981. 23-47.

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

### *Optional readings*

Antonio Gramsci. 1971. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. New York: International Publishers. “State and The Civil Society” 206-275.

Chantal Mouffe, 1979. “Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci,” in Gramsci and Marxist Theory, edited by Chantal Mouffe. London: Routledge, 168-204.

Václav Havel, 1985. „The Power of the Powerless” in John Keane ed. Citizens Against the State in Central Eastern Europe. London: Hutchinson

Adam Michnik: Letters from Prison and Other Essays. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

John Keane, 1988. „Introduction” in John Keane ed. Civil Society and the State. London: Verso, 1988.

Adam Seligman, 1992. The Idea of Civil Society. New York: The Free Press

J. Cohen and A. Arato, 1992. „The Contemporary Revival of Civil Society” in Civil Society and Political Theory. Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 29-82.

Robert Putnam, 1993. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-16 and 121-185.

András Bozóki & Miklós Sükösd, 1993. "Civil Society and Populism in Eastern Europe" Praxis International, Vol.13. No.3. October 1993. 224-241.

John Hall ed. 1995. Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison. Cambridge: Polity Press

Chris Hann & Elizabeth Dunn (eds.) 1996. Civil Society: Challenging Western Models. London: Routledge, 1996.

Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan, 1996. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-15.

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: Friedrich 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

**WEEK 11.** Nov. 29, Dec. 1. **Mobilization: Social Movements and Their Ideas**

***Mandatory readings***

Jürgen Habermas, 1981. “New Social Movements” Telos 1981, 49:33-37

Alain Touraine, 1985, “An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements” Social Research 52, 749-788

Claus Offe, 1985. „New Social Movements: Changing Boundaries of the Political” Social Research, 52, 817-68

Sidney Tarrow, 1994. Power in Movement - Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics. Cambridge University Press 1994 Chapter 5. ‘Seizing and Making Opportunities’ 81-100.

William Gamson and David Meyer, 1996. “Framing Political Opportunity” in D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald eds. Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Framing Cambridge University Press, 275-290.

***Optional readings***

Alain Touraine, 1981. The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Alberto Melucci, 1985. “The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements” Social Research, 52, 789-816

Herbert Kitschelt 1986. “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies” British Journal of Political Science, 16. 57-85.

Alberto Melucci, 1988. „Social Movements and the Democratization of Everyday Life” in John Keane (ed.): Civil Society and the State. London: Verso, 245-260.

Alan Scott, 1990. Ideology and the New Social Movements London: Unwin Hyman

Russell J. Dalton & Manfred Kuechler eds. 1990. Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies. Cambridge: Polity Press

Jean Cohen & Andrew Arato, 1992. „Social Movements and Civil Society” in Civil Society and Political Theory. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 492-563.

Sydney Tarrow, 1994. Power in Movement - Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics, Cambridge University Press 1994 Chapter 7. “Framing Collective Action” 118-135.

John Walton and David Seddon, 1994. Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Hanspeter Kriesi et al. eds. 1995. New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis. London: UCL Press
- Sydney Tarrow, 1996. „States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements” in D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald eds. Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Framing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 41-62.
- Anthony Oberschall, 1996. „Opportunities and Framing in the Eastern European revolts of 1989” in D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald, eds. Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Framing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 93-122.
- Doug McAdam, 1996. „The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement” in D. McAdam, J. D., McCarthy and M. N. Zald, eds. Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Framing. Cambridge University Press, 338-357.
- Charles Kurzman, 1996. “Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979” American Sociological Review, 61:153-170

**WEEK 12.** December 6. **Protest Politics & Problems of Globalization and Democracy**

***Mandatory readings***

- Chantal Mouffe, 2005. „Democracy, Power and 'the Political'” in The Democratic Paradox. London: Verso, 17-35.
- Donatella della Porta, 2007. „The Global Justice Movement: An Introduction” in della Porta ed. The Global Justice Movement: A Cross-National and Transnational Perspective. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 1-28.
- Peter Evans, 2008. „Is an Alternative Globalization Possible?” Politics & Society, Vol. 36. No. 2. June 2008. 271-305.

***Optional readings***

- Alejandro Portes, 1997. „Neoliberalism and the Sociology of Development: Emerging Trends and Unanticipated Facts” in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds. (2000), From Modernization to Globalization. Oxford: Blackwell, 353-72.
- Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco, Charles Chatfield eds. 1997. Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 59-77.
- Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald, 1998. „Globalization and the Study of Political Change” in Randall & Theobald: Political Change and Underdevelopment. Durham: Duke University Press, 222-265.
- David Held et al. 1999. Global Transformations. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Ulrich Beck, 2000. What Is Globalization? Cambridge: Polity Press
- J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds. 2000. From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change. Oxford: Blackwell
- Meghnad Desai and Yahia Said, 2001. „The New Anti-Capitalist Movement: Money and

- Global Civil Society” in H. Anheier, M. Glasius, and M. Kaldor eds. Global Civil Society Oxford University Press, 51-79
- Jeffrey M. Ayres, 2002. „Transnational Political Processes and Contention Against the Global Economy” In Jackie Smith & Hank Johnston eds., Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 181-205.
- Marcos Ancelovici, 2002. „Organizing against Globalization: The Case of ATTAC in France” Politics and Society Vol.30., No.3, 427-463.
- Jackie Smith, 2002. „Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements.” in Jackie Smith & Hank Johnston eds., Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements. Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 207-227.
- Susan George, 2004. Another World Is Possible If... London: Verso
- Jeffrey M. Ayres, 2004. „Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the 'Anti-Globalization' Movement” Journal of World-Systems Research, Vol. 10. No. 1. Winter, 11-34.
- Don Kalb, 2005. „From Flows to Violence: Politics and Knowledge in the Debates on Globalization and Empire” Anthropological Theory, Vol. 5. No. 2. 176-204.
- Peter Evans, 2005. „Counter-Hegemonic Globalization: Transnational Social Movements in the Contemporary Global Political Economy” in Thomas Janoski, Robert R. Alford, Alexander M. Hicks & Mildred A. Schwartz eds., The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 655-670.
- Mario Pianta and Raffaele Marchetti, 2007. „The Global Justice Movements: The Transnational Dimension” in Donatella della Porta ed. The Global Justice Movement: A Cross-National and Transnational Perspective. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 29-51.
- David Held & Anthony McGrew, 2007. Globalization / Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide. Cambridge: Polity Press (especially 185-236.)
- Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 2008. „The World Social Forum and the Global Left” Politics and Society, Vol. 36. No. 2. June, 247-270.
- Peter N. Funke, 2008. „The World Social Forum: Social Forums as Resistance Relays” New Political Science, Vol. 30. No. 4. December, 449-474.
- John Wood, 2008. „Unity or Diversity: An Assessment of the Movement of Movements in the United States” New Political Science, Vol. 30. No. 4. December, 475-496.
- Jai Sen & Peter Waterman eds. 2009. World Social Forum: Challenging Empires. Montreal: Black Rose Books

December 8. **Concluding Discussion**  
Handing the final essays.