



IPSA RC02 POLITICAL ELITES

NEWSLETTER 02/2012

1. RC02 News

1.1 Business Meeting in Madrid

The Business Meeting took place on 11 July 2012. The Minutes were sent out in August. If you did not receive a copy or lost it, please order a new one from Ursula Hoffmann-Lange.

1.2 New RC02 Officers

At the well-attended Business Meeting of the RC during the IPSA World Congress in Madrid, a new slate of RC02 officers was elected:

Chair: Heinrich Best, University of Jena, heinrich.best@uni-jena.de

Vice Chair: Maurizio Cotta, University of Siena, maurizio.cotta@unisi.it

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

Board Members: The IPSA rules allow for the election of 7 to 12 board members, two of which need to be new members. Election results (by acclamation):

1. Jean-Pascal Daloz, University of Strasbourg, France
2. Patrick Dumont, University of Luxemburg (new)
3. Oxana Gaman-Golutvina, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russia
4. John Higley, University of Texas at Austin, USA
5. Hennie Kotzé, Stellenbosch University, South Africa (new)
6. Hélène Michel, University of Strasbourg, France (new)
7. Jan Pakulski, University of Tasmania, Australia
8. Juan Rodríguez Teruel, University of Valencia, Spain (new)
9. Cristobál Rovira Kaltwasser, University of Sussex, UK
10. Elena Semenova, University of Jena, Germany (new)
11. Pedro Tavares de Almeida, New University of Lisbon, Portugal (new)

1.3 A Tribute to the Outgoing Officers: John Higley and Jean-Pascal Daloz

RC02 pays tribute to John Higley and Jean-Pascal Daloz who served as chair and executive secretary of RC02 from 2003 to 2012. In their term of office they increased considerably the impact and visibility of the RC by successfully (co)organizing RC02 sections at the IPSA conferences in Fukuoka (2006), Santiago (2009) and Madrid (2012). In addition, they were involved in organizing RC02

workshops in Balestrand 2005, Jena (Dornburg) 2006 and 2007, conference sections at the ECPR General Conferences in Pisa (2007) and Reykjavik (2011), a panel at IPSA International Conference "Is There a European Model of Governance? A Comparative Perspective" in Luxemburg (2010) and a panel at the IPSA-ECPR Joint Conference "Whatever Happened to North-South?" in São Paulo (2011). Finally, in April 2012, John Higley convened a workshop "Elites and the Trans-Atlantic Crisis" in Austin which was sponsored by the University of Texas in honoring John's long-standing service as professor and chair of the Department of Government (from 2001 to 2006).

http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/european_studies/conferences%20and%20workshops/Elites-and-Trans-Atlantic-Crisis.php

We are especially glad that John and Jean-Pascal have offered to provide advice and help to the new board of officers. Both are continuing to serve as board members of RC02 and we are looking forward to their participation in our future activities.

2. Recent Events

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

A profound crisis began during 2008 with insolvencies of giant US and UK financial institutions and a freezing of credit flows. It metastasized during 2009-10 into a general economic-political crisis on both sides of the Atlantic. Elites are pivotal actors in the crisis. Elite interactions of unparalleled intensity and scope are impelled by it and actions taken or not taken by elites are its main inflection points. Elites are widely blamed for causing the crisis, for worsening it by dithering, and for prioritizing immediate political needs over effective antidotes. Do such accusations hold water? How has the crisis changed configurations and modalities of American and European elites? What does the primacy of elites, especially non-elected elites heading central banks like the Federal Reserve and supra-national institutions like the EU, the ECB and the IMF, imply for democracy and its prospects? It is not too much to say that Europe's historic effort to integrate, America's political economy, and relations across the Atlantic turn on the answers.

The Research Committee on Political Elites is consequently devoting much effort to comprehend the interplay between elites and the crisis. In April 2012 John Higley, who chaired the Committee from 2002-2012, hosted a score of Committee members at a University of Texas symposium focused on elites and the crisis. Nineteen papers were presented, and Higley and Heinrich Best (Univ. of Jena) are editing a selection of them for a volume expected to appear during 2013. This fundamental question will also be the focus of the section RC02 proposed for next year's ECPR General Conference in Bordeaux (see below).

2.2 IPSA 22nd World Congress

RC02 held seven panels at the IPSA 22nd World Congress in Madrid, 8-12 July 2012. The panels covered a broad range of topics. They were well-attended and stimulated lively discussions. For more information please visit the congress website:

<http://www.ipsa.org/events/congress/madrid2012/session/6333/panel/accepted>

Panels:

1. Elites and Populist Leaders
2. Elite Social Distinction: New or Diminishing Forms?
3. Elite Foundations of New Democracies
4. Elite Dilemmas and Democracy's Future

5. Elite Circulation and Recruitment: Changing Intensities and Patterns
6. Experts and Non-partisan Ministers in European Democracies
7. Elite Foundations of Transnational Governments: Orientations and Accountability

The titles and abstracts of the papers can be found on the conference website by clicking the appropriate panel. If you should be interested in particular papers, please contact the paper-givers whose e-mail addresses are also listed on the website.

3. Upcoming Events

3.1 Workshop on “Experts and Non-partisan Ministers in European Democracies” in Lisbon, 23-24 March 2013



Workshop in Lisbon, 23-24 March 2013

Experts and Non-partisan Ministers in European Democracies

Sponsored by The Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

Venue: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Nova University of Lisbon.

Convenors: Pedro Tavares de Almeida, António Costa Pinto and Maurizio Cotta

List of participants:

António Costa Pinto (University of Lisbon),
Daniel Gaxie (University of Paris 1),
Gabriella Ilonszki (Corvinus University, Budapest)
Hasret D. Bilgin (Okan University, Turkey).
Juan Rodríguez Teruel (University of Valencia),
Laurentiu Stefan (University of Bucharest),
Luca Verzichelli (University of Siena),
Manuel Alcántara Sáez (University of Salamanca)
Maurizio Cotta (University of Siena),
Michael Edinger (Friedrich-Schiller University, Jena),
Miguel Jerez Mir (University of Granada)
Patrick Dumont (University of Luxembourg),
Pedro Tavares de Almeida (Nova University, Lisbon),
Sabri Sayari (Bahcesehir University, Turkey)

3.2 Session on “Elite Networks” at the [XXXIII Sunbelt Social Networks Conference of the International Network for Social Network Analysis \(INSNA\), May 21-26 2013, Hamburg, Germany](#)



Call for papers for a session on “**Elite Networks**” at the 33rd Sunbelt Conference, May 21-26 2013 in Hamburg, Germany

Organizers: Kai-Uwe Schnapp and Steffen Mohrenberg (University of Hamburg, Germany)

We welcome

- 1) empirical and
- 2) theoretical presentations as well as contributions on
- 3) elite networks with a focus on research methods and methodology.

Topics for this session could include but are not limited to:

1. National or international elites of single or multiple sectors (politics, economy, society)
2. Survey methods for network data and issues of collecting elite networks
 - Methodological issues of sampling and definitions of the population
 - Research designs of planned studies
3. Identification of individuals which belong to elites of hidden populations (crime, gangs, etc.)

Please submit your abstract by December 31 using the following link to the conference's abstract submission system: <http://www.abstractserver.com/sunbelt2013/absmgm/>
During the submission process, you will be asked to select a session title from a drop-down box; please select “Elite Networks”. We kindly request you also put a note in the “additional notes” field referring to “Kai-Uwe Schnapp” as the session organizer.

The conference website (<http://hamburg-sunbelt2013.org>) provides additional information on Hamburg and the 33rd Sunbelt conference.

If you would like to contact the session organizers directly, please write to:
kai-uwe.schnapp@wiso.uni-hamburg.de

3.3 Section on “Elites and Trans-Atlantic Crisis” at the ECPR General Conference in Bordeaux, 4th - 7th September 2013

Abstract: Discussion of the trans-Atlantic crisis is rife with allusions to elites and elitism. Policy failures by elites are widely perceived as main causes of the crisis, and bold elite actions are viewed as essential if it is to be allayed. At no time since Pareto completed his *Treatise on General Sociology* a hundred years ago have elites been more prominent in public discourse than at present. Although elitism continues to be denounced as a cancer in the corpus of democratic politics, it is apparent that amid crisis elites must act decisively as guardians of democratic practices and procedures. It may not be too much to say that the elite perspective is gaining traction from the trans-Atlantic crisis, at the same time that the crisis affords an opportunity to sharpen the analysis of elites and elitism. The panels of the proposed section are supposed to explore these possibilities. Panels using a comparative perspective are especially welcome.

The section will include the following panels:

1. Patrick Dumont and Hanna Bäck: Elite Turnover in Times of Crisis

The link between economic-financial crises and electoral results is a topic addressed by retrospective voting and more specifically economic voting theories. Whether electoral results are followed by government change (wholesale or partial turnover in party composition, change of Prime minister) is yet another question in multi-party systems where coalition governments are needed to reach a majority in parliament. Electoral responsiveness and accountability of incumbents are at the core of this panel which seeks to address various types of government turnover and their link with economic-financial crises. Paper proposals analyzing government turnover are here welcome. Is this turnover indeed greater in times of crisis, reflecting either great electoral swings or greater attention on the part of elites to electoral results? What explains instances of incumbent Prime ministers not even standing for re-election? When incumbents are able to come back to power, do we observe changes in ministerial personnel? These are, among others, research questions we hope to tackle and discuss in the proposed panel.

2. Ursula Hoffmann-Lange and Kai-Uwe Schnapp: Elite Theory and Empirical Elite Research Amid Trans-Atlantic Crisis

While classic and modern elite theories primarily focus on the aggregate level and discuss the structure, functions and quality of elites in a general way, empirical elite research analyzes individual-level data on elites. Empirical elite studies, moreover, have dealt mostly with single national elites, longitudinally or by comparing different elite sectors. Comparative elite studies have been rare and mostly limited to parliamentarians, political executives and top civil servants. Their theoretical focus has necessarily been limited. Rather than discussing elites in a general way, they have used theories of social mobility or theories of representation to explain the social backgrounds and political outlooks of elites and have analyzed changes within the elites or in the relationship between them and citizens by relating them to broader societal developments such as modernization or democratization. However, the increasing availability of data generated by empirical elite research (both cross-sectional and longitudinal) facilitates a search for empirical regularities that transcend individual nations. Meta analyses comparing the results of national elite studies can be used to test broader theoretical questions about the structure and quality of elites. For example, democratization in the CEE countries has elicited a large number of empirical studies bearing on the formation or breakdown of elite settlements. The current economic-political crisis in the trans-Atlantic world affords opportunities to test which economic, institutional and political conditions may be polarizing national elites and undermining the consensus that has characterized elites in many countries in Europe and North America since the 1950s. The panel invites papers dealing with the meta-theoretical question of how the gap between elite theory and empirical elite research may be narrowed in light of the crisis, as well as papers demonstrating theoretical implications of research on elites in the face of crisis (e.g. elite recruitment, attitudes and networks).

3. John Higley and Jan Pakulski: Political Leadership in Times of Crisis

It is clear that political leaders play a central and prominent role in contemporary democracies. Leaders are seen not only as key decision-makers who dominate state executives and shape government strategies, but also as the key elite integrators, the main public communicators of government actions, and the principal repositories of public trust and confidence. At perhaps no time has this centrality of leaders been more evident than during the ongoing trans-Atlantic economic-political crisis. Laments about the inadequacy of national and supra-national leaders have been equaled in number only by demands that they act more decisively. The crisis is in many respects a crisis of political leadership. Papers analyzing the roles played and not played by paramount political leaders - prime ministers and presidents, finance ministers, party leaders (including leaders of parties widely seen as 'extremist' in their stances), as well as top EU, ECB, IMF, and Federal Reserve leaders - are invited, as are papers that reflect on what the crisis-born successes and failures of these leaders imply for stable democracy in the trans-Atlantic world.

4. Pedro Tavares de Almeida and António Costa Pinto: The Rise of Technocrats: Europe and Latin America in Comparison

This panel aims at outlining and discussing main continuities and changes, as well as diversities and convergences, in political elite recruitment patterns in democratic regimes in Europe and Latin America in the last decades. In particular, papers should elaborate on the increasing role played by technical experts or technocrats in European governments and in Latin American executive and legislative bodies, exploring the variables (institutional, political, economic) that favour it and assessing the consequences of this trend. Papers that deal with relevant case studies or take a comparative approach are welcome.

5. Maurizio Cotta and Heinrich Best: European Elites and the Economic-Political Crisis

The major and prolonged economic-political crisis in Europe presents elites with very serious challenges. The crisis generates significant material losses that affect large parts of European populations. At the same time, it facilitates exceptional advantages and profits, political and economic, for some elites and financial interests. The crisis requires largely unprecedented and painful decisions by elites with governing responsibilities, and their decisions tend strongly to diminish trust in the elites who take them. Above all, containing or resolving the crisis challenges accepted wisdom and requires elites to innovate. This panel invites papers assessing two main questions: (1) Will existing European elites succeed in responding to the crisis? (2) Will the elites undergo significant transformations in the process? the ability of European elites to meet these challenges. Are they able to produce necessary changes?

6. Elena Semenova: Advanced Research Methods for Elite Studies

This panel deals with the methodological aspects of elite studies (see Moyser and Wagstaffe 1987). Depending on the particular field (see Hoffmann-Lange 2007), scholars have used different methods of data collection and analysis. Some quantitative (e.g., OLS and multinomial regression as well as factor and correspondence analysis) and qualitative methods (e.g., narrative interviews, focus groups, and text analysis) have been widely applied in elite studies. Researchers have also recently started to use more advanced methods such as survival analysis, multi-level modeling, network analysis, qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), and sequence analysis. We would like to invite empirical papers that focus primarily on elites and that use advanced data analysis methods. Papers should illustrate the benefits of the chosen method for elite research. Possible topics may include elite recruitment, turnover, career patterns, elite structure, and elite-mass distinction. Papers analyzing longitudinal data are particularly welcome.

7. Jonas Wolff, Solveig Richter and Jørgen Møller: Critical Junctures in Democracy Promotion: A new perspective on the role of external actors in processes of regime change

Processes of regime change have proven much more complex than the 'transition paradigm' had led us to expect. While producing quite diverse results, they arguably have a long-term impact on the institutional set-up and the socio-political power relations of the country at hand. In this sense, they constitute key episodes of political change which can be analyzed as critical junctures. This panel sets out to use the historical institutional concept of critical junctures in order to develop a new perspective on international democracy promotion. Instead of the linear view that analyzes democracy promotion in terms of its effect on the success or failure of transition processes, the notion of critical junctures allows for democracy promotion to have multiple effects on political development in the 'recipient' country. By engaging in (or supporting the emergence of) critical junctures, external democracy promoters might, for instance, help shape domestic political struggle in a way that sets a country on a path towards 'delegative' democracy or towards (some kind of) 'hybrid' regime. Systematically, the panel will deal with the following questions: (1) To what extent and in what way do democracy promoters engage in producing critical junctures in 'target' countries? (2) How do democracy promoters perceive, react to and interact with 'local' actors in critical junctures? (3) What consequences do different activities of external actors in critical junctures have for the political development in the 'target' countries?

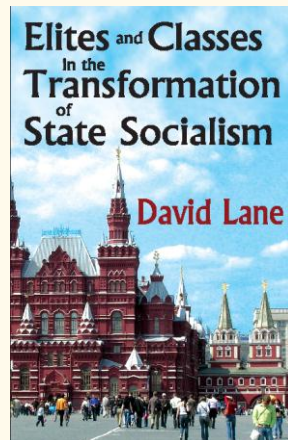
Paper proposals may be submitted from 12 December to 1 February 2013

Link: <http://ecprnet.eu/Events/SectionList.aspx?EventID=5>

4. Recent Publications

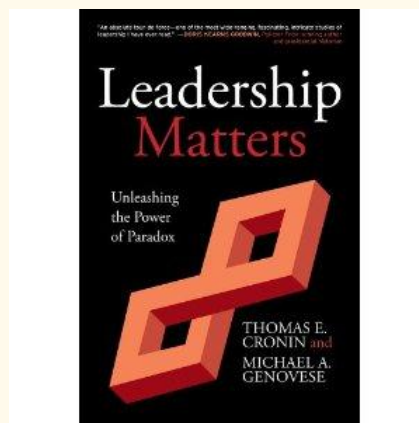
4.1 New Books

David Lane, *Elites and Classes in the Transformation of State Socialism*, Transaction Books, 2011.



The year 2011 marks the twentieth anniversary of the end of the Soviet Union. This may be an appropriate time to evaluate the adoption by previously state socialist societies of other economic and political models. The transition has sometimes been described in positive terms, as a movement to free societies with open markets and democratic elections. Others have argued that the transition has created weak, poverty-stricken states with undeveloped civil societies ruled by unresponsive political elites. Which is the more accurate assessment? David Lane examines a few of the theoretical approaches that help explain the trajectory of change from socialism to capitalism. He focuses on two main approaches in this volume—elite theories and social class. Theories dwelling on the role of elites regard the transformation from socialism to capitalism as a type of system transfer in which elites craft democratic and market institutions into the space left by state socialism. Lane contrasts this interpretation with class-based theories, which consider transformation in terms of revolution, and explain why such theories have not been considered the best way of framing the transition in the post-socialist states. While recognizing that elites can play important roles and have the capacity to transform societies, Lane contends that elite theories alone are inadequate to explain a system change that brings free markets. In contrast, he proposes a class approach in which two groups characterize state socialism: an administrative class and an acquisition class.

Michael Genovese, Tom Cronin: *LEADERSHIP MATTERS: Unleashing the Power of Paradox*, Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, 2012.



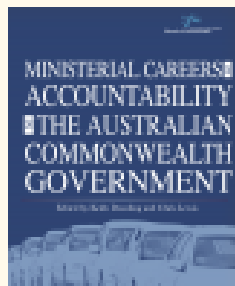
Exceptional leaders can guide us through bursts of energy and activity that fundamentally alter the status quo. But other leaders guide us quietly, and still others lead as followers or as students, citizens, and foot soldiers from every walk of life. Most leadership books emphasize specific rules of the road or characteristics and signposts. Tom Cronin and Michael Genovese see leadership as more nuanced and filled with paradox--a realm in which rules only occasionally apply and how to do it prescriptions obscure more than they enlighten. Leadership Matters offers a different view of leadership one that builds community, motivates self as well as others, and one that is creatively adaptive and synthesizing. Leaders are people with strong egos who are constantly learning and teaching. It is the leadership of teams, groups, and ideas that more often count than that from charismatic figureheads. Leadership is often a bottom-up rather than top-down phenomenon. Both context and agency matter. The best of leaders learn to read contexts, anticipate challenges and disruptions, and employ smart power. This book sets leaders on that path to unleash the power of paradox.

Blurbs:

"An absolute tour-de-force - one of the most wide-ranging, fascinating, intricate studies of leadership I have ever seen." Doris Kearns Goodwin

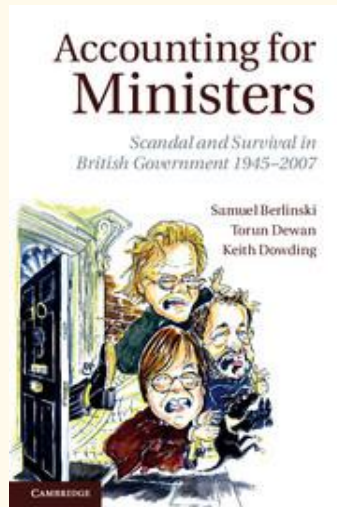
"A highly sophisticated, deeply probing, and remarkable comprehensive treatment of this dynamic and crucial subject" James MacGregor Burns

Keith Dowding and Chris Lewis (ed) "Ministerial Careers and Accountability in the Australian Commonwealth Government". ANU E Press, 2012 (<http://epress.anu.edu.au/>)



This book examines the roles, responsibilities and accountabilities of Australian cabinet ministers. It examines the sorts of jobs ministers do, what is expected of them, what they expect of the job and how they (are supposed to) work together as a team. It considers aspects of how they are chosen to become ministers; how they are scrutinised by parliament and the media; and how ministers themselves view accountability. It also looks at the causes of calls for ministers to resign, examines scandals around ministers and assesses ministerial accountability.

Samuel Berlinski, Torun Dewan and Keith Dowding "Accounting for Ministers". Cambridge University Press, 2012



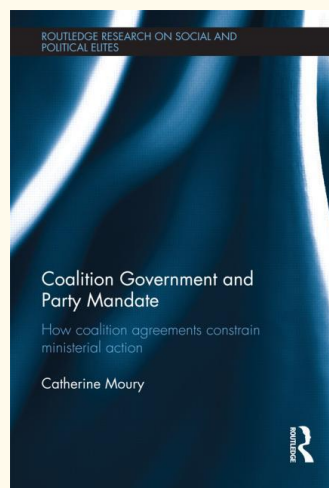
Abstract: Accounting for Ministers uses the tools of modern political science to analyse the factors which determine the fortunes of Cabinet ministers. Utilising agency theory, it describes Cabinet government as a system of incentives for prime ministerial and parliamentary rule. The authors use a unique dataset of ministers from 1945 to 2007 to examine the structural and individual characteristics that lead to the selection and durability of ministers. Sensitive to historical context, it describes the unique features of different Prime Ministers and the sorts of issues and scandals that lead to the forced exit of ministers. The authors identify the structural factors that determine ministerial performance and tenure, seeing resignation calls as performance indicators. Probing the nature of individual and collective responsibility within Westminster forms of government, its rigorous analysis provides powerful new insights into the nature of Cabinet government.

<http://www.cambridge.org/aus/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9780521519724>

SEDEPE is pleased to announce that the first book of the new Research on Social and Political Elites book series published by Routledge (with Keith Dowding and Patrick Dumont as editors) is out (see below. For more information and the opportunity to submit a proposal to the series, please visit: <http://www.routledge.com/books/series/RRSPE/>

Catherine Moury "Coalition Government and Party Mandate. How coalition agreements constrain ministerial action". London: Routledge, 2012.

The book focuses on a comparative study of ministerial behaviour in Germany, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands.



Which kind of decisions are passed by Cabinet in coalition governments? What motivates ministerial action? How much leeway do coalition parties give their governmental representatives?

This book focuses on a comparative study of ministerial behaviour in Germany, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands. It discredits the assumption that ministers are 'policy dictators' in their spheres of competence, and demonstrates that ministers are consistently and extensively constrained when deciding on policies. The first book in a new series at the forefront of research on social and political elites, this is an invaluable insight into the capacity and power of coalition government across Europe.

Looking at policy formation through coalition agreements and the effectiveness of such agreements, *Coalition Government and Party Mandate* will be of interest to students and scholars of comparative politics, governance and European politics.

4.2 Articles in Academic Journals (English only)

Stephan Hensell / Felix Gerdes, *Elites and International Actors in Post-war Societies: the Limits of Intervention*, in: *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2012, pp. 154-169.

Abstract: This article analyses the efforts of external actors to influence opportunities for national political elites to gain or maintain positions of power in post-conflict societies. The analysis compares the cases of Liberia and Kosovo, both of which have been characterized by high levels of external intervention though with significant differences in the scope of authority of external actors. Despite these differences, similar dynamics have characterized elite formation in both countries. The impact of external actors on elite systems is mostly indirect, and chances for accumulating authority provided by the national setting determine elite careers. External actors bow to these national conditions rather than decisively changing them.

Heinsohn, Till and Markus Freitag. 2012. *Institutional Foundations of Legislative Turnover: A Comparative Analysis of the Swiss Cantons*. *Swiss Political Science Review* 18(3): 352-370.

Abstract: The rate of turnover within parliaments remains an understudied area of research. The present paper contributes to filling this gap by presenting the first comparable macro-level data on legislative turnover in the 26 Swiss cantonal legislatures. In examining the strikingly different levels of turnover in sub-national Swiss parliaments between 1993 and 2011, the focus is on politico-institutional features. Multilevel models reveal that two hitherto neglected institutional variables are correlated with legislative turnover. In addition to the reduction of parliamentary size, we find the strength of a cantonal parliament to affect turnover rates on the Swiss sub-national level. Moreover, we show that proportional representation significantly promotes parliamentary elite circulation. Among the non-institutional covariates, we find that electoral volatility is also relevant in explaining legislative turnover rates.

Semenova, Elena. *Patterns of Parliamentary Representation and Careers in Ukraine: 1990-2007*. *East European Politics & Societies*, 26 (2012) 538-560.

Abstract: This article focuses on the patterns of parliamentary representation and careers in post-communist Ukraine. The data includes individual information on 1768 members (with substitutes) of the Ukrainian parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, from the parliamentary elections in 1990 through to 2007. Low chances for the social upward mobility of sociodemographic groups such as women and poorly educated people were identified, as well as the high impact of social status on inclusion in the political ruling strata, as exemplified by business elites. Furthermore, MPs with an entrepreneurial background have a greater chance of staying in parliament for three or more legislative terms. The chances of remaining in the Verkhovna Rada are also greater for former Supreme Council parliamentarians, while a high-ranking nomenklatura position has no significant effect on the status of an incumbent. Experience in a political party is crucial for a career in parliament. Parliamentarians with leading party experience prior to their recruitment are likely to obtain an incumbent status, while MPs who substitute their elected colleagues have lower chances of becoming long-standing incumbents.

5. Research

5.1 New Research Project

Anton Steen: Project Report "Elites and democratic development in new democracies"

Which orientations and beliefs have the elites in new democracies towards basic liberal values, political and social institutions, minority rights and European integration? How cohesive are they and do orientations change over time? And to which extent do the attitudes equal with actual institutional reforms? These are the basic questions in the Baltic elite project starting in the early 1990s, and including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The first round of questionnaire interviews was in 1993, and repeated in 1996, 2000, 2003 and 2007. In autumn 2012 the project is carrying out the 6th round of consecutive elite-interviews in the Baltic states. The focus will now in particular be on elite orientations to minority rights and European integration. The elites included in the study are members of parliament, top bureaucrats, prominent figures in culture, leaders of state enterprises, leaders in private business, leaders of political parties, movements, interest organizations, and leaders of local government. As far as possible each survey includes the same or equivalent positions.

5.2 Survey of Ongoing Research Projects of RC02 Members

This is to announce that we will shortly send out questionnaire to RC02 members asking for their current involvement in empirical research projects. We plan to collect the information on projects and make it available to our members.