



IPSA RC02 POLITICAL ELITES

NEWSLETTER #3 (Summer 2013)

1. RC02 News

RC02 is looking forward to the ECPR General Conference in Bordeaux taking place September 4 - 7 at Sciences Po in Bordeaux (check below for RC02 section and panels). We hope to have put together an attractive set of panels dealing with the impact of the current financial and economic crisis on elites structures and behavior.

Next year's 23rd IPSA World Congress will take place in Montréal, July 19-24. RCs are expected to organize at least two panels. So far, we have received and submitted four panel proposals. The deadline for submitting panels has been extended to July 11. If you are interested in chairing a panel at that meeting, please send us a title, abstract with the names of chair, co-chairs (if applicable) and discussant asap.

2. Recent Events

2.1. Meeting on Handbook of Political Elites

A team of current and recent officers of RC02 met in Cologne on January 31 to discuss plans for a Handbook of Political Elites. The meeting decided to go ahead with the project and has started negotiations with Palgrave to publish the handbook. The handbook will take stock of theoretical and empirical approaches to studying elites, with an emphasis on new empirical results and perspectives (more information below).

2.2. Workshop on "Expert and Non-Partisan Ministers in European Democracies", Lisbon, Nova University, 22-23 March 2013

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

Parliamentarism and party government are basic features of post-1945 European democracies. Since political parties virtually monopolised legislatures and government formation, a partisan and a parliamentary background became indispensable pre-requisites in the career paths of ministerial aspirants. With a few exceptions, the presence of experts or technocrats without effective political experience was rare or confined to a small minority in most executives. This does not mean that

post-war European ministers tend to be chosen from among “pure” politicians, regardless of their technical competence in any particular policy field. The conceptual distinction between “politicians” and “experts” is undoubtedly useful but should not be applied as a rigid dichotomy, since they are not mutually exclusive. In the last decades, however, a new pattern of ministerial selection clearly emerged with the increased frequency of the appointment of “outsiders” – i.e. individuals recruited from beyond the realm of active politics who have specialized technical skills. Some of them may have a loose partisan affiliation (they are not true “independents”), but they lack parliamentary experience and never served in party’s national or local executive committees. This tendency is more visible in the “third wave” democracies, but it also occurs in older parliamentary democracies. Why is there this new trend in ministerial recruitment, and how to explain significant variations across countries? What are its consequences in terms of government efficiency, policy making and democratic accountability? These were the main issues discussed in the Workshop on *Experts and Non-Partisan Ministers in European Democracies* held at Nova University of Lisbon, March 2013, that brought together an international group of scholars active in the field of elite studies. The following papers, to be assembled later into a book, were presented:

Technicians, Non-Partisan Ministers and Technical Government. The Italian Experience, by Luca Verzichelli and Maurizio Cotta (University of Siena)

Experts and Non-Partisan Ministers in Contemporary Spain (1977-2012), by Juan Rodríguez Teruel (University of Valencia) and Miguel Jerez Mir (University of Granada)

Expert and Non-Partisan Ministers in Portuguese Democracy (1976-2012), by António Costa Pinto (University of Lisbon) and Pedro Tavares de Almeida (Nova University of Lisbon)

Outsiders, Technocrats, Experts, Non-Partisans. Recruitment and Careers of Ministers in Selected Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, by Michael Edinger (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

Institutions, Politics, Policies. Varied Explanations for Ministerial Expertise in New Democracies (Hungary and Romania), by Gabriella Ilonszki (Corvinus University of Budapest) and Laurentiu Stefan (University of Bucharest).

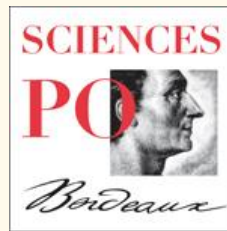
The Transformation of Turkey's Ministerial Elites: Technocrats and Party Affiliated Experts, by Sabri Sayari (Bahcesehir University, Istanbul) and Hasret Dikici Bilgin (Okan University)

Non-Partisan Ministers under the French Fifth Republic (1959-2012), by Daniel Gaxie and Marie-Hélène Bruère (Université Paris I / Panthéon Sorbonne)

Uncommon Reservoirs? Patterns, Trends, and Consequences of Ministerial Selection in Belgium, by Patrick Dumont (University of Luxembourg) and Régis Dandoy (University of Zurich)

3. Upcoming Events

3.1. 7th ECPR General Conference, Sciences Po, Bordeaux, 4th - 7th September 2013



Section: Elites and Transatlantic Crisis

Chairs: Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, Heinrich Best & John Higley

Panels:

Advanced Research Methods for Elite Studies

Chair: Elena Semenova

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 analysing longitudinal data are particularly welcome.

Critical Junctures in Democracy Promotion: A New Perspective on the Role of External Actors in Processes of Regime Change

Chairs: Jonas Wolff, Solveig Richter & Jørgen Møller

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 analysed 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 analyses 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? Specifically, the panel will comprise a large-N study complemented by a number of case-studies. The large-N study will give an overview of the impact of external actors in critical junctures.

Elite Theory and Empirical Elite Research Amid Transatlantic Crisis

Chair: Ursula Hoffmann-Lange & Oxana Gaman-Golutvina

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 analyses 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 analysed changes within the elites or in the relationship between them and citizens by relating them to broader societal developments such as modernisation or democratisation. 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, democratisation 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 characterised 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).

Elite Turnover in Times of Crisis

Chairs: Patrick Dumont & Hanna Bäck

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 analysing government turnover are 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 panel.

European Elites and the Economic-Political Crisis

Chairs: Maurizio Cotta & Heinrich Best

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? (3) The ability of European elites to meet these challenges. (4) Are they able to produce necessary changes?

Political Leadership in Times of Crisis

Chairs: John Higley & Jan Pakulski

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.

The Rise of Technocrats: Europe and Latin America in Comparison

Chairs: Pedro Tavares De Almeida & António Costa Pinto

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.

3.2. IPSA World Congress 2014, RC02 Panels



Elites and Mass Publics: A Relationship in Crisis?

Chair: Heinrich Best

Elite mass relations are usually delicate and disturbed by mutual distrust. It has been argued that the global financial crisis and its political fallout has further challenged this relationship and put the legitimacy, efficacy and stability of established elite regimes at stake. The proposed panel will address recent developments in elite-mass relations. It particularly focusses on the perceptions and reactions of political elites in view of a situation where financial constraints and a reduced capacity to act on the part of elites are set against expanding expectations and an increased capacity for collective action on the part of mass publics.

Types of Political Elites Yesterday and Today

Chair: John Higley

A typology of political elites, construed broadly to include economic, state administrative, media, military and other politically influential elite groups, is essential for a theory of elites and politics. Various typologies have been put forth, but none has gained wide adoption. This panel invites proposals to discuss one or more of the following types: traditional / monarchical; authoritarian; totalitarian / theocratic; democratic. Discussions of sub-types are encouraged, as is attention to the problem of separating types of elites from types of regimes – too often conflated. In what circumstances does the elite type usually form? How durable or fragile is it and why? To what circumstances is it especially vulnerable? Proposals to address such typological issues in historical and/or contemporary settings are invited.

Methodological aspects of elite studies

Chairs: Elena Semenova and Ursula Hoffmann-Lange

This panel primarily aims to assess an application of various qualitative and quantitative methods for elite studies. Invited papers should illustrate the benefits and limitations of the chosen method for

elite research. The panel also focusses on problems of research design, case selection, and choice of research methods.

We invite papers that describe the specifics of empirical methods and how they apply to elite-related topics such as elite recruitment, turnover, career patterns, elite structure, and elite-mass distinction. We welcome papers that utilize both quantitative (e.g., multinomial regression, multi-level modeling, and survival analysis) and qualitative (e.g., interviews, focus groups, and text analysis) research methods. Papers that utilize mixed methods or analyze longitudinal data are particularly welcome.

Political Elites and Corruption

Chairs: Pedro Tavares de Almeida & Thierry Dias Coelho

Due to the key positions they hold, elites play a major role in political corruption. Indeed, whether elected or appointed, whether national or local, public-office holders are central figures in political decisionmaking processes, as well as gatekeepers who administrate scarce and valuable public resources. As a result, political elites' decisional power is coveted by a wide range of private actors who are eager to gain access to these precious assets by all means. Well aware of their own importance in this equation, political elites sometimes accept to embrace corrupt exchanges, that is, they are willing to use public office for private gain.

Over time, a well-established tradition of studies has sought to understand the causes of political corruption, alongside with its mechanisms and stakeholders. This panel seeks to contribute to this debate. In this context, we invite papers assessing questions such as (i) the sociodemographic and political profiles of "corrupted elites", (ii) "corrupted politicians" pathways to power, (iii) case-studies of politicians involved in major corruption scandals, (iv) the effects of corruption on the public trust in political elites, (v) the overlap between political elites' public duties and private interests, (vi) elite networks and corruption practices, (vii) elite configuration theories and national corruption levels, (viii) "corrupted elites" moral norms of conduct, among other. Both empirical and theoretical analyses are welcome.

We also plan to submit two or three closed panels with a fixed number of invited participants, primarily for sections of the "Palgrave Handbook of Political Elites" (for more information see 5.)

Paper submission has started and will remain open until October 7, 2013. All RC members are encouraged to submit paper proposals on the congress website:

<http://www.ipsa.org/events/congress/montreal2014/submit-abstractpaper-proposal>

4. Recent Publications

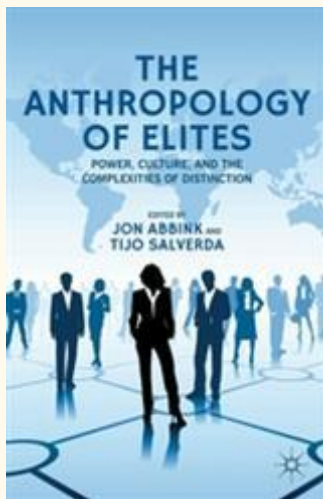
4.1. Books

The Anthropology of Elites: Power, Culture, and the Complexities of Distinction

Jon Abbink (Editor), Tijo Salverda (Editor)

Publisher: Palgrave Macmillan (28 Dec 2012)

Hardcover: 266 pages

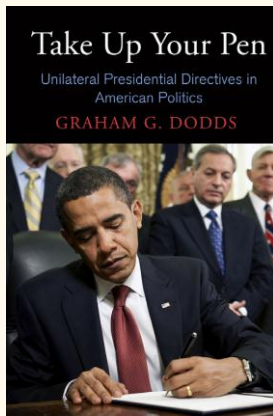


A fascinating array of ethnographic and theoretical relevant case studies, this book is timely and topical in combining substantial new historical and ethnographic material about elites. Case studies include the Polish gentry, the white former colonial elite of Mauritius, professional elites, and transnational (financial) elites, with queries about power, culture, distinction and marginalization. The focus on elites from an anthropological perspective makes a significant contribution to explaining numerous and often paradoxical aspects of elites, their behavior, their position and their relationship with other social groupings.

Take Up Your Pen. *Unilateral Presidential Directives in American Politics*

Graham G. Dodds

University of Pennsylvania Press 2013



Executive orders and proclamations afford presidents an independent means of controlling a wide range of activities in the federal government—yet they are not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. In fact, the controversial edicts known as universal presidential directives seem to violate the separation of powers by enabling the commander-in-chief to bypass Congress and enact his own policy preferences. As Clinton White House counsel Paul Begala remarked on the numerous executive orders signed by the president during his second term: “Stroke of the pen. Law of the land. Kinda cool.”

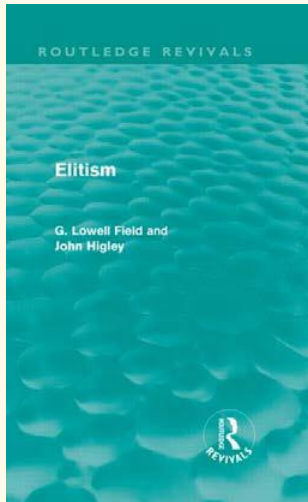
Although public awareness of unilateral presidential directives has been growing over the last decade—sparked in part by Barack Obama’s use of executive orders and presidential memoranda to reverse many of his predecessor’s policies as well as by the number of unilateral directives George W. Bush promulgated for the “War on Terror”—Graham G. Dodds reminds us that not only has every single president issued executive orders, such orders have figured in many of the most significant episodes in American political history. In *Take Up Your Pen*, Dodds offers one of the first historical treatments of this executive prerogative and explores the source of this authority; how executive orders were legitimized, accepted, and routinized; and what impact presidential directives have had on our understanding of the presidency, American politics, and political development. By tracing the rise of a more activist central government—first advanced in the Progressive Era by Theodore Roosevelt—Dodds illustrates the growing use of these directives throughout a succession of presidencies. More important, *Take Up Your Pen* questions how unilateral presidential directives fit the conception of democracy and the needs of American citizens.

Routledge Revivals: *Elitism*

G. Lowell Field and John Higley

Hardcover: 150 pages

Routledge Chapman & Hall (19. November 2012)



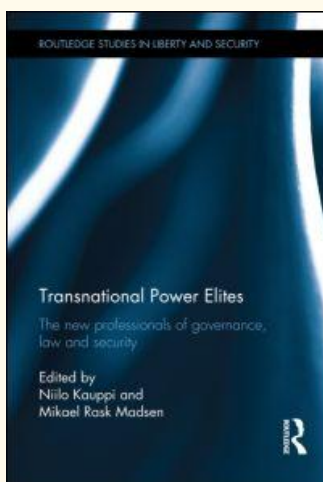
Elitism, published in 1980 and as *Eliten Und Liberalismus* in 1983, is a lasting contribution to political sociology. Field and Higley reduce the determinacy Mosca and Pareto assigned to elites and Marx attributed to class struggles. They specify a middle ground between polar views of politics and society. *Elitism* critiques democratic theory, liberalism's confusion about elites and complacent elite beliefs about the efficacy and viability of welfare states.

Transnational Power Elites. The New Professionals of Governance, Law and Security

Edited by [Niilo Kauppi](#), [Mikael Rask Madsen](#)

Hardcover: 220 pages

Routledge



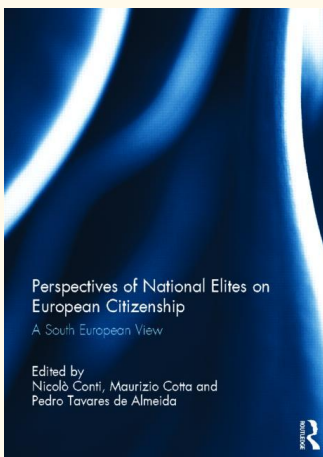
This book argues that European Union institutional mechanics and the EU as a political unit cannot be properly understood without taking into account the elites that make the policy decisions.

Spurred by globalisation, technological and economic development has provided the backbone for social and political transformations that have changed the social structures that unite and differentiate individuals and groups in Europe and their interface with extra-European actors. These

developments are not only exemplified by the rise of the EU, but also by the rise of a set of transnational European power elites evolving in and around the European construction.

This book maps out these EU and international interdependencies and provides a comprehensive picture of the European transnational power elites. Moving away from the majority of literature on European integration dominated by economics, law, IR and political science, the volume is written from a sociological perspective that takes into account the individuals that make the policy decisions, the formal and informal groups in which s/he is included, as well as the social conventions that regulate political and administrative activities in the EU.

This book will be of much interest to students of EU studies, sociology, critical security studies, and IR in general.



Perspectives of National Elites on European Citizenship

A South European View

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

Hardback:160 pages

Routledge Chapman & Hall 2011

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

Political Science Association

4.2. Articles in Academic Journals (English only)

Matias López: The state of poverty: Elite perceptions of the poor in Brazil and Uruguay. *International Sociology*, Vol. 28 (3): 351-370

This article approaches elites' perceptions of poverty, inequality, and social policy in Brazil and Uruguay from democratization to the recent shift toward left-wing governments. It explores elites' perceptions of the roles of the state, the market, and their own role in relation to poverty. The analysis relies on a series of elite surveys targeting leaders from the state and government, the corporate world, and the third sector in Brazil and Uruguay. The main argument is that poverty and inequality can be perceived by elites as a source of political and social threats, potentially motivating elites to embrace collective action and policy support. Although Brazil and Uruguay are often treated as opposite cases in Latin America, they share similarities in the way in which their national elites have dealt with poverty and inequality since democratization. From authoritarian regimes to cash transfer programs, the historical inheritance of a business-state and the threats posed by the poor pushed elites toward similar measures, although often based on different understandings of poverty and inequality.

5. Future Activities

The Palgrave Handbook of Political Elites

H. Best, M. Cotta, J.-P. Daloz, J. Higley and U. Hoffmann-Lange

Overall length: about 500 pages

6 parts plus Introduction & Concluding Chapter & Bibliography

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Bibliography

Suggestions for topics, chapters or authors addressing novel issues are welcome!