

Elitism and Its Critics

MA elective course (2 credits)

Fall 2017.

András Bozóki

Professor of Political Science, CEU

Office hours: Faculty Tower, 907. Monday 1-3 pm, Tuesday 2-4 pm

bozokia@ceu.edu

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

In the second part of the semester students some major criticisms to elite theory will be discussed: anarchism, populism, and radical democratic theory.

Each student has to write a 3000 words (1.5-spaced) paper on one of the topics discussed during the semester. The topic must be chosen and submitted for the lecturer's approval by mid-November. The final paper must be turned in the last meeting.

During the semester, 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, one-page handout for others by the beginning of the class. The seminars are based on close reading of the texts and active participation of students. Participants are required to follow the readings to ensure a lively group discussion on each topic. Maximum two times in the semester, writing a position papers will also be required. The seminar is designed to be highly interactive.

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

Components of evaluation:

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

TOPICS AND READINGS

WEEK 1. (September 18.) **Introduction**

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.

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

Optional readings:

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

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

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

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

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

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

WEEK 2. (September 25.) **Classical Elite Theories**

Mandatory readings:

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

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

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

Optional readings:

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.

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

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

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.

WEEK 3. (October 2.) **Democratic Elitism and Radical Elite Theory**

Mandatory readings

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.

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

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

Optional readings

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

Robert A. Dahl (1971), *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1-32.

Tom Bottomore (1982 [1964]), *Elites and Society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin

Peter Bachrach (1969), *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique*. London: University of London Press, 1969.

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

Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner & C. Easton Rothwell (1971), „The Elite Concept” in Peter Bachrach (ed.), *Elites in a Democracy*. New York: Atherton Press, 13-26.

G. Lowell Field & John Higley (1980), *Elitism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 18-47. and 117-130.

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

John Higley & Richard Burton (2006), *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy*. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield

WEEK 4. (October 9.) **New Class Theories**

Mandatory readings

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

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.

Position paper I. Elites vs Classes

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

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

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

Optional readings

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

Mikhail Bakunin (1966), „Marx, the Bismarck of Socialism” in L. Krimermann & L. Perry (eds.), *Patterns of Anarchy*. New York: Anchor, 882-893.

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.

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

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

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

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

Lawrence Peter King & Iván Szelényi (2004), *Theories of the New Class: Intellectuals and Power*. Minneapolis – London: University of Minnesota Press

WEEK 5. (October 16.) **The Intellectuals I.**

Mandatory readings:

Robert Michels (1937), „Intellectuals” *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 118-125.

Antonio Gramsci (1971), „The Intellectuals” in A. Gramsci: *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. (Ed. by Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith) London: Lawrence and Wishart, 5-23.

Martin Malia (1961), „What Is the Intellectual?” in Richard Pipes (ed.), *The Russian Intelligentsia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-18.

Edward Shils (1972), „The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis” in E. Shils: *The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3-22.

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

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

Lena Dominelli & Ankie Hoogvelt (1996), „The Taylorization of Intellectual Labour” in Philip

K. Lawrence & Mathias Döbler (eds.), *Knowledge and Power: The Changing Role of European Intellectuals*. Aldershot - Hong Kong - Sydney: Avebury, 60-87.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WEEK 6. (October 23.) Public holiday, no class.

WEEK 7. (October 30.) **The Intellectuals II.**

Mandatory readings:

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

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

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

Position paper II.

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

Optional readings:

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

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

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

- Roger Woods (1986), „Dissident Intellectuals” in R. Woods: *Opposition in the GDR under Honecker, 1971-85*. London: Macmillan, 138-169.
- Zygmunt Bauman (1987), „Intellectuals in East Central Europe: Continuity and Change” *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol. 1. No. 2. Spring, 162-186.
- János Mátyás Kovács (1990), „Reform Economics: A Classification Gap” *Daedalus*, Vol. 119. No. 1. Winter, 215-248.
- Zygmunt Bauman (1992), „Love in Adversity: On the State and the Intellectuals, and the State of the Intellectuals” *Thesis Eleven*, No. 31. 81-104.
- Ivan Bernik (1994), „The Forgotten Legacy of Marginal Intellectuals” in János M. Kovacs ed. *Transition to Capitalism?* New Brunswick: Transaction, 205-216.
- Flam, Helena (1999), „Dissenting Intellectuals and Plain Dissenters: The Cases of Poland and East Germany” in András Bozóki (ed.), *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press, 19-41.
- András Bozóki ed. (1999), *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press
- András Bozóki ed. (2002), *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy* Budapest: CEU Press
- Barbara Falk (2003), *Dilemmas of Dissidence in Eastern Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press
- Alan Renwick (2006), „Anti-Political or Just Anti-Communist? Varieties of Dissidence in East Central Europe and Their Implications for the Development of Political Society” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 20. No. 2. 286-318.

WEEK 8. (November 6.) **Anarchist Critique**

Mandatory readings

Mikhail Bakunin (1980 [1873]), „Statism and Anarchy” in *On Anarchism*. Edited by Sam Dolgoff. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 323-50.

Bob Black (1996), „The Abolition of Work” in Howard J. Ehrlich ed. *Reinventing Anarchy, Again*. Edinburgh: AK Press, 236-50.

James C. Scott (2012), *Two Cheers for Anarchism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 5. „For Politics” 101-28.

Optional readings

George Woodcock & Ivan Avakumovic (1950), *The Anarchist Prince: A Biography of Peter Kropotkin*. London

Paul Eltzbacher (1960), *Anarchism: Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy*. London: Freedom Press, Ch. 7. „Peter Kropotkin” 94-121.

Paul Goodman (1966), „Contemporary Decentralism” in Leonard Krimermann & Lewis Perry eds. *Patterns of Anarchy*. New York: Anchor Books, 379-85.

Paul Avrich (1967), *Russian Anarchists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

George Woodcock (1975), *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*.

Harmondsworth: Penguin

- James Guillaume (1980 [1876]), „On Building the New Social Order” in Mikhail Bakunin: *On Anarchism*. Edited by Sam Dolgoff, Montreal: Black Rose Books, 356-79.
- Ward, Colin (1988 [1973]), *Anarchy in Action*. London: Freedom Press, Chs. 3-5.,: 38-58.
- Peter Kropotkin (1989 [1904]), *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. Montreal: Black Rose
- Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Lenin (n.d.), *Writings on the Paris Commune*. St. Petersburg: Red and Black Publishers
- Zero Collective (1993), „Anarchism/Feminism” *The Raven: Anarchist Quarterly*, Vol. 6. No. 1. January-March, 3-7.
- Bob Black (1997), *Anarchy after Leftism*. Columbia, MO: C. A. L. Press
- John Purkis & James Bowen eds. (1997), *Twenty-First Century Anarchism*. London: Cassell
- Mikhail Bakunin (1998 [1872]), *Marxism, Freedom, and the State*. London: Freedom Press
- Daniel Guérin ed. (1998), *No Gods, No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism*. Book I-II. Edinburgh – San Francisco: AK Press
- Uri Gordon (2008), *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*. London: Pluto Press
- Taylor Stoehr ed. (2011), *The Paul Goodman Reader*. Oakland: PM Press
- Ziga Vodovnik (2013), *A Living Spirit of Revolt*. Oakland: PM Press, Chs. 3-4. 63-102.
- Peter Kropotkin (2014), *Direct Struggle Against Capital: A Peter Kropotkin Anthology*. Edited by Iain McKay, Edinburgh: AK Press
- Mitchell Abidor (2015), *Voices of the Paris Commune*. Oakland: PM Press
- Jim McLaughlin (2016), *Kropotkin and the Anarchist Intellectual Tradition*. London: Pluto Press

WEEK 9. (November 13.) **Populist Critique**

Mandatory readings

Ernesto Laclau (1977), „Towards a Theory of Populism” in E. Laclau: *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism*. London: Verso, 143-198.

Jan-Werner Müller (2017), *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Optional readings:

Juan D. Perón (1948), *Expounds His Doctrine*. Buenos Aires, 173-205.

George B. Tindall ed. (1966), *A Populist Reader*. New York: Harper & Row

Norman Pollack ed. (1967), *The Populist Mind*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Ghíta Ionescu & Ernest Gellner eds. (1969), *Populism: Its Meaning and National Characteristics* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson

Margaret Canovan (1981), “Agrarian Populism in Perspective” in M. Canovan: *Populism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 98-105.

Joseph Held ed. (1996), *Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism, Nationalism and Society* Boulder: East European Monographs

Paul Taggart (2000), *Populism*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Francisco Panizza ed. (2005), *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso

Cas Mudde (2007), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Erika Meijers ed. (2011), *Populism in Europe*. Linz: Druckerei Gutenberg

Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser eds. (2012), *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?*

András Bozóki, 2015. „The Illusion of Inclusion: Configurations of Populism in Hungary” in Michal Kopecek & Piotr Wcislik eds. *Thinking Through Transition*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 275-312.

John B. Judis (2016), *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*. New York: Columbia Global Reports

Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell & Olivier Roy eds. (2016), *Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion?* London: Hurst & Company

Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2017), *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

WEEK 10. (November 20.) **Democratic Critique**

Nadia Urbinati (2014), *Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapter 2. „Unpolitical Democracy” 81-127.

Gil Eyal, Iván Szelényi and Eleanor Townsley (1998), *Making Capitalism without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*. London: Verso, 86-112.

Optional readings

Jack L. Walker (1966), „A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 60. No. 2. 285-295.

Robert A. Dahl (1966), „Further Reflections on 'the Elitist Theory of Democracy'” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 60. No. 2. 296-305.

Peter Bachrach, (1969) *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique*. London: University of London Press

Harold Perkin (1996) *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World*. London: Routledge

Colin Crouch (2004), *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-52, 104-123.

Philippe C. Schmitter et al. 2004. *The Future of Democracy in Europe: Trends, Analyses and Reforms*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing. 13-20.

Chantal Mouffe (2005), *The Democratic Paradox*. London – New York: Verso

David Rothkopf (2008), *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and The World They Are Making*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 3-50, 296-323.

Colin Crouch (2011), *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press
Peter Mair (2013), *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London – New York: Verso, 75-98.

WEEK 11. (November 27.) **Elites in Transformation**

Mandatory readings

Michael G. Burton & John Higley (1987), „Elite Settlement” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52. June, 295-307.

George Konrád & Iván Szelényi (1991), „Intellectuals and Domination in Post-Communist Societies” in Pierre Bourdieu & James S. Coleman eds. *Social Theory in a Changing Society*. Boulder: Westview, 337-361 and the debate between Szelényi & Lipset: 362-72.

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

Optional readings:

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

John Higley & Jan Pakulski (1992), „Revolution and Elite Transformation in Eastern Europe” *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 27. 104-119.

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

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

Eva Etzioni-Halévy ed. (1997), *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization*. New York: Garland

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

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 EastEuropean Democratization” in Radoslaw Markowski & Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski (eds.), *Transformative Paths in Central and Eastern Europe*. Warsaw: Fiedrich Ebert Stiftung - PAN ISP, 133-142.

Nicolas Guilhot (2005), *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and International Order*. New York: Columbia University Press

Jean-Pascal Daloz (2007), „Elite Distinction: Grand Theory and Comparative Perspectives” *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 6. Nos. 1-2. 27-74.

John Higley & Jan Pakulski (2007), „Elite and Leadership Change in Liberal Democracies”

Comparative Sociology, Vol. 6. Nos. 1-2. 6-26.

WEEK 12. (December 4.) **Students' presentations and handing the final essays**