Note: Page numbers followed by "n" with numbers indicate notes.

Afro-American community, 146 Afrobarometer survey, 57n7 Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), 42 American Dream, 142–144, 155 Anti-Arab sentiments, 139 Anti-capitalist agitation and critiques of economic elites, 215 Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Afrobarometer survey, 57n7 Civic-inspired popular movements, 22 Civil Rights movements, 139 Class, 138, 140–141, 156n2 betrayal, 140 formations, 139 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130 Conservative—Christian Democrats, 96,
Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), 42 American Dream, 142–144, 155 Anti-Arab sentiments, 139 Anti-capitalist agitation and critiques of economic elites, 215 Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Civil Rights movements, 139 Class, 138, 140–141, 156n2 betrayal, 140 formations, 139 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
American Dream, 142–144, 155 Anti-Arab sentiments, 139 Anti-capitalist agitation and critiques of economic elites, 215 Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Civil society, 3–4 Class, 138, 140–141, 156n2 betrayal, 140 formations, 139 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Anti-Arab sentiments, 139 Anti-capitalist agitation and critiques of economic elites, 215 Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Class, 138, 140–141, 156n2 betrayal, 140 formations, 139 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Anti-capitalist agitation and critiques of economic elites, 215 Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 betrayal, 140 formations, 139 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
economic elites, 215 Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 formations, 139 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Anti-elitism as defining feature of populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Classical conceptualisations of elite pluralism, 208–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
populism, 205–206 Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 populism, 205–210 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Anti-Muslim sentiments, 139 Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Classical elite theories, 11, 208 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Arab Spring, 3–4, 17–18 Attitudes determinants of, 76–81 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Austerity, 62 Coalitions, 162–163, 182n2 governance, 160 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Attitudes governance, 160 determinants of, 76–81 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
determinants of, 76–81 Cognitive mobilization theory, 92 towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
towards European unification, 72 polarisation of, 79 Colour-blindness, principle of, 138 Comparative studies of elite and non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
polarisation of, 79 Comparative studies of elite and Austerity, 62 non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
Austerity, 62 non-elite boarding schools, 129–130
129–130
Buillede chritishinichts, 130 Conscivative Christian Beinociats, 70,
Bottom-up model, 3 99
Brazilian Cabinet, 174 Continental populists, 199
appointments and ministry gender Critical Race Theory, 138
slant in, 177–179 Cultural elites, 212
appointments and ministry prestige populist critique, 215–217
slant in, 180 Cultural mode of elite integration, 218
gender and appointment to, 174–175
gender and total cabinet Database, 40
appointments in, 175–177 indicators, 42–43
Brown–Forsythe robust test, 109 <i>n</i> 6 two MP surveys and world values
survey, 40–42
Cabinet diversity, 167 Deculturation process, 143
Catalan nationalism, 199 Democratic Constitutional Rally
Central and Eastern Europe countries (RCD), 22–23
(CEE countries), 66, 80 Democratic/democracy, 1, 36–37,
Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES), 62, 93, 192
73–74 governance, 3
Christian Democratic Union (CDU/ legitimacy of European integration
CSU), 164–165, 167, project, 62
169–170, 174, 181 progress, 27

quality of, 43–45	Elite pluralism
resilience of, 2, 4–5	classical conceptualisations of,
support for, 42–43, 48–51, 53	208–210
and unity of elites, 217–218	possibility of, 210–211
Discriminatory practices, 139	Elite recruitment, 7–9
Distinction	gender disparities in, 9-10
acts, 123–124	Elite survival
construction of, 127	Arab Spring, 17–18
Double Absence Rhetoric,	case of Egypt, 23–27
142–143	case of Tunisia, 20-23
Double-consciousness, 156n8	elite circulation types, 19–20
Duboisian concept of, 144	in Tunisia and Egypt, 18-19
Duboisian concept of 'double-	two cases comparison, 27–30
consciousness', 144	Elite(s), 1, 10–11, 93, 117, 190–193, 210,
Dutch Freedom Party, 215	212
	Arab Spring, 3–4
Eagle Capital, 29	circulation types, 19–20
Ecole Nationale d'Administration	democracy, 1-3, 217-218
(ENA), 152	elite recruitment and social identity,
Economic crisis, 4, 38–39, 61–62, 70	7–9
in young democracies, 37–39	European crisis, 5–7
Economic elites, 212	gender disparities in elite recruitment
anti-capitalist agitation and critiques,	9–10
215	groups, 24
populist critique, 214–215	political elites and resilience of
Economic growth, macro-indicators of,	democracy, 4-5
43–45	role in democratic transition and
Economic liberalisation, 24	consolidation, 37
Economic recession, 41	schools, 116
Education (see also Elite education in	settlement, 94, 192
Germany), 181 <i>n</i> 9	theorists, 210
educational attainment, 152	theory, 1, 192–193, 204–205, 218
policy in Germany, 179	trust, 191–192
Egypt, 23	unity, 217–218
elites in, 19	Elite-population
post-Arab Spring, 25	gap concerning supranational trust,
pre-Arab Spring, 24–25	105–107
Electoral democracy index, 43	interference, 93
Electoral participation, 22	Elitism, 10–11
Elhiwar Ettounsi, 29	populism as, 206–208
Elite education in Germany (see also	Ethno-racial discriminatory
Hungarian political elite),	practices, chief victims
116–117	of, 139
empirical results and theoretical	Euroenthusiasm, 80
reflections, 125–128	European Commission (EC), 72,
implications and perspectives, 128–130	97, 196
responsible elite on exclusive	European Crisis, 5–7
boarding schools, 117–124	European elite system, 5

Index 225

European integration, 63, 67, 69	gender and total appointments to,
hierarchical linear regression on	169–174
individual attitudes towards,	German Democratic Republic, 57n1
77	German secondary education, 130n2
polarisation of attitudes towards	German system, 164–165
further, 79	GLLAMM, 83n5
project, 65	Globalisation, 10
European National Elites and the Crisis	of labour markets, 194
project (ENEC project), 62, 95	Goulash Communism, 94
European socialisation effect, 76	Grand coalitions, 164–165
European Union (EU), 30, 61, 212	Grandes écoles, 141
Euroscepticism, 62, 65–67	Grass-roots anti-racist mobilisations, 151
of Hungarian population, 105	Great Depression, 4, 36, 38
Eurozone crisis, 62, 70	Great Recession, 36
Exclusive boarding schools, 123–124, 128	Green/alternative/libertarian parties
Exclusive German boarding schools, 128	(GAL parties), 67–68
Exclusive socialisation at boarding	Gymnasien, 117, 130n2, 131n11
schools, 126–127	
	Hierarchical ANOVA models, 100–101
Fatalism, 144	Hierarchical linear regression
Federal Republic of Germany (FRG),	on individual attitudes towards
57 <i>n</i> 2	European integration, 77
'Feminine' ministries, 166, 170–171	on individual preferences for
Financial crisis (2008), 4–5, 10, 38	supranational governance, 78
France's Majority Respondents'	models, 76
Narratives, 143–144	Homogeneous elite, 208
Francisation, 151	Homosocial reproduction, 9
Free Democrats (SZDSZ), 95	Hungarian Conservative-Christian
Freedom Party in Netherlands, 213	Democrats, 101
French Rassemblement National Party,	Hungarian governing elite, 92
215	Hungarian political elite (see also Elite
French Revolution (1789–1799), 18	education in Germany),
French RN, 220n2	93–94
GAL/TAN parties, 73–75, 78–80	data and comparative frame, 95-96
Gender	distribution of national political
disparities in elite recruitment, 9–10	elites, 96
gender-equal attitudes and practices,	elite-population gap concerning
216	supranational trust, 105–107
General Union of Tunisian Workers	retrospection, 94–95
(UGTT), 20, 23	trust in European Institutions,
German Academic Scholarship	103–106
Foundation, 130n4	trust of national political elites
German cabinet	in European Institutions,
appointments and ministry gender	96–102
slant in Germany, 171	
appointments and ministry prestige	Ideal-typical model of populist
slant in Germany, 171–174	ideologies, 205
gender and appointment to, 168–169	Ideological differences, 97
11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	<u></u>

Imposter syndrome, 149	Mosca's theories on elite pluralism,
Informal rules, 161	209–210, 213
Insecurity, 193–196	Multi-class identity, 145
Institutions, 93	Multi-party systems, 160
Integrated and United? A Quest for	Multidimensional crisis, 61
European Citizenship in an	Multivariate analysis, 51–56
Ever Closer Union project	• •
(INTUNE project), 62,	National affiliation, 97
70, 95	National Democratic Party (NDP), 24, 26
Integration paradox, 72	National political elites trust, 96–102
Intermediate elites, 212, 217	in European Institutions, 98
populist critique, 213–214	Nessma, 29
Internal selection procedures, 125–126	New intergovernmentalism, 64
International Journal of Qualitative	North African immigrants, descendants
Studies in Education, 119	of, 139
Intra-group differences, 139–140	01, 109
INTUNE/ENEC parties, 73–75, 78	Pareto theories on elite pluralism,
Tivi Civil El Vice parties, 75 75, 76	209–210
Left-wing Hungarians, 101	Parity cabinet, 170
Left-wing parties, 162	Parliamentary careers, 166
Left-wing parties, 102 Left-wing populism, 214–215	Partisanship, 92
Left–right self-positioning, 100	Party systems, 162
Legitimacy	Patronage systems, 28
of elites, 209	Peers at boarding schools, 127–128
theories, 39	Pluralists, 210
Liberal democracy index, 43	Pluto-populism, 198
Local elites, 191	Polarisation, 22–23
Logic of Practice, The (Bourdieu), 7	Political
Logic of Tractice, The (Bourdicu), 7	centre, 211
Mada Masy (Equation online	parties, 211
Mada Masr (Egyptian online newspaper), 29	polarisation, 53–54
Male dominance, 9	restraint, 191
'Masculine' ministries, 166, 170–171 Media, 29	support, 39–40
	system's democratic performance
polarisation, 29 Members of parliament (MPs), 37, 70,	evaluation, 47–48
75	Political elites (see also Elite(s)), 4–7,
economic perception effects on	103, 109 <i>n</i> 5, 209 critiques, 211–212
political legitimacy, 45	party family, 100
sample size and share, 87	Political legitimacy development
Merkel's conservative affiliation, 180	confidence in political parties, 45–47
Minority culture of mobility, 138, 140, 148–154	database, 40–43
	democracy, 36–37
Mobility experiences, 139	economic perception effects of MPs
from majority perspective, 142–144	on, 45
from minority perspective, 144–154	empirical results, 45
Modern elite theory, 217	macro-indicators of economic
Monists, 210, 217–218	growth, unemployment and
Moore's hypothesis, 145	quality of democracy, 43–45

Index 227

objects and types of political	Race, 138, 140-141
support, 39–40	Race-conscious description, 150
political system's democratic	Racial discrimination, 8
performance evaluation,	Racial socialisation, 147
47–48	'Reaching Back' ideology, 144–148
preliminary summary and	Reconciliation, 28
multivariate analysis, 51–56	law, 23
support for democracy, 48–51	Referenda, 214
in young democracies, 37–39	Refolution, 22
Political parties, confidence in, 42,	Regime change, 18–19, 22, 27
45–47, 53	Regression analysis, 54–55
Polyarchy, 191	Regression approach, 73–76
Populism, 10–11, 204, 206, 211, 215	Replacement circulation, 19
anti-elitism as defining feature,	Reproduction circulation, 19
205–206	Resilience of democracy, 2, 4–5
as elitism, 206–208	Revenu de solidarité active (RSA), 156n11
Populist critique	Revenu minimum d'insertion (RMI), 156n11
of cultural elite, 215–217	Revolution, 18
of economic elites, 214–215	Right-wing self-positioned Hungarian
of intermediate elites, 213–214	political elite, 101
of political elite, 212–213	Rousseff's coalition, 165–166
Populist elite paradox, 204–205	Rousseff's liberal credentials, 181
anti-elitism as defining feature of	
populism, 205–206	Salaire minimum interprofessionnel
classical conceptualisations of elite	de croissance (SMIC), 156n12
pluralism, 208–210	Schengen crisis, 62
democracy and unity of elites,	Self-proclaimed elite, 217
217–218	Social
elements, 208	ascension, 140
populism as elitism, 206–208	class, 138
possibility of elite pluralism, 210-211	codes, 143–144
varieties of populist elite critiques,	identity, 7–9
211–212	social-democratic partisanship, 170
Populists, 196–200	trust, 3
ideologies, 206–208	Social Democratic Party (SPD), 164,
leaders, 199	167, 170
movements, 205	Socialisation, 80–81
parties, 213	Socialists (MSZP), 95
rhetorical strategies, 212	Socialist-Social Democrats, 96
Post-industrial work forces, 194	Spearman correlation, 73
Poujadist movement, 212	Spies, 24
Power, 2	Stable democracy, 190, 193
elite, 210	Stagflation insecurity, 194
relations, 204–205	STATA, 83 <i>n</i> 5
Private boarding school in Germany, 121–124	State-run boarding school in Germany, 121–124
Proporz system for policymaking, 192	Supranational governance
Putnam's theory, 4	hierarchical linear regression on individual preferences for, 78
Quality of democracy, 43-45	polarisation of attitudes, 79

Common ation of threat 104 106	Turicia 20
Supranational trust, 104–106	Tunisia, 20
index variable, 109n9	elites in, 19
Supranationalism, 62–63	post-Arab Spring, 21–23
attitudes towards European	pre-Arab Spring, 20–21
unification, 72	security sector, 28
data and method, 70–71	Tunisian Union of Industrialists,
determinants of attitudes, 76–81	Merchants and Artisans
dimensions, 71–73	(UTICA), 20
Euroscepticism, 65–67	2009–2010 Euro-crisis (see Economic
indicators, measurement and	crisis)
expected direction of	2015 migration (see Schengen crisis)
influence, 88–89	
party families by wave, 71	Underemployment, 194
party or individual level determinants	Unemployment, 194
of supranational attitudes,	macro-indicators of, 43-45
67–70	Upward intergenerational mobility
preference for further integration	methodology, 141-142
without, 63–65	mobility experience from majority
regression approach, 73-76	perspective, 142–144
Spearman correlation, 73	mobility experience from minority
Supranationality, 83 <i>n</i> 2	perspective, 144–154
Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed	theorising experience of, 140–141
Forces (SCAF), 24–26, 28	Utilitarian theory, 90
Swiss People's Party, 199	o unitalian uncery, se
Symbolic violence, 140	V-Dem data, 57n4
symposic violence, 110	V Belli data, 5711
Third-Wave democracies, 3, 39, 41	Western democracies, 196
Tory Party, 215	White-Americans' Narratives,
Traditionalist/authoritarian/nationalist	140–141
parties (TAN parties), 63,	Women
67–68	appointments, 162
'Transgenerational' aspect of American	cabinet incorporation, 163
Dream, 143	empowerment in cabinet, 168
Trust, 92	legislative incorporation, 162
in EU Institutions by Hungarian	in parliament, 162
Elite Group, 103	presidents, 160–161
in EU Institutions in Hungary and	Women executives, 159
in other eight countries,	Brazilian Cabinet, 174–179
99	German cabinet, 168–174
in European Institutions, 103–105	methodology and hypotheses,
of national political elites in	166–168
European Institutions, 96–102	World Values Survey (WVS), 41, 43, 49
in Supranational Institutions, 104	Young Democrats (FIDESZ), 94–95