

CHAPTER 9

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE: THE CASE OF SPAIN



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AFTER A SHORT REVIEW of the topic in other Western countries, this chapter presents how political science has been gradually institutionalized in Spain. That process is linked to three key periods: first Francoism, then the 1960s, and finally a phase of normalization that corresponds to the transition to democracy and its consolidation. A process of clear differentiation of the discipline, starting by middle 1980s, was to follow, until its full institutionalization by the end of the century. The question of disciplinary frontiers is then dealt with in a comparative framework. Finally, a list of the strong points of Spanish political science —academic personnel, university departments, research centers, journals— is set out. The role played by the Spanish political science association (AECPA) is highlighted. Indeed, even if political science has developed considerable autonomy and has consolidated in a range of disciplinary sub-fields in Spain, it still suffers from a lack of clear identity¹.

The institutional configuration of political science as an academic discipline, and more so as a profession, is a relatively new phenomenon, until very recently tied almost exclusively to the Western world. The process by which it has acquired acceptable levels of differentiation and autonomy within the social sciences, as well as indispensable doses of legitimacy, has been filled with difficulties. Perhaps the United States and, to a lesser degree, Canada are relative exceptions². Although the institutional launch of political science —both in terms of its tearing itself away from other social sciences and its take-off as an autonomous discipline— manifested fundamentally in the appearance of faculties, departments, and chairs or academic positions that respond to this term, as well as the creation of journals and professional associations with a clear political science identity, varies from country to country, it is realistic to affirm that it does not go back much earlier than the late nineteenth century³. It was at that time when “a first and unquestionable institutional and intellectual wave” in this direction was to be produced with astonishing simultaneity in the larger Western states (Favre 1985).

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² See Easton, Gunnell and Graziano (1991) and Easton, Gunnell and Stein (1995)

³ Here, we are using the term “institutionalization” as Edward Shils, the influential American sociologist, defines it for the social sciences in general. In words of Alan C. Cairns: “By this term Shils refers to the creation of specific structures by means of which the intellectual activity of the particular discipline takes place, its intellectual products are disseminated, its standards are maintained, new recruits are socialized, and incentives and disincentives are systematically given to intellectual work in accordance with evolving criteria of quality. The relevant structures include courses, departments, libraries and undergraduate and graduate programs that give recognition and support to particular disciplines. To these university aspects of structure must be added professional journals, learned societies, publishers, funding agencies, and the ‘invisible college’ of colleagues working on related problems who use these instrumentalities to coordinate their efforts and transmit cues to each other” (Cairns 1975. Ref. Berndtson 1991, 47).

⁴ As Jean Meynaud pointed out decades ago, this is not a pure question of language: “the political sciences do not correspond to a specific category of knowledge; rather, they are simply a collection of materials” (cited in Graziano 1991, 129).

⁵ See Berndtson (2007, 124); Klingemann (2008, 377); and *AFSP 1949–2009 60 ans d’histoire disciplinaire*. Paris, 2009.

The first impulse emerges on the European continent, soon after the Franco-Prussian War, with the foundation in Paris of the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* (1871). On this model was to be created the *Scuola di Scienze Sociali “Cesare Alfieri”* (1875) in Florence and the London School of Economics and Political Science (1895), although this last institution—founded under the auspices of the Fabian society—would fail in its attempt to follow the Paris model, particularly in its practical aim of preparing an elite loyal to the state (Hayward 1991). Nevertheless, in these experiments there was still no political science, but rather “political sciences,” with the interdisciplinary and eclectic connotations that this term carries, something very healthy when a discipline has been consolidated, but rather a hindrance when a discipline attempts to differentiate itself and acquire its own personality; in this case, in the area of social sciences and, more specifically, with respect to sociology and economics—neighboring disciplines with greater prestige—but also with respect to law, political philosophy, and history.⁴

It was in the United States, and concretely at Columbia University, where political science began to emerge as a differentiated academic discipline. In 1880 J. Burgess, who had studied in Göttingen and Berlin, implemented a specific graduate program that emphasized the use of historical and comparative methods, although still concentrating on the legal and constitutional aspects of politics. It was also in the United States where the universally applied term for this discipline replaced others terms such as “government” and “politics” that were used in some North American colleges and universities. Meanwhile, in Germany—a country of high academic influence in other continental nations such Italy or Spain—the term “Staatwissenschaft” (literally, “State Science”), which was used widely at the time, came to be translated as “Political Science.” In all likelihood, just as important as the creation of specific centers for the study of politics were the launch in 1886 of the academic journals *Political Science Quarterly* and *Annales de l’École Libre des Sciences Politiques* in the United States and France, respectively, which would act as a vehicle for the expression of new approaches in this area of social sciences; and the creation in 1903 of the first professional association with a clear political science identity, the American Political Science Association (APSA), followed by the launch of its own journal, the *American Political Science Review*, in 1906. It would take a long time before any of such initiatives were replicated in a European country: for those being pioneers, 32 and 36 years, respectively, in the Finnish case; and almost half a century both in the case of the United Kingdom (in 1950 and 1953, for the national association and journal, respectively), and France (1949 and 1951), a country where these steps were taken at least three decades before political science become “normal” (see Table 1).⁵

TABLE 1. Facts concerning the institutionalization of Political Science in Spain, as compared with a number of American and European cases

Country	First institution to teach political science	Current professional association, year founded, and membership*	Academic journal and year founded
United States	Columbia University, New York (1880)	American Political Science Association (1903); «more than 15,000» members**	<i>American Political Science Review</i> (1906)
United Kingdom	London School of Economics and Political Science, London (1895)	UK Political Studies Association (1950); «over 1,700» members. British International Studies Association (1975); «just under 1,000» members	<i>Political Studies</i> (1953) <i>Review of International Politics</i> (1981 [1975])
France	Ecole des Sciences Politiques, Paris (1871)	Association Française de Science Politique (1949); «more than 600» members in 2008; Association des Enseignants et Chercheurs en Science Politique (1995); 100 members in 2008; Association Française des Candidates aux Métiers de la Science Politique (1996)	<i>Revue Française de Science Politique</i> (1951) <i>Palaestra</i> [bulletin] <i>Système D</i> [bulletin]
Germany	Hochschule Für Politik, Berlin (1923)	Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (1950); «over 1,400» members Deutsche Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaft (1983)***; 200 members in October 2006****	<i>Politische Vierteljahresschrift</i> (PVS) (1959)
Greece	Panteios School of Political Sciences, Athens (1931)	The Hellenic Association of Political Science (1975); «nearly 260» members in 2007	<i>Hellenic Review of Political Science</i> (1993)
Italy	Scuola di Scienza Sociali “Cesare Alfieri”, Florence (1875)	Società Italiana di Scienza Politica (1981); 335 members	<i>Revista Italiana di Scienza Politica</i> (1971) <i>Italian politicalscience</i> (2007)
Portugal	University of Coimbra (1885)	Associação Portuguesa de Ciência Política (1998); 295 members	<i>Revista de Política</i> (1985) [published until 1988]
Spain	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas, Económicas y Comerciales. Universidad Complutense de Madrid (1944)	Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración (1993); 525 members	<i>Revista Española de Ciencia Política de la Administración</i> (1999)
Argentina	Universidad Nacional del Rosario (1919)	Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político; 610 members	<i>Revista SAAP</i> (2002)
Brazil	Departamento Ciência Política (1966)	Associação Brasileira de Ciência Política; 367 members	<i>Brazilian Political Science Review</i> (2007)
Chile	Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad Católica de Chile (1969)	Asociación Chilena de Ciencia Política (1983); 124 members	None
Mexico	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales (1951)	Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración Pública (1974)	<i>La Revista del Colegio</i> and <i>Enlace</i> (None of them publishes currently)

* Figures as of 2010, unless otherwise specified.

** This total estimates included roughly 10,000 faculty members (9,300 members out of 14,000 in 2005).

*** A split of DVPW.

**** The figure is only an estimate.

Sources: Original work based on data obtained from colleagues and staff of the respective professional association, web pages of the respective associations, and Klingemann, ed (2007).

⁶ The diary of Beatrice Webb, co-founder with Sidney Webb of the present-day London School of Economics and Political Science (ref. Hayward 1991 94-95).

Although one of those who encouraged the teaching and cultivation of political science materials in specialized centers would confess towards the end of the nineteenth century his frustration with the shocking difficulty of teaching “a science that does not yet exist,”⁶ by that time a whole series of authors whose names appear clearly associated with the first studies of modern political science —Lorenz Von Stein, George Jellinek and Max Weber, in Germany; Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca, in Italy; James Brice, in England; Émile Boutmy, in France; Adolfo González Posada, in Spain; Harold Wilson and John Burgess, in the United States— had published at least a significant part of their studies or were about to do so.

The “history” of the discipline from the early twentieth century up to the present is something that we have begun to understand relatively well. Beginning in the 1980s, it could be said without incurring in hyperbole that this has become an authentic subfield within political science. In effect, throughout the last thirty years, which in a sense have been the “hangover” after the *boom* in political science in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, a tremendous effort of introspection in our discipline has been carried out, which naturally has included a revision of its past, as we have seen, specific to each country. Such efforts have materialized in the preparation and publication of a whole series of studies on the history and current state of political science in various countries, almost always Western, constituting the foundation upon which the global history of the discipline was to be written⁷. Among others, for the United States: Finifter, ed. *Political Science. The State of the Discipline*, 1983 and 1993; Ricci, *The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship and Democracy*, 1984; Seidelman, with Harpham, *Disenchanted Realism: Political Science and the American Crisis, 1884-1984*, 1985; and Katnelson and Milner, eds. *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, 2002. Concerning European experiences: Newton and Vallés, eds, *Political Science in Western Europe, 1960-1990*; Klingemann, Kleeska and Legutke, eds. *The State of Political Science in Central and Eastern Europe*, 2002; Klingemann, ed. *The State of Political Science in Western Europe*, 2007; Eisfeld and Pal, eds. *Political Science in Central and Eastern Europe. Diversity and Convergence*, 2010. Covering a broader and more diverse range of countries, one might mention Andrews, ed. *International Book of Political Science*, 1982; Easton, Gunnell and Graziano, eds. *The Development of Political Science*, 1991; and Easton, Gunnell, and Stein, eds. *Regime and Discipline: Democracy and the Development of Political Science*, 1995. More recently, a special issue of the Chilean *Revista de Ciencia Política* (vol. 25.1, 2005) presented the situation of the discipline in different Latin American countries. A suggestive variant of the history of the discipline is the history of the profession. In this regard, one

⁷ Here we must mention the important precedent represented by the report *Contemporary Political Science: A Survey of Methods, Research and Training*, published by UNESCO in 1950.

must mention Hans Daalder, ed. *Comparative European Politics: The Story of a Profession* (1997) and Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics* (2007).

The debate opened on the history of political science and the methodology specific to it, no doubt fomented by the veritable torrent of “histories” on the subject, constitutes something more than a symptom of that tendency to create a subfield within the discipline. To my knowledge, the most noteworthy discussion is that carried out in the pages of the *American Political Science Review* in the wake of an article by John S. Dryzek and Stephen T. Leonard (1988) in which the authors, from a perspective that they themselves describe as “post-empirical,” argue that histories of the discipline should be “sensitive to contexts” and that they should serve as guides for practical research. At the same time, they deny the possibility that such histories can be neutral, an opinion that—like the previous ones—would arouse the criticism of Farr, Gunnell, and Seideman (1990). This intellectual exchange gave birth to the original monograph *Political Science in History*, written from the double perspective of the discipline’s political traditions and its research programs (Farr, Dryzek, and Leonard 1995). Needless to say, all of this has contributed to raising the meta-theoretical and historiographical discourse on our discipline. As Farr (1988) has pointed out, the very persistence of debates on the political and methodological identity of political science highlights the relevance of its history as a forum for memory, reflection, and criticism.

In the context of the Spanish academy, we already have a series of studies that, at different moments and with unequal impact, have for some time reported on the discipline’s situation, from various perspectives⁸. If there is a “before” and an “after” in our discipline with regards to its institutionalization and differentiation from other related social sciences, in the Spanish case the point of inflexion would be the approval of the University Reform Law in 1983 under the first PSOE (Socialist) government and, more specifically, the October 1984 publication of a catalogue for *áreas de conocimiento* (fields of knowledge) —as an appendix to the decree that regulates the faculty recruitment system of public competition. The catalogue established as separated fields—among others—History of Thought, Social Movements, Sociology, and —more significantly— International Relations and Public International Law, Political and [Public] Administration Science, and Constitutional Law, breaking up the old unity of the traditional *Derecho Político* (Political Law)⁹ while references to State Theory disappeared. As a consequence of such reform, political science became an autonomous discipline, being explicitly recognized in the academic sphere. Only a year later, the old monopoly of the degree of Political Sciences and Sociology held by

⁸ Among those published in the last 40 years, one should mention the work of Pastor (1973, 1988, 1994), Santamaría (1974, 2005), Ramírez (1977), De Miguel and Moyer (1979), Tierno (1980), López Pintor (1982), Vallés (1989, 1991, 2002), Cazorla and Jerez (1990), Cotarelo and Baras (1990, 1991), Jerez (1993, 1999, 2002 and 2006), Colino et al (1994), Harto (2005), Clifton (2006), and Etherington and Morata (2007). Especially useful for reference purposes turns out to be the political science and public Administration *vademecum*, directed and coordinated by Cotarelo (1994). Among the most clarifying work, one should mention the report prepared by Vallés (1996) for the conference *La Science Politique en Europe*, held in Paris.

⁹ Under this label—that gave name to an encyclopedic discipline, scientifically and academically consolidated in Spanish higher education after the 1884 reform of courses of study—were studied, until not long ago, the material directly or indirectly related to political science, something that had been done traditionally in some *cátedras* (chairs) of Philosophy of Law and, later, in those of State Theory and Sociology.

Universidad Complutense of Madrid was broken through the creation of two new faculties, one in the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and in the *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (UNED). With such reforms, a phase of significant expansion of the discipline, both in terms of professors and number of centers offering a degree in Political Science began—at the private universities only after 1997—and continues up to the present.

From the perspective adopted here, it seems timely to report in some detail on the state of Spanish political science since its constitution as an autonomous discipline and, more concretely, on the structures that reflect its external recognition or that make it tangible: specific teaching and research centers, professors tied to this field of knowledge, academic journals and manuals, major governmental agencies that support research financially, and, very particularly, professional associations¹⁰. Nevertheless, with the aim of better understanding the totality of factors that configure the present state of the discipline in Spain, it is wise to first review some of the most relevant events and facts that help explain the process that includes those who cultivate this branch of the social sciences.

Political studies until the mid-1980s

In Spain, one may speak broadly of “political studies” for a period that begins with the *Cortes de Cádiz* (1808-1814) and ends with the crisis of Franco’s regime in the late 1960s and the subsequent return to democracy after the dictator’s death in 1975. During this long century and a half, these studies have passed through diverse vicissitudes and ruptures in consonance with a political context characterized by constitutional instability, and sometimes even by loss of liberties, which on occasion was to be rather prolonged. Leaving aside the years before 1875 in which one cannot yet speak of the scientific and systematic study of politics, and both the years of the Bourbon Restoration (1875-1931) and the Second Republic (1931-1939), since no sign of institutionalization of political science may be found during them, for the purpose of analysis one can distinguish three periods anterior to the beginning of the discipline’s differentiation: initial *franquismo*; the decade of the 1960s; and a third period of transition from approximately 1969 to 1984, in which I believe a number of decisive steps for the discipline’s differentiation were already taken, preparing the ground for its institutional take-off.

Political studies under early Francoism: laying the foundations of development of political science. This period would span the 1940s and the largest part of the 1950s, and it is characterized—especially in its earliest phase—by the express aim of political

¹⁰ We are deliberately avoiding two important structural aspects in Edward Shils’s typology (see note 3) with respect to institutionalization, namely, that of the program requirements for undergraduate degrees and postgraduate studies in Political Science and that of degree structures and content. These two aspects constitute focus points of a recent report on the current state of political science in Spain (Etherington and Morata 2007).

indoctrination, in the service of which several measures would be adopted that would prove to be extremely relevant, institutionally and materially. First, there is the founding of the Institute of Political Studies (IEP) by decree on September 9, 1939 as an organization dependent on the *Junta Política de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS* (Political Board of FET and JONS) and therefore incorporated within the *Secretaría General del Movimiento* (Secretariat General of the Movement). Designed as a think tank at the orders of the *Estado Nuevo*, IEP's missions were centered mainly on the research and study of the state's political, social, administrative, international, and economic concerns, the supervision of the *Junta Política* and other services of the *Movimiento*, the preparation of legal reports or government projects, and the orientation of political action. There was also the conviction of the need to fill the vacuum represented by the non-existence in Spain of a center of studies similar to the mentioned *École des Sciences Politiques* of Paris or the London School of Economics and Political Science, in order to produce a certain type of political and administrative leaders, an unfulfilled goal in the Spanish faculties of law, which focused on the study of private law¹¹. The IEP began to supervise graduate education after the arrival of Javier Conde as director in 1948 (until 1956)¹². Located in the building that had once held the Senate, IEP had at its disposal the Upper House's excellent library, its own publishing house, and, beginning in January 1941, the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (REP), which since then has been published without interruption. As a foreign observer well versed in Spanish realities has pointed out, no doubt in reference to Conde's period, in IEP "tendencies toward an autonomous discipline were born," in spite of having been originally founded as an institution of the one-party regime¹³. Although Conde's efforts would not be duly continued by others, they did leave a profound mark, for example, in the area of translations and publications. He also took a significant initiative by the end of his mandate: the creation of the *Asociación Española de Ciencia Política* and its counterpart in sociology, that in 1955 obtained the recognition of UNESCO as associations of scientist interest officially incorporated to its structures¹⁴.

Secondly, there is the 1943 creation of the Faculty of Political, Economic, and Commercial Sciences, inaugurated on February 1944 in offices at Madrid's Faculty of Law. A certain degree of improvisation is revealed in the fact that students attended classes without being aware of available courses of study (they would have to wait until the publication of the July 1944 decree that established the new faculty's policies). Courses were grouped into two specializations, political sciences or economic and commercial sciences, with approximately twice as many students enrolled in the second (both sections together had about 1,200 students). The separation into independent centers (the second one would now be called

¹¹ In 1941 the first course on political studies was already organized, although without official validity of the corresponding diploma, in three sections: 1) Political Sciences, 2) Political Economy, and 3) International Studies (source: *Cursos y Seminarios*. Archive of the IEP).

¹² Francisco Javier Conde, professor of political law at the University of Madrid, was preceded in this position by two other professors, also coming from the Madrid Law School: Alfonso García Valdecasas and Fernando María Castiella. According to the testimony of Linz, Conde was a man of "broad intellectual outlook, nourished by the German social science tradition (Max Weber, Freyer, Heller, Schmitt, Smend)" (Linz 1997, 102).

¹³ Von Beyme (1975, 49). For an excellent monograph on the IEP, paying specific attention to the development of political science and sociology from its structures, see Sesma (2009, 253-260).

¹⁴ The Spanish Association of Political Science joined IPSA in September 1958. Its first general assembly, followed by its first scientist meeting, took place at the IEP, where its seat was established, by December 1959. For details on that process, composition of its first board and the content of the mentioned meeting, see "La Asociación Española de Ciencia Política," in *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 119 (1961): 147-151

the Faculty of Economic *and Business Sciences*) would not become a reality until 1969, four years before the Faculty of Political Sciences was renamed the Faculty of Political Sciences *and Sociology*, although this last discipline had been taught as such in this university for many years¹⁵. Just like the IEP, the new faculty was conceived fundamentally as an agency for indoctrination in the values of the regime (the 1944 program included the second-year course “Doctrine and Politics of the National Movement”¹⁶), and at the same time, as a recruitment pool for the political, bureaucratic, economic, and academic elites of the future.

Though the original objectives are unambiguous, the results are not so clear. With respect to the professional development aspect, the results were doubtful at best. Concerning the goal of indoctrination, it certainly failed, in the long term at least, given that the Faculty ended up being rather a locus of protest against the regime, especially within the student body, but also in a notable sector of the professors. Tierno Galván, who was professor there, would later write: “The state—at that time a totalitarian state—made a grave mistake in establishing this particular Faculty. Far from educating a political minority destined to serve the dictatorship, as its creators had hoped, it became, because of the very nature of the subjects taught, a hotbed of protest, and within it were lit the fuses of the intellectual bombs which would later explode. It was a grave error which should have been foreseen by the administration but was not” (1980, 549). In the proposed academic study of politics, we see a certain parallelism with the case of Italy, where the situation would not begin to change until the 1960s. As there, and probably in other European countries of similar cultural traditions, there were many “political studies” in the old tradition, but no specific political science, in the sense of an approach that aims to study political phenomena scientifically¹⁷. If one reviews the program for the specialization of Political Sciences, in effect up to 1953, one can observe that the subjects proper to political science are taught and cultivated, in the best of cases, from within other disciplines, especially philosophy, history, and a public law that includes — among other courses— “Spanish Political Law” and “Comparative Political Law” (even a generic political law, which would have permitted a less historical and juridical focus, was lacking). In this respect, the 1953 program’s key innovation consists in the course entitled “State Theory,” which would later be called “State Theory and Constitutional Law,” leading us to understand that this was the official term for an equivalent of a course in political science in this institution. (At the same time, two new chairs with this new term had been created, to be occupied by professors Carlos Ollero and Manuel Fraga.) It was not until 1973 that the program saw an “Introduction to Political Science,” the first course to incorporate this distinguishing title.

¹⁵ The 1947 program already included sociology in the first year of economics whereas the 1953 program also includes it in the second and third year of political sciences, as “General Sociology” and “Contemporary Social Structure,” respectively (in Economics it is then called “Sociology and Methodology and Systematics of the Social Sciences”). Nevertheless, until 1954 there would be no *cátedra* of sociology at the Faculty of Political, Economic, and Commercial Sciences. The first *cátedra* was headed by Enrique Gómez Arboleya, who had been professor of Philosophy of Law in Seville and Granada.

¹⁶ In the 1953 program, this course, always curiously absent in the Economics programs (although the habitual three years of “Political Education” did appear at that time), would become a fourth-year course under the title of “Spanish Political Law and Doctrine of the National Movement”.

¹⁷ Graziano (1991, 128 ss.). Graziano underlines the fact that before then the Fascist regime had created various Faculties of Political Sciences (Pavia, Padua, Perugia, and Rome), while simultaneously eliminating the teaching of political science in the only center in which it already existed (the *Istituto “Cesare Alfieri”* in Florence).

During the first half of the Franco regime, the most representative names in the discipline were, among the innovators, Javier Conde and Enrique Gómez Arboleya, both of whom were part of the so-called Generation of 1910, a generation that participated in the Civil War (1936-39), or at least suffered it, and whose other members—most of them professors both at the IEP and the University *Complutense*—included Luis Díez del Corral, Salvador Lissarrague, José Antonio Maravall, Carlos Ollero, Nicolás Ramiro, and the philosopher José L. López Aranguren, among others (Linz 1988, 152). Luis Sánchez Agesta and Carlos Ollero himself, born respectively in 1914 and 1912, would play a role as authors of the transition towards the new period, to the degree that they gradually imported some elements of political analysis that had already been used in the United States (Vallés 1991, 205-6). Among the scholars in exile who already enjoyed a reputation, one might mention Francisco Ayala, who was initially oriented toward political science and sociology—especially during the first years of exile, after working in Madrid as assistant to Adolfo Posada, the most prestigious professor of *Derecho Político*—but would later center his work on the essay genre and literature, which he had always cultivated¹⁸. Nor should one forget Luis Recasens Siches, author of the report on political science in Spain, commissioned by UNESCO for the volume *Contemporary Political Science*, published in Paris in 1950¹⁹.

Political Studies in the 1960s: The opening towards new orientations in political science. Except for timid advances during the fruitful period in which Javier Conde was heading the IEP, the reception of the new positivist paradigm, what some Marxist-oriented social scientists have called—with more spite than accuracy—“American-style” political science, takes place in the mid- to late 1950s and, above all, in the 1960s, during the regime’s push for economic development (*desarrollismo*). This process brought with it a first wave of modernization in sociocultural norms and habits, due to a series of factors, among them the end of material scarcity, new styles and rational forms of work, and more communication between some social sectors—including university students—and certain other Western countries. Thus, it was during these years that a certain degree of fluidity took hold in both the circulation of specialized literature and the travel abroad of fellowship students and young professors, from *cátedras* of political law and state theory (or from the first *cátedras* of sociology), to certain foreign centers of teaching and research in the United States, France, Britain and, more rarely, in Germany and Italy (Bologna). The best testimony of this process are Spanish translations of foreign works representative of the new orientation in

¹⁸ Among Ayala’s non-literary works, the most notable are *El problema del liberalismo* (1941), *El concepto de nación* (1941), and *Tratado de Sociología* (1947). His unpublished doctoral thesis, entitled *Los partidos políticos como órganos de gobierno en el Estado Moderno* (1931) concerned a topic that at that time was new in the Spanish academic literature. The Spanish Association of Political Science recognized his contributions to the discipline by naming him (along with Francisco Murillo) honorary member in 1999.

¹⁹ Recasens had earned distinction in philosophy of law, renewing Spanish philosophical-juridical studies within the dominant European currents of the time, against Thomist or Krausist scholastics. He also appears tied to Spanish political science through Manuel García Pelayo, who writes in his intellectual autobiography that he studied with Recasens in Madrid, replacing him a few months before the outbreak of the Civil War (see below).

²⁰ Among those translated into Spanish before the death of Franco, one might mention the following: Burdeau (1959; 1964), Meynaud (1959), Friedrich (1961 and 1968), Brecht (1963), Duverger (1962, 1964 and 1968), Meynaud (1964), Loewenstein (1965), Voegelin (1968), Abendroth and Lenk, eds. (1971), and Mackenzie (1972).

²¹ Jiménez de Parga (1959), Murillo (1963), Sánchez Agesta (1965); Xifra (1965), Hernández Rubio (1970), Lucas Verdú (1969), Ramírez (1972), and Ferrando (1976) (This last work incorporates several studies published in the preceding decade). Among those published towards the end of the Franco regime's early period, one might mention the following: Ollero (1955; 1958), Carro (1957), and Fueyo (1958). The *memoria de cátedra* was a normally lengthy work on objectives, methods, and sources of the discipline. All candidates to Full Professor positions in Spanish universities had to present one in the national competition (*oposición*).

²² García Pelayo would continue to exercise his intellectual brilliance after reestablishing himself in Spain, publishing *Los mitos políticos* (1980), *Idea de la política y otros escritos* (1983), and *El Estado de partidos* (1986), following his influential *Las transformaciones del Estado contemporáneo* (1977). For García Pelayo's "Intellectual Autobiography" as well as a complete report on his works, see the dossier "Manuel García Pelayo" in *Anthropos*, 59 (1986). For his biography, see also Tomás y Valiente (1993), who succeeds him at the presidency of the *Tribunal Constitucional*.

²³ An intellectual portrait of Juan J. Linz might be found in Miley and Montero (2008), editors of *Juan J. Linz, Obras Escogidas*. Madrid, *Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales*, 2008-2010.

political studies²⁰, along with the content—and the pace of publication—of course manuals, a fair number of them originating in the corresponding *memoria de cátedra*²¹.

The dissemination of new methodological perspectives in Spain was aided by the publication of the first empirical studies, which, when applied to the corresponding research, progressively left the mark of the current international literature. Also leaving its mark was Spanish attendance at IPSA conferences, which began to be notable after the 7th Conference (Brussels, 1967) and especially the 8th Conference (Munich, 1970). No less important would be the personal contact, if not collaboration, with some prestigious Spanish political scientists who for political or professional reasons had left Spain to work in foreign universities. From the specific perspective of political science, the most remarkable exiles—as much for the scientific value of their work as for their great influence in Spain (with which they had never lost contact), and even outside of Spain—were, without a doubt, Manuel García Pelayo²² and Juan J. Linz²³. Indeed, both were relevant with regard to two of the three most innovative methodological orientations of these years, which remained active at least until the end of *franquismo*²⁴.

(a) With the comparative study of political regimes from an institutional perspective, the formal analysis of the constitution tended to be substituted by an approach that took into account the real factors of power, such as political parties and interest groups, actors that at that time still had no legal existence in Spain—with the exception of the single party *Falange* and, regarding interest groups, some professional associations (the *colegios profesionales* of lawyers, medical doctors, etc.). This tendency was strongly influenced by García Pelayo, among political scientists and constitutionalists alike, both in Spain and in Latin America, especially with his *Derecho Constitucional Comparado* (1950). In the peninsular academic context, mention must be made of the work of Manuel Jiménez de Parga, who from his post at the University of Barcelona would make important contributions to the diffusion in Spain of the new orientations in comparative constitutional law and French political science, and more specifically, the revitalizing institutionalism of Duverger: *La V República francesa, una puerta abierta a la dictadura constitucional* (1958), *Los regímenes políticos contemporáneos* (1959), *Formas constitucionales y fuerzas políticas* (1961)²⁵.

(b) Critical empiricism was applied to important issues related to politics and to Spanish society, including some of their economic aspects. In this period, this orientation characterized the so-called "Granada School of Sociology and Political Science" or "Murillo Group." Indeed, professor Francisco Murillo Ferrol, who declared himself a disciple of Enrique Gómez Arboleya (a known promoter of empirical sociology) and Luis Sánchez

Agesta, was probably the most responsible for this change of direction in the field of political law²⁶. After his academic visit to Columbia University, Murillo published his influential manual *Estudios de sociología política* (1963), which introduced in Spain perspectives on power, political behavior, public opinion, social change, consensus / conflict, and pressure groups, while including some empirical applications to the Spanish case. He thereby shifted attention toward perspectives and themes of modern political science, as distinguished from the traditional ones in the established fields of “political sciences” and political law. This group owed much to Linz, who has explained how, once Gómez Arboleya had died, he established a special relationship “with his [Gómez Arboleya’s] disciples, several of whom later went to Columbia University, and with whom I then collaborated in [their] research projects, establishing a permanent connection with the *Universidad de Granada*.²⁷”

(c) Spain received diverse neo-Marxist currents, principally the theoretical work of Gramsci, French structuralism, English instrumentalism, and German critical theory. This third tendency takes hold after the other two (although curiously somewhat before studies on the Franco regime itself), coinciding with the beginning of the regime’s crisis in the late 1960s and the so-called pre-Transition to democracy. In this way, we see a convergence with the habitual Western European patterns of those years. For Ramón Cotarelo, this was “the most prosperous methodological tendency” in Spanish political science towards the end of the regime as it was among the social sciences in general. In the case of Spain, Marxism “enjoyed the added prestige of being a methodology uncontaminated by the intellectual elaborations of the dictatorship and whose profession allowed intellectual work to be presented as something tied to the recuperation of liberties.”²⁸ However, in contrast to the case of the “Granada School,” now it would not be a group with a visible leader nor would it be concentrated in specific departments. Among the first authors who were inclined to adopt this orientation—which some would abandon quickly, and which is certainly in decay today, probably with the exception of the Frankfurt School currents—the most notable were the pioneer Enrique Tierno, Jordi Solé, Javier Pérez Royo, Manuel Pastor, and Carlos de Cabo. These last two belong to Ollero’s group, Pérez Royo is a disciple of Ignacio María de Lojendio (at that time full professor of political law in Seville), and Solé was a disciple of Jiménez de Parga, leading with González Casanova what has been called the “Barcelona School” or, more commonly, the “Catalan Group,” in the early 1970s²⁹.

The three methodological approaches or general tendencies examined above were not mutually exclusive. Any of these academic groups was permeated to some degree by all three of them, at least during the 1970s, and there are several cases of scholars currently

²⁴ On this point, I follow closely the position of professor Vallés (1989, 30-33).

²⁵ In the early 1960s, Manuel Jiménez de Parga was head of the Department of Political Law in the Universidad de Barcelona, a position he had taken over from José Xifra Heras (a “liberal” *falangista* from the extinguished Catalan *Lliga Regionalista*). Jiménez de Parga would put together a dynamic academic team, origin of the so-called “Catalan School” or “Catalan Group,” whose first members would be Jordi Solé, José Antonio González Casanova, and Isidre Molas. Both Solé and Molas—Spanish pioneers in the political science study of nationalism and political parties, respectively—would be expelled from their university for political reasons in 1966. They opted to create *Estudis e Investigació, SA*, a kind of parallel faculty, where they would continue to pursue political science studies. They were readmitted to the *Universidad de Barcelona* two years later. They remained politically active with the return to democracy—something exceptional in the other schools mentioned earlier—becoming Minister and Vicepresident of the Senate, respectively, both with the Socialist Party. Solé had previously been deputy for the *Partido Comunista de España*—PCE—and as such he had been the PCE’s representative in the seven-member group that prepared the draft of the Constitution. Meanwhile, Jiménez de Parga had

become minister of the center-right *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD) in the first cabinet of the democracy, and in the late 1990s he would be appointed president of the *Tribunal Constitucional*.

²⁶ The other “forerunner” school of the new political science in Spain was that headed by Carlos Ollero, professor of state theory in the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* during the second half of the Franco regime. This school was a much more heterogeneous group, perhaps due to the influence of its most prominent member, who had been head of the Salamanca group with Pablo Lucas Verdú, Raúl Morodo, and Pedro de Vega, among others, who later joined Ollero’s group in Madrid (See Cotarelo [1993, 16] and Pastor [1994, 358]). In contrast to the Granada School, which was of a generally critical tendency, Ollero’s group did not include sociologists, and—what is more revealing for purposes of classification—it was not very empirical (López Pintor 1982).

²⁷ Juan J. Linz (1988, 152). Among the members of the Department of Political Law in Granada during the Murillo period (1961-1973), Manuel Ramírez and José Cazorla also spent time in Columbia. After Murillo went to the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* in 1973, the former would become director of the Department of Political Law in Saragossa, while the latter would hold the same position in Granada. Both of them stimulated a good amount of research in political science, almost always from an empirical

linked to the fields of Political Science and Public Administration or even Constitutional Law that have combined at least two of these tendencies in their academic work. These years saw the first indications of the institutionalization of political and sociological studies, which at that time often not only went hand in hand but were also taught by the same person³⁰, as well as a series of measures—some of them favoring scientific development in general—that would contribute significantly to the opening up towards new orientations in political science. Though not exhaustive, the following indicators merit attention: (a) the creation of the *Instituto Español de la Opinión Pública* and the appearance in 1965 of the associated journal *Revista Española de la Opinión Pública*; (b) the work of the *Instituto de Ciencias Sociales*, linked to the *Diputación Provincial* (Province) of Barcelona, founded in 1963, which that year began editing its own journal;³¹ (c) the early 1960s founding of the *Instituto de Ciencias Sociales* in Madrid, encouraged by Sánchez Agesta, with initiatives like the *Semana de Estudios Sociales* (Social Studies Week) or academic seminars in the monastery of the Valley of the Fallen, near El Escorial (Madrid), which led to publications on topics such as Spanish bureaucracy; (d) the creation of departments within the faculties, remodeling the old *cátedras* following the application of the 1965 *Ley de Enseñanza Universitaria* (University Education Law); (e) the official recognition of the term “political science” in the curricula of the faculties of law and economic, and departmental structures, of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, following its creation in 1968³²; (f) the streamlining of policies concerning postdoctoral fellowships for study abroad, particularly in the USA³³, with the corresponding financial backing of foundations like Fulbright, Ford, March, etc; (g) the publication in 1969 of the *Boletín Informativo de Ciencia Política*, edited in Madrid by Ollero in his Department of State Theory and Constitutional Law, which had been preceded by the *Boletín Informativo del Seminario de Derecho Político de Salamanca* (1954-64), an initiative of Tierno; (h) the work of publishing houses like *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, *Ariel*, *Taurus*, and *Tecnos* (these last three had collections or series specializing in political science); (i) the birth in 1969 of Barcelona’s *Fundación Jaume Bofill*, which would soon afterward host the *Equip de Sociología Electoral*; and (j) the very existence of a Spanish Association of Political Science, although at that time it was not particularly dynamic, understandably so, given the authoritarian nature of the regime within which it operated. Another factor that should be taken into account, because of the possibilities it afforded for enlarging the body of social science scholars in general and for intensifying their dedication to academia, was the significant improvements in salary for Associate Professors following the approval of the *Ley de Enseñanza Universitaria*, mentioned above, as well as the diffusion in the early 1970s of research fellowships and relatively decent

salaries for assistants. Along with the popularization of university education these factors allowed a new generation of teachers and researchers to enter the profession.

Toward the “normalization” of political studies: 1970-1984. The scientific study of political reality—at least the contemporary study of it in one’s own country—requires a framework of basic liberties. Indeed, it is only this that permits the development of the democratic political process, whose principal protagonists are individual citizens, fundamentally as voters, and the collective actors that aggregate and articulate their interests by formulating demands and, when they are in power, carrying out concrete policies in the most diverse areas. In addition, only in this context can minimally valid data be obtained regarding citizens’ attitudes on a particular issue (the rating of the current regime, its concrete institutions, elites) through opinion surveys. That is, it is exceedingly difficult—although not impossible, within evident limitations—to do political science in a non-democratic context³⁴ and, more especially, it is not easy to divulge the fruits of the studies that can be carried out, if the results are not palatable to those in power. This is what Tierno made clear when he alluded to the contradiction that during late *franquismo* the regime financed a series of research projects—although only with salaries for the professors responsible and minimal support for books and journals—while later hindering or prohibiting the dissemination of the results, or attempting to manipulate the conclusions (1980, 555).

Under the Franco regime, one was certainly not encouraged to study even past Liberal regimes, let alone democratic periods. In spite of this, in the final years of the regime (those that cover the pre-transition period, whose beginnings one can situate around 1969) we already see the first monographs, including the occasional contributions of Spanish historians, centered on specific political aspects of the Second Republic. A non-exhaustive list of highlights might run as follows, in chronological order: González Casanova, *Elecciones en Barcelona, 1931-1936* (1969); Ramírez, *Los grupos de presión en la II República* (1969); Tusell, *La Segunda República en Madrid: elecciones y partidos políticos* (1970); Elorza, *La utopía anarquista bajo la II República* (1972); Linz, “Continuidad y discontinuidad en la élite política española: de la Restauración al régimen actual” (1972); Molas, *El sistema de partits politics a Catalunya, 1931-1936* (1972); Aguiló, *Las elecciones en Valencia durante la Segunda República* (1974); Pastor, *Los orígenes del fascismo español* (1975); Ramírez ed., *Estudios sobre la II República* (1975); In the transition period, others follow: Linz, *El sistema de partidos en España* (1976); Pitarch, *La Generalitat de Catalunya* (1976, 1977); Gerpe, *L'Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya i l'Etat integral* (1977); Martín Ramos, *Els orígens del Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya, 1930-1936* (1977); Montero,

perspective. A third member of that active and numerous study group, Carlos Alba, would pursue political science studies at Yale University soon after Juan J. Linz moved there at the end of the 1970s. Beginning in 1978, four young doctors from Murillo’s group in Granada would follow Alba’s footsteps to Yale. Linz continues to collaborate actively, not just with the Universidad de Granada but also with the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid—through José R. Montero, another member of that study group. Such a close relationship with the Murillo group is underlined by the fact that Juan J. Linz is Doctor honoris causa at both of these universities.

²⁸ Cotarelo (1994, 21-23).

²⁹ Initially, this group—the origins of which we saw earlier—limited its research efforts almost entirely to the study of topics related to the political identity of Catalonia, from historical personality to political parties, by way of questions of federalism, autonomy, or the territorial structure of the state, and then later—in the late 1970s and early 1980s—opened itself up to very different topics (Cotarelo and Baras 1991, 147).

³⁰ It should be remembered that in the early 1970s the specialization that garnered the most affiliates among Spanish sociologists—a good indicator of academic and research interest—was precisely that of “Sociology of Politics” (*Sociología española de los años 70* [1971, 32]). An example is the professional career of a figure as significant as Juan J. Linz, who stands with one foot in political science and another in sociology.

³¹ The first issue of the *Revista del Instituto de Ciencias Sociales* appeared in 1963 with the contributions of young professors like Salvador Giner (then at the University of Puerto Rico) and Capella. Already in the second issue we see articles on topics proper to the new political science, like pressure groups and political behavior, in addition to a bibliographical report on The Fifty Best North American Political Science Books (the following issue would publish a similar list of British books on political science and constitutional law).

³² Vallés (2002).

³³ As in Italy during the same years, American political science played a very important role “in socializing and training” a significant number of those who were later senior professor (Freddi and Giannetti 2007, 258).

La CEDA. El catolicismo social y político en la II República (1977); Pitarch, *L'Estructure del Parlament de Catalunya i les seves funcions politiquies: 1932-1939* (1977). Pitarch, *Sociología dels politics de la Generalitat, 1931-1939* (1977); Ramírez, *Las reformas de la II República* (1977); and De Blas, *El socialismo radical en la II República* (1978). In some cases, the first works on “politically incorrect” topics of previous historical periods had appeared a few years before: Molas, *Ideari de Francesc Pi i Margall* (1965) or Trujillo, *El federalismo español* (1967). However, for the most part, this type of work was published only in the late 1960s or immediately after Franco's death: Jutglar, *Ideologías y clases en la España contemporánea: aproximación a la historia social de las ideas* (1968, 1969); Molas, *La Lliga catalana* (1972); Solé, *Catalanismo y revolución burguesa* (1974); Solozábal, *El primer nacionalismo vasco* (1975); Linz and J. de Miguel “Las Cortes Españolas 1943-1970: Un análisis de cohortes” (1975); and Acosta, *El desarrollo capitalista y la democracia en España* (1975); Aja, *Democracia y socialismo en el siglo XIX español* (1976).

Relatively few were the broadly academic monographs on the Franco years published before the General's death in 1975, among which one should mention Juan J. Linz and Amando de Miguel's *Los empresarios ante el poder público. El liderazgo y los grupos de intereses ante el poder público* (1966); *Estudios de ciencia política y sociología: homenaje al profesor Carlos Ollero* (1972), embodying 45 papers, of which two thirds approached political science topics; the monumental volume compiled by Manuel Fraga, *La España de los años setenta. III: El Estado y la política* (1974), gathering the contribution of the then youngest generation of political scientists, in addition to a series of juridical-constitutional studies; and the unique case of de Esteban, et al., *Desarrollo político y Constitución Española* (1973), published by *Ariel* in its Political Science collection. Originally a treatise on the Fundamental Laws (*Leyes Fundamentales*), it can be considered a work of applied political science, to the extent that it explored “the possibilities of a practical program for political and institutional development in Spain that might allow a way out of the dictatorship within its own institutional framework” (Cotarelo 1993, 20).

Other works would not see the light until after Franco's death: Álvarez Bolado, *El experimento del nacional-catolicismo* (1976); López Pina and López Aranguren, *La cultura política en la España de Franco* (1976); Beltrán, *La élite burocrática española* (1977); De Esteban and López Guerra, *La crisis del Estado franquista* (1977); and Ruíz-Rico, *El papel político de la Iglesia Católica en la España de Franco (1936-1971)* (1977). Tellingly, as far as “normalization” is concerned, the first wave of books on the dictatorship arrived precisely in 1978, the year in which the Constitution was adopted, although obviously in this case too the research had been conducted in the previous years. These books include the

following: Bañón, *Burocracia y Cortes franquistas, 1948-1971*; Maravall, *Dictadura y disenso político*; Ramírez, *España, 1939-1975: Régimen político e ideología*; Ramírez, ed., *Las fuentes ideológicas de un régimen: España, 1938-1945*; and Viver, *El personal político de Franco, 1936-1945*. To this list one should add the monographic number of *Papers: Revista de Sociología* dedicated to Franco's regime, published at the same time although it originated in a debate —on the nature of Francoism— held two years earlier in Barcelona.

Within a few years, we see (1) new academic monographs on collective actors (PSOE, *Acción Republicana*, *Falange*, the anarchist union CNT), specific ideologies or institutions of the Second Republic (such as the *Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales*), or the last period of the Restoration, and (2) equally original monographs on specific topics of *franquismo* (press, political socialization, political elites, the official party FET-JONS, political opposition, etc.). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, it was to be time for the first monographs in which the object of study was situated chronologically in the first years of *postfranquismo* and the transition to democracy. Among these, one finds the following: De Vega, *Teoría y práctica de los partidos políticos* (1977); De Esteban and López Guerra, eds. *Los partidos políticos en la España actual* (1979); Morodo, ed. *Los partidos políticos en España* (1979); García San Miguel, *Teoría de la transición* (1981); Márquez, *Almería en la transición: Elecciones y sistema de partidos, 1976-1980* (1981); Botella, *L'electorat comunista a Catalunya* (1982); Maravall, *La política de la transición* (1982); Santamaría, ed., *Transiciones a la democracia en el Sur de Europa y en América Latina* (1982); Del Águila and Montoro, *El discurso político de la transición* (1984); and Morodo, *La transición política* (1985). To these publications one should add the *Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España. 1976-1981* (1981), of which Linz was coauthor. These works offer interpretations of the Transition itself, in addition to analyses of specific topics such as elections and voters, political parties and unions, the armed forces, and the political discourse of the Transition. They have been followed by many others, some of which were produced by prestigious political scientists from other countries, too numerous to list here³⁴.

In addition to the personal contacts among specialists in political science and constitutional law, the developments described above were facilitated enormously by a series of academic conferences celebrated throughout Spain, all of them financed generously by the *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*, a foundation tied to the German Social Democratic Party (SPD): (a) the Congress on the forthcoming Electoral Law and Its Political Consequences, organized by the *Centro de Investigación y Técnicas Políticas* (Center for Research and Political Techniques) and held in Madrid in the Fall of 1976, whose closing session coincided with

³⁴ A comparative study of five cases—including the Spanish one—of the transition to democracy from a dictatorship with at least a final “authoritarian” stage addressed precisely the question of the impact of non-democratic regimes on political science, and vice versa. The authors concluded that in all of the countries under consideration a double phenomenon was produced as the regime slowly lost legitimacy: On the one hand, the political scientists—who do not yet constitute an independent academic community—begin to adopt a reformist or even radical orientation, both in their teaching and in their writing. On the other hand, a shift takes place toward socially oriented political studies, including work on mass participation, voluntary associations, political groups and parties, and theories of democracy (see Easton, Gunnell and Stein 1995, 21-2).

³⁵ For a bibliographical survey on the Spanish transition to democracy, see Casas, Martín and Flores (1997).

³⁶ Although none of these publications was—nor is now—a political science journal *per se*, all of them contributed in some measure to clearing the way for the normalization of the discipline. Without a doubt, *Zona Abierta*, currently published by the *Fundación Pablo Iglesias*, has always been the most receptive toward the content and methods proper to political science. See, for example, the 1993 monographic number dedicated to New Institutionalism.

³⁷ Apart from a very few exceptions, I have only referred to published monographs and relevant collaborative works, but not to articles published in academic journals, some of which are no doubt very valuable.

³⁸ Just two examples will be useful: (a) While the first postwar cátedra of sociology was created in 1954, twenty years later there were already seven fully funded and occupied cátedras with this title. Three were located in Madrid—one in the *Universidad Autónoma* and the other two in the *Universidad Complutense*—, and one each at the corresponding faculties of Economic and Business Sciences in Barcelona, Bilbao, Malaga, and Seville (Source: *Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia: escalafón de catedráticos* [1974]); (b) In 1971, the Spanish Confederation of Savings Banks edited *Sociología española de los años setenta*, a voluminous work of more than 800 pages that includes a total of 22 contributions authored by around 20

the adoption of the Law for Political Reform in Franco's corporatist *Cortes*. Several hundred people participated in this event, including politicians, experts, and media professionals. Among the foreign experts were Duverger, Lefebvre and Nohlen, and, among the Spanish experts, a good number of the active political law and state theory professors: Ollero, González Casanova, Jiménez de Parga, Martínez Cuadrado, Ramírez, Tierno Galván and De Vega; (b) the "International Symposium on Constitutionalization of Political Parties" (1977), organized by the Department of Political Law in Salamanca, held in that city only two months before the first general elections since the Second Republic; (c) the International Conference on Political Science and Constitutional Law, held in Granada, a few months after the re-founding of the Spanish Political Science Association (February 1979); and (d) the first conferences of that professional association (Barcelona 1980, Seville 1981; Saragossa 1983, and Alicante 1984). In the panorama of academic journals more or less tied to the discipline we also see relevant changes. New journals gradually made their appearance, such as *Papers* (1972), *Sistema* (1973), and *Zona Abierta* (1975), supported, respectively, by the new *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*, the *Fundación Sistema* (associated with the PSOE), and a group of Marxist intellectuals³⁶. 1978 witnessed the *mise à jour* of the discipline's two most important journals: the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* and the *Revista Española de Opinión Pública*, linked to IEP and the Spanish Institute of Public Opinion, respectively, both of which had just been re-founded. IEP maintained the journal's name but signaled an intention to change by adding the words *Nueva Época* to the title page of its new issue 1, whereas the Spanish Institute of Public Opinion's journal was now called *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*. At the same time, we see the debut of the *Revista de Derecho Político*, published in Madrid by the *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (UNED), and *Estudis Electorals*, published in Barcelona.

In the area of publications there has been, throughout a period of approximately fifteen years, a normalization of political studies. There were no longer taboo topics in Spanish social sciences. The political reality itself opened up new fields of research that had been unthinkable not long before (political attitudes in democracy, electoral behavior, political parties, interest groups). As can be deduced from the later evolution of research interests among the long list of academics mentioned (and of those that I have no doubt omitted)³⁷, we are dealing with a period tied quite closely to political events. As a result, the identity of Spanish political science is still without a solid form, and can be barely visualized, in contrast to what was happening in the neighboring field of sociology³⁸. As we shall see when we look at professional associations, at this time the only light cast by *political science* (written in singular) —beyond the use of the term in a short number of degree courses, in

a few monographs, and one or two manuals in circulation³⁹ — is that of the Spanish Political Science Association, re-established in February of 1979, following the adoption of the democratic constitution.

Differentiation of the discipline: Institutional take-off and dynamics of expansion (1984 to the present)

During the process of transition and consolidation of democracy, Spanish political science is still not constituted as an academic community, but it does begin the analysis of topics then rarely studied by native historians and it does pay its debts, so to speak, with the most recent past, in two senses. On the one hand, the study of the political aspects of Franco's regime becomes normal, although for diverse reasons —among them the type of transition that took place in Spain— the topic is far from settled. On the other hand, the generation that had to assume the task of analyzing concrete aspects of the dictatorship did it without much enthusiasm, but in an especially critical spirit, not necessarily in conflict with objective reality⁴⁰.

The discipline could still not be visualized, to the point where I would dare to affirm that, as far as the study of political phenomena is concerned, the prior situation of *totum revolutum* only became exacerbated, now with the clear predominance of juridical and constitutional studies. A significant indicator of where things were heading is the renaming of the Institute of Political Studies, mentioned above, which in 1977 became the Center of Constitutional Studies. In other words, the transition to democracy would not in itself serve to free Spanish political science from its historical dependence on other older disciplines, especially law, and the narrow academic community that cultivated it would continue to show visible signs of weakness and division. This state of affairs should perhaps be attributed in part to the old faculty recruitment system of public competition (*concurso-oposición*) centralized in Madrid. Those academics that chose to do research in political science had to demonstrate that they did not as a result abandon constitutional law⁴¹.

Such a confusing panorama was not clarified until the middle of the first Socialist term, with the approval of the Fields of Knowledge catalogue mentioned above as part of the October 1984 decree that developed the University Reform Law (LRU). The measure, establishing different specialties for purposes of administration and recruitment, was tied to the regulation of competition for tenured university positions, which included three ranks: *catedrático*, *profesor titular de universidad* and *catedrático de escuela universitaria* —which share the same administrative status— and *profesor titular de escuela universitaria*, which does not require a doctorate. The traditional terms “Political Law” and “State Theory”

professionals (edited by de Miguel). The articles deal with numerous themes, from the history of sociology in Spain (Gómez Arboleya's classic text) to the sociological analysis of Spanish sociology, which includes a “who's who” with an intriguing figure of teacher-disciple and collaborative relationships (by an anonymous author), not to mention other themes related to different subfields of sociology, including the “Sociology of Politics” (the article by Juan F. Marsal). This book offers a bibliography on the origins of social research in Spain up to 1956. And this is without mentioning the creation in 1972 of a sociology section distinct from that of political sciences (always in a plural that had scarcely anything to do with political science), or to the rich variety of institutes and academic journals that defined themselves unequivocally within sociology.

³⁹ We might also add the publication of the *Diccionario de Ciencia Política* (1980), directed by Axel Gorlitz. The Spanish political science manuals most read at the time were those of Pablo Lucas Verdú (1969, 1971, and 1973) and Juan Ferrando (1976). Among the foreign books, the most influential were probably the Marxist-oriented German manual edited by Wolfgang Abendroth and Kurt Lenk (1971), and, at another level, Georges Burdeau's influential *Traité de Science Politique*, published in Paris between 1966 and 1977.

⁴⁰ In an article published in *Government and Opposition*, Tierno Galván has spoken, perhaps without exaggeration, of the “revenge” of sociology against the very state that had been strangling it: “The so-called sociological studies of the discourse used by general Franco, or the studies of the Francoist elites and their rise to power, were carried out in a vengeful spirit, with the aim of demonstrating to society at large that the oligarchy that had governed Spain was corrupt” (1980, 553-554).

disappeared as discipline labels but remained as mere designations for courses (in the first case, only provisionally, while the different faculties of law were organizing their new programs). Above all, the measure established by the Council of Universities meant that academics in these fields who already held a tenured position or those who aspired to get one were obliged to choose between Constitutional Law, on the one hand, or Political Science and Public Administration, on the other⁴². A scholar in these fields had to define his identity and make a decision (or not express himself one way or the other)⁴³, his professional interests normally playing a role as well. The decision was not always simple, despite the fact that regulations did not require a scientific justification. Leaving aside the question of tradition (inertia, if one prefers), the incontrovertible fact was that there was only one Faculty of Political Science in all of Spain (and about ten schools of Economic and Business Sciences, but not always with positions tied to political science)⁴⁴. In contrast, beginning in 1968 the faculties of Law continued to increase for years both in number and in student enrollment (until 1995)⁴⁵. This means that except for the tenured lecturers of the one Faculty of Political Sciences or those who already held a chair (without disciples waiting for the corresponding academic promotion or simply a transfer), for reasons that are easy to deduce, opting for the field of Political Science presented an added professional risk.

TABLE 2. Evolution of student enrollment in Political Science,* compared with Sociology, and Economics/Business Administration and Law (1944-2008)

Name of the <i>Licenciatura</i>	Number of students in the following years											
	1944-45	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80	1982-83	1984-85	1989-90	1994-95	1999-2000	2004-05	2007-08
Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,179	11,117	10,363	10,017
Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	-	-	-	6,404	4,881	4,044	4,603	13,263	4,595	2,343	79	91
Sociología	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,611	11,863	9,753	7,522
Ciencias Políticas y Económicas	1,021	11,807	20,347	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales	-	-	-	31,995	41,113	49,006	62,571	126,297	160,923	153,581	124,019**	85,816**
Derecho	10,986	14,114	18,270	41,916	80,130	101,106	125,045	173,470	206,461	169,713	108,191	95,411
Total university students***	39,400****	96,177	192,139	291,106	415,107	510,383	586,428	758,397	825,902	844,822	713,030	N/A

* Students of a *Diplomatura* degree (Gestión y Administración Pública) are not included

** In recent years this *Licenciatura* has become two different degrees: *Economía* and *Administración de Empresas* (Business Administration)

*** Excluding Technical Schools and *Diplomatura* students.

**** Excluding private (Catholic) universities students.

Sources: Original work based on data gathered in Montoro (1981), *Anuario Estadístico de España*, 1985, and *Anuario EL PAIS*, 1986, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1996, 2001, and 2006 and INE (2009).

The breaking away of Political Law, contested formally by an overwhelming majority of those concerned⁴⁶, is an irreversible fact since the mid-1980s. Without a doubt, there was a price to pay, to the degree that a good number of tenured professors of that field who had been practicing political science as teachers and researchers, without necessarily combining it with juridical studies, chose to become part of Constitutional Law, with the subsequent loss of human resources for a discipline that certainly was in need of them⁴⁷. An appreciable number of those who practiced political science, especially among those who already held tenure or who were about to receive it, continued to work on the same material in which —judging by their curricula— they had become specialized (that is, political science, whether as state theory or as sociology of politics)⁴⁸. However, only a few of them would reconsider their choice of fields by requesting from the Council of Universities —now, with justification— a change to their natural field, assuming the eventual obligation of a certain “expiatory” period. The majority of those who aspired to continue their academic career with a minimum of opportunities opted for constitutional law, abandoning research on topics proper to political science.

In the end this has not been too grave for the discipline, given that the human resources deficit would soon begin to decrease, substantially improving the situation in both absolute and relative terms (see Tables 3-4)⁴⁹. Contributing to these developments was the “compensatory” effect of the arrival to Political Science of tenured professors from neighboring fields like Sociology, History of Thought (*Pensamiento*) and Social Movements, and Intellectual History (*Historia de las Ideas*), along with the arrival of new doctors initially tied to one of these or other fields, like Contemporary History or Applied Economics, perhaps attracted in part by the improved opportunities for academic promotion offered by an expanding field. In fact, twenty years after the splitting away from Political Law, the ratio of tenured academic positions in Constitutional Law to those in Political Science was not even two to one, and it tended to decrease at the level of Full Professor. This occurs in spite of the great number of faculties of Law —currently 43 in public universities alone— something that can probably be explained by the fact that these faculties were much more likely to hire “real” adjunct professors (*profesores asociados*), normally a lawyer or civil servant (*funcionario*) of the judicial or local administration—usually without a doctorate—who teaches occasionally on the side at the public university of the city where he or she practices law, generally in the capital of the province⁵⁰.

⁴¹ Another factor that doubtlessly had an influence in this paralysis was the absence of Spanish intellectual figures with enough will and determination to do battle with neighboring disciplines, as had been done a few years earlier in Italy by the philosopher of law Norberto Bobbio and the political scientist Giovanni Sartori (see Graziano 1991, 128-33).

⁴² The option was open to tenured university lecturers of neighboring courses, something that was contemplated mainly in Madrid’s Faculty of Political Sciences and in some faculties of Economics.

⁴³ In such a case, after a certain period of time the Council of Universities decided for the interested party, after studying an appropriate report from a specialized commission.

⁴⁴ According to 1974 statistics from the Ministry of Education and Science, of the nine faculties of Economics then in existence, only a few of them had *cátedras* of State Theory (two in the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* —those of Ollero and Fraga— and one in the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* where González Casanova worked). In a third faculty—that of the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*—there was a chair of Theory and Systems of Contemporary Political Organization, headed by Professor Murillo (Source: *Escalafón de Catedráticos*).

⁴⁵ That year, before the imminent General Law of Education, approved in July of 1970, new public universities began to appear—the *Universidad de Bilbao* (now the *Universidad del País Vasco*), the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* and the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*— which were added to the 12 that had existed for some time (10 of them for over a century). In 1983, that is, only 15 years later and around the time when these measures took effect, there were already 29 public universities, of which approximately 24 offered a degree (*licenciatura*) in Law. As far as the student body is concerned, although in the 1966-1967 academic year the number of *licenciatura* students enrolled in Political and Economic Sciences (16,850) outstripped for the first time that of Law students (see Montoro 1981, 142-145), this tendency would not last long. Only by the beginning of this century the number of Economic Sciences and Business Administration students alone would surpass for a while that of Law students (see Table 2).

⁴⁶ In an emergency session on December 17, 1984, the general assembly of the Spanish Association of Political Science resolved to insist before the Ministry of Education and Science that there be only one Field of Knowledge, to be called Political Science and Constitutional Law—with only two opposing votes and three abstentions against 42 votes in favor.

TABLE 3. Evolution of permanent faculty positions in Political Science (1985-2004)

Position	1985	1989	1999	2004	Increase 1985-89	Increase 1989-99	Increase 1999-2004	Increase 1985-2004
Full professor (<i>Catedrático</i>)	8	8	37	43	0%	363%	16%	438%
Associate professor (<i>Profesor Titular de Universidad</i>)*	23	44	85	115	91%	93%	35%	400%
Assistant professor (<i>Profesor Titular de Escuela Universitaria</i>)	0	3	6	9	–	100%	50%	–
Total	31	55	128	167	77%	133%	30%	439%

* Figures include *Catedráticos de Escuela Universitaria*.

Source: Original work based on data gathered in the corresponding *Listados para el sorteo de comisiones. Profesorado universitario en servicio activo, clasificado por áreas de conocimiento* (Council of Universities).

As a consequence, the creation for the first time of a specific field for Political Science, in combination with the ministerial team's decision to break the *Complutense's* monopoly on political science and sociology within the Spanish public university system⁵¹, has in the end proven to be rather beneficial for the normalization and development of the discipline, and the profession as well. Beginning in 1986, up to 1990, corresponding degree programs would be put in place at the distance-learning *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (UNED), the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*, the *Universidad de Granada*, the *Universidad del País Vasco*, and the *Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*. This dynamic was facilitated by the new—decentralized— framework of territorial organization and by the decrease in the corporatist pressure of other faculties as a result of mass enrollment, a phenomenon that proved especially important in the faculties of Law and those of Economy or Business. During the 1990s, further degree programs would be implemented, so that by the end of the century there were a dozen public universities that offered a degree in Political Science and more than twenty departments with tenured positions in this field of knowledge. Currently those figures increased to 18 and 26, respectively, the degree appearing under a wider range of names. On the other hand, beginning in 1997, a total of seven private universities have decided to offer studies in Political Science, bringing the total of centers today offering this degree to 25 (see below). At the same time, a second process would lead to the constitution of a differentiated professional association, the *Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración* (AECPA) by April 1993. Among other accomplishments, AECPA regularly publishes its own academic journal from December 1999—by that time the only missing requirement for full institutionalization of the discipline— satisfying both an urgent

TABLE 4. Evolution of positions for full professor (*Catedrático*) and *Profesor Titular de Universidad/Catedrático de Escuela Universitaria* in Political Science, compared with related disciplines (1989-2004)

Field of knowledge	1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1999		2004		Increase 1989-1999		Increase 1999-2004		Increase 1989-2004	
	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C	FP	PT/C
Political Science	8	44	13	49	19	55	18	55	22	57	37	84	43	115	363%	91%	16%	37%	438%	161%
Sociology	35	136	39	146	43	150	50	156	56	167	71	259	80	379	103%	90%	13%	46%	129%	179%
Constitutional Law	34	82	39	88	42	97	53	93	55	100	71	12	66	168	109%	50%	-7%	37%	94%	105%
Applied Economics	122	279	144	304	163	331	180	326	202	336	258	509	301	888	111%	82%	17%	74%	147%	218%
Journalism	16	50	19	69	19	83	23	85	27	87	36	112	43	130	125%	124%	19%	16%	169%	160%

Source: Source: Original work based on data gathered in the corresponding *Listados para el sorteo de comisiones: Profesorado universitario en servicio activo, clasificado por áreas de conocimiento* (Council of Universities) for 1999 and 2004, and from Vallés (1996), who also cites the Council of Universities for the 1989-93 series.

need and an old desire of many Spanish political scientists. This professional association has also organized nine national conferences within 18 years, in addition to two huge conferences at the European level (ECPR, 1994 and 2005), and is currently co-operating towards the preparation of the forthcoming conference of the International Political Association of Political Science (IPSA) to be held in Madrid, in July 2012. In the following section, this paper undertakes a detailed discussion of these two closely related processes⁵², while providing some relevant facts pertaining to other factors that manifest a reasonable consolidation of political science in Spain (evolution of the number of professors, fellows and theses, financial support for projects, specialized academic journals).

Centers of teaching and research

With the exception of certain graduate courses referred to later, and some seminars and conferences promoted by specific foundations, in Spain the teaching of political science is strictly limited to the university. Since the first wave (1986–1990) of new faculties of Political Sciences and Sociology, we have seen a continuous increase in the number of public universities that—in new, variously named centers— offer an undergraduate degree (*licenciatura*) called *Licenciatura en Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración* (Degree in Political and Public Administration Sciences), as decided in 1990 by the Council of Universities. This is the case since 1995 in the Faculty of Social and Communication Sciences at the

⁴⁷ According to the estimates of a qualified observer from outside the profession, of the approximately forty Full Professors of Political Law active in the early 1980s, about half were “political scientists” or scientists of politics in the modern sense of the term” (López Pintor 1982, 204). Consulting the lists from the *Secretaría General de Universidades*—concretely, those of October of 1985—, which classify professors by Field of Knowledge, we can see that only three Full Professors of Political Law (all of them with positions at universities in the “provinces”) chose the field of Political Science and Public Administration, as opposed to the 23 who opted for Constitutional Law, at a ratio of almost one to eight. In contrast, in the departments of State Theory and others like them, at faculties of Economic and Business Sciences or faculties of Political Sciences and Sociology, the proportion of the two options was equal.

⁴⁸ For example, among current Full Professors of Constitutional Law, we can mention Carlos de Cabo, Antonio Porras, or Manuel Ramírez.

⁴⁹ Between October of 1985 and February of 1992, the number of tenured university professors active in the field of Political Science and Public Administration increased by 148%, from 31 to 77, whereas in the field of Constitutional Law the increase was only 30%, from 109 to 142 (Jerez 1999, 81). Although the rate of growth in tenured academic positions in

Universidad Pompeu Fabra, under the auspices of the Catalan government. On the other hand, both the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* and the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*— which have strong departments of Political Science (shared with Public Law, in the case of Barcelona)— have offered this degree since 1993 and 1994, respectively, without creating new faculties. Beginning in 1997, the universities of Salamanca, Murcia, Burgos, Carlos III (Getafe, Madrid), and the *Universidad Miguel Hernández de Elche* (Orihuela, Alicante) have done the same. More recently, a few other public universities have adopted their respective degree: the *Universidad Pablo de Olavide* in Seville and the *Universidad de Valencia*, which commenced in 2005, and the universities of Girona and *Rey Juan Carlos*, in 2009⁵³ (see Table 5).

TABLE 5. Spanish universities offering degrees in Political Science (2009-2010)

Public university (location):	Starting year	Year of introduction of new Grados	School	Department
Autónoma de Barcelona (Cerdanyola del Vallés)	1986	2009	Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y Derecho Público
Autónoma de Madrid (Cantoblanco)	1995*	2009	Derecho	Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales
Barcelona	1994	2010	Derecho	Derecho Constitucional y Ciencia Política
Burgos	1999*	2009	Derecho	Derecho Privado
Carlos III de Madrid (Getafe)	2000*	2010	Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas	Ciencia Política y Sociología
Complutense de Madrid (Pozuelo de Alarcón)	1944	2010	Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración I, II, y III**
Girona		2009***	Derecho	
Granada	1988	2010	Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
Miguel Hernández de Elche (Orihuela)	2001	2009	Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas	
Murcia	2001	2009	Derecho	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
Pablo Olavide (Sevilla)	2005	2009	Derecho	Derecho Público
País Vasco (Leioa, Vizcaya)	1989	2009	Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona)	1995	2010	Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación	Ciencias Políticas y Sociales
Rey Juan Carlos (Vicalvaro, Madrid)		2009***	Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales	Derecho Público I y Ciencia Política
Salamanca	1997*	2009	Derecho	Derecho Público General
Santiago de Compostela	1990	2009	Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
Valencia	2005	2009	Derecho	Derecho Público General
UNED (Madrid)	1987	2010	Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración

Private university (location):	Starting year	Year of introduction of new Grados	School	Department
Abad Oliva (Barcelona)	2003	2010	Ciencias Sociales	
Cardenal Herrera-CEU (Alfara del Patriarca, Valencia)	2000	2010	Sociales y Jurídicas	
Internacional de Catalunya (Barcelona)	1997	2009	Ciencias Jurídicas y Políticas	
Internacional de La Rioja (Logroño)		2009		
Oberta de Catalunya (Barcelona)	2001	2010		
Pontificia de Comillas (Madrid)	2004	2009	Facultad de Derecho-ICADE	
San Pablo CEU (Madrid)	2005	2010	Facultad de Derecho	Disciplinas Jurídicas Básicas

* Second Cycle of *Licenciatura*.

** III (*Teorías y Formas Políticas y Geografía Humana*).

*** Originally *Diplomatura en Gestión y Administración Pública* (Public Administration and Management).

Source: Own work based on data obtained from the Ministry of Education and universities web pages.

Over the past twenty-five years or so, the situation has developed from there being only one Spanish university with a faculty dedicated exclusively to the training of political scientists (along with sociologists, but in separate sections) to the current state of affairs, in which there are already 18 public universities —among a total of 48— that prepare students for the professional practice of political science. The recent proliferation of private universities in Spain shows a similar trend. Thus, after an early and failed experiment at the *Universitat Internacional de Catalunya*, six other private universities have included in their programs the Degree in Political Science: the distance-learning *Universitat Oberta de Catalunya* (2001) and the *Universitat Abat Oliba-CEU* (2003) in Barcelona; the *Universidad Cardenal Herrera-CEU* (2000) in Alfara, Valencia; the *Universidad Pontificia de Comillas* and the *Universidad San Pablo-CEU* in Madrid (in 2004 and 2005, respectively); and, more recently, the *Universidad Internacional de La Rioja* (Logroño). As can be deduced from the above, the territorial distribution is far from balanced and in fact —excluding distance-learning universities— Barcelona and Madrid alone account for one half of the public universities and two-thirds of the private universities offering this degree in Spain.

This imbalance has been mitigated in part by the creation of new province-level centers, like the Faculty of Sociology in the *Universidade da Coruña*, the Faculty of Social Sciences at the *Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha* in Cuenca, the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the *Universidad Pública de Navarra*, and several faculties of Juridical and Social Sciences (the *Universidad Carlos III de Madrid*, the *Universidad de Jaén*, etc.), plus the new studies in

Political Science decreased since then it continued to be notable for years, reaching the one hundred by the middle of the decade (108 in 1996). In 2004 there were a total of 184, including a short number of *profesores titulares de escuela universitaria* (most of them with a PhD.). Although there is not official figures available for the last years, according with our own data, the current number would be approximately 175, which means that those figures has leveled off during the last years. Two facts could probably explain this phenomenon: on the one hand, the retirement of a number of the “pioneers,” particularly among full professors; on the other hand, the introduction of more serious norms for tenured professor recruitment.

⁵⁰ Sadly, this contractual arrangement created by the University Reform Law was soon misused for purely “economic” reasons. Theoretically, it was supposed to allow the public universities to contract “prestigious professionals” that would teach on a part-time basis those subjects related to their career, in exchange for an almost symbolic remuneration. In practice, the arrangement was too often used to contract young doctoral students without income or any relevant professional experience, in exchange for low full-time or part-time salaries. As a result, a few years after this type of contract was introduced the majority of non-tenured professors were “*profesores asociados*” (25,000 in 2003). Salaries have improved substantially, especially for adjunct doctors hired full-

time, but there are still too many false *asociados* in the Spanish university system. For this reason, in the last few years the administration has been trying to create a more appropriate contract for them (Clifton 2006, 240). As a result the total number of *asociados* is going down: less than 21,000 —of whom more than 5,000 were in the health sciences— in the academic year 2007-2008 (source: www.ine.es).

⁵¹ Sociology could be studied quite a few years earlier in the *Universidad de Deusto* (Bilbao), tied to the Jesuit order, as well as in the *Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca*.

⁵² Pippa Norris has pointed out that departments of Political Science, once separated from neighboring disciplines, constitute the building blocks for professional associations, as well as for regional and international organizations (1997, 18).

⁵³ Following the recent university programs reform—that implied changing from *licenciaturas* to *grados*—other names have been added to the usual name of the degree: *Ciencia Política* —now in singular— y *Administración Pública*, *Ciencia Política y Gestión Pública* (Public Management), etc. (see www.education.es/notasde corte).

Sociology at the *Universidad de Alicante*'s Faculty of Economic and Business Sciences. In quite a few cases this has contributed, although to a very small degree, to the growth of the field of knowledge that defines our discipline, in terms of university positions funded by their respective regional administrations. Much less significant in this regard is the widely available three-year *Diplomatura en Gestión y Administración Pública* "GAP" (Diploma in Management and Public Administration), precisely because of the type of center in which this new certificate has been offered⁵⁴. In only a few of these centers, and normally within multidisciplinary departments, we begin to see Public Administration envisioned from the perspective of Political Science, rather than that of the all-powerful Political Economy or the omnipresent Administrative Law, not to mention other juridical fields that have filled the course offerings of a certificate theoretically oriented toward the preparation of future civil servants (*funcionarios*).⁵⁵

The whole process was favored by the new context created by the Royal Decree Regulating the Reform and National Accreditation of Programs of Study (November, 1987), which created teaching opportunities for research students and young non-tenured professors in Political Science. They could now teach in numerous other programs of study —although almost always in elective courses— from the most traditional ones, like Education Sciences (previously called *Magisterio*) and even in certain specializations in the experimental sciences (e.g., courses in Environmental Politics), to the most modern faculties like Translation and Interpreting or Social Work. On the other hand, the teaching of political science material has decreased substantially in the large majority of schools of Law, which traditionally have the highest enrollment in Spain, and even in some where it had been solidly rooted⁵⁶. Recently, this fact has been compensated, but only to a certain point, by the offering of dual degrees in Law / Political and Public Administration Science at some universities (among others, the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, the *Universidad de Granada*, and the *Universidad de Murcia*).

The number of *licenciatura* students in Political and Public Administration Sciences grew most among students of Juridical and Social Sciences during the 1982-1989 period. The growth rate was 228%, well above that of Economics and Business Sciences (158%) and three times that of Law (72%). In the period 1989-2004, the growth rate decreased to 57% but it continued to be the highest among students of Juridical and Social Sciences, followed by those of Sociology and Psychology. Toward the end of this same period, *licenciatura* programs in the juridical and social sciences—particularly in Law but also in Political Science—experienced a decrease in student enrollment after having grown for years. From then, the figure for Political Science has leveled off, but not for Law students, which continued its decrease, though more moderately (See Table 2, and Figures 1 and 2)⁵⁷.

FIGURE 1. Enrollment evolution by specialization among students of Juridical and Social Sciences by period (total numbers)

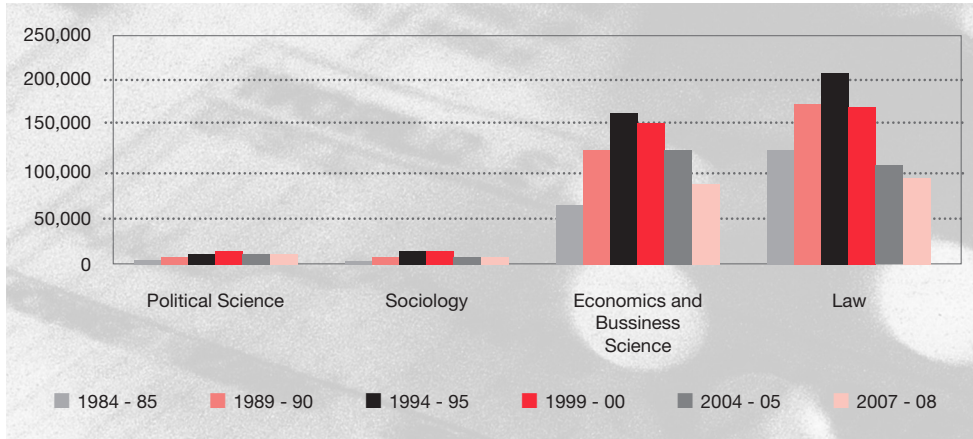
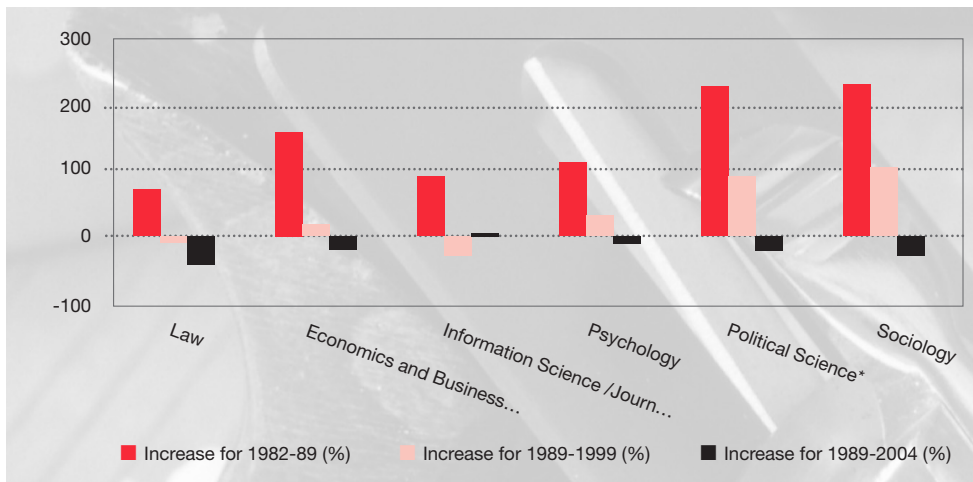


FIGURE 2. Enrollment evolution by specialization among students of Juridical and Social Sciences by period (percentage of change)



* Student figures for the Degree in *Ciencias Políticas y Sociología* (see Table 2) have been split in half between students of Political Science and those of Sociology.

Currently, 20 departments in 18 public universities organize the Degree (either *Licenciatura* or *Grado*) teaching of materials ascribed to the field of Political Science and Public Administration⁵⁸, in addition to supporting research. Almost half of these departments are concentrated in metropolitan Madrid (seven, with three in the Complutense University) and in Catalonia (four, with three in Barcelona). Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind

⁵⁴ Out of a total of 48 public universities, 25 offered the GAP diploma for the academic year 2006-2007-2010). In more than half of these cases, these courses were taught within the corresponding faculty of Law or faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences. And in practically a third of these cases they were taught in a faculty of Economy and Business, or in Business Studies programs (*Guía de Universidades y Carreras. Curso 2006-2007*, Madrid, Gaceta Universitaria, 2006). Regarding enrollment, in the 1996-7 academic year there were already nearly 10,000 students, but down to little over 6,000 in 2004-5, all but one hundred of them in public universities (Source: *Anuario El País 1999 and 2006*). Those holding this diploma cannot compete with those holding a 4/5-year degree (*licenciatura*) in the immense majority of the public administration exams (*oposiciones*). Moreover, the ongoing European Convergence Process approved in Bologna in 1999 implies the elimination of *diplomaturas* by 2010 at the latest. So, GAP studies will be integrated within the new *grado* in Political Science (s) and Public Management, a total of eight public universities offering it already.

⁵⁵ In practice, the vast majority of those who hold this certificate have had to complete an additional second stage degree program in order to compete in the labor market.

⁵⁶ In the 2004-05 academic year, there were 108,191 students of Law (95,411 in 2007-08), of whom almost 10,000 were enrolled at private universities, while there were 10,363 *licenciatura* students of Political Science (10,017 in 2007-08), only 500 of them at private universities (*Anuario El País*, 2006 and INE 2009). (See Tables 2 and 5).

⁵⁷ In the specific case of the Political Science degree, growth in student enrolment reached a peak of around 13,000 in the mid-1990, remaining stable until the 200-01 academic year. Since then, the number has slowly decreased to a current approximate of 10,000 (see Table 2). In comparative terms, around 2005, the figures for Spain were quite similar to those obtained for two much smaller European countries in terms of population (Greece and Sweden), but just a little below those of France or Italy, both countries having a population size considerably greater than that of Spain (see Klingemann 2007, 23).

that in about half of those departments their members represent three or more different fields, and that their size—in terms of professors and research fellows tied to the field—is quite variable, to the point that as of May 2010 five departments had only four or less tenured professor positions in this field (see Tables 5-6).

TABLE 6. Evolution of permanent faculty positions in Political Science in Spanish public universities (1999-2009)*

University:	Full professor (Catedrático)			Associate professor (Profesor Titular Universidad)			Profesor Titular EU			Total teachers		
	1999	2004	2009	1999	2004	2009	1999	2004	2009	1999	2004	2009
Complutense de Madrid	10	10	11	30	26	23	3	6	2	43	42	36
UNED	2	2	2	8	14	15	0	0	0	10	16	17
Granada	3	3	2	6	12	12	0	0	0	9	15	14
Autónoma de Barcelona	5	5	7	10	14	6	0	0	0	15	19	13
Rey Juan Carlos (Madrid)	-	2	4	-	0	3	-	0	4	-	2	11
Santiago de Compostela	2	2	2	2	11	9	0	0	0	4	13	11
País Vasco (Leioa, Vizcaya)	1	3	2**	4	6	8***	1	1	1	6	10	11
Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona)	4	6	4	2	3	6***	0	1	0	6	10	10
Barcelona	3	4	5	6	8	3	0	2	1	9	14	9
Autónoma de Madrid	4	4	3	6	5	4	0	0	0	10	9	7
Salamanca	1	1	2	3	4	2	0	0	1	4	5	5
Carlos III (Getafe, Madrid)	1	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	1	3	4
Murcia	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	5	4
Vigo	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	2	4
Burgos	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	3
La Laguna	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	3	3
Málaga	0	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	3	3	3
Alicante	-	1	1	-	0	1	-	0	0	-	1	2
Almería	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
A Coruña	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	2
Valencia	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	2	2
Alcalá de Henares	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Castilla-La Mancha	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
Jaén	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona)	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Zaragoza	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	37	49	52	84	120	111	6	14	12	127	183	175

* Professors not being active due to temporary leave—usually due to being involved in government—are not computed in these figures.

** Including a full professor currently visiting professor at the University Pablo de Olavide (Seville).

*** Including two *profesores agregados*.

Source: Original work based on official data published by the *Consejo de Universidades* (for the academic year 1999-2000), and data provided via email by departments teaching staff at each university, by January 2005 and May 2010 (for the corresponding academic year).

If we add all of the categories regardless of full or part-time status, during the final academic year of the twentieth century there were roughly 300 professors tied to Political Science at Spanish public universities (of whom approximately 225 were full-time) and 43% of them held permanent positions. Ten years later that figure stands at roughly 430 (of whom approximately 325 were full-time), and tenured positions represented a similar percentage (see Tables 6-7)⁵⁹. It is more difficult to calculate the evolution of the professor / student ratio since the expansion of studies in this specialization, given the complexity of determining how many students from other fields take Political Science courses. However, we can calculate the teacher/student ratio for *licenciatura* students in Political Science, although only in relation to permanent professors, the only ones for which we have data series. In this case, the ratio for the 2004-2005 academic year, with 170 tenured professors, would be one professor per 58 *licenciatura* students, compared with our estimated one professor per 125 students of fifteen years earlier, in 1989 (see Tables 2-4).

In comparative terms, the figures for tenured political science staff mentioned above remain very far from a country like Canada, but —considering the size of the respective populations— not far below those of Germany, where, by the mid-1960s, political science was already “on firm ground in terms of internal formation and external recognition” (Kastendiek 1991, 121)⁶⁰. The Spanish figures probably do not differ too much from those of French universities⁶¹ and are quite similar to those of Italy, even though the Spanish population size is significantly smaller. In the Italian case, the teaching positions in political science and “related subjects” were only 74 in 1985, and not all of them were held by political scientists (Graziano 1991). In that same year—the first for which we have statistics by specialization—the Spanish figures were far less than half of the Italian figures, but only five years later the Spanish figures would be higher than the Italian ones, at least if we focus on the number of professors in the field, and this in spite of the fact that the development of political science in Italy had been ahead by at least a decade with respect to Spain⁶². Nevertheless, by the middle of the present decade, Spain and Italy had an almost identical number of tenured positions in the discipline⁶³. Although in the Spanish case the increase first arose exclusively at the level of *profesor titular* (associate professor), in the 1990s it extended to full professor positions, which rose 363% with respect to 1989, with an average growth of 131% for all positions in the field.

The aforementioned human resource inequalities among Spanish departments, added to the fact that some of these departments correspond to recently founded universities with deficits in library resources, logically translates into substantial differences with regard to research output. This does not imply a necessary relationship between the

⁵⁸ According to my own estimations no fewer than 17 additional departments —of which eight have at least one tenured professor in Political Science— offer courses of this specialty in other degrees—normally in Law and/or the *Diploma in Gestión y Administración Pública* (GAP) [Management and Public Administration]. Departments of Public Law and International Relations are not included in these statistics, since in Spain International Relations as a discipline is not tied formally to the Field of Political Science and Public Administration. In any case, just approximately a ten per cent of more than 200 tenured professors of the Field of Public Law and International Relations —183 by February 2004— are specialist in the mentioned discipline.

⁵⁹ We must remember that the figures for non-permanent professors exclude a number of those teaching political science courses in public universities without any tenured position in this field. So the total figures would be higher, probably by not more than ten per cent.

⁶⁰ By 1980, Canada, with a population of 30 million (10 million less than that of Spain), already had 775 full-time political scientists, distributed among 45 independent departments (Trent and Stein 1991). In Germany, by the early 1990s there were 900 full-time political scientists—300 of them were *professoren*—for a number of students very similar to that of Spain, during the same period.

(Source: *Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland*). Klingemann (2007, 20) gives a very similar figure for *professores* around 2005: 313, almost two times its number in Spain by then, which is not too much, since the German population practically doubled that of Spain.

⁶¹ In France, there were approximately 110 professors in 1988, although we must consider that the French CNRS *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* included 70 political scientists by that time (Leca 1991, 176). Sadly, it is not easy to update these numbers, given that the French statistics for university professors and researchers—just like those for students—also include those working in the neighboring field of “*Droit et Sciences Politiques*” (3,809 tenured professors in 2002-3, including full professors, “*maîtres de conférences*” and “*assistants titulaires*”) (Source: France Public DPE A6). Klingemann (2007, 20) gives a figure of 131 professors (including associate professors) around 2005, compared to 161 in Spain in January 2005 (see Jerez 2006, 82).

⁶² We should recall a few facts regarding institutionalization: The journal *Revista Italiana di Scienza Politica* was first published in 1971, although at that time only one tenured political science position existed in Italy, held by Sartori in Florence. Ten years later, the *Società Italiana di Scienza Politica* was created, two years after the first re-foundation of the *Asociación Española de Ciencia Política*.

size of a potential research group, on the one hand, and its dynamism and intellectual production, on the other. Dynamism could be evaluated with indicators such as participation in externally financed projects, organization of seminars, conferences, and academic meetings, attendance at national and international congresses, and active participation through the presentation of papers and the coordination of work groups.

TABLE 7. Non-permanent and permanent teachers in Political Science in public universities in Spain (May 2010)*

University:	Teaching assistant	Full-time teacher (Asociado)	Part-time teacher (Asociado)	Other types of contract	Total non-permanent teachers	Total permanent (civil servant) Professors	Total teachers	Non permanent teachers as percentage of total
Complutense de Madrid	1	4	16	18	39	36	75	52%
Autónoma de Barcelona	3	0	13	5	21	13	34	62%
Granada	2	0	6	9	15	14	29	52%
Pompeu Fabra	0	0	30	5	35	10	45	78%
UNED	0	0	0	4	4	18	22	18%
Barcelona	4	0	11	0	15	9	24	63%
Carlos III de Madrid	4	0	13	1	18	8	26	69%
Santiago de Compostela	0	1	2	4	7	11	18	39%
País Vasco	0	0	3	10	13	11	24	54%
Autónoma de Madrid	5	1	1	9	16	7	23	70%
Murcia	3	3	2	1	9	4	13	69%
La Laguna	0	1	3	2	6	3	9	67%
Rey Juan Carlos	0	0	4	4	8	11	19	42%
Salamanca	4	0	0	1	5	5	10	50%
Málaga	0	1	2	1	4	3	7	57%
Valencia	4	0	5	1	10	2	12	83%
Vigo	1	5	0	3	9	2	11	82%
Alicante	2	0	4	4	10	2	12	83%
Jaén	0	0	0	3	3	1	4	75%
Burgos	1	0	0	1	2	5	7	29%
Alcalá de Henares	1	0	1	0	2	1	3	67%
A Coruña	0	1	0	0	1	2	3	33%
Rovira i Virgili	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	50%
Castilla-La Mancha	0	0	3	0	3	1	4	75%
Total	34	17	116	86	251	180	431	58%

* Excluding universities without any tenured professor in Political Science as of May 2010.

Source: Original work based on data provided via email by academic secretaries and department staff at each university.

TABLE 8. Research projects in Political Science publicly financed at national level, by university (1992-2005)

University:	1992-98*	2000-2002**	2004-2005***	Total
Autónoma de Barcelona	7	5	2	14
Pompeu Fabra	4	2	4	10
Complutense de Madrid	3	4		7
Salamanca	4		3	7
Carlos III de Madrid		1	5	6
Autónoma de Madrid	4			4
País Vasco	2	2		4
Granada	1	1	1	3
Santiago de Compostela	1		1	2
UNED	1			1
Barcelona (Central)		1		1
Alicante			1	1
Murcia			1	1
Rey Juan Carlos			1	1
Alcalá			1	1
Castilla-La Mancha			1	1
Islas Baleares			1	1
TOTAL	27	16	22	65

* Funded by the *Programa Nacional de Estudios Sociales y Económicos* (1992-1998).

** Funded by the *Programa Nacional de Socioeconomía*.

*** Funded by the *Programa Nacional de Ciencias Sociales, Económicas y Jurídicas*. This program includes projects previously funded by the *Programa Nacional de Socioeconomía* and the *Programa Nacional de Promoción General del Conocimiento*.

Source: Original work based on data supplied by the *Subdirección General de Proyectos e Investigación* (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia).

Note: 2003 data not available.

Evaluating intellectual production would be even more laborious, and could be based on the number and quality of doctoral theses and other monographs developed within each department, quality being rather difficult to evaluate, except through their repercussion (citations) in other publications. The same could be said for articles published in Spanish and foreign academic journals, differentiating in the first case between local or regional-level journals and national ones, and discriminating in the second case according to the journal's international academic reputation. Since the late 1980s, the Council of Universities conducts evaluations every six years (*sexenios*) for the research production of those tenured lecturers who voluntarily submit their work to such a review, awarding benefits in salary to those rated positively. More recently, the *Agencia Nacional de Acreditación* (ANECA), introduced by the *Partido Popular* administration, as well as other agencies created by

⁶³ The October 2004 figures for Italy were the following: 54 Full Professors, 64 Associate Professors, and 55 Researchers, for a total of 173 tenured positions (Source: *Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca [MIUR]*). However, excluding researchers the total would be only 118. Klingemann gives a figure of 128 by the same dates (2007, 20), compared to 174 in Spain, which means a much more favorable position for this country in terms of teaching positions.

⁶⁴ Until very recently the organization of the corresponding doctoral programs in public education fell under the authority of departments of Political Science and frequently included collaboration with related departments of the same university and, increasingly, with those of other Spanish and European universities. A total of 13 departments in 11 Spanish universities, to which the CEACS must be added (see below), offered doctoral programs of this type during the academic years 2005-06 (see Etherington and Morata 2007, 334). Some of these programs have declined because of low demand on the part of *Licenciatura* students. In contrast to the situation in the United States, Spanish graduate studies are traditionally lacking in structure and "neglected" by the departments—at least in the social sciences—adding nothing substantial to the résumé of the student seeking employment outside of academia. On the other hand, some programs may not survive the

requirements introduced by the new legislation in order to be approved by the national and regional education authorities, and the universities as well. In a context that increasingly favors competition and excellence, over the last few years Spanish universities have raised their standards for the approval of doctoral programs, demanding that such programs include a minimum number of lecturers with positive six-year research evaluations (*sexenios*) and a minimum number of students. Additionally, special financial support is awarded to those programs that solicit and obtain recognition for quality (*mención de calidad*). With fair regularity, some universities have been organizing their own Master's programs, especially since the 1990s, generally with a clear professional orientation towards public administration and politics, but also in the field of the European Union and international relations (Vallés 1996). With the implementation of the Bologna Process, which in the case of Spain means the generalization of a four-year degree (instead of the five years of *Licenciaturas* that was the rule in most of the universities), official Master's programs, spread over one or two years, became the norm for postgraduate studies. A number of public universities offer already one or more of these Master's degrees in Political Science, but most of those offering the degree are currently in the process of validation at the national level.

various autonomous administrations, evaluated the curricula of non-tenured lecturers who apply for "accreditation," a necessary step for their academic promotion. Also, since the early 1990s, the *Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Técnica* evaluates research projects presented by teams of professors and research fellows. So far, the only results made public have been for this last aspect, by university and discipline (up to 2005). The best ratings for political science were obtained by the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* (14 projects) and the *Universitat Pompeu Fabra* (10), followed by the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (three departments) *ex aequo* with that of *Salamanca* (See Table 8). More than five hundred theses in Political Science have been presented at Spanish public universities—some of them in collaboration with private centers—over the past 15 years, the number growing steadily, but at a higher rate during the period 1999-2004 than during more recent years, in which the number of fellows has diminished (62 in 2010, for 80 in 2005). The most noteworthy universities in this regard are the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (112 theses), the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* (77) and the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* (63), ranking first, third, and eighth, respectively, in terms of number of professors (See Tables 7 and 9)⁶⁴.

With respect to public centers with their own personnel dedicated specifically to research, traditionally these have been circumscribed within the framework of the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC) (High Council for Scientific Research), which was created in 1939 for the purpose of promoting, orienting, and coordinating scientific research in Spain through the institutes and departments that belong to it. However, during the Franco regime the only social science to be developed at CSIC was sociology, through the *Instituto Balmes* in Barcelona. It was not until the first Socialist government (1982-6) that Spain saw the creation of the *Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados* (IESA) in Madrid, whose management was entrusted to the prestigious sociologist Salvador Giner, who had obtained a PhD at Chicago University and developed his academic career in the United Kingdom for 25 years. He succeeded in configuring IESA in a decentralized manner, developing centers in Barcelona and Cordoba, but only this last center has been consolidated as such. Invariably, IESA has been controlled by sociologists, but their colleagues in political science have always been allowed a certain amount of free range. The center in Madrid was reconverted, first, into a Comparative Politics Group (*Unidad de Políticas Comparadas*),⁶⁵ and more recently it was transformed into the *Instituto de Políticas y Bienes Públicos* (IPP)⁶⁶.

More focused on political science, although without its own full-time researchers, is the *Instituto de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* (ICPS), founded in 1988 as a center ascribed to the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* and closely associated with that university's

TABLE 9. Research fellows in Political Science and number of doctoral theses presented during the academic years 1994-1999, 1999-2004, and 2004-2009, by university*

University:	1995-1999		1999-2004		2004-2009		1994-2009
	Research fellows (1999)	Theses	Research fellows (2005)	Theses	Research fellows (2010)	Theses	Total theses
Complutense de Madrid	8	19	8	43	11	50	112
Autónoma de Barcelona	4	19	17	14	4	44	77
Autónoma de Madrid	2	20	11	22	11	21	63
Granada	6	9	3	16	4	9	34
UNED	4	4	4	18	3	6	28
Salamanca	2	3	8	17	4	20	40
País Vasco	6	4	11	8	5	7	19
Pompeu Fabra	6	2	11	10	6	13	25
Santiago de Compostela	2	3	2	7	10	15	25
Barcelona	1	2	3	7	2	8	17
Rey Juan Carlos	1	0	0	4	0	2	6
Carlos III	nd	nd	nd	nd	0	2	2
Jaén	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
Pública de Navarra	2	2	0	1	0	0	3
Málaga	1	1	0	1	0	1	3
Vigo	nd	nd	0	2	0	2	4
La Laguna	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Rovira i Virgili	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Valencia	0	1	1	0	1	4	5
Alcalá de Henares	nd	nd	nd	0	0	0	0
Alicante **	-	-	0	0	0	0	0
A Coruña	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burgos	nd	nd	nd	nd	1	1	1
Murcia	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	45	89	80	175	62	206	470

* Excluding universities without any tenured professor in political science during the whole period.

** Political Science field of knowledge was created in 2001.

Source: Original work based on data provided via email by department staff at each university.

⁶⁵ By 2006, that group included 11 researchers without teaching duties (among them Luis Arrillaga, Luis Moreno, and Ludolfo Paramio, all of whom are very close to political science in terms of topics and research methods) and six training and support staff, half of them holding a *licenciatura* in political science. Comparative Politics, system and research policy, social policy, and welfare state were among their main lines of research.

⁶⁶ The IPP as a section of the *Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales* (CCHS) has currently two dozen of permanent researchers—of whom a dozen are political scientists—and two lines of research in political science: “Systems and policies of research and innovation” and “Citizens, institutions and policies from a comparative perspective” (see www.iesam.csic.es).

Department of Political Science and Public Law. (Today it operates as a consortium partly owned by the city of Barcelona.) In addition to promoting research in political science through conferences, meetings, courses, seminars, and fellowships for research projects, ICPS publicizes research carried out both internally and externally through its collection of books and working papers. In this same area, one should take note of the equally prolific

work of the *Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales* (CEPC), formerly known more plainly as the *Centro de Estudios Constitucionales*, as well as that of the *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (CIS). Both are affiliated to the *Ministerio de la Presidencia* as autonomous organs and are “heirs” of the *Instituto de Estudios Políticos* and the *Instituto Español de la Opinión Pública*, respectively. Among its principal functions, CEPC develops conference series and courses on specialized topics, oriented towards research and higher education, most notably the courses in Constitutional Law and Political Science, which are taught by prestigious professors from Spain and abroad. CEPC also has a superb library specializing in both fields that currently holds 84,540 books, and 1,863 academic journals, 28% of which are active subscriptions. In addition to these indirect channels, CEPC encourages the development of academic research through financial support and publications: regarding the former, it provides research fellowships, at times in collaboration with other institutions like the nearby Senate and certain Autonomous Communities, as well as the annual “Juan J. Linz” award to the best thesis in political science. With respect to the diffusion of research results, it carries out an intense editorial role that includes the publication of journals like the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* and the *Revista de Administración Pública* as well as several book collections: *Clásicos Políticos*, *Clásicos del Pensamiento Político y Constitucional Español*, *Cuadernos y Debates*, and *Estudios Políticos*.

It goes without saying that CIS, which has been directed by a political scientist on as many as four occasions since 1982⁶⁷, makes important contributions to the study of political attitudes and the analysis of electoral results, including the building of databases, some of which are accessible online, such as the quarterly *Boletín de Datos de Opinión* and the highly useful *Programa IndElec*. Along these same lines, CIS has implemented the *Archivo de Estudios Sociales* (ARCES), a service that facilitates access to CIS’s own studies and to others on the national and international levels. In addition to its library collections of 31,000 books and electronic documents, and 1,100 journals, 500 of which are active subscriptions (as of June 2010), this institution carries out activities similar to those of CEPC, including the publication of the *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (REIS) and book collections like *Monografías*, *Cuadernos Metodológicos*, *Estudios y Encuestas*, and *Opiniones y actitudes*, as well as the granting of research fellowships and awards. The mentioned IESA and de *Centre d’Estudis d’Opinio* (CEO) carried out similar tasks in Andalusia and Catalonia, respectively. To these one must add the *Instituto Interuniversitario de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal*, founded by the University of Salamanca in 1992, with a significant activity in the field of political science⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Julián Santamaría (1982-1986), Pilar del Castillo (1996-2000), Fernando Vallespín (2004-2008) and Belén Barreiro (2008-).

In the private sector, since the 1980s two institutions have played an important role in research: the *Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales* (CEACS) and the *Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset* (IUIOG), both of which have well-stocked specialized libraries⁶⁹ and offer graduate-level instruction. CEACS, which was created in 1987 within the framework of the *Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones*, have offered selective doctoral programs for two decades, and is currently developing postdoctoral research in political science and sociology. The academic directors that CEACS has had up to the present, Víctor Pérez Díaz, José María Maravall, and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca—the first two with PhD from Harvard and a D.Phil from Oxford, respectively—are sociologists in orientation, but the institute’s academic board includes the strong presence of political scientists, who by 2006 represented half of the its four permanent faculty members⁷⁰. The second private institution, IUIOG, was created around 1984 within the framework of the *Fundación José Ortega y Gasset*. Although more specialized in Public Administration, it has also promoted numerous seminars and studies on topics proper to Political Science (politics and the Armed Forces, political violence, terrorism, etc.) and its Department of Political Science and Public Law has included various professors of political science who combine their research at IUIOG with their university responsibilities. In addition, since 1993 the *Fundación José Ortega y Gasset* is home to the *Centro Español de Relaciones Internacionales*, which is financed by the *Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores* and the *Ministerio de Defensa*, although in this case there is no clear presence of political scientists. IUIOG’s Department mentioned above has had in place for some years a doctoral program in Government and Public Administration, in addition to its doctoral program in Latin American Studies, directed by Manuel Alcántara (professor at the *Universidad de Salamanca*, where he has been promoting research in this area) and its Master’s program in International Relations. Just as in the case of ICPS in Barcelona, the Madrid-based CEACS and IUIOG periodically publish their *Working Papers* and *Papeles de Trabajo*, respectively. More recently, located in the capital as well, the *Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos*, was created in 2001 through the initiative of several private companies, strengthening studies on Spanish foreign policy—especially toward Latin America—the European Union, and international relations through graduate courses and publication of analysis reports.

Aside from the above, there is a long list of centers and institutes, many of them public, that are partially dedicated to research and/or teaching in the field of political science. Normally, these activities are carried out through short-term courses and seminars, not always at the graduate level, and in some cases through Master’s programs. The majority are located

⁶⁸ The *Instituto* harbors the General Secretary of the *Asociación Latinoamérica de Ciencia Política* (ALACIP), and has organized several international conferences, including the IV Conference of AECPA (1998) and the I Conference of ALACIP (2002) (see the institute web page).

⁶⁹ The library at CEACS holds currently 60,000 books and 1,000 journals and is subscribed to 500 of them, while the IUIOG library holds approximately 65,000 books and folders, and 200 journals, of which 130 were active subscriptions (just as in the case of the two centers mentioned earlier [CEPC and CIS], these data were gathered from the corresponding staff by June 2010). The Library at CEACS included the “*Archivo de Prensa Juan J. Linz*,” comprising the clipping file of 76,000 articles from more than 12 Spanish newspapers that professor Linz selected during the last decade of Franco’s rule through the Spanish transition to democracy. The Library has designed an innovative structure to access the archive over the Internet and to conduct quantitative analysis with the archive (see isc@ceacs.es).

⁷⁰ The two political scientists are Jose R. Montero, professor at the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, and the North American Andrew Richards, Ph.D., Princeton University. In reality, we should say that the other two permanent faculty members at the time (Maravall and his disciple Sánchez-Cuenca) are also political scientists—in spite of their formal adscription to Sociology—based on their research interests and the departments in which they have taught. It should be noted that all of these specialists have studied or taught in the United States, just as a fair number of the *Instituto Juan March's* visiting faculty. The academic board originally included five political scientists and only two sociologists. Today the proportion is three to five, but at least three of the sociologists were oriented toward political science. (Source: CEACS, *Una década: 1987/88-1996/97*. Madrid, *Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones*, 1997.) The present Advisory Council includes nine members, of which at least five political scientists (see isc@ceacs.march.es).

⁷¹ Regarding teaching, we might also eventually add to this list the *Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo* and the *Universidad Internacional Antonio Machado*, which sporadically organize courses and seminars in political science.

in Madrid: the *Centro de Estudios Superiores Sociales y Jurídicos Ramón Carande* and the *Instituto Universitario Ramón Carande (Universidad Rey Juan Carlos)*; the *Centro Español de Estudios de América Latina*; the *Centro Superior de Estudios de Gestión, Análisis y Evaluación (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)*; the *Instituto Complutense de Ciencia de la Administración (Fundación Juan March)*; the *Instituto Gutiérrez Mellado*; the *Instituto Nacional de la Administración Pública (INAP)*; the *Instituto de Europa Oriental (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)*; the foundations *Cánovas*, *Juan March*, *Ramón Areces*, *Pablo Iglesias*, and *Sistema*; and finally, the *Colegio Nacional de Doctores y Licenciados en Ciencias Políticas y Sociología*, which offers specialized courses throughout the academic year, including summer courses. Nevertheless, we also find centers and institutes of this kind distributed throughout almost all of Spain, which I list here from North to South: the *Fundación José Barreiro* (Asturias); the *Instituto Vasco de Administración Pública* (Bilbao); the *Escola Gallega de Administración* (Santiago de Compostela); the *Centro de Información y Documentación de Barcelona CIDOB* (Barcelona); the *Fundación Jaume Bofill*, mentioned earlier, which funds the *Institut de Estudis Electorals* (Barcelona); the *Instituto de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal* (Salamanca); the *Centre d'Estudis Polítics i Socials* (Valencia); the *Centro de Estudios Andaluces* (Sevilla); the *Universidad Internacional de Andalucía* (Huelva); and the *Instituto Universitario de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* (Canary Islands)⁷¹.

As can be deduced from many of the names listed above, the late 1980s expansion of these entities is largely due to the reorientation of the discipline following the acquisition of its official denomination, with which it offers itself to the cause of adapting the old bureaucratic structures inherited from the Franco regime, but also offers itself to the structures improvised by the Autonomous Communities and to the political and economic changes linked to the new social and democratic state under the rule of law (“welfare state”). In any case, these entities rarely have their own personnel dedicated exclusively to research, except perhaps on the level of fellow.

The formation of a corporation, international cooperation, and the development of the discipline

The development of a professional identity based on the practice of teaching and research is a recent phenomenon. Through the initiative of professor Cotarelo, the first meetings of political science lecturers took place in Madrid at the Universidad Complutense and the UNED between 1986 and 1988. The purpose of these meetings was to discuss collaboration in doctoral courses and research projects, and to address the topics proper to academic

consolidation in political science. However, it was not until 1993 that the corporation clearly projected its identity with the creation of the *Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración* (AECPA) followed by the celebration of its first conference, organized in Bilbao the following year. Since 1979, there did exist an *Asociación Española de Ciencia Política* — a refoundation of the one created with the same name under the authoritarian regime— that brought together political scientists, constitutionalists, and other specialists from neighboring disciplines. At the heart of this association a debate arose between political scientists and constitutionalists concerning the qualification of the discipline as “political science” or “science of politics.” In addition to the personal stakes in power within the association, the constitutionalists were quick to denounce the “imperialist” vision of the political scientists. After the first two presidencies of the political scientists Francisco Murillo and Manuel Ramírez, the formal opposition would focus on the disciplinary boundaries between two areas, that of Constitutional Law and that of Political Science and Public Administration. The original balance among these sub-disciplines also needed to take into account territorial representation, the balancing of Barcelona and Madrid always being problematic. These conflicts reached their climax in 1991 during the last conference of this association, in which the plenary assembly decided to create an *Asociación de Derecho Constitucional y Teoría del Estado*. Faced with this state of affairs, the political scientists decided on April 5, 1993 to launch AECPA as an autonomous association for political science, and the larger part of the 86 tenured professors of this field became its members.

Building on the dynamism of the discipline and the growing number of doctoral students, AECPA has increased its ranks to more than 500 individual members—of whom approximately a third were women⁷²—and 18 institutional members in 2010, one of its peculiarities being that today its membership is based more on aspiring political scientists than on the limited number of tenured professors⁷³. Here, one may note certain differences with respect to the *Association Française de Science Politique* (AFSP), where interdisciplinarity apparently still prevails⁷⁴. In addition to the membership statute of IPSA, the current institutional supports for AECPA are most of the principal research centers mentioned above (CEPC, CIS, ICPS, and the *Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigación*, CEACS), some faculties of Political Sciences (UNED and the universities Complutense de Madrid, Granada, País Vasco, Pompeu Fabra and Santiago de Compostela), several departments and areas of Political Science, and the *Collegi de Doctors y Llicenciats en Ciències Politiques i Sociologia de Catalunya*⁷⁵. The majority of those institutes and research centers mentioned and approximately ten public universities and the University

⁷² Women are increasingly winning positions in the AECPA's *Junta Directiva* (eight of 15 in its current composition against just two in its first term, or five during the years 2001-09) as well in the AECPA's conferences academic committees (four out of nine in the last two conferences against just one in the two first). However, all AECPA's presidents until the present were male: Carlos Alba, *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* (1994-97); Julián Santamaría, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (1997-2001), Josep María Vallés, *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* (2001-04), Francisco Llera, *Universidad del País Vasco* (2005-09) and Juan Luis Paniagua, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (2009 -). The fact that only about ten percent of full professors in the Field of Political Science and Public Administration are woman—four out of 44 by 2007—could help to explain this exception.

⁷³ Ninety of 525 AECPA's individual members were younger than thirty by June 2010.

⁷⁴ See Leca 1991.

⁷⁵ See www.aecpa.es

⁷⁶ Today the figure for Spain is also inferior to that of the USA, but practically matches the Italian membership (18 to 19). ECPR included more than 350 institution members (universities, research centers, and departments) in 47 countries, among them a number of associate members outside of Europe, and cover 18,000-25,000 students depending of how you count them (see www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr).

⁷⁷ Francisco Llera, president of AECPA (2005-2009), elected in the last IPSA Conference (Santiago de Chile, 2009), and Manuel Sánchez de Dios (*Universidad Complutense de Madrid*), in charge of the *Networks and Standing Groups* portfolio at ECPR Executive Committee. A third international organization, the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política* (ALACIP), has a Spanish political scientist among its founders: Manuel Alcántara (*Universidad de Salamanca*), also a current member of its executive committee.

⁷⁸ Santamaría 2005, p. 9. Recently AECPA has decided to increase the journal annual frequency in order to obtain its indexation.

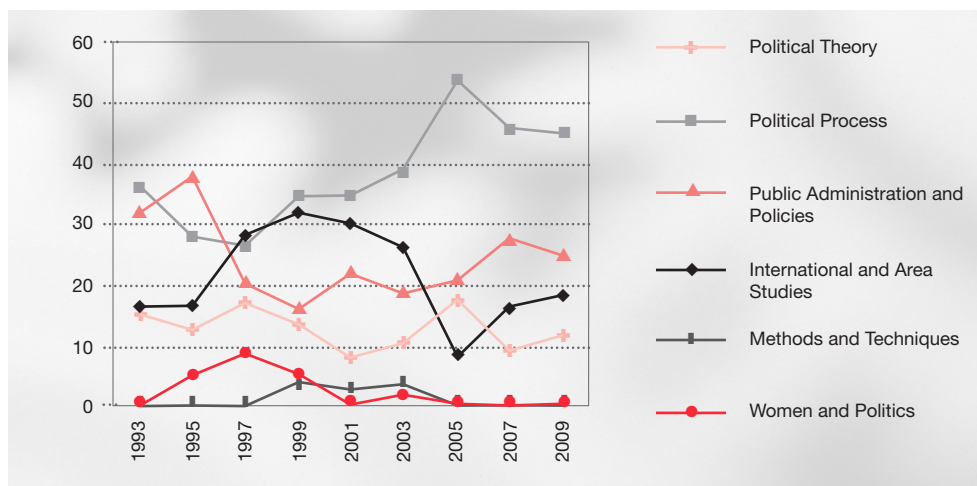
of Navarre are members of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the total number rising currently to 18. By the end of the twentieth century Spanish membership was already above average, ranking only behind Britain, Germany, and Italy⁷⁶. This constitutes a growing tendency towards the participation of Spanish academic institutions in international fora of political science. From 1979 until 2000 Spanish political science has been represented in the IPSA Executive Committee; and from 1983 has been present in the ECPR Committee —starting in December 1977 some Spanish universities have already joined the organization— that has celebrated its Joint Sessions in Spain in three different occasions (Barcelona 1986, Madrid 1994, and Granada 2005). As mentioned above, the 2012 IPSA Conference will take place in Madrid, which represents both a challenge and an excellent opportunity for this young discipline. Both IPSA and ECPR have currently one Spanish representative in their executive committee⁷⁷.

AECPA has taken decisive steps towards its consolidation as an instrument for the development of the profession, strengthening the identity of Spanish political science. The first four conferences held between 1994 and 1999 have addressed political science topics like “Politics and Democracy in 1990s Spain,” “Democracy and Administration,” “Governability and Representation in Democracies,” and “Politics and Communication in Global Society.” As a highlight of this new positive dynamic, one should mention that at the conference in Granada (1999) the first issue of the journal *Revista Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración* was announced. This biannual journal, like its sisters in France and Italy, is tied to the Spanish professional association, being founded by its members, “a clear sign of its success.”⁷⁸ It constitutes a space for specialized publications proper to the discipline itself while remaining open to neighboring disciplines and to non-Spanish researchers⁷⁹. Since then, there have been five new AECPA conferences on “Citizenship and Politics of Integration” (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2001), “Governing in Europe— Governing Europe” (Barcelona, 2003), “Democracy and Good Government” (Madrid, 2005), “Politics for a Changing World” (Valencia, 2007) and “Rethinking Democracy: Inclusion and Diversity” (Málaga 2009). The distribution of papers by areas —normally six or seven— in these conferences shows that the subfield gathering more communications is unvariably, from the 1999 conference, in a growing tendency until 2005, that of political process (political actors, institutions and political behavior, normally in research directed towards the Spanish political system), followed by public administration and public policies, representing more than 25% altogether in the most recent conferences (roughly a third in those most remote). International and area studies —most of them concentrated in Latin America and the Magreb— to which one must add

European politics, in recent years under the umbrella of the area “political process,” were third in number of papers during most conferences. Political theory is normally fourth with a percentage ranging from ten —eight on just one occasion— to seventeen. Methods and techniques as well gender studies show the lowest rates, even if the real number of papers in both areas are higher than showed by “official” figures since in some conferences they were integrated into the “Political Process” area (see Figure 3 and Table 10). As a part of its regular activities AECPA organizes an annual seminar for doctoral students in order to discuss and improve their theses, particularly from a methodological perspective. It also awards an annual prize to the best book and chapter of a book, as well the best paper, authored by its members. The fact that all these activities are covered with an annual budget of roughly 70,000 Euros and the support of just one permanent staff member is an excellent proof of the efforts developed by the persons in charge of this young association. Spanish political scientists are also professionally organized on a national and regional basis, together with sociologists, through the *Colegios de Doctores y Licenciados*, integrated by doctors and graduates in these disciplines. Both the national and regional *Colegios* organize different activities: debates, roundtables, conferences and training courses. They also annually award prizes to doctoral theses in order to stimulate research among young scholars⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ The *Revista de Estudios Políticos* and *Revista de Estudios Sociológicos* covers political and— respectively—juridical and sociological issues. A fourth academic review, *Gestión y Análisis de Políticas Públicas*, linked to the *Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública* (INAP) is the main Spanish journal on public administration and policy analysis.

FIGURE 3. Evolution in the percentage distribution of papers in AECPA conferences (1993-2009), by subfield



* Figures include all the papers accepted by the committee. Conferences were held at the following cities: I) Bilbao; II) Salamanca; III) Santiago; IV) Granada; V) Sta. Cruz de Tenerife; VI) Barcelona; VII) Madrid; VIII) Valencia; IX) Málaga.

Source: Original work based on data obtained from the booklet of each Conference.

⁸⁰ Etherington and Morata 2007, p. 336. The Spanish community of political scientist adds several thousand of people, with a different level of professional insertion in the public sector, third sector organizations, consulting and technical help bodies, as well in the private sector. Political and electoral analysis, public management and public policies analysis count among the most valued expertise (Harto 2005, p. 56).

TABLE 10. Distribution of papers in the AECPA's conferences (1993-2009), by subfields

Conference		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Subfield / Year		1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009
<i>Political theory</i>	%	15.5	12.7	17	13.6	8	10.4	17.5	9.5	11.6
	N	21	29	49	46	27	47	83	37	50
<i>Total political process</i>	%	36	27.6	26.4	34.4	34.5	39	53.6	45.8	44.8
	N	49	63	76	99	116	176	254	179	194
Political process/political behavior	N	23	63	44	43	47	55	115 ¹	61	86
Political actors	N	26	-	-	-	53	121	99 ²	79	49
Institutions	N	-	-	32	56	16	-	40 ³	39	49
<i>Total public administration and policies</i>	%	32.4	37.7	20.5	16.2	22	18.9	20.9	28.1	25.2
	N	44	86	59	55	74	85	99	110	109
Public management and administration	N	21	38	34	55	24	43	49	42	50
Public policies	N	23	48	25	50	42	50	68	59	59
<i>Total international and area studies</i>	%	16.2	16.7	27.4	31.9	30.1	26.4	8	16.6	18.5
	N	22	38	79	108	101	119	38	65	80
Area studies/Comparative politics	N	22	21	54	52	55	88 ⁴	-	31	64
International relations	N	-	17	25	22	8	-	-	34	8
European politics	N	-	-	-	34	38	31	-	-	8
<i>Methods and techniques</i>	%	0	0	0	4,1	2,7	3,8	0	0	0
	N	-	-	-	14	9	17	-	-	-
<i>Women and politics</i>	%	0	5.3	8.7	5	0	1.6	0	0	0
	N	-	12	25	17	-	7	-	-	-
Total	N	136	228	288	339	336	451	474	391	433

* Figures include all the papers accepted by the Committee.

¹ Figures include 11 papers on the Maghreb area.

² Figures include 16 papers on women and politics.

³ Figures include 26 papers on the European Union/European politics.

⁴ Includes 25 papers on institutions in Latin America

Conferences were held at the following cities: I) Bilbao; II) Salamanca; III) Santiago; IV) Granada; V) Santa Cruz de Tenerife; VI) Barcelona; VII) Madrid; VIII) Valencia; IX) Málaga.

Source: Original work based on data obtained from the booklet of each Conference.

It is through all of the elements described above that Spanish political science has consolidated its institutionalization, although with significant delay with respect not only to the United Kingdom, Germany, or France, but also to the rest of Southern European countries, except Portugal (see Table 1). As in a number of other European countries, in Spain the discipline is confronted with a series of debates that will condition its academic evolution. These debates concern the nature of specialized and practical training in the classroom, the expansion of the teaching of political science into non-academic settings, teaching and research evaluation, the future of “young” professionals (Clifton 2006; Vallés 2002), and the discipline’s

utility for Spanish society, especially for political and major social actors, as well as for administrations at the local, regional, and national levels. In this regard, there is a need to promote and market political science for the analysis and resolution of concrete problems, especially those related directly to the workings of Spanish public life (for instance, political recruitment, party financing, political disaffection, the role of interest groups, electoral and constitutional reform, or the relationships between the central government and the devolved regions) as well the management of specific public policies (from education to immigration or town-planning) and the evaluation of their results. In my judgment, all of this would contribute to substantial improvements in the situation of a profession reasonably consolidated in Spain but perhaps insufficiently legitimized in the society that it is to serve. ■

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