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***The Emergence and Institutionalization of Political Science:
The Case of Spain***

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I. Approach to the Phenomenon in the Larger Western States

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, not just among those who practice it – from within this or other disciplines – but more especially among those to whom it is intended (be they individuals, groups, or institutions), has been filled with difficulties. Perhaps the United States – and, to a lesser degree, Canada – are relative exceptions; but absolutely not their old metropolis.¹ Nor is this the case, for different reasons, in a culturally influential country like France, although it was the first to create studies in “Political Sciences” (note the plural),² or in Italy, the natural or adoptive home of authentic pioneers of contemporary politics, like Pareto, Mosca or Michels, two countries where the weight of antiempirical traditions has constituted a serious hindrance until only thirty years ago.³

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

¹ See D. EASTON, J. G. GUNNELL, and L. GRAZIANO, eds. (1991) and D. EASTON, J. G. GUNNELL, and M. B. STEIN, eds. (1995).

² P. FAVRE (1985) and J. LECA (1982, 1991).

³ L. GRAZIANO (1991), L. GRAZIANO, ed. (1986), and L. MORLINO, eds. (1989).

than the late 19th century.⁴ In fact, in the majority of those countries in which political science is cultivated, it is a phenomenon posterior to World War II, and in many of them – including Eastern European countries – it has only just begun.⁵

In effect, it is in the last third of the 19th century when “a first and unquestionable institutional and intellectual wave” in this direction will be produced with astonishing simultaneity in the larger Western states. To a greater or lesser degree, in these countries (United States, Germany, France, England, Italy, and Spain) the conditions for the appearance of the social sciences in general were in place: the industrial revolution, which contributed to modifying conceptions of human society; individualism; the positive evaluation of science and a growing precision in the conception of the minimum standards of scientific inquiry, extended to the social sciences; and the arrival of the modern university. These conditions coincided, not without perceptible differences from country to country, with the conditions proper to the emergence of political science: the configuration of politics as an autonomous or at least separate space (with respect to economics, morality, etc.), susceptible to scientific study; the appearance of modern administration and the corresponding belief in an instrumental rationality that legitimizes administrative actions; as well as the secularization and the democratization of political options, with a generalization of free inquiry with regard to political questions (Favre 1985, 3-17). The first impulse

⁴ Here, we are using the term “institutionalization” as Edward Shils defines it for the social sciences in general: “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 according with evolving criteria of quality. The relevant structures include courses, departments, libraries and undergraduate and graduate programmes that give recognition and support to particular disciplines. To these university aspects of structure must be added professional journals, learned societies, publishing, founding 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” (Alan C. Cairns 1975. Ref. E. BERNDTSON 1971, 47).

⁵ For an overview of the discipline in Eastern European countries, see H-D. KLINGEMANN, E. KULESZA and A. LEGUTKE, eds. (2002).

emerged on the European continent, soon after the Franco-German War, with the foundation in Paris of the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* (1871). On this model was created the *Scuola Cesare Afffieri di Scienze Sociali* (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, 94-5).

Nevertheless, in these experiments – including the English one, in spite of what the prestigious London centre’s name might suggest – 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 bothersome 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.⁶

Strictly speaking, 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 our discipline replaced others terms such as “government” and “politics” that were used in some North American colleges and universities (Dreijmanis 1983) and which

⁶ As Jean Meynaud pointed out decades ago, this is not a mere 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 L. GRAZIANO 1991, 129).

have in fact predominated in some countries until very recently. For example, this was the case in Great Britain, where political science received full recognition for the first time in a graduate course organized by the University of Oxford in 1920, with the title of “Politics”, this being since then the most common designation for the discipline in Britain (Johnson 1991, 41). On the other hand, in Germany the term “Staatswissenschaft” (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 two following events: the launch in 1886 of the scientific 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, as well as the creation in 1903 of the first professional association with a clear political science identity, the American Political Science Association (APSA).⁷

Although one of those who encouraged the teaching and cultivation of Political Science materials in specialized centres would confess towards the end of the 19th century his frustration with the shocking difficulty of teaching “a science that does not yet exist”,⁸ it is also true that by that time a whole series of authors whose names appear clearly associated with the first studies of modern political science – for example, Von Stein, Jellinek and Max Weber, in Germany; Pareto and Mosca, in Italy; Brice, in England; Boutmy, in France; Posada, in Spain; Wilson and Burgess,

⁷ At Johns Hopkins University, since 1877 there was already a common association for historians and political scientists: the *Johns Hopkins Historical and Political Association* (P. FAVRE 1985, 18).

⁸ The diary of Beatrice Webb, co-founder with Sidney Webb of the present-day *London School of Political Science* (ref. H. HAYWARD 1991, 94-95).

in the United States – had published at least a significant part of their studies or were about to do so.

The “history” of our discipline from the early 20th century up to the present is something that we have begun to understand relatively well. Beginning in the 1980s, perhaps it could be said without engaging in hyperbole that this has become an authentic subfield within political science. In effect, throughout these last 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 said, 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 political science will be written.

Indeed, until the 1980s, except in the United States (B. Crick 1959, A. Somit and J. Tanenhaus 1967, and D. Waldo 1975) and perhaps the well known summary of contemporary political science published by the UNESCO (1950), the history of the discipline was barely the object of an introductory chapter in popular manuals, or it was limited to a few superficial references in specialized dictionaries or encyclopaedias (*e.g.* D. Easton 1968; K. Von Beyme 1975). Nevertheless, in the 1980s more profound historical studies would see the light, in the United States and in other Western countries.

In addition to the new and expanded edition of Somit and Tanenhaus’s classic book, among the first that address the period of 1965-1980 along with four other periods marked by the key dates of 1880, 1903, 1921, and 1945, the following might be mentioned: Ada W. Finifter, ed., *Political Science. The State of the Discipline*

(1983) and David M. Ricci, *The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship, and Democracy* (1984). Despite the scope suggested by both titles, these studies are limited exclusively to the United States. The first one originates in a colloquium held in 1982 in Denver, at the APSA's annual meeting, which was dedicated precisely to "The State of the Discipline", as chosen by Finifter herself, acting as president of the conference. This book includes about twenty contributions, organized in six sections: *Political Science: the Discipline and its Scope and Theory*; *American Political Processes and Policymaking*; *Comparative Political Process and Policymaking*; *Micropolitical Behavior: American and Comparative*; *International Politics*; and *The Uses of Social Sciences*. Ricci's book constitutes an ambitious study of the relationships between political science and politics and, more concretely, between the scientific pretensions of the discipline and its ties to liberal democratic culture, as well as the tension between its scientific and intellectual commitments. According to Gunnell, this is probably the most complete critical revision of the history of our discipline, but its originality appears doubtful, as far as the argumentation and the information are concerned (1991, 26). Two other monographs, under the direction of Raymond S. Seidelman (1985)⁹ and Russell Jacoby (1987), complete the panorama of studies on the history of political science in the United States, for that decade.¹⁰

⁹ For commentary on Seidelman's account, see R. GUNNEL 2004, 262-264.

¹⁰ In the 1990s, a second volume of *The State of the Discipline* (1993) was published. It has become a kind of unofficial guide on the material, although for the majority of the 19 "subfields" treated it is only valid for the United States, in spite of the explicit pretension of adopting a rather broader perspective: "international, cross-national or cross-cultural", as the preface reads. Although it was also edited by Finifter under the auspices of the APSA, the collaborators – every one of them from US universities – are completely different from those of the first volume. The topics treated are also for the most part new and they appear grouped in four large categories: *Theory and Method*, *Political Processes and Individual Political Behavior*, *Political Institutions and the State*, and *Nations and Their Relationships*. Neither this second volume of the APSA or the third volume (I. KATZNELSON and H.V. MILNER 2002) include a section on the history of the field, which has been interpreted as a "surprising" example of "the neglect or suppression" of this topic in American political science (J.G. GUNNEL 2004, 275).

In Europe, Collini, Winch, and Burrow published *That Noble Science of Politics. A Study in Nineteenth Century Intellectual History* (1983), a brilliant exploration of English political science, under the influence of New Historicism and, more specifically, the “new history of political theory” represented by Quentin Skinner (1969, 1978) and J. G. A. Pocock (1971, 1975) (*vid.* Gunnell 1991, 23 and Berndtson 1991, 45). A few years later, a monograph was published on the origins of political science in France up to 1914 (P. Favre 1989). The Italian case is also worthy of mention, with a few collective works, the first directed by Luigi Graziano (1986) and the second by Leandro Morlino (1989). Meanwhile, beginning with the first annual *Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research* (ECPR) held in Spain (Barcelona, 1986), a broader project was being developed with the aim of evaluating the discipline’s development in Western Europe.¹¹ The project, which included the participation of fifteen political scientists of different nationalities, led to a special number of the *European Journal of Political Research* (1991), where the topic is discussed for just as many countries (the Nordic countries are analyzed as a whole), coinciding with the 20th anniversary of the foundation of ECPR. This association currently includes more than 300 institutional members in 29 European countries, with associate members from around the world (five from the Americas, five from Asia, Australia, South Africa and Israel) for a total of 42 countries that together form a network of nearly 7,000 individual political scientists.¹²

¹¹ While revising the last version of this article, we have learned from professor Yves Deloye (secretaire generale of the French Association of Political Science) of the imminent publication of a new book, in which he himself collaborates, focusing on the most recent developments in this area: Hans-Dieter Klingeman (ed.). *The State of Political Science in Western Europe*. Leverkusen Opladen, Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2006).

¹² Source: ECPR’s webpage (August 2005). Roughly ten years ago, Ken Newton estimated the number of active political scientists working at European faculties, departments, and institutes to be between

Among the works that cover a broader and more diverse range of countries, we might first mention W. G. Andrews's (ed.) *International Book of Political Science* (1982) as representative of the "histories" of political science (although it does not include Italy, where the discipline had by that time achieved a certain solidity), as well as the aforementioned *The Development of Political Science*, under the direction of D. Easton, J.G. Gunnell, and L. Graziano (1991). This last work has its origin in a 1985 symposium held in Helsinki with the support of the *Finnish Political Science Association* and the *International Political Science Association* (IPSA), and in a later meeting in Cortona, Italy under the auspices of the Feltrinelli Foundation. It represents the first global debate on the material, or at least the most complete up to that moment.¹³ Both the discipline and the profession are treated from a comparative international perspective that emphasizes centre-periphery relations and geo-cultural areas such as the People's Republic of China and anglophone Africa, which had been practically untouched before that moment, without forgetting Spain itself, whose

4,500 and 5000 (see *ecprNews*, vol. 8, 2, 1997). A. Lijphart has reduced this estimate to approximately 3,500. He argues that a significant number of those counted as political scientists – calculating an average of 21 individuals per institution – are sociologists, economists, and historians working in large departments or institutes of political science, and not political scientists in *sensus strictus*. Comparing this statistic with the equivalent for the United States (around 14,000 political scientists, according to Lijphart's own calculations for 1996, with 10 per cent being of another nationality), we see that for each professional working in this specialization at European academic institutions there were four such professionals working in the United States (1997, 13-14). The most comprehensive APSA data on the number of political scientists currently working in US academic institutions deals with full-time, tenure-track faculty in public and private four-year institutions (those that award the B.A., M.A., and Ph.D.). Within these parameters, there are 9,302 faculty members. The data do not include faculty teaching at community colleges, adjunct faculty, and faculty in non-tenure-track positions. If these were included the figure could very well reach 14,000, although this is only an estimate (Source: Rob Hauck, APSA staff member, September 29, 2005). Nevertheless, since 1996 this proportion may have been significantly reduced in favor of European political science: While the number of active political scientists in Europe has increased from 3,500-4,500 to 7,000, Lijphart's calculation of 14,000 active political scientists in the US has probably not increased and may have even decreased.

¹³ A selection of papers from the meeting was published in *Political Science between Past and Future* (1988), edited under the supervision of Dag Anckar and Erkki Berndtson. The title expresses well the pivotal situation to which we alluded before.

situation was usually ignored in histories and overviews.¹⁴ The authors try to respond to questions regarding the degree to which political science has produced a body of political knowledge that transcends national and regional boundaries. Later, Easton and Gunnell – now with M. B. Stein – would coordinate a second volume (1995) in which the authors include new countries and cultural areas (Hungary, Poland, Argentina, continental Asia, and Japan) in their analysis of the relationship between regime type and the development of political science.

A suggestive variant of the history of the discipline is the history of the profession. In this regard, we must mention a relatively recent experiment in which political scientists from both sides of the Atlantic collaborated. It began at a workshop on “The Intellectual Autobiography of Comparative European Politics” at the ECPR’s *Joint Sessions* held in Leiden, Holland (April of 1993) and would lead to the publication of an attractive work edited by Hans Daalder, professor at Leiden and one of the founding fathers of ECPR. This volume, entitled *Comparative European Politics: The Story of a Profession* (1997), brings together the intellectual autobiographies of 23 specialists – all of them male, as the editor himself remarks in the introduction, lamenting that the female political scientists contacted for the project were not inclined to collaborate – who have contributed to the development of studies in comparative European politics since World War II: from the North Americans

¹⁴ This tendency seems to have been definitively broken in the 1980s, coinciding with the consolidation of democracy in Spain and, above all, with the institutional launch of political science. In addition to Professor Vallés’s contributions to EASTON *et al.* *The Development of Political Science* and the aforementioned monograph in the *European Journal of Political Research* (1991), we know of a few summaries prepared for publications of a similar nature, although with more limited objectives. The first is by sociologist R. LÓPEZ PINTOR (1982) and the second by R. COTARELO and M. BARAS (1990). Among the articles written by foreign authors, we might mention that of Pierre Favre published in *Traité de Science Politique* by GRAWITZ and LECA (1985). Reviewing the specificity of the “national histories” of political science up to 1945, Favre dedicates a specific section to Spain, something that he only does with respect to England, Germany, Italy, the United States, and France. Another important exception is the aforementioned UNESCO report (1950), which includes a chapter

Gabriel A. Almond and Robert Dahl to the Europeans Jean Blondel and Klaus Von Beyme, including others – like Juan J. Linz and Giovanni Sartori – who are European yet carried out almost all of their work at US universities. These intellectual autobiographies are preceded by the biographies of another four renowned political scientists, no longer living at the time of publication, who exerted a powerful influence in the field: Carl Friedrich, who emigrated from Germany to the US; Samuel E. Finer, from Great Britain; Stein Rokkan, from Norway; and Rudolf Wildenman, from Germany. To some extent, this project inspired the forthcoming *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics* (eds. Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder), a collection of exhaustive interviews with 15 of the leading experts in comparative politics – all of them either American or tied to US academic institutions – to be published at Johns Hopkins University Press.¹⁵

The debate opened on the history of political science and the methodology specific to it, no doubt fomented by the authentic torrent of “histories” on the subject, constitutes something more than a symptom of the aforementioned 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 “postempirical”, argue that histories of the discipline should be “sensitive to contexts” and that they should serve

on Spain written by a philosopher of Law exiled in the United States, Luis Recasens, who had made some forays into the field of sociology.

¹⁵ Abstracts of the forthcoming book (2006 or 2007), including interviews with Robert Dahl, Juan J. Linz, Adam Przeworski, and David D. Latin, have been published recently in the Mexican journal *Política y Gobierno*, vol. II, 1 (2005). Those interviewed for the book also include Gabriel A. Almond, Robert H. Bates, David Collier, Samuel P. Huntington, Arend Lijphart, Barrington Moore, Jr., Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, James C. Scott, Theda Skocpol, and Alfred Stepan. These political scientists focus on their intellectual training, central works and ideas, basic elements of research, and relationships with colleagues, collaborators, and students, as well as their evaluation of the discipline's evolution.

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 James Farr, John Gunnell, and Raymond Seilmand, three political scientists particularly concerned with this historiographical question and who offer their own response (J. Farr et al. 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 (J. Farr, J. S. Dryzek, and S. T. Leonard 1995), with the collaboration of 16 professional political scientists, including all of those just mentioned, with the exception of Seilmand.

Needless to say, all of this has contributed to raising the metatheoretical 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.

II. The Case of Spain.

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 perspectives. Among those published in the last 35 years, in addition to those already cited as written for collective works edited in other countries (see footnote 13), one should mention the work of Pablo Lucas Verdú (1971), Manuel Pastor (1973, 1988, 1994), Nicolás Ramiro Rico (1974), Julián Santamaría (1974, 2005), Manuel Ramírez (1977), José A. Portero (1978, 1980), Jesús de Miguel and Melissa G. Moyer (1979), Enrique Tierno Galván (1980), Rafael López Pintor (1982), Antonio Torres del Moral (1984), Josep M^a Vallés (1989, 1991, 2002), José Cazorla and Miguel Jerez (1990), Ramón Cotarelo and Montserrat Baras

(1990, 1991), Miguel Jerez (1993, 1999 and 2002), C. Colino et al (1994), Jacqueline Polanco (1998),¹⁶ Fernando Harto (2005), and Judith Clifton (2006). Especially useful for reference purposes, although in need of updating and a profound bibliographical review, turns out to be the political science and public administration *vademécum*, directed and coordinated by Cotarelo (1994), published in the collection *Las ciencias sociales en España* edited by the Complutense University of Madrid Press.¹⁷ 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.

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 the new catalogue for *áreas de conocimiento* (fields of knowledge) – as an appendix to the decree that regulates the faculty recruitment

¹⁶ This last article appeared in *Participation*, a journal published by the International Political Science Association. Although it is useful, this article should be handled with caution, given that it contains errors.

¹⁷ This study is divided into three sections: a) a summary of the state of Spanish political science, which includes an accurate panorama of the discipline – from the immediate precedents of research in the 1980s and early 1990s, through different schools of thought –, by Cotarelo, as well as a review of the Spanish literature, organized according to four themes: elections, administrative science, political thought in Spain, and political parties (by Llera, Subirats, Pastor, and Román, respectively); b) the rather complete (although not exhaustive) report on Spanish professionals active in the field at that time, with their academic and biographical information; and c) an extensive bibliography of authors in political science in Spain (1960-1990). This bibliography has the advantage of reporting on numerous political science studies carried out by researchers in neighboring fields (Constitutional Law, Sociology, International Public Law and International relations, Philosophy of Moral and Political Law, Contemporary History, etc.). Nevertheless, one can raise a few objections as to the criteria of selection: first, the bibliography includes indiscriminately the work of journalists (v.gr., Miguel A. Aguilar, Manuel Campo Vidal, or Eduardo Haro Tecglen), recognized professional politicians (v.gr., Felipe González, Alfonso Guerra, José María Benegas, or Simón Sánchez Montero), and, more exceptionally, essayists or literary writers (v.gr., Guillermo Cabrera Infante), all of whom – regardless of their individual merits – could only with difficulty be considered “scientific”; second, the bibliography includes the names of several non-Spanish political scientists or specialists in Constitutional Law (v.gr., Mario Caciagli or Jorge Carpizo), while ignoring many other equally relevant names (Robert Fishman, Richard Gunther, Dieter Nohlen, or Giacomo Sani, to mention only a few of the most notable).

system of public competition. This new catalogue differentiated clearly between *Ciencia Política y de la Administración* (Political Science and Public Administration) and *Derecho Constitucional* (Constitutional Law), breaking up the old unity of the traditional *Derecho Político* (Political Law),¹⁸ while references to *Teoría del Estado* (State Theory) disappeared.¹⁹ Not much later (1985), two new faculties of Political Sciences and Sociology were created, one in the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*²⁰ and another in the *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (UNED). A few years later (1988), the *Universidad de Granada* followed suite with the creation of its own new faculty. With such reforms, not only was the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*'s old monopoly over these fields broken,²¹ but we also witness a new phase of expansion which, as we shall see, includes the private universities after 1997 and continues up to the present.

From the perspective that we have adopted, it seems timely to report in some detail on the state of Spanish political science since its full normalization 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

¹⁸ Only ten months before, the situation had been quite different. According to documents from the State Secretary of Universities and Research, dated 2 December 1983, Political Science was to be grouped together with State Theory and Constitutional Law under a single, encyclopedic field of knowledge with the cumbersome title “State Theory and Constitutional Law and Political Science” (*Teoría del Estado y Derecho Constitucional y Ciencia Política*). In this situation, political science figured among Juridical Sciences instead of Social Sciences. At the same time, Public Administration appeared with Administrative Law under another field of knowledge.

¹⁹ Beginning in 1983, all tenured professor positions in the public university system would have to be identified with a specific discipline label. Only since 1984 will *Ciencia Política y de la Administración* be used as one of these labels, whereas before it was subsumed under *Derecho Público* or *Filosofía del Derecho* (cf. VALLÉS 1996, 9).

²⁰ In October of 1986, studies began in the fourth year – of a total of five – of the undergraduate program (*Licenciatura*). Translator's note: Spanish universities award three degrees: *Diplomatura* (three years) *Licenciatura* (four or five years) and *Doctorado* (five years, typically). In some Spanish universities, Masters Degrees (one or two years) are available to those who have completed the *Licenciatura*.

²¹ In terms of graduate instruction, this monopoly was shared with the *Instituto de Estudios Políticos*, rebaptized in 1977 as the *Centro de Estudios Constitucionales*.

knowledge, scientific journals and manuals, major governmental agencies that support research financially, and, very particularly, professional associations.²² 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.

II. 1. Origins of the Scientific Study of Politics in Spain

In Spain, we 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, when not the loss of liberties, which on occasion will be rather prolonged. Leaving aside the period before the Bourbon Restoration, in which one cannot yet speak of the scientific and systematic study of politics,²³ for the

²² We are deliberately avoiding two important structural aspects in Edward Shils’s typology (see note 4) with respect to institutionalization, namely, that of the program requirements for undergraduate degrees in Political and Public Administration – as well as those for other degrees that include political science courses –, and that of graduate programs. These two aspects constitute focus points of a report on the state of political science in Spain, requested and funded by the *Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración* (AECPA) in 1998.

²³ Nevertheless, at several moments substantial steps in this direction were indeed taken. Among those measures that aided the development of the social sciences in general, one would now have to point out three laws promulgated by the government (the first two were decrees – both of June, 1843 – by Gómez de la Serna, Minister of Interior with Espartero and Professor of Law, and the third was a law passed after the Liberal Biennium (1854-56), when Narváez was Chief of Cabinet: a) the reform of the teaching of philosophy and the creation of a complete Faculty of Philosophy at the Central University of Madrid, a Council of Public Education, and a special Public Education section annexed to the temporary Ministry of Interior; b) the appointment of Julián Sanz del Río as interim professor in the Faculty of Philosophy at the aforementioned university in Madrid, with the obligation to spend two years in German universities for the purpose of expanding his knowledge of the history of philosophy, as well as to study the causes of the extraordinary growth of the sciences taking place there. The Spanish professor reached Heidelberg, then the mecca of Krausism, after passing through Brussels, where he visited the eminent German Krausist, Heinrich Ahrens, who was in exile as professor of Philosophy and Natural Law. Sanz del Río would be the first Spanish fellow to leave Spanish soil in the 19th century, and also the most important apostle of Krausism in Spain (vid. A. JIMÉNEZ 1971, 319 and ss.); and c) the consolidation of the public education system following the Moyano Law,

purpose of analysis one can distinguish four periods anterior to the beginning of the discipline's differentiation: 1875-1936/1939; early *franquismo*; the decade of the 1960s; and a fourth period of transition from approximately 1969 to 1984, in which I believe the foundations are laid for the discipline's differentiation.

A) From the Restoration to the Spanish Civil War (1875-1936/39)

The trajectory of political science in Spain up to the Spanish Civil War – its prehistory, if one likes, which does not diminish its interest – is likely not very different from that of other great Western European states up to the 1930s, although it presents a strong specificity from the end of the 19th century. Much like what occurred in Germany, France, Great Britain, or in Italy up to the triumph of fascism, one would have to wait until the last third of the 19th century in order to see a first prescientific study of politics, or “initial political science” (Favre 1985, 7).

In Spain, it is at the beginning of the Restoration when we see the first works that reveal the existence of a nascent political science, with studies presumably developed during the preceding revolutionary years, when the free expression of ideas meant lively activity in the Spanish university.²⁴ I am referring to certain contributions of two of the most prestigious Spanish Krausists, direct disciples of Julián Sanz del Río [1814-1869] and promoters of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Institute of Learning)²⁵ Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839-1915), author of

which “provided the ‘cultured class’ with a base for critical inquiry and the creative development of elaborated culture and general thought, with the Central University of Madrid as its principal platform” (R. JEREZ 1994, 37).

²⁴ This ferment accelerated when the Revolution of September 1868 brought back to their chairs the professors expelled for opposing the decree of Manuel Orovio, Minister of Public Works in the context of the “first university issue”. This intellectual ferment was only increased by the vigorous action of Fernando de Castro, direct disciple of Sanz del Río. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the renewal of intellectual activity, including a first diffusion of positivist ideas among liberal intellectuals, had begun somewhat earlier (cf. A. JIMÉNEZ 1971, 352-353; and R. JEREZ 1980, 231-232).

²⁵ See previous footnote. Krausism had an influence on the ideology of the young liberal intellectuals that frequented the university and Madrid's *Ateneo* during the agitated years immediately preceding the Republic of 1873. As admirers of Europe and defenders of secular republicanism (simultaneously

Estudios jurídicos y políticos (1875), and Gumersindo de Azcárate (1840-1917), author of *Estudios económicos y sociales* (1876), *El selfgovernment y la monarquía doctrinaria* (1876), and *Estudios filosóficos y políticos* (1877).²⁶ Along with the early and nearly simultaneous contributions of these two active full professors (in Philosophy of Law and Comparative Legislation, respectively), one should mention – around the same period – those of the Aragonese Joaquín Costa (1846-1911) author of “La política antigua y la política nueva” published in *Revista de Europa* (1876) and *Estudios jurídicos y políticos* (1880). Costa was also linked to the *Institución*, where he would teach *Derecho político* (political law) and Spanish history after failing to win a *cátedra* (chair) in the university system.²⁷ Finally, we shouldn’t forget Adolfo Posada (1860-1944), author of *Tratado de Derecho Político* (1893 and 1894). If all of these men can be considered pioneers of Spanish sociology, Posada – a disciple of both Giner and Azcárate and soon a figure of international prestige himself – introduced a notable shift in Spanish research on politics (Favre 1985, Vallés 1989). He soundly indicated new paths beyond the homegrown Spanish doctrine of *Derecho Político*, which Posada considered a second-rate discipline, until a few years later

reformist and conservative), their ideas about university reform (administrative decentralization, academic freedom) had been taken up by the revolution of 1868. Nevertheless, the possibility of carrying out these aspirations ended with the beginning of the Restoration (1874). However, with the approval of the new Constitution (1876), Giner de los Ríos returned from his confinement in Cadiz and opted to found the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* with other Krausist professors who had lost their chairs during the “second university issue.” Many intellectuals and writers of the following decades developed in the spirit of this center of learning.

²⁶ See M. PASTOR (1994) and J.M. VALLÉS (1989) for much more complete information on the political works of Azcárate and the other authors cited in this section.

²⁷ In Spain, the organization of the university into American-style “departments” was not consolidated until the reforms introduced by the first Socialist government (1982-86). Nevertheless, the Ley de Enseñanza Universitaria (1965) had already introduced the term “departamento” and for some time it was used interchangeably with the term “cátedra”. Originally, the term “cátedra” designated an individual position that included a group of professors of lower rank (along with some research fellows and a negligible administrative structure). The professional future of professors in such a *cátedra* was in good measure tied to a *catedrático*, the often all-powerful chief of this reduced academic environment.

when Santamaría de Paredes (1853-1924) would publish his *Curso de Derecho Político* (1880).²⁸

Something should be said here about this discipline, scientifically and academically consolidated in higher education after the 1884 reform of courses of study, with which were studied, until not long ago, the materials directly or indirectly related to political science (something that had been done traditionally in some departments of Philosophy of Law and, later, in those of State Theory and Sociology). The first *cátedra* of Political Law was created in Madrid's *Ateneo* in 1821, having as precedent the *cátedra* for the study of the 1812 Constitution, founded seven years before, in Madrid's San Isidro Royal Studies. Both were abolished in 1823 along with the Constitution, until the refounding of the *Ateneo* in 1835. That is where professors like Antonio Alcalá Galiano (*Lecciones de Derecho Constitucional* [1838]) and Donoso Cortés (*Lecciones de Derecho Político* [1836]) would teach. Similarly, at the University of Madrid we find a new chair of *Derecho Político y Administrativo*, which was held from 1847 to 1881 by Manuel Colmeiro (*Elementos de Derecho Público y Administrativo de España*[1858]), considered the founder of the discipline of *Derecho Político* in Spain.²⁹ We should also mention the role of Ignacio María Ferrán (*Extracto metódico de un curso completo de Derecho Político y Administrativo* [1873]), the second of the most important authors of the period after 1857, when the chair of *Instituciones del Derecho Político Administrativo de España* was created. In both Colmeiro and Ferrán, one already finds a certain multifaceted

²⁸ A. POSADA (1990, 184). This work was originally published in 1899. For the significance of Posada's work, one can consult F.J. Laporta, *Adolfo Posada. Política y Sociología en la crisis del liberalismo español*. Madrid, Edicusa, 1974.

²⁹ M. PASTOR (1994, 354).

understanding of the so-called *Derecho Político*, the traditional Spanish label for a Krausist-inspired combination of philosophy, history, and philosophy of history.³⁰

Professor Ollero once described the existence of two schools of thought during this first period of the Restoration in the following terms:

“The political intentions of scientists follow from the scientific configuration of politics; schools of thought follow from political parties: the liberal school, represented by Santamaría de Paredes, and the conservative, – or rather, traditionalist – school, represented by Gil Robles. The first is more juridical and abstract; the second, more historical and sociological. The key concept of the former is going to be the state as a juridical phenomenon, the state of law; the central concept of the latter is going to be that of the nation as organic society”.³¹

In addition to these two schools or rather tendencies of political law – the first one highly eclectic and somewhat less resistant to the positivism emerging in Europe at that time, the second identified with a more or less renewed scholastics – one could also speak of a third orientation, much more clearly influenced by Krausism than the moderate liberal school of Colmeiro and Santamaría. This third tendency was inclined toward social organicism from basically democratic positions, and whose supreme figures would be the aforementioned Azcárate and Costa (Vallés 1989, 7-11).³² Not even this tendency revealed itself to be sufficiently receptive to positivism,³³ which in Germany and other European countries would soon triumph, ridding itself of all sorts of philosophical and historical considerations.

³⁰ J.A. PORTERO (1981).

³¹ Cited in M. PASTOR (1994, 354).

³² Logically, both Azcárate and Costa were scholars of *Derecho Político*, but neither held a degree in the discipline. Nevertheless, Costa, who had competed unsuccessfully to head a department of this specialty in 1875, would soon afterward teach this subject in the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, although – rejected by the university – he moved on to other professional occupations.

³³ During the 1875-6 academic year, a debate on positivism took place in Madrid’s *Ateneo*, organized in response to a Krausist sector doubtful of the theoretical consistency and the objective value of Azcárate’s philosophy. In a rather orthodox Krausist vein, Azcárate opted “for the intuitive method as opposed to the experimental method, for the philosophy of law and the philosophy of history as

As we said, with Adolfo Posada – more specifically, after the 1893-4 publication of his two-volume *Tratado de Derecho Político*, which he would revise and edit numerous times – a shift occurred in the discipline. Although the previous tendencies would remain present up to the Spanish Civil War, in a certain way they became less clear. Beginning in that period, and until the fall of the Second Republic and the consequent diaphora of our specialists, the history of research in Spain became unique. The voluminous work of Posada revealed varying influences, from constitutionalists to European and North American sociologists of the period, including some of the pioneers of Northamerican political science. Posada developed profoundly the notion of state implicit in the ideas of his Krausist teachers, elaborating a theory conceived without recourse to the German juridical and political theory that would end up imposing itself in almost all of Europe. True to his philosophical origins, Posada was also unwilling to embrace the positivist method. Nevertheless, he accepted the need to always take facts into account while elaborating a scientific proposal. Aware of the risks of falling into an excessively speculative science of political law, he relativized the importance of the philosophical-metaphysical dimension of the discipline by appealing to a balance of the different sciences that comprise “the Encyclopedia”, a posture that will not find sufficient followers in the discipline.³⁴ At Posada’s chair in Madrid, political law was conceived eclectically as a combination of state theory, constitutional law, and political sociology.³⁵

opposed to positivist law and positivist history, for philosophical idealism as opposed to a positivism that, by declaring ‘war on religion and metaphysics’, endangered them” (R. JEREZ 1980, 233-234).

³⁴ At this time, the general opinion in Spanish doctrine will continue to be characterized by “the concession of a privileged place and function to the philosophical-metaphysical dimension, within the whole of the encyclopedia of Political Law (J.A. PORTERO 1980, 90 and followings).

³⁵ J.M.VALLÉS (1989, 13 and followings). In this respect, Vallés contrasts the judgments formulated by Carlos Ollero and Francisco Rubio Llorente in 1955 and 1973, respectively, concerning the work of

Parallel to Posada's attempt to redefine the content of Spanish political law, we see the reception of the most significant works of foreign authors, many of them translated by Spanish specialists in the field. Thus, we find Georg Jellinek's *Allgemeine Staatslehre* translated as *Teoría General del Estado* (1914) by Fernando de los Ríos, member of the Socialist Party and one of the authors of the Republican Constitution of 1931; Maurice Hauriou's *Principes de droit public* translated as *Principios de Derecho Público y Constitucional* (1927) by Carlos Ruiz del Castillo, a conservative professor of political law; Harold Laski's *A Grammar of Politics* translated as *El Estado moderno* (1932) by Teodoro González García, professor of political law; Carl Schmitt's *Verfassungslehre* translated as *Teoría de la Constitución* (1934) by Francisco Ayala; Hans Kelsen's *Allgemeine Staatslehre* translated as *Teoría General del Estado* (1934) by Luis Legaz y Lacambra as well as a simplified version of Kelsen's *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, translated as *Compendio de Teoría General del Estado* (1934) by professors of legal philosophy Luis Recasens Sitges and Justino de Azcárate.³⁶ Although these foreign authors certainly left their mark on Spanish political studies,³⁷ it is also true that none of the tendencies represented by them – neither Jellinek's gnosological and methodological dualism in state law ("theory of two sides"), nor Kelsen's normativism, nor Hauriou's institutionalism, nor Laski's social focus, nor Heller's sociological theory of the state, nor Schmitt's

Posada, who would become senator, as well as director of the Institute of Social Reform between 1920 and 1924. For Ollero, Posada's broad eclecticism constitutes something exceptionally positive to the extent that it allows one to not sacrifice any of the political facets present in a particular society. On the other hand, Rubio Llorente judges that such a broad focus is at the base of the scientific weakness of an academic designation – *Derecho Político* – that made it impossible to develop Constitutional Law and Political Science as clearly defined, independent disciplines.

³⁶ J.M. VALLÉS (1991, 205 and 219).

³⁷ If the work of Herman Heller was the subject of Gómez Arboleya's doctoral thesis, [1935] a young Legaz Lacambra chose that of Hans Kelsen, while Javier Conde wrote about the work of Carl Schmitt (J.L.LÓPEZ ARANGUREN 1988, 13). It goes without saying that all of them – like a good many intellectuals of the same period – had studied in Germany.

decisionism – would manage to impose themselves in a context in which the crisis of the Spanish political system escalated until finally resulting in civil war in 1936, taking along with it the Republican experiment in liberal democracy. Without a doubt, Spanish political law had been consolidated during decades as an encyclopedic endeavor, profoundly marked by its philosophical and juridical origins.

The preponderance of state theory, reflected in the abundance of intellectual history scholarship on the great Spanish thinkers of the 16th and 17th centuries, contrasts with the nearly complete lack of monographs on the political process and its actors (elections, parties, elites, etc.). The only relevant exception is the work of a philosopher and essayist who would receive international recognition, something certainly uncommon among Spanish contemporary thinkers.³⁸ This singular personality is none other than José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955), author of “Vieja y nueva política” (1914), *España invertebrada* (1920), *La rebelión de las masas* (1930), and *Rectificación de la República* (1932), among others. To Ortega we owe the 1923 foundation of *Revista de Occidente*, which, with the publishing house of the same name, constituted for many years the principal vehicle for the diffusion of European and especially German thought in Spain. Along with this journal, we should also mention *España*, *Acción Española*, and *Leviatán*, founded in 1915, 1931, and 1934, respectively.³⁹

If, with regard to the development of doctrine, one would like to speak of a distinct second period in contemporary Spanish political studies beginning with the *fin de siècle* crisis, there are not, in my judgement, sufficient institutional elements to

³⁸ The only exception would be that of Donoso Cortés. For the repercussion of Donoso’s work in foreign countries, including the United States and Russia, see M. PASTOR (1994, 353).

³⁹ If *España* (directed successively by Ortega, Luis Araquistain, and Manuel Azaña) had a more heterogeneous political orientation, *Acción Española* and *Leviatán* represented, respectively, the ideology of the reactionary right and the socialist left.

support such a thesis. From the Restoration to early *franquismo*, the teaching and the study of politics took place in and under faculties of Law, where political studies enjoyed neither a clear position nor exceptional degrees of legitimacy.⁴⁰ With political law consolidated by the 1880s, the only relevant change in this area was the separation of administrative law, which became its own discipline. In the meantime, coinciding with the inauguration of *regeneracionismo* and the beginning of concerns about Spanish modernity, in 1898 the first chair of Sociology was endowed at Madrid's Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, within the framework of doctoral studies.⁴¹ Although this young discipline would not manage to establish itself in the classrooms until quite a few years later (it was not even a lasting academic fashion yet),⁴² it did indeed give birth to some related experiments, like the Institute of Social Reform, created in 1903, in which many publications and research projects in sociology reached fruition.⁴³ Lamentably, in the entire period under consideration we find nothing like this in the area of political studies proper.

The Civil War and the final victory of the so-called *bando nacional* ("national faction"), obviously meant – as it would in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany – a halt in the development of political science. This does not prevent us from observing, along with substantial new developments, certain continuities between the state of political

⁴⁰ Other alternative possibilities could not quite consolidate themselves. Thus, the *Escuela de Ciencias Sociales* founded in Madrid by the men of the *Institución* in 1878, presumably under the influence of Boutmy's *École Libre*, would not take hold. In the *Escuela* courses were offered in political theory, comparative political institutions, and political economy, among other subjects (J.M. VALLÉS 1991, 443).

⁴¹ The first position as *catedrático* of Sociology would be won the following year by Manuel Sales y Ferré [1843-1910], supreme representative of Leftist positivist Krausism. For information on this figure and his work, one can consult M. NÚÑEZ ENCABO (1976) and R. JEREZ (1980 and 2005).

⁴² With the creation of the chair of Sociology at the Central University of Madrid, later held by Severino Aznar, the Spanish government had anticipated countries like Germany, France, or Great Britain, where in the late 19th century there were still no *cátedras* in this field (vid. Emilio Lamo, "Otro centenario: la primera cátedra de sociología", EL PAÍS, 20 October 1998).

⁴³ See J. ZARCO (1999)

studies under Franco and that of the preceding period, among them the very position of political law as a course of study. On the other hand, the Franco regime turned out to be rather less immutable than it appeared when one takes into account only the substantial continuity of its political class and most visible structures, without noting the profound socioeconomic and cultural transformations that took place beginning in the late 1950s, coinciding with the first effects of the Stabilization Plan (1959), including those felt in the university as a result of the General Law of Education (1970). In function of the developments that took place in Spanish political studies since the Civil War, as well as of changes in their supporting structures, here we distinguish three periods: early *franquismo*, the 1960s, and a third period in which the “normalization” of political studies begins, timidly, in the context of regime crisis (1969-75), continuing through the Transition years and the consolidation of democracy.⁴⁴

B) Political Studies under the Early Franco Regime

This period spanned the 1940s and the largest part of the 1950s, and it is characterized – especially in its earliest phase – by the express aim of political indoctrination, in the service of which several measures were adopted that proved extremely relevant, both institutionally and materially.

First, there was the founding of the Institute of Political Studies (IEP) by decree on 9 September 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* (Secretary

⁴⁴ It is traditionally considered that the Transition began with the death of Franco (1975) and ended with the approval of the Constitution of 1978, whereas the process of consolidation of democracy would culminate with the peaceful change of government after the Socialist victory in the 1982 October elections

General of the Movement).⁴⁵ Designed as a think tank at the orders of the *Estado Nuevo*,⁴⁶ 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. However, IEP also began to supervise graduate education after the unexpected arrival of Javier Conde as director.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ Already in the Conde period, IEP's longest and most fruitful, we witness the appearance of new scientific journals dedicated to Administrative Law, International Law, and Economics.

Second, there is the 1943 creation of the Faculty of Political, Economic, and Commercial Sciences, inaugurated on 15 February 1944 in Madrid's Faculty of Law. A certain degree of improvisation is revealed in the fact that students attended classes

⁴⁵ This was the ministry that incorporated the bureaucratic structures of Franco's single party, *Falange*, which had been created by the general's April 1937 decree, effectively fusing the fascist FE-JONS and the monarchist-Carlist *Comunión Tradicionalista* (Traditionalist Communion). During this period, all of the directors came from the ranks of *Falange*. In chronological order, they were: the ex-monarchist Alfonso García Valdecasas (1939-42); Fernando María Castiella (1943-48), who was also a distinguished member of the minority catholic organization *Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas* (ACN de P); Francisco Javier Conde (1948-1956); and Emilio Lamo de Espinosa (1956-1961). The first three were Full Professors of civil law, international law, and political law, respectively. For a study of IEP from its inception to the end of the Conde period, see J.A. PORTERO (date unavailable).

⁴⁶ Stanley Payne (ref. J.A. PORTERO 1978, 30).

⁴⁷ Javier Conde, professor of political law at the University of Madrid, became director after several years of "political ostracism" (J. LINZ 1997, 102). According to the testimony of Linz, Conde was a man of "broad intellectual outlook, nourished by the German social science tradition (Weber, Freyer, Heller, Schmitt, Smend)" and believed himself to be marginalized for political reasons. Thus, he expressed incredulity upon learning of his appointment in 1948. His arrival at IEP was the work of Raimundo Fernández Cuesta, who had just been reappointed secretary general of the *Movimiento* after having held this post from late 1937 up to the summer of 1939.

⁴⁸ For information on REP as an effective ideological instrument – of a fundamentally Catholic nature – in the hands of the state during the immediate post-Civil War period, see J.A. PORTERO (1978).

without being aware of available courses of study (they would have to wait until the publication of the 7 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 matriculating in the second (both sections together had about 1,200 students).⁴⁹ The separation into independent centres (the second one was called the Faculty of Economic *and Business* Sciences) would not become a reality until 1969, four years before the Faculty of Political Sciences was rebaptized as the Faculty of Political Sciences *and Sociology*, although this last discipline had been taught as such in this university for many years.⁵⁰ Just like the IEP, the new Faculty was conceived fundamentally as an agency for indoctrinating the values of the regime (the 1944 program included the second-year course "Doctrine and Politics of the National Movement"),⁵¹ and at the same time, as a recruitment pool for the political, bureaucratic, economic, and academic

⁴⁹ The majority of those first matriculated were students of above average age, professionals or those with a certain social position. The dean himself, Fernando Castiella, (who held this academic position simultaneously with that of director of the IEP, had expressed the following just before the inauguration: "But the quantity is rather insignificant ...the most important thing is the quality: University presidents, colonels, lieutenant colonels, commanders, civil governors, engineers, school teachers, bank advisors, doctors in various faculties, high civil servants of State Administration... they honor us with their excessive modesty" ("1947/1997 Cincuenta años de la investidura de la primera promoción de licenciados en Ciencias Políticas y Económicas" in *Hoja informativa del Colegio de Doctores y Licenciados en Ciencias Políticas y Sociología*, 1997).

⁵⁰ 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 was 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. According to Aranguren – who omits the precedent of the aforementioned Sales y Ferré – Gómez Arboleya can be considered "the first full professor of sociology whose position was not created *in partibus infidelium*, in the historical sense of this expression, that is, with apostolic intentions". Aranguren was referring to Severino Aznar, *catedrático* of sociology in the philosophy section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in Madrid, from 1928 up to his retirement just after the Civil War. Aznar's position had been created "*ad hoc*, with the purpose of driving that 'catholic' wedge into a section considered to be 'secular' (1988, 15).

⁵¹ 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".

elites of the future. Both objectives were made unequivocally clear in the speech read by Dean Castiella in the inauguration of the new institution:

“(…) you are the living mass that we must shape, not like the sculptor who works the inerte material, but like the educator who handles the very living substance of man, collaborating with it without usurping its originality”.

Not long before, Castiella had affirmed in the same speech:

“(…) From our classrooms will rise up, God willing, the men who must renew our diplomacy, future civil governors, state lawyers, commercial agents, tax inspectors, exchange and stock agents, bank directors, managers of great businesses; but also researchers, those who will mine the rich deposits of our cultural tradition, a limitless quarry, from which we will extract the doctrines that shall reveal to a fratricidal world the way of God, which not without reason is Truth, Resurrection, and Life”⁵²

If the original objectives are unambiguous, the results are not so clear. With respect to the professional development aspect, the results were doubtful at best, given that, although some of the pioneering students appeared quite optimistic, many others did not know exactly how these studies would serve them. In this respect, the testimony of one of the doubtlessly very few female students of the first class is highly revealing:

“We were authentic guineau pigs, we didn’t know what they were aiming at with the program, nor if one could making a living in the field, nor what future one would have”⁵³.

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. Enrique Tierno Galván, who was professor there, wrote:

“The state – at that time a totalitarian state – made a grave mistake in establishing this particular Faculty. Far from educating a political minority

⁵² *Hoja Informativa* from Madrid’s *Colegio de Doctores y Licenciados en Ciencias Políticas y Sociología* (1997).

⁵³ Declarations made by Margarita Bareño to Ana Caballero, in *Cuadernos de Ciencia Política y Sociología* 5, 1981, gathered in the aforementioned *Hoja Informativa*.

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 which 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. In Italy, 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 a focus that aims to study political phenomena scientifically.⁵⁴ 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 were 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” (there was not even a generic political law, which would have permitted a less historical and juridical focus). In this respect, the 1953 program’s key innovation consisted of a 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 Ollero and Fraga). We would have to wait until 1973 to see an “Introduction to Political Science”, the first course to incorporate this distinguishing title.

During the first half of the Franco regime, the most representative names in the discipline were, among the innovators, Javier Conde and Enrique Gómez

⁵⁴ L. 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

Arboleya, both of whom were part of the so-called “Generation of 1910”, a generation that – as opposed to that of 1920 – participated in the Civil War, or at least suffered it, and whose other members included Nicolás Ramiro, José Antonio Maravall, Luis Díez del Corral, Carlos Ollero, Salvador de Lissarrague and the philosopher José Luis López Aranguren, among others (Linz 1988, 152). Luis Sánchez Agesta and 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.⁵⁵ Vallés has synthesized lucidly the reigning situation in the discipline during those years, linking it to the situation of the country as a whole:

“In an official climate that refused liberal democracy and far from any positivist legal approach (which had no object of its own in a political system without formal constitution), political studies wavered between two poles. On one side a political theory – or state theory – of a relatively ‘sociologistic’ character and often compatible with the justification of an authoritarian political system. On the other side, the moral-philosophical approximation of the Catholic natural law” (1991, 207-8).

Among the already recognized scholars of the exile, one might mention Francisco Ayala, who was initially oriented toward political science and sociology – especially during the first years of exile, after working as assistant to Posada in Madrid – but would later center his work on the essay and literature, which he had always cultivated).⁵⁶ Nor should we forget Luis Recasens Siches, author of the

simultaneously eliminating the teaching of political science in the only center in which it already existed (the *Istituto Cesare Alfieri* in Florence).

⁵⁵ VALLÉS (1989, 205-206).

⁵⁶ 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 scientific literature. The Spanish Association of Political Science recognized his contributions to the discipline by naming him (along with Francisco Murillo) honorary member in September of 1999.

famous report on political science in Spain, commissioned by the UNESCO for the volume *Contemporary Political Science*, published in Paris in 1950.⁵⁷

C) Political Studies in the 1960s

Basically, except for timid advances produced during the fruitful period in which Javier Conde was heading the IEP (1948-1956),⁵⁸ the reception of the new positivist paradigm, which Marxist-oriented social scientists have called – with more malice than accuracy – “American style” political science, took 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 is during these years that we see a certain degree of fluidity in both the circulation of specialized literature and the travel abroad of fellowship students and young professors, almost always from *cátedras* of political law and state theory (or from the first *cátedras* of sociology), to foreign centers of teaching and research in the United States, France, Great 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 political

⁵⁷ Recasens had distinguished himself in philosophy of law, renewing Spanish philosophical-juridical studies within the dominant European currents of the time, against Tomist 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 footnotes 62 and 64).

⁵⁸ No doubt in reference to this period, a foreign observer well-versed in Spanish realities has pointed out that in IEP “tendencies toward an autonomous political science were born,” – in spite of it having been originally founded as an institution of the one-party regime (Von Beyme 1975, 49). 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, including the aforementioned scientific journals.

studies,⁵⁹ along with the content – and the pace of publication – of course manuals, a good number of them originating in the corresponding *memoria de cátedra*.⁶⁰

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 became notable after the 7th Conference (Brussels, 1967)⁶¹ and especially the 8th Conference (Munich, 1970), as reflected in the subsequent proceedings (*e.g.* Xifras 1964; Ramírez 1971). 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 – are without a doubt, Manuel García Pelayo and Juan J. Linz. García Pelayo developed his career in Latin America during nearly thirty years of what he himself would call “voluntary exile” (from his arrival in Buenos Aires in 1951, up to his return from Caracas, in whose university he

⁵⁹ Among those translated into Spanish before the death of Franco, one might mention the following: BURDEAU (1960; 1964), FRIEDRICH (1961 and 1968), BRECHT (1963), DUVERGER (1962, 1964 and 1968), MEYNAUD (1964), LOEWENSTEIN (1965), VÖGELIN (1968), ABENDROTH and LENK, eds. (1971), and MACKENZIE (1972).

⁶⁰ JIMÉNEZ DE PARGA (1960), MURILLO (1963), SÁNCHEZ AGESTA (1965); XIFRA HERAS (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). Translator’s note: 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*).

⁶¹ In the 5th Conference (Geneva, 1964) there was already some Spanish representation, but it was only integrated within the delegation of the Institute of Social Sciences of the provincial council of Barcelona (professors Brugués and Xifra). Source: *Revista del Instituto de Ciencias Sociales*, number 4 (1964).

founded the Institute of Political Studies in 1958, serving as director until his definitive return to Spain in 1979).⁶²

Linz, on the other hand, developed his work primarily in the United States. In 1950 he began studies in sociology at Columbia University with the first group of students going abroad with grants from the Spanish government. It was at Columbia, where he defended his thesis, that he finally established himself as professor (1961-1968), before moving on to Yale University. But Linz also worked directly in Spain, to which he traveled regularly from 1958 up to the recent past, almost always for the purpose of collaborating in research projects or teaching academic courses.⁶³ Both García Pelayo and Linz, whose personal biographies offer certain points of contact, although they are separated by a generation,⁶⁴ are highly revelant with regard to two

⁶² 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). 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).

⁶³ At the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* Linz graduated with honors in the first class of political science, beginning his academic career there as assistant to Javier Conde. He has been *profesor encargado* in that university's Faculty of Political, Economic, and Commercial Sciences. (This is where Linz took over the class taught by Gómez Arboleya at the time of his tragic disappearance in 1959). Linz has also been visiting professor at the Autonomous University of Madrid, of which he also became emeritus in 1992, and in the Center for Advanced Social Studies at the Juan March Institute. For his intellectual autobiography, consult Juan J. Linz, "Between nations and disciplines: personal experience and intellectual understanding of societies and political regimes" in H. DAALDER, ed. (1997), which also includes a broad selection of his innumerable publications, an exhaustive list of which can be found in H. CHEHABI, ed., *Robert Michels, Political Sociology, and the Future of Democracy* (New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 2006). Among his most recent works, one might mention those that treat problems in the transition and consolidation of democracy, the crisis of presidentialism, and the relationships among federalism (as an institutional system), democracy, and the idea of nation. For further details on his intellectual formation and his main works and ideas, one can consult the recent interview with Richard Snyder in G. L. MUNCK and R. SNYDER (forthcoming). For the repercussions of his work in Spanish political science up to the early 1990s, see M. JEREZ (1993).

⁶⁴ This generational difference – of 16 or 17 years – marked in different ways the youth and early adulthood of each political scientist: García Pelayo, born into a rural family in Zamora, began his academic career during the Second Republic. His thesis, concerned with a topic in the history of ideas, was completed in 1934. During the Spanish Civil War, he fought with the Republic, becoming a high ranking staff officer. His activities would cost him imprisonment at war's end. In contrast, Linz was born in Bonn (from a German father and a Spanish mother) and was little more than ten years old when he arrived in Salamanca, at that time part of the "national zone". His contact with the Army and the world of military men was relevant but of quite a different nature than García Pelayo's. Linz would spent his three years of service as translator in the military academy. After the restoration of

of the three most innovative methodological orientations of these years, which remained active at least until the end of *franquismo*.⁶⁵

a) With the comparative study of political regimes from an institutional perspective, the formal analysis of the constitution tends to be substituted with a focus that takes 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.). In this tendency we detect the clear influence of García Pelayo, among political scientists and constitutionalists alike, both in Spain and in Latin America, especially with his *Derecho Constitucional Comparado* (1950).⁶⁶ In the peninsular academic context, we must mention the work of Manuel Jiménez de Parga, who from his post at the University of Barcelona made 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, una*

democracy in Spain, García Pelayo would preside in the Constitutional Court (1980-1983), whereas Linz would never enter politics, in spite of his early interests (LINZ 1997, 105). Among the parallels of these two biographies, we can point out that both worked at IEP under the direction of Javier Conde (García Pelayo as researcher and coordinator of seminars, between 1948 and 1951, and Linz as scientific collaborator and member of the Technical Administration, between 1948 and 1949. Also, both were among the first Spanish scholars to emigrate to other countries (for reasons different from those of the Civil War exiles), where they would work as professors until their retirement.

⁶⁵ On this point, I follow closely the position of professor VALLÉS (1989, 30-33).

⁶⁶ Testament to the diffusion of this already classic work, which was published in Madrid by *Revista de Occidente*, is the fact that it was edited five times in its first ten years of existence (in 1984, *Alianza* published a reprint of the eighth and final edition, under the auspices of the Center of Constitutional Studies). Other studies by García Pelayo in this field are *El imperio británico* (1945), *Las formas políticas en el Antiguo Régimen* (1969), and, as editor-in-chief, *Constituciones europeas* (1960) and *Las funciones de los modernos parlamentos bicamerales* (1971), in addition to a series of articles and monographs that can be found in the aforementioned dossier.

puerta abierta a la dictadura constitucional (1958), *Los regímenes políticos contemporáneos* (1960), *Formas constitucionales y fuerzas políticas* (1961).⁶⁷

b) Critical empiricism is 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, the recently deceased professor Francisco Murillo Ferrol, who declared himself a disciple of Gómez Arboleya (a known promotor of empirical sociology) and Sánchez Agesta,⁶⁸ were probably most responsible for this change of direction in the field of political law.⁶⁹ After his academic visit to Columbia University, Murillo published his influential manual *Estudios de sociología política* (1963), which introduced new perspectives on power, political behavior, public opinion, social change, consensus / conflict, and pressure groups, while including

⁶⁷ In the early 1960s, Jiménez de Parga was head of the Department of Political Law in the *Universidad de Barcelona*, a position he had taken over from Xifra Heras (a “liberal” *falangista* from the extinguished Catalan *Lliga Regionalista*). Jiménez de Parga put together a dynamic academic team, origin of the so-called “Catalan School” or “Catalan Group”, whose first members would be Jordi Solé Tura, José A. González Casanova, and Isidre Molas Batllori. Both Solé and Molas – Spanish pioneers in the political science study of nationalism and political parties, respectively – were 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 aforementioned schools – , 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 became minister of the center-right *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD) in the first cabinet of the democracy, and in the late 1990s he was appointed president of the *Tribunal Constitucional*, where he played a polemical role.

⁶⁸ All three were born in Granada. Murillo has recognized his intellectual debt to another professor of political law from Granada, Nicolás Ramiro Rico, as well as the initial guidance of José Corts Grau, whom he followed, as a young assistant, from his Andalusian hometown to Valencia. (F. VALLESPÍN 1999).

⁶⁹ 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 (R. LÓPEZ PINTOR 1982).

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 owes much to Linz, who has explained how, after Arboleya passed away, he established a special relationship “with [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*”.⁷⁰

c) We see the reception in Spain of diverse neomarxist currents, principally the theoretical work of Gramsci, French structuralism, English instrumentalism, and German critical theory. This third tendency took 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 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

⁷⁰ J. LINZ (1988, 152). Among the members of the Department of Political Law in Granada during the Murillo period (1961-1973), in addition to Murillo himself, Manuel Ramírez and José Cazorla also spent time in Columbia. After Murillo went to the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* in 1973, Ramírez became director of the Department of Political Law in Saragossa, after a few years in Santiago de Compostela, while Cazorla held the same position in Granada. Both of them stimulated a good amount of research in political science, almost always from an empirical perspective. A third member of that active and numerous study group, Carlos Alba, pursued political science studies at Yale University soon after 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. With respect to Linz’s collaboration in research projects, it began in 1967 with a study on the social structure of Andalusia (with the participation of specialists from other Faculties at the *Universidad de Granada*), financed by the *Organización de Comercio y el Desarrollo Económico* (OCDE) and the *Comisaría del Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social (Estudio socioeconómico sobre Andalucía [1971])*. Linz continues to collaborate actively, not just with the *Universidad de Granada* but also with the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* – through José Ramón Montero, another member of the aforementioned study group). Such a close relationship with the Murillo group is underlined by the fact that Linz is Doctor *honoris causa* at both of these universities.

elaborations of the dictatorship and whose profession allowed intellectual work to be presented as something tied to the recuperation of liberties.”⁷¹ However, in contrast to the case of the “Granada School”, it neither was a group with a visible leader nor was it concentrated in specific departments. Among the first authors who were inclined to adopt this orientation – which some abandoned quickly, and which is certainly in decline today, probably with the exception of the Frankfurt School currents – the most notable are the pioneer Enrique Tierno Galván (1966, 1969, 1972), Jordi Solé Tura (1974), Javier Pérez Royo (1977, 1980), Manuel Pastor (1977) and Carlos de Cabo (1978). 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 1970s.⁷²

We should note that the three methodological approaches or general tendencies that we have just examined were not mutually exclusive. Each of the aforementioned academic groups was permeated to some degree by the other two, at least during the 1970s, and there are several cases of scholars currently 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.

In these years we can perceive the first indications of the institutionalization of political and sociological studies, which at the time often not only went hand in

⁷¹ R. COTARELO (1994, 21-23).

⁷² Initially, this group – the origins of which we referred to earlier – limits 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 – opens itself to very different topics (R. COTARELO and M. BARAS 1991, 147).

hand but were also taught by the same person,⁷³ 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. Without attempting to be exhaustive, we shall point out the following indicators: a) the creation of the *Instituto Español de la Opinión Pública* and the 1965 appearance 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, which began editing its own journal in 1963;⁷⁴ c) the founding of the *Instituto de Ciencias Sociales* in Madrid in the early 1960s, 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 of political science within the faculties, remodeling the old *cátedras* following the application of the 1965 *Ley de Enseñanza Universitaria* (University Education Law); e) the streamlining of policies concerning postdoctoral fellowships for study abroad, with the corresponding financial backing of foundations like Fulbright, Ford, March, etc; f) the 1969 publication 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

⁷³ It should be remembered that in the early 1970s the specialization that garnered the most affiliates among Spanish sociologists – a good indicator of scientific and research interest – was precisely that of “Sociology of Politics” (*Sociología española de los años 70* [1971, 32]). Consider the professional career of a figure as significant as Juan Linz, who for many years had with one foot in political science and another in sociology.

⁷⁴ The first number of the *Revista del Instituto de Ciencias Sociales* [Journal of the Institute of Social Sciences] appeared in 1963 with the contributions of young professors like Salvador Giner (then at the University of Puerto Rico) and Juan Ramón Capella. Already in the second number we see articles on topics proper to the new political science, like pressure groups and political behaviour, in addition to a

Galván in the university of that city; g) the work of publishing houses like *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, *Ariel*, *Taurus*, and *Tecnos* (these last three had collections or series specialized in political science); h) the birth in 1969 of Barcelona's *Fundación Jaume Bofill*, which would soon afterward host the *Equip de Sociología Electoral*; and i) the very existence of a Spanish Association of Political Science, although at that time it was not very dynamic, understandably so, given the authoritarian nature of the regime in which it was inscribed.

Indubitably, 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 the academy, was the increase in salary for Associate Professors following the approval of the aforementioned *Ley de Enseñanza Universitaria*,⁷⁵ as well as the diffusion in the early 1970s of research fellowships and relatively dignified salaries for assistants.⁷⁶ Along with the popularization of university education, these factors allowed a new generation of teachers and researchers to enter the profession.⁷⁷

D) Toward the Normalization of Political Studies in Spain

It is well-known that 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

bibliographical report on The Fifty Best North American Political Science Books (the following number would publish a similar list of British books on political science and constitutional law).

⁷⁵ The law created an intermediate position – that of the *profesor agregado*– between that of *catedrático* (Full Professor) and that of *profesor adjunto* (Associate Professor) giving birth to a new system of responsibilities – and of pay – with three levels: normal, full – both compatible with other professional activities- and exclusive (R. MONTORO, 1981, 56).

⁷⁶ Around that time, the salary of a *profesor ayudante* -many of whom are now full professors- was multiplied by ten. Prior to that date, pay was about 1,000 pesetas per month (approximately 17 dollars at the exchange rate of that time).

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. Just the same, 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, etc.) through opinion surveys. That is, it is exceedingly difficult – although not impossible, within evident limitations – to do political science in a non-democratic context⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹ This is what Tierno Galván 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 responsible professors 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 and much less democratic periods. In spite of this, in the final years of the regime (those that cover the pre-transition period, whose beginnings we can situate

⁷⁷ In 2000, practically four out of every ten full professors of political science had entered the profession – as assistants or research fellows – in the first half of the 1970s, thereby coinciding with the massification of classrooms and the final stage of the Franco regime.

⁷⁸ 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 – which 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 (D. EASTON, J.G. GUNNELL, and M.B. STEIN [1995, 1-23]).

⁷⁹ Manuscripts had to be revised and approved by a censor before publication could be authorized. A curious tactic for avoiding censorship was the “camouflage” of the conclusions of a specific work: “(my co-authored) book *Los empresarios ante el poder público* (1966) reflects the times in which it

around 1969),⁸⁰ we already see the first monographs, including the occasional contributions of Spanish historians, centered on specific political aspects of the Second Republic (works openly condemning the Republic had of course always been in circulation). Thus, without claiming to be exhaustive, we can mention the following, in chronological order: J.A. González Casanova, *Elecciones en Barcelona, 1931-1936* (1969); M. Ramírez, *Los grupos de presión en la II República* (1969); J. Tusell, *La Segunda República en Madrid: elecciones y partidos políticos* (1970); A. Elorza, *La utopía anarquista bajo la II República* (1972); J.J. Linz, “Continuidad y discontinuidad en la elite política española: de la Restauración al régimen actual” (1972); I. Molas, *El sistema de partits politics a Catalunya, 1931-1936* (1972); J. Tusell, *Las elecciones del Frente Popular en España* (1973); L. Aguiló, *Las elecciones en Valencia durante la Segunda República* (1974); V. Zapatero, *Fernando de los Ríos: Los orígenes del socialismo democrático* (1974); M. Artola, *Partidos y programas políticos, 1808-1936* (1974); J.J. Linz, *El sistema de partidos en España* (1974); M. Pastor, *Los orígenes del fascismo español* (1975); Ramírez ed., *Estudios sobre la II República* (1975); I. Pitarch, *La Generalitat de Catalunya* (1976); and Tuñón de Lara, *La II República* (1976). In the Transition period, others will follow: M. Gerpe, *L'Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya i l'Etat integral* (1977); J.L. Martín Ramos, *Els orígens del Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya, 1930-1936* (1977); J.R. Montero, *La CEDA. El Catolicismo social y político en la II República* (1977); I. Pitarch, *L'estructure del Parlament de Catalunya i les seves funcions politiques* (1977) and *Sociología dels politics de la Generalitat, 1931-1939* (1977); M. Ramírez, *Las reformas de la II República* (1977); J. Vilas *O estatuto galego* (1977); A. de Blas,

was published: the main conclusions (...) were placed in the middle rather than at the beginning or in a conclusion, which would have been read and resulted in official objections” (LINZ, 1997, 104).

⁸⁰ R. MORODO (1984, 73-98).

El socialismo radical en la II República (1978); and M. Tuñón *et al.*, *La crisis del Estado español, 1898-1936* (1978).

In some cases, the first works on “politically incorrect” topics of previous historical periods had appeared a few years before: I. Molas, *Ideari de Francescs Pi i Margall* (1965) or G. 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: A. Jutglar, *Ideologías y clases en la España contemporánea, 1808-1931* (1969); I. Molas, *La Lliga catalana* (1972); J.A. Lacomba, *La Primera República. El trasfondo de una revolución fallida* (1973); J. Solé Tura, *Catalanismo y revolución burguesa* (1974); J.J. Solozábal, *El primer nacionalismo vasco* (1975); J. Acosta, *El desarrollo capitalista y la democracia en España* (1975); E. Aja, *Democracia y socialismo en el siglo XIX español. El pensamiento político de Fernando Garrido* (1976).⁸¹

Relatively few are the more or less scientific monographs on the Franco years published before the General’s death in 1975, among which we should mention Juan Linz and Amando de Miguel’s *Los empresarios ante el poder público. El liderazgo y los grupos de intereses ante el poder público* (1966) and the monumental volume compiled by Manuel Fraga, *La España de los años setenta. III: El Estado y la política* (1974),⁸² without forgetting the unique case of *Desarrollo político y constitución*

⁸¹ A more complete reference for these studies can be found in R. COTARELO, dir./coord. (1993) and M. JEREZ (1993).

⁸² The enormous volume 1 (1546 pages), in addition to a series of juridical-constitutional studies, gathered the contributions of the then youngest generation of Spanish political scientists. One of them (J. SANTAMARÍA [1974]) wrote a substantial review that serves as pretext for a reflection on the relationship between politics and political science in the Spain of the late Franco regime. Although sociological in orientation, we should also point out the publication of *El militar de carrera en España* (1967) by Julio Busquets, who violated one of the Spanish researcher’s taboos by writing about this aspect of Franco’s firmest pillar. (Only one year later, the Spanish translation of Stanley Payne’s *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain* appeared in Paris, edited by Ruedo Ibérico). In political theory, we should mention Elías Díaz, *Notas para una historia del pensamiento español (1939-1973)*

española (1973).⁸³ Others would not see the light until after Franco's death: A. Álvarez Bolado, *El experimento del nacional-catolicismo* (1976); A. López Pina and E. López Aranguren, *La cultura política en la España de Franco* (1976); M. Beltrán, *La élite burocrática española* (1977); J. de Esteban and L. López Guerra, *La crisis del Estado franquista* (1977); J.J. Ruiz-Rico, *El papel político de la Iglesia Católica en la España de Franco (1936-1971)* (1977); and Tuñón de Lara *et al.*, *Ideología y sociedad en la España contemporánea. Por un análisis del franquismo* (1977).⁸⁴

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 approved, although obviously in this case too the research had been conducted in the preceeding years. These books include the following: R. Bañón, *Burocracia y Cortes franquistas, 1948-1971*;⁸⁵ E. Díaz, *Pensamiento español, 1939-1975*; J.M. Maravall, *Dictadura y disenso político*; M. Ramírez, *España, 1939-1975. Régimen político e ideología*; M. Ramírez (ed.), *Las fuentes ideológicas de un régimen: España, 1938-1945*; and C. Viver, *El personal político de Franco, 1936-1945*. To this list we should add the monographic number of *Papers. Revista de Sociología*

(1974). Years earlier, this author had published the first edition of his influential *Estado de derecho y sociedad democrática* (1966).

⁸³ This work was prepared by J. de Esteban, S. Varela, L. López Guerra, J.L. García Ruíz and J. García Fernández and edited by Ariel in its Political Science collection with a prologue by M. Jiménez de Parga. Originally, it constituted a dictum on the Fundamental Laws (“Leyes Fundamentales”). Cotarelo, who has emphasized the impact – and the critiques – that this book stimulated in its time, believes that 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” (1993, 20).

⁸⁴ The very same year of Franco's death, Amando de Miguel published his controversial *Sociología del franquismo*, and a few other relevant studies on *franquismo* appear whose titles themselves underlined their methodological orientation: *El poder económico en España: un análisis sociológico*, by Carlos Moya; and *Pensar en Madrid: Análisis sociológico de los intelectuales políticos en la España franquista*, by Benjamín Oltra. As far as periodical publications are concerned, we might point out the two-part article by Juan Linz and Jesús de Miguel on the members of the corporatist *Cortes* during the period 1943-1970 (numbers 8 and 9 of *SISTEMA*, 1975).

⁸⁵ One year before the publication of Bañón's book, Julio Maestre edited a statistical analysis of the Francoist assembly entitled *Procuradores en Cortes, 1943-1976*.

dedicated to Franco's regime, published at the same time although it originated in a debate held two years earlier in Barcelona.⁸⁶

Within a few years, we see 1) new scientific 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,⁸⁷ 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 first case, the majority of the monographs derived from doctoral theses directed by Manuel Ramírez in the Department of Political Law at the *Universidad de Santiago de Compostela* and later at the *Universidad de Zaragoza*. The monographs on the dictatorship were written mostly at the *Universidad de Zaragoza* and at the *Universidad de Granada* under the direction of José Cazorla.⁸⁸

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the first monographs in which the object of study was situated chronologically in the first years of *postfranquismo* and the transition to democracy began to appear. Among these, we find the following: P. de

⁸⁶ The number in question includes individual contributions to the debate on the nature of *franquismo*, by J.J. Linz (the first Spanish version of his well-known study of *franquismo* as an authoritarian regime), J. Martínez Alier, J. Borja, and B. Oltra, as well as two collaborative studies, one by S. Giner, E. Sevilla, and M. Pérez Yruela, and another by B. Oltra and A. de Miguel.

⁸⁷ These were M. Pastor, *Los orígenes del fascismo español* (1975), J. Jiménez Campo, *El fascismo en la crisis de la II República* (1979), E. Espín, *Azaña en el poder. El Partido de Acción Republicana* (1980), M. Contreras, *El PSOE en la II República: organización e ideología* (1980), A. Bar, *La CNT en los años rojos* (1981), and R. Ruiz Lapeña, *El Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales en la II República española* (1982).

⁸⁸ Among those works that originate in the *Universidad de Granada*, we might mention the following: J. Terrón, *La prensa de España durante el régimen de Franco. Un intento de análisis político* (1981); M. Bonachela, *Las elites andaluzas* (1984); and G. Cámara, *Nacional-catolicismo y escuela. La socialización política del franquismo. 1936-1951* (1984). Among those developed at Saragossa, in addition the aforementioned written by Bar, Contreras and Ruiz Lapeña, we would include: M. Jerez, *Elites políticas y centros de extracción en España, 1938-1957* (1982); R. Chueca, *El fascismo en los comienzos del régimen de Franco. Un estudio sobre FET-JONS* (1983); and A. Tello, *Ideología y política. La Iglesia católica española, 1936-1959* (1984). Monographs on the opposition to the dictatorship include J. M. Maravall, *Dictadura y disenso político*, 1978; and H. Heine, *La oposición política al franquismo* (1983).

Vega (ed.), *Teoría y práctica de los partidos políticos* (1977); F. Tezanos, *Estructura de clase y conflicto de poder en la España postfranquista* (1978); J. de Esteban and L. López Guerra (eds.), *Los partidos políticos en la España actual* (1979); R. Morodo (ed.) *Los partidos políticos en España* (1979); V. Pérez Díaz, *Clase obrera, partidos y sindicatos* (1979); L. García San Miguel, *Teoría de la transición* (1981); G. Márquez, *Almería en la transición. Elecciones y sistema de partidos, 1976-1980* (1981); J. Botella, *L'electorat comunista a Catalunya* (1982); C. Fernández, *Los militares en la transición política* (1982); J. M. Maravall, *La política de la transición* (1982); J. Santamaría, (ed.) *Transiciones a la democracia en el Sur de Europa y en América Latina* (1982); R. del Águila and R. Montoro, *El discurso político de la transición* (1984); and R. Morodo, *La transición política*, (1985). To these publications we should add the *Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España. 1976-1981* (1981), of which Linz is coauthor. These works offered 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 were followed by many others, some of which were produced by prestigious political scientists from other countries, too numerous to list here.⁸⁹ At the same time and from very early on, a great deal of juridical – constitutional studies will be done within departments of political law and administrative law. These studies were concerned with the new constitution and the development of its norms, not to mention the process that led to its elaboration.

In addition to the personal contacts among specialists in political science and constitutional law, the developments described above were facilitated enormously by

⁸⁹ For a bibliographical survey on the Spanish transition to democracy, see J. Casas, J. Martín, and C. Flores, “Una selección bibliográfica para el estudio de la Transición política española” in *Cuadernos Constitucionales de la Cátedra Fadrique Furió Ceriol*, 18-19 (Valencia, 1997).

a series of scientific 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) held in Madrid in the Fall of 1976, whose closing session coincided with the approval 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 Maurice Duverger, Henri Lefebvre, Diether 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,⁹⁰ and de Vega); b) the International Symposium on Constitutionalization of Political Parties (1977), organized by the Department of Political Law in Salamanca (headed by de Vega) and 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 (June, 1979) held in Granada, a few months after the refounding of the Spanish Political Science Association (February, 1979); and d) the first conferences of the aforementioned professional association (Barcelona 1980, Sevilla 1981; Zaragoza 1983, and Alicante 1984). Also important for the production of collaborative works were the meetings organized by the *Université de Pau* study group on 19th and 20th century Spain. In the panorama of scientific journals more or less tied to the discipline we also see relevant changes. We witness the progressive appearance of new journals like *Papers* (1972), *Sistema* (1973), and *Zona Abierta*

⁹⁰ Enrique Tierno Galván was the founder and president of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP), which obtained 6 deputies in the 1977 general election, Tierno himself among them. In 1979, after the merger

(1975), supported, respectively, by the new *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*, the *Fundación Sistema* (associated with the PSOE), and a group of Marxist intellectuals.⁹¹ We also witness the 1978 *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 refounded. IEP maintained the journal's name but signaled a will to change by adding the words "*Nueva Época*" to the title page of its new number 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. These were followed by the 1980 arrival of the ephemeral *Revista de Derecho Político*, tied to the *Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo*, headquartered in Santander.

As we have seen, it can be affirmed that in the area of publications there was, throughout a period of approximately fifteen years, a normalization of political studies. There were no longer taboo topics in Spanish social sciences and 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, etc.). Nevertheless, as can be deduced from the later evolution of research interests among the long list of scientists mentioned (and of those that I have no doubt

of his party with the PSOE, he headed the party's list for Madrid's local elections and became mayor of the city.

⁹¹ Although not one 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 edited 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.

omitted),⁹² 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 sociology.⁹³ As we will 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 the new title of an introductory course in the 1973 Political Sciences program, in a few monographs, and one or two manuals in circulation⁹⁴ – is that of the Spanish Political Science Association, reconstituted formally in February of 1979.

II. 2. Differentiation of the Discipline: Institutional Take-Off and Dynamics of Expansion (1984 – Present)

During the process of transition and consolidation of democracy, Spanish political science was still not constituted as an academic community, but it did begin the analysis of topics rarely studied by native historians and it did pay its debts, so to speak, in two senses. On the one hand, the study of the political aspects of Franco's

⁹² Apart from a very few exceptions, we have only referred to published monographs and relevant collaborative works, but not to articles published in scientific journals, some of which are no doubt very valuable.

⁹³ 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 professionals. 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 graph 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 scientific journals that defined themselves unequivocally within sociology.

⁹⁴ We might also add the publication of the *Diccionario de Ciencia Política* (1980), directed by A. 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 W. Abendroth and K. Lenk (1971), and, at another level, Georges Burdeau's influential *Traité de Science Politique*, published in Paris between 1966 and 1977.

regime became normal, although for diverse reasons – among them the type of transition that took place in Spain – the topic was 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 reality.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the fact is that 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 aforementioned renaming of the Institute of Political Studies, 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 reduced 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 political science had to demonstrate that they did not as a result abandon constitutional law.⁹⁶

Such a confusing panorama was not clarified until the middle of the first Socialist term, with the approval of the aforementioned Fields of Knowledge

⁹⁵ 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).

⁹⁶ 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 (Graziano, 1991, 128-33).

catalogue, part of the October 1984 decree that developed the University Reform Law (LRU). The measure 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, as well as a fourth position of *Profesor Titular de Escuela Universitaria*, which does not require a Ph.D. The terms “Political Law” and “State Theory” disappeared as disciplinary 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 other.⁹⁷ Definitively, the scholar in these fields had to define his identity and make a decision (or not express himself one way or the other),⁹⁸ 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).⁹⁹ In contrast, beginning in

⁹⁷ The option was open to tenured university lecturers of neighboring courses, something that was contemplated mainly in Madrid’s Faculty of Political Sciences, the only one in existence at that time, and in some faculties of Economics.

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ 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 (two in the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* – those of Ollero and Fraga – and one in the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* – where González Casanova worked) had *cátedras* of State Theory. In a third faculty – that of the *Universidad Autónoma*

1968 the faculties of Law continued to increase for years both in number and in student enrollment (until 1995).¹⁰⁰ (See Table 1). 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.

In any case, the breaking away of Political Law, contested formally by a great majority of the implicated,¹⁰¹ was 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 could have used them.¹⁰² An appreciable number of those

de Madrid – there was a chair of Theory and Systems of Contemporary Political Organization, headed by Professor Murillo (Source: *Escalafón de Catedráticos*).

¹⁰⁰ 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 the aforementioned 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 matriculated in Political and Economic Sciences (16,850) surpassed for the first time that of Law students (see MONTORO, 1981, 142-145), this tendency would not last long).

¹⁰¹ In an emergency session on 17 December 1984, the general assembly of the Spanish Association of Political Science agreed 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.

¹⁰² 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” (R. 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 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.

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).¹⁰³ However, only a few of them would reconsider their choice of fields by soliciting 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 to change, entirely and often with great celerity, to constitutional law, abandoning research on topics proper to political science.

In spite of everything, in the end this has not been too grave, given that the human resources deficit would soon begin to decrease, improving substantially the situation in both absolute and relative terms (See Tables 2-4).¹⁰⁴ 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 is not even two

¹⁰³ For example, among current Full Professors of Constitutional Law, we can mention Carlos de Cabo, Antonio Porras, or Manuel Ramírez.

¹⁰⁴ 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 per cent, from 31 to 77, whereas in the field of Constitutional Law the increase was only 30 per cent, from 109 to 142 (M. JEREZ 1999, 81). Although the rate of growth in tenured academic positions in Political Science has decreased since then, it is still notable. In 2004 there were a total of 167.

to one, and it tends 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 Ph.D. – who teaches occasionally on the side at the public university of the city where he or she practices law, – in the capital of the province, generally.¹⁰⁵

As a consequence, one can suppose that 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 system,¹⁰⁶ has in the end proven to be rather beneficial, at least for the consolidation and development of the discipline. Beginning in 1986, 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 framework of territorial organization and by the decrease in the corporatist pressure of other faculties as a result of the massification of classrooms, – a phenomenon especially important in the faculties of Law and those of Economy or

¹⁰⁵ 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 “associate professors” (25,000 in 2003). Salaries have improved substantially, especially for adjunct doctors hired full-time, but there are still too many ‘false associates’ 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 (J. CLIFTON 2006, 240).

¹⁰⁶ Sociology could be studied quite a few years earlier in the *Universidad de Deusto* (Bilbao), tied to the Society of Jesus, as well as in the *Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca*.

Business. In the following years, further degree programs would be implemented, so that by 2005 there would be 16 public universities that offered degrees in Political Science (See Table 5). On the other hand, in recent years four private universities have decided to offer studies in Political Science, bringing the total of centres today offering this degree to 21.

At the same time, a second process led to the constitution of a differentiated professional association that, among other accomplishments, publishes its own scientific journal, satisfying both an urgent need and an old desire of many Spanish political scientists. This professional association has also organized seven national conferences within twelve years, in addition to two conferences at the European level. In the following section, we speak in detail of these two closely related¹⁰⁷ processes, 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, financial support for projects, specialized scientific journals, etc.).

1.2.3 The Discipline in its Structures: Elements for an Overview

A) Centers of Teaching and Research

With the exception of certain graduate courses to which we will refer 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*) that is called *Licenciatura en Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración* (“Degree in Political and Public

¹⁰⁷ 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).

Administration Sciences”), as decided in 1990 by the Council of Universities.¹⁰⁸ This is the case since 1995 in the Faculty of Social and Communication Sciences at the *Universidad Pompeu i Fabra*, under the auspices of the Catalan nationalist government. On the other hand, both the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* and the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* – which have solid departments of Political Science (shared with Constitutional 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. Finally, a few other public universities (the *Universidad Pablo de Olavide* in Seville and the *Universidad de Valencia*) have recently approved their respective Degree in Political Sciences and Public Administration programs, which commenced in the 2005-2006 academic year.¹⁰⁹

This means that in a little more than a decade we have gone from a situation in which only one Spanish university had a faculty dedicated exclusively to the preparation of political scientists (along with sociologists, but in separate sections) to the current situation, in which there are 16 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 uncertain experiment at the *Universitat Internacional de Catalunya*¹¹⁰ five other private universities have recently included in their programs the Degree in

¹⁰⁸ The same holds true for the already existing faculties, when their respective program reforms have been approved.

¹⁰⁹ See www.mec.es/mecd/atencion/educacion/hojas/estuni/estunicpa.htm.

¹¹⁰ The degree was first offered in 1997 as second-year studies, but it has had serious problems in consolidating itself. In fact, as late as 2005 its degree programs have still not been officially approved by the Ministry of Education.

Political Sciences and Public Administration: the distance-learning *Universitat Oberta de Catalunya* (2002) and the *Universitat Abat Oliba-CEU* (2004) in Barcelona; the *Universidad Cardenal Herrera Oria-CEU* (2004) in Moncada, Valencia; as well as the *Universidad San Pablo-CEU* and the *Universidad Pontificia de Comillas* in Madrid (2005). 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 40 per cent of the public universities and 80 per cent of the private universities offering this degree in Spain.

This imbalance has been mitigated in part by the creation of new provincial centers, like the Faculty of Sociology in the *Universidade da Coruña*, the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the *Universidad Pública de Navarra*, the Faculty of Social Sciences at the *Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha* in Cuenca, and several faculties of Juridical and Social Sciences (the *Universidad Carlos III de Madrid*, the *Universidad de Jaén*, etc.), plus the new studies in 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 transcendent 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 offered.¹¹¹ In only a few of these centers, and

¹¹¹ Out of a total of 48 public universities, 23 offer the GAP diploma for the current academic year (2006-07). 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 ELPAÍS 1999 and 2006*). Those holding this diploma cannot compete with those holding a 4/5-year degree (*licenciatura*) in the

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*).¹¹²

This 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 Interpretation or Social Work.¹¹³ On the other hand, the teaching of political science material has decreased substantially in the large majority of faculties of Law, which traditionally have the highest enrollment in Spain and even in some where it had been solidly rooted. 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 (the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, the *Universidad de Granada*, and the *Universidad de Murcia*).

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 very latest. GAP studies will be integrated within the *licenciatura* in Political Sciences and Public Administration, and, presumably, they will disappear altogether in not a few universities.

¹¹² 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 labour market.

¹¹³ In the 2004-05 academic year, there were 108,191 students of Law, of which almost 10,000 were enrolled at private universities, while there were roughly 10,500 *licenciatura* students of Political Science, only 500 of them at private universities (*Anuario EL PAÍS*, 2006). (See Tables 1 and 6).

Concerning the number of *licenciatura* students in Political and Public Administration Sciences, it grew most among students of Juridical and Social Sciences during the 1982-89 period. The growth rate was 228 per cent, well above that of Economics and Business Sciences (158 per cent) and three times that of Law (72 per cent). In the 1989-2004 period, the growth rate decreased to 57 per cent, 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. (See Tables 1 and 6, and Graphics 1-2).¹¹⁴

Currently, 26 departments in two dozen public universities organize the teaching of materials ascribed to the field of Political Science,¹¹⁵ 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 that in about half of these 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 January 2005 seven departments had only one tenured lecturer position in this field, and another eight departments had less than four. (See Tables 7-8).

¹¹⁴ In the specific case of the Political Science degree, growth in students enrollment 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 10,500.

¹¹⁵ Departments of International Relations are not included in these statistics, since in Spain this discipline is not tied formally to the area of Political Science and Public Administration. The corresponding departments of those universities without a single tenured position of Political Science are also excluded, even when offering the *Licenciatura* in this specialty (this is currently the case of *Universidad Miguel Hernández de Elche* and the *Universidad Pablo de Olavide*).

If we add all of the categories regardless of full or part-time status, during the final academic year of the 20th century there were approximately 300 professors tied to Political Science at Spanish public universities, and 43 per cent of them held permanent positions (Jerez 1999, 88-90). As of January 2005 – the last date for which data is available – that figure stands at roughly 380 (of which approximately 290 are full-time). Tenured positions represent 49 per cent. 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 professor/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 professor, would be one professor per 58 *licenciatura* students, compared with our estimated one professor per 125 students of fifteen years earlier, in 1989.¹¹⁶ (See Tables 1-4).

In comparative terms, the figures for tenured political science staff mentioned above remain very far from those of countries like Canada, and 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).¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the Spanish figures probably do not differ too much from those of French universities¹¹⁸ and are quite similar to those of Italy. In the Italian case, the

¹¹⁶ Inactive professors, due to temporary leaves usually related to government service, are not included in these figures.

¹¹⁷ 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 (J.E. TRENT and M. 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*).

¹¹⁸ In France, there were approximately 110 professors in 1988, although we must consider that the French *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* included 70 political scientists by that time

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 for specialists – 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 a decade's head start on Spain.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, Spain and Italy now have an almost identical number of tenured positions in the discipline.¹²⁰ Although in the Spanish case the increase was first produced exclusively at the level of *profesor titular* (Associate Professor), in the 1990s it extended to Full Professor positions, which rose 363 per cent with respect to 1989, with an average growth of 131 per cent for the whole of positions in the field. The contrast is even greater if Political Science figures are compared with those for neighboring fields like Sociology, Constitutional Law, or Applied Economics or (See Tables 3-4). With regard to the proportion of non-tenured professors – an average of 51 per cent in 2005 – the figures are logically higher for centers at younger universities. (See Table 8).

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

(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).

¹¹⁹ 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.

¹²⁰ The October 2004 figures for Italy were the following: 54 Full Professors, 64 Associate Professors, and 55 Researchers, for a total of 173 tenured lecturers. (Source: *Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca [MIUR]*).

differences with regard to scientific output. This does not imply a necessary relationship between the 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. 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 scientific 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 scientific reputation. Since the late 1980s, the Council of Universities conducts evaluations every six years (*sexenios*) for the scientific 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 various autonomous administrations, evaluate 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. The best ratings for political science were obtained by the *Universidad Autónoma de*

Barcelona, the *Universitat Pompeu i Fabra*, the *Universidad de Salamanca*, the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (three departments), the *Universidad de Salamanca*, and the *Universidad Carlos III de Madrid* (See Table 9). With regards to the number of theses defended in the 1995-2004 period, the most noteworthy universities are the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (62 theses), the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* (42 theses), the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* (33), the *Universidad de Granada* (25), the *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (22) and the *Universidad de Salamanca* (20 theses). (See Table 10).

Naturally, the organization of the corresponding Ph.D. programs in public education falls under the authority of departments of Political Science and frequently includes collaboration with related departments of the same university and, more and more, with those of other Spanish and European universities. (Indubitably, it would be advantageous to strengthen this last aspect by also promoting institutional agreements with foreign universities and institutes). Around 15 Spanish university departments currently offer Ph.D. programs of this type. However, some of these programs may not survive, due to the 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 *curriculum* of the student seeking employment outside of academia.¹²¹ With more or less regularity, some universities have been organizing their own Master’s programs, especially since the 1990s,

¹²¹ 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*).

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 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. We would have to wait until the first Socialist government (1982-6) for the creation of the *Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados* (IESA) in Madrid, whose direction was entrusted to the prestigious sociologist Salvador Giner. Giner succeeded in configuring IESA in a decentralized manner, developing centres in Barcelona and Cordoba, but only this last centre has been consolidated as such.¹²² Invariably, IESA has been controlled by sociologists, but their colleagues in political science have always been allowed a certain amount of free range.

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 centre ascribed to the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* and is closely associated with that university's Department of Political Science and Public Law.

¹²² The center in Barcelona, without the support of the Catalan autonomous government (*Generalitat*), would be dismantled towards 1998 after the departure of Giner. The center in Madrid was reconverted into a Comparative Politics Group (*Unidad de Políticas Comparadas*). This group currently includes 11 researchers (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 6 training and support staff, half of them holding a *licenciatura* in political science. Comparative Politics, system and research policy, social policy, and welfare state are among their main lines of research.

(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, we 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 ascribed to the *Ministerio de la Presidencia* as autonomous organs and they are “heirs” of the aforementioned *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 specialized in both fields that holds 75,300 books, and 1,786 scientific journals, 40 per cent of which are active subscriptions. In addition to these indirect channels, CEPC encourages the development of scientific 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 Adolfo Posada and Pérez Serrano awards. With respect to the diffusion of research results, it carries out an intense editorial work that includes the publication of journals like the *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, the *Revista de Administración Pública*, and the *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, 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 *catedrático* of political science on as many as three occasions since 1982,¹²³ 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 trimonthly *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 714 journals, 226 of which are active subscriptions (as of 2006), 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.

In the private sector, since the 1980s two institutions have played an important role in research: the *Centro de Estudios Avanzados* (CEACS) and the *Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset* (IUIOG), both of which have well-stocked specialized libraries¹²⁴ and offer graduate-level instruction. CEACS, which was created in 1987 within the framework of the *Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones*, offers selective Ph.D. programs and promotes research in political science and sociology, often under the direction of its own fellows. The only two

¹²³ Julián Santamaría (1982-1986), Pilar del Castillo (1996-2000), and Fernando Vallespín (2004-).

¹²⁴ The library at CEACS holds more than 50,000 books and 1,000 journals and is subscribed to 500 of them, while the IUIOG library holds 65,000 books and 200 journals, of which 130 are active subscriptions (Just as in the case of the two centers mentioned earlier [CEPC and CIS], these data were gathered from the corresponding staff and are current up to July of 2006). The Library at CEACS included the "Archivo de Prensa Juan Linz", integrated by 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 through internet and to do quantitative analysis with the archive.

academic directors that CEACS has had up to the present, Víctor Pérez Díaz and José María Maravall, – both trained in Anglosaxon schools – are sociologists in orientation, but the institute's scientific board includes the strong presence of political scientists, who represent half of the its four permanent faculty members.¹²⁵ The second private institution, UIIOG, 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 UIIOG 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. UIIOG's aforementioned Department of Political Science and Public Law has had in place for some years a Ph.D. program in Government and Public Administration, in addition to its Ph.D. program in Latin American Studies, directed by Manuel Alcántara (Full 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 UIIOG periodically publish their

¹²⁵ The two political scientists are J. R. Montero, Full Professor at the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, and the North American Andrew Richards, Ph.D. of Princeton University. In reality, we should say that the other two permanent faculty members (Maravall and his disciple Ignacio 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 the abovementioned specialists have studied or taught in the United States, just as a good number of the *Instituto Juan March's* visiting faculty. The scientific board originally included 5 political scientists and only 2 sociologists. Today the proportion is 3 to 5, but at least 3 of the sociologists are oriented toward political science. (Source: CEACS, *Una década: 1987/88-1996/97*. Madrid, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, 1997; and the CEACS web page).

Working Papers and *Papeles de Trabajo*, respectively. More recently, the Madrid-based *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 – and international relations through graduate courses and publication of analysis reports.

The majority of the institutes and research centres mentioned above are members of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR),¹²⁶ as are at least 5 public universities and the *Universidad Pública de Navarra*. This constitutes a growing tendency towards the participation of Spanish academic institutions of political science in international forums.

Aside from the abovementioned, 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 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*

¹²⁶ By the year 2005, this organization included more than 300 institution members (universities, research centers, and departments) in 42 countries, including 13 associate members outside of Europe, and 7,000 individual political scientists. (See www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr). According to sources at ECPR, the Spanish presence has increased substantially during the 1990s. By the end of the 20th century it was above average, inferior only to Great Britain, Germany, and Italy.

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* (Barcelona); the aforementioned *Fundación Jaume Bofill*, which funds the *Institut de Estudis Electorals* (Barcelona); the *Instituto de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal* (Salamanca); the *Fundación Lucas Mallada* (Saragossa); the *Centro UNESCO* (Saragossa); the *Centre d'Estudis Polítics i Socials* (Valencia); the *Centro de Estudios Contemporáneos* (Almeria), the *Universidad Internacional de Andalucía* (Huelva); and the *Instituto Universitario de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* (Canary Islands).¹²⁷

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

¹²⁷ 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.

B) The Formation of a “Corporation” and the Development of the Discipline.

In Spain, the development of a professional identity based on the practice of teaching and research is a recent phenomenon. Through the initiative of Ramón 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 is 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* 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 subdisciplines 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 5

April 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 roughly 500 individual members and 18 institutional members in 2006, one of its peculiarities being that today its membership is based more on aspiring political scientists than on the limited number of tenured professors. Here, we note certain differences with respect to the *Association Française de Science Politique* (AFSP), where interdisciplinarity still prevails (Leca 1982, 1991). In addition to the membership statute of IPSA, the current institutional supports for AECPA are the principal research centers mentioned above (CEPC, CIS, ICPS, IUIOG, and the *Fundación Juan March*), some faculties of Political Sciences and several departments of Political Science.

Currently, it can be affirmed that 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, we should mention that at the conference in Granada (1999) the first number of the journal *Revista Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración* was announced. This journal, like its sisters in France and Italy, is tied to the Spanish professional association. It constitutes a space for specialized publications proper to the discipline itself while remaining open to neighboring disciplines and to non-Spanish researchers. Since then, there have been three new AECPA conferences on “Citizenship and Politics of Integration” (Santa Cruz de

Tenerife, 2001), “Governing in Europe - Governing Europe” (Barcelona, 2003), and “Democracy and Good Government” (Madrid, 2005).

It is through all of the elements described above that Spanish political science has consolidated its institutionalization, although with significant delay in comparison not only to the UK, Germany, and France, but also to the rest of Southern European countries, with the exception of Portugal. (See Table 11). 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, 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), and the discipline’s utility for Spanish society, especially for political and major social actors, as well as for administrations on local, regional, and Autonomous Community 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 (electoral and constitutional reform on the national and Autonomous Community levels), the management of specific public policies, and the evaluation of their results. In my judgement, 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 which it is to serve.

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APPENDIX

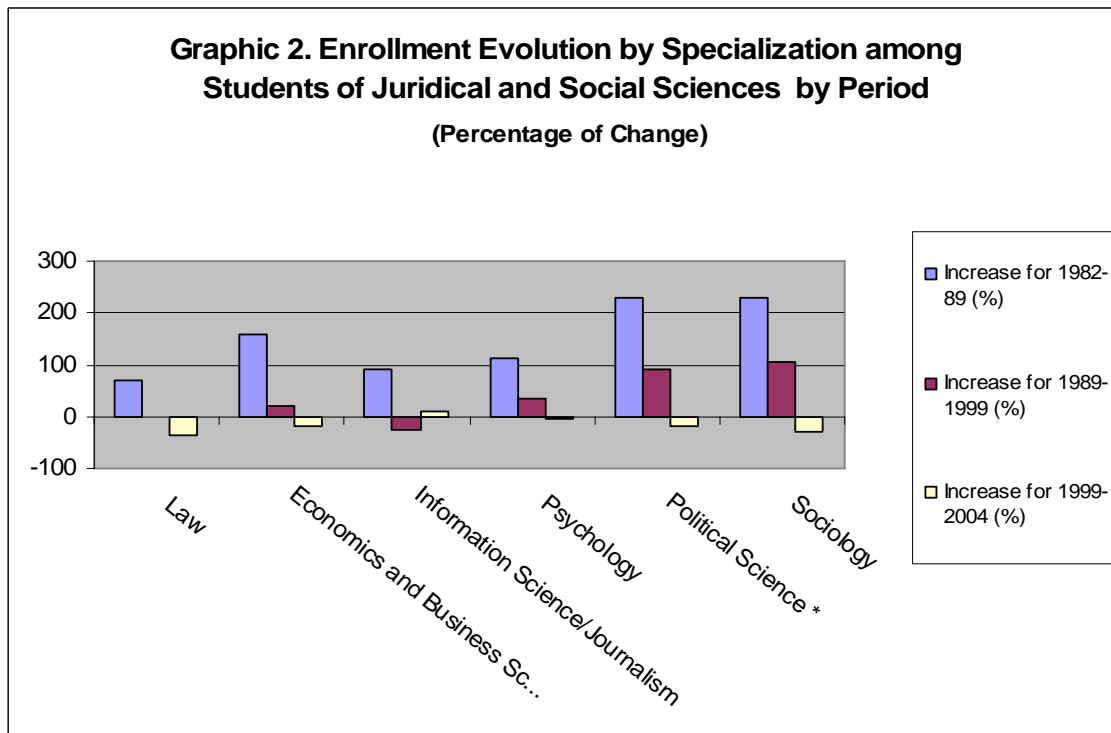
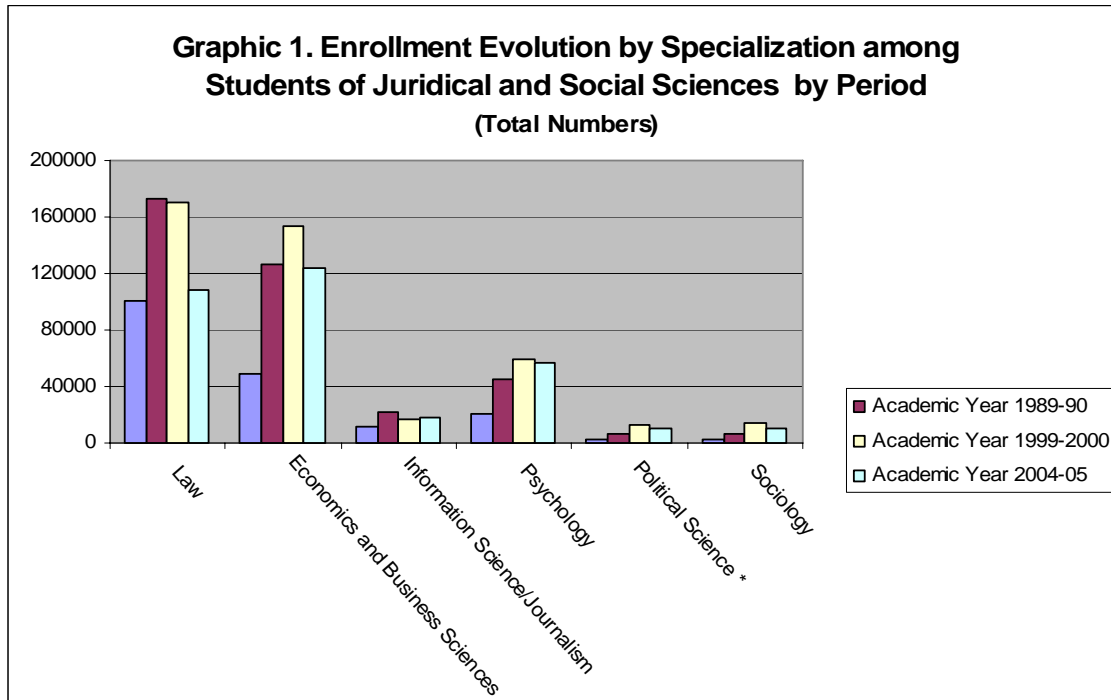


Tabla 1.- Evolution of Student Enrollment in Political Science, Sociology, and Economics/Business Administration, Compared with Law (1944-2005)*

Name of the <i>Licenciatura</i>	Number of students										
	1944-45	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80	1982-83	1984-85	1989-90	1994-95	1999-2000	2004-05
<i>Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración</i>	-	-	-			-	-	-	9,179	11,117	10,363
<i>Ciencias Políticas y Sociología</i>	-	-	-	6,404	4,881	4,044	4,603	13,263	4,595	2,343	79
<i>Sociología</i>	-	-	-			-	-	-	10,611	11,863	9,753
<i>Ciencias Políticas y Económicas</i>	1,021	11,807	20,347			-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales</i>	-	-	-	31,995	41,113	49,006	62,571	126,297	160,923	153,581	124,019*
<i>Derecho</i>	10,986	14,114	18,270	41,916	80,130	101,106	125,045	173,470	206,461	169,713	108,191
Total University Students **	39400***	96,177	192,139	291,106	415,107	510,383	586,428	758,397	825,902	844,822	713,030

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

** Excluding Technical School and *Diplomas Técnicos*

*** Excluding Catholic Universities students

Sources: Original elaboration based on data gathered in R. Montoro (1981), *Anuario Estadístico de España*, 1985, and #1991, 1992, 1996, 2001, and 2006

TABLE 2 Evolution of Permanent 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%
Professor (<i>Profesor Titular de Universidad</i>)*	23	44	85	115	91%	93%	35%	400%
Professor (<i>Profesor Titular de Escuela Universitaria</i>)	0	3	6	9	-	100%	50%	-
Total	31	55	128	167	77%	133%	30%	439%

* Figures included the *Catedráticos de Escuela Universitaria*

Source: Original elaboration based on data gathered in the corresponding "Listados para el sorteo de comisiones de profesorado universitario activo" for 1985, 1989, 1999, and 2004

TABLE 3 Evolution of Positions for Full Professor (*catedrático*) of 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
Political Science and Public Administration	8	13	19	18	22	37	43	363%	16%	438%
Sociology	35	39	43	50	56	71	80	103%	13%	129%
Constitutional Law	34	39	42	53	55	71	66	109%	-7%	94%
Applied Economics	122	144	163	180	202	258	301	111%	17%	147%
Journalism	16	19	19	23	27	36	43	125%	19%	169%

Source: Original elaboration based on data gathered in the corresponding “Listados para el sorteo de comisiones de profesorado universitario” for 1999 and 2004, and from Vallés (1996), who also cited the Council of Universities, for the 1989-93 data series.

TABLE 4 Evolution of Positions for *Profesor Titular/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
Political Science	44	49	55	55	57	84	115	91%	37%	161%
Sociology	136	146	150	156	167	259	379	90%	46%	179%
Constitutional Law	82	88	97	93	100	123	168	50%	37%	105%
Applied Economics	279	304	331	326	336	509	888	82%	74%	218%
Journalism	50	69	83	85	87	112	130	124%	16%	160%

Source: Original elaboration based on data gathered in the corresponding “Listados para el sorteo de comisiones de profesorado universitario” for 1999 and 2004, and from Vallés (1996), who also cited the Council of Universities, for the 1989-93 data series.

TABLE 5 Spanish Public universities offering degrees in Political Science (2006)

University (location)	Faculty	Department
<i>Autónoma de Barcelona</i> (Cerdanyola del Vallés)	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y Derecho Público
<i>Autónoma de Madrid</i>	Facultad de Derecho	Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales
<i>Barcelona</i>	Facultad de Derecho	Derecho Constitucional y Ciencia Política
<i>Burgos</i>	Facultad de Derecho	Derecho Privado
<i>Carlos III de Madrid</i> (Getafe)	Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas	Ciencia Política y Sociología
<i>Complutense de Madrid</i> (Pozuelo de Alarcón)	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración I, II, y III*
<i>Granada</i>	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
<i>La Laguna</i> (Tenerife)	Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales	Derecho Constitucional y Ciencia Política
<i>Miguel Hernández</i> (Elche, Alicante)	Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas	
<i>Murcia</i>	Facultad de Derecho	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
<i>País Vasco</i> (Leioa, Vizcaya)	Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
<i>Pompeu i Fabra</i> (Barcelona)	Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación	Ciencias Políticas y Sociales
<i>Salamanca</i>	Facultad de Derecho	Derecho Público General
<i>Santiago de Compostela</i>	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
<i>Valencia</i>	Facultad de Derecho	Derecho Constitucional y Ciencia Política
<i>UNED</i> (Madrid)	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología	Ciencia Política y de la Administración
* III (Teorías y Formas Políticas y Geografía Humana)		
Sources: www.mec.es/mecd , and webpages of listed universities		

TABLE 6 Enrollment Evolution by Specialization among Students of Juridical and Social Sciences, by period

Specialization	Number of Students							
	Academic year 1982-83	Academic Year 1989-90	Academic Year 1999-2000	Academic Year 2004-05	Increase for 1982-89 (%)	Increase for 1989-1999 (%)	Increase for 1999-2004 (%)	Increase for 1982-2004 (%)
Law	101,106	173,470	169,713	108,191	72	-2	-36	7
Economics and Business Sciences	49,006	126,297	153,581	124,019	158	22	-19	153
Information Science/Journalism	11,367	21,818	16,202	17,533	92	-26	8	54
Psychology	20,839	44,522	59,859	57,324	114	34	-4	175
Political Science *	2,022	6,631	12,739	10,403	228	92	-18	414
Sociology	2,022	6,631	13,585	9,792	228	105	-28	384
Total in Juridical and Social Sciences	186,362	379,369	425,679	327,262	104	12	-23	76

* Estimates for the 1980s assume that half of those enrolled in what was then a single specialization (Political Science and Sociology) were students of Political Science

Source: Original elaboration based on data gathered in *Anuario El País* 1986, 1992, 1998, 1999, and 2006

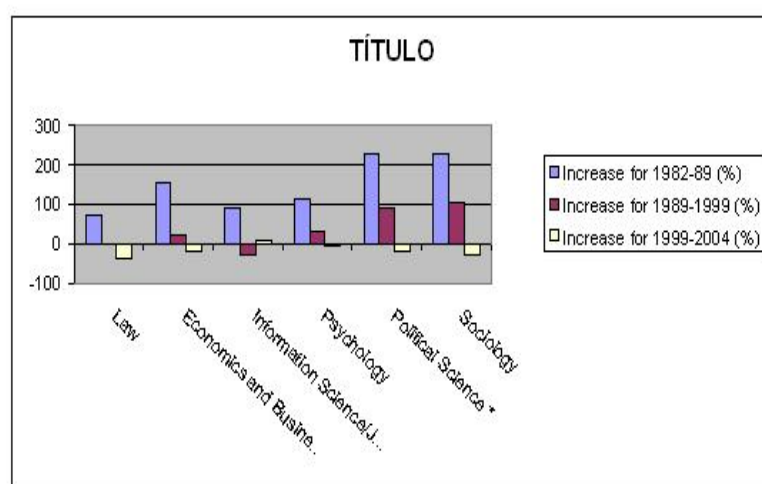
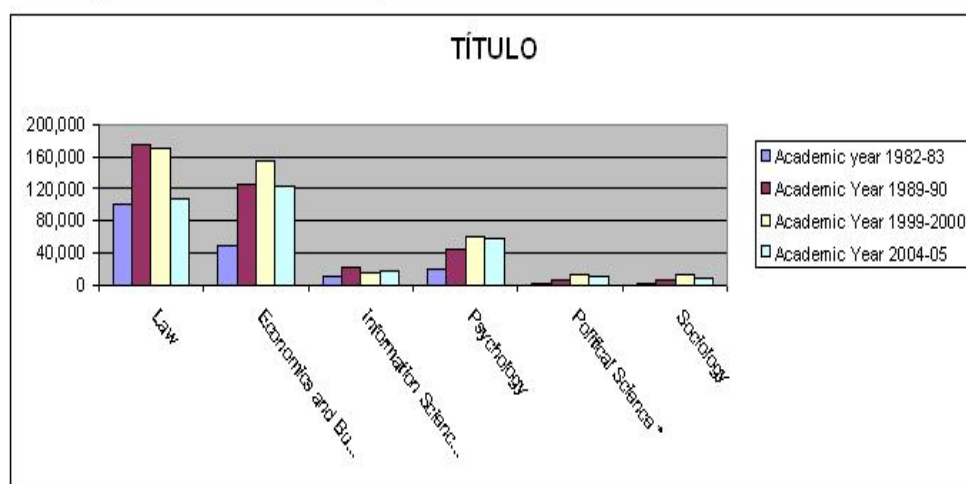


Tabla 7.- Permanent Positions in Political Science in Spanish Public Universities (January 2005)

University	Full Professor (<i>Catedrático</i>)	Professor (<i>Profesor Titular</i>)	<i>Profesor Titular de Escuela Universitaria</i>	Total
<i>Complutense de Madrid</i>	10	26	6	42
<i>Autónoma de Barcelona</i>	5	14	0	19
<i>UNED</i>	2	14	0	16
<i>Granada</i>	3	12	0	15
<i>Barcelona</i>	4	8	2	14
<i>Santiago de Compostela</i>	2	11	0	13
<i>Pompeu Fabra</i>	6	3	1	10
<i>País Vasco</i>	3	6	1	10
<i>Autónoma de Madrid</i>	4	5	0	9
<i>Salamanca</i>	1	4	0	5
<i>Murcia</i>	0	5	0	5
<i>Carlos III de Madrid</i>	1	2	0	3
<i>Málaga</i>	1	2	0	3
<i>La Laguna</i>	1	0	2	3
<i>Rey Juan Carlos</i>	2	0	0	2
<i>Vigo</i>	1	0	1	2
<i>Jaén</i>	0	2	0	2
<i>A Coruña</i>	0	2	0	2
<i>Valencia</i>	0	2	0	2
<i>Alcalá de Henares</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Alicante</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Almería</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Rovira Virgili</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Burgos</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Castilla-La Mancha</i>	0	0	1	1

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

TABLE 8 Non-Permanent Professors in Political Science in Spanish Public Universities, by January 2005*

University	Teaching Assistant	Full-Time Adjunct Professor (Asociado)	Part-Time Adjunct Professor (Asociado)	Other Types of Contract	Total Non-Permanent Professors	Total Permanent (civil servant) Professors	Total Professors	Non Permanent Professors as Percentage of Total
<i>Complutense de Madrid</i>	3	0	15	10	28	42	70	40%
<i>Autónoma de Barcelona</i>	5	0	21	2	28	19	47	60%
<i>Granada</i>	3	6	5	2	16	15	31	52%
<i>Pompeu Fabra</i>	2	1	11	5	19	10	29	66%
<i>UNED</i>	0	4	2	1	7	16	23	30%
<i>Barcelona</i>	1	0	3	2	6	14	20	30%
<i>Carlos III de Madrid</i>	7	0	7	1	15	3	18	85%
<i>Santiago de Compostela</i>	1	2	0	2	5	13	18	28%
<i>País Vasco</i>	0	4	0	3	7	10	17	41%
<i>Autónoma de Madrid</i>	2	2	2	1	7	9	16	44%
<i>Murcia</i>	3	1	1	0	5	5	10	50%
<i>La Laguna</i>	0	3	4	0	7	3	10	70%
<i>Rey Juan Carlos</i>	1	0	4	0	5	2	7	71%
<i>Salamanca</i>	3	0	0	0	3	5	8	37%
<i>Málaga</i>	0	2	2	0	4	3	7	57%
<i>Vigo</i>	2	0	2	1	5	2	7	71%
<i>Alicante</i>	1	1	3	0	5	1	6	83%
<i>Jaén</i>	2	0	0	1	3	2	5	60%
<i>Burgos</i>	2	1	1	0	4	1	5	80%
<i>Alcalá de Henares</i>	1	0	2	0	3	1	4	75%
<i>A Coruña</i>	0	1	0	0	1	2	3	33%
<i>Pública de Navarra</i>	2	0	1	0	3	0	3	100%
<i>Almería</i>	2	0	0	0	2	1	3	100%
<i>Rovira i Virgili</i>	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	50%
<i>Castilla-La Mancha</i>	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	50%
<i>Zaragoza</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	100%

* Excluded those universities without any tenured professor in Political Science by this date

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

TABLE 9 Research Projects in Political Science, by university				
	1992-98*	2000-2002**	2004-2005***	TOTAL
AUTONOMA 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
PAIS 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
ALCALA			1	1
CASTILLA-LA MANCHA			1	1
ISLAS BALEARES			1	1
	27	16	22	65

Source: Original elaboration based on data supplied by the Subdirección General de proyectos e Investigación (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia). 2003 data not available.

Note: 2003 data not available.

*: 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 programme includes projects previously funded by the Programa Nacional de Socioeconomía and the Programa Nacional de Promoción General del Conocimiento.

Table 10.- Research Fellows in Political Science and Number of Doctoral Theses Presented During the Years 1994-1999 and 1999-2004

University	1994-1999		1999-2004		1994-2004
	Research Fellows (1999)	Theses	Research Fellows (2005)	Theses	Theses
Complutense de Madrid	8	19	8	43	62
Autónoma de Madrid	2	20	11	22	42
Autónoma de Barcelona	4	19	17	14	33
Granada	6	9	3	16	25
UNED	4	4	4	18	22
Salamanca	2	3	8	17	20
País Vasco	6	4	11	8	12
Pompeu Fabra	6	2	11	10	12
Santiago de Compostela	2	3	2	7	10
Barcelona	1	2	3	7	9
Rey Juan Carlos	1	0	0	4	4
Jaén	0	0	0	3	3
Pública de Navarra	2	2	0	1	3
Málaga	1	1	0	1	2
Vigo	nd	nd	0	2	2
La Laguna	0	0	0	1	1
Rovira i Virgili	0	0	0	1	1
Valencia	0	1	1	0	1
Burgos	0	0	0	0	0
La Coruña	0	0	0	0	0
Murcia	0	0	1	0	0

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

Table 11. Facts concerning the institutionalization of Political Science in Southern European countries, as compared with the American, British and German cases.

Country	First Institution to Teach Political Science	Current Professional Association, Year Founded, and Membership	Professional Magazine and Year Founded
USA	Columbia University, New York (1880)	American Political Science Association (1903) 14,000 in Sept. 2005*	<i>American Political Science Review</i> (1903)
UK	London School of Economics and Political Science, London (1895)	UK Political Studies Association (1950) 1,612 in Sept. 2006 British International Studies Association 898 in Oct. 2006	<i>Political Studies</i> (1953)
Germany	Hochschule Für Politik, Berlin (1923)	Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (1950) 1,400 in Oct. 2006** Deutsche Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaft e.V. (1983)*** 200 in Oct. 2006**	<i>Politische Vierteljahresschrift (PVS)</i> (1959)
France	Ecole des Sciences Politiques, Paris (1871)	Association Française de Science Politique (1945) 514 in June 2006	<i>Revue Française de Science Politique</i> (1951)
Greece	Panteios School of Political Sciences, Athens (1931)	Hellenic Political Science Association (1974) 345 in Oct. 2006	<i>Greek Political Science Review</i> (1993)
Italy	Schuola di Scienza Sociali “Cesare Alfieri”, Florence (1875)	Società Italiana di Scienza Politica (1981) 300 in Oct. 2006	<i>Revista Italiana di Scienza Politica</i> (1971)
Portugal	University of Coimbra (1885)	Associação Portuguesa de Ciência Política (1998) 100 in Oct. 2006**	None
Spain	Universidad Complutense de Madrid (1944)	Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración (1993) 550 in Oct. 2006**	<i>Revista Española de Ciencia Política de la Administración</i> (1999)

* This total estimates included 9,302 faculty members

** The figure is only an estimate

*** A split of DVPW

Source: Original elaboration based on data obtained from colleagues and staff in university departments of Political Science, and web pages of professional association