



## PO 325 POLITICS IN SPAIN: PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS

IES Abroad Barcelona

### DESCRIPTION:

Spain in the last hundred years has been a scenario for virtually every single form of government possible: it transformed itself from Empire into State, provided new roles to old institutions such as the monarchy, struggled between democracy and dictatorship, and even between different ideas of what democracy is, experienced civil war, juggled with threats of regional secession, experimented with different forms of territorial organization, and to crown it all, it entered the supranational arena by becoming a member of the European Union. This course provides an introduction to Spanish politics from a historical and comparative perspective. It analyzes the institutional organization of Spain, focusing on the interplay between historical processes and institutional settings. It is designed to introduce students into the comparative analysis of political systems by using Spain as a case study, in addition to providing them with the key elements of the Spanish political rules of the game in order to be able to assess the causes and consequences of political institutions and processes.

**CREDITS:** 3 credits

**CONTACT HOURS:** 45

**LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION:** English

**PREREQUISITES:** One prior course in one or more of the following disciplines: Political Science, Social Science, History.

### METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

- **Course Related Trips:** These are classes on site. It involves visits to museums, visits to relevant institutions, and guided tours to specific historically relevant sites. Course-related trips provide students the opportunity to deepen their knowledge on certain issues beyond the scope of class materials and on the historical significance of some of the most prominent sites in the city they live in, as well as a visual image of the processes covered in class.
- **Lectures:** Lectures provide the theoretical and historical background to the course's contents. It explores the debates, theories and events which surround the readings and other class materials. It clarifies and systematizes concepts that are necessary to understand events and institutions in a larger framework.
- **Class discussion:** Class discussions facilitate the students' ability to analyze course materials, apply concepts, compare events, and express their analytical views on the theories and processes discussed in the course.
- **Student Presentation:** Each student will make a presentation based on the readings of a particular class. This further allows the student to actively engage with the materials, as well as expand and go beyond the scope of the class on at least one of the issues covered in the course.
- **Reader:** The reader is the fundamental source of information for students. It includes a selection of key academic readings, which will introduce the students into the processes, concepts, and events discussed in class. The chosen with the aim of providing a general understanding of the subject matter.

### REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

Final grades will be based on:

- Class participation - 10%
- Oral presentation - 30%
- Mid-term exam - 30%
- Final exam - 30%

### Class Participation

Students are expected to prepare the assigned readings before class, and take an active role in discussing the issues discussed in each session. Attendance is therefore mandatory.

### Student Presentation

Each student will make **one presentation** based on the readings discussed in the course. This further allows the student to actively engage with the materials, as well as expand and go beyond the scope of the class on at least one of the issues covered in the course.

### Mid-term exam

Consists of:

- 20% - Written mid-term in class
- 10% - 5 response papers on readings until midterm session. Response papers should be 1-page long max (Times New Roman 12pt typeset, double spaced) and to be submitted before the beginning of each session.

### Final Exam

Consists of:

- 20% - Written final in class
- 10% - 5 response papers on readings until final exam. Response papers should be 1-page long max (Times New Roman 12pt typeset, double spaced) and to be submitted before the beginning of each session.

### LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- identify the relevant actors that have shaped political processes at different stages, as well as the interplay between their interests, opportunities and constraints they face;
- evaluate the role of different institutional settings in shaping the choices that politicians make;
- compare the effectiveness and stability of different political systems and alternative forms of organizing a democracy;
- analyze the historical evolution of political ideals and their correspondence with particular types of institutions;
- assess the impact of political processes on political institutions, and how in turn institutions shape political processes;
- attain critical analysis skills on issues of institutional design.

**ATTENDANCE POLICY:** As a member of our class community, you are expected to be present and on time every day. Attending class has an impact on your learning and academic success. For this reason, attendance is required for all IES Barcelona classes, including course-related excursions. If a student misses more than three classes in any course without justification, 3 percentage points will be deducted from the final grade for every additional absence. Seven unjustified absences in any course will result in a failing grade. Absences will only be justified, and assessed work, including exams, tests and presentations rescheduled, in cases of documented medical or family emergencies.

### CONTENT:

| Session   | Content                  | Required Readings                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Session 1 | Introduction             |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Session 2 | From Empire to Statehood | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moreno, L. (2001). The Development of the Spanish National State. <i>The federalization of Spain</i> (pp. 36-77). Frank Cass.</li> </ul> |

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|                  | <p>Overview of Spanish history, from the formation of the Spanish Empire to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Session 3</b> | <p><b>Spain under the dictatorship and the early transition to democracy</b></p> <p>Analyzes the political organization of, and the internal contradictions within, the late Franco dictatorship. The class will also explore the events and political reforms which took place during the early stages of the transition to democracy.</p>                                                                                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Preston, P. (1996). <i>The triumph of democracy in Spain</i> (pp. 1-53). Routledge.</li> </ul>                                                                                                 |
| <b>Session 4</b> | <p><b>The 1978 Constitution and Beyond</b></p> <p>This class explores the nature and organization of the Spanish Constitution of 1978. In particular, it will focus on the processes and problems incurred in maintaining a peaceful transition to democracy, including the debates over territorial organization, monarchy versus republic and the role of Church/State relations.</p>                                                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heywood, P. (1995). <i>Politics and government of Spain</i> (pp. 37-57). Macmillan.</li> <li>Preston, P. (1996). <i>The triumph of democracy in Spain</i> (pp. 122-159). Routledge.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Session 5</b> | <p><b>The Transition to Democracy as National Reconciliation</b></p> <p>Analysis of the conditions and choices that facilitated the success of the Spanish transition to democracy. In particular, the class focuses on the 'pacto del olvido', the implicit agreement between the outgoing Francoist authorities and opposition elites to avoid war crimes and investigations of the past in return for a peaceful transition to democracy.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Aguilar, P. (1997). Collective memory of the Spanish civil war: The case of the political amnesty in the Spanish transition to democracy. <i>Democratization</i>, 4(4), 88-109.</li> </ul>     |
| <b>Session 6</b> | <p><b>Governance at the Centre</b></p> <p>This class explores the contrast between parliamentarism and presidentialism as methods of governance, and investigates in depth</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Linz, L. (1990). The perils of presidentialism. <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 1(1), 51-69.</li> </ul>                                                                                           |

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|                   | the 'quasi-presidential' system used in Spain.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>Session 7</b>  | <b>Federalism in Spain</b><br><br>Analysis of the use of federalism to assuage divided societies, focusing in particular on the implementation and development of a quasi-federal system in Spain known as the <i>estado de las autonomías</i> .                                                                                                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Villadangos, E.S., (2014). Answers to Spanish centrifugal federalism: Asymmetrical federalism versus coercive federalism. <i>Perspectives on Federalism</i>, 6(2), 164-190.</li> <li>Stepan, A. (1999). Federalism and democracy: Beyond the U.S. model. <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 10(4), 19-34.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>Session 8</b>  | <b>Course related trip to the Air Shelter (Refugi 307)</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>Session 9</b>  | <b>The Judiciary and the 'State of Law'</b><br><br>This class will discuss the institutional development of the judiciary in Spain. It will pay particular attention to the role of the judiciary as a counter-balance to parliamentary and legislative powers, as well as its recent role in international legal controversies (e.g. the Pinochet case). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Toharia, J. J. (2003). The organization, functioning, and evaluation of the Spanish judicial system, 1975-2000: A case study in legal culture. in L. M. Friedman and R. Pérez-Perdomo (Eds.), <i>Legal culture in the age of globalization: Latin America and Latin Europe</i> (pp. 377-412). Stanford University Press.</li> </ul>                                                                                                              |
| <b>Session 10</b> | <b>Modern Political Parties in Spain</b><br><br>Analysis of the development, organization and ideologies of the two main statewide parties, with particular focus on their development over the past decade during the Aznar and Zapatero premierships (1996 – present).                                                                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Balfour, S. (2005). The reinvention of Spanish conservatism: The Partido Popular since 1989. in S. Balfour (Ed.), <i>The politics of contemporary Spain</i> (pp. 146-68). Routledge.</li> <li>Méndez, M. (2005). The Socialist Party in government and in opposition. in S. Balfour (Ed.), <i>The politics of contemporary Spain</i> (pp. 169-197). Routledge.</li> </ul>                                                                        |
| <b>Session 11</b> | <b>Spanish Economy in Historical and Contemporary Perspective</b><br><br>Analysis of the development of the Spanish political economy, from autarky to European integration and monetary union.                                                                                                                                                           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chislett, W., (2016). A new course for Spain: Beyond the crisis. Real Instituto Elcano.<br/> <a href="https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/monographs/a-new-course-for-spain-beyond-the-crisis">https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/monographs/a-new-course-for-spain-beyond-the-crisis</a></li> <li>Boix, C. (2000). Managing the Spanish Economy within Europe. <i>South European Society and Politics</i>, 5(2), pp. 165-190.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Session 12</b> | <b>Midterm Exam</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

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| <b>Session 13</b> | <b>Electoral Competition in Spain (I)</b><br><br>This class will focus on the institutional incentives embedded in the Spanish electoral system, which have favoured some parties over others, and have led to the proliferation of regionally based parties in different parts of the country. It further discusses the consequences of this institutional setting for the Spanish political system overall.                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Orriols, L. &amp; G. Cordero. (2016). The breakdown of the Spanish twoparty system: The upsurge of Podemos and Ciudadanos in the 2015 general election. <i>South European Society and Politics</i> 21(4): 469–92.</li> <li>Hamann K. (1999). Federalist institutions, voting behaviour and party systems. <i>Publius: Journal of Federalism</i>, 29(1), 111-137.</li> </ul>                                                                                                             |
| <b>Session 14</b> | <b>Electoral Competition in Spain (II).</b><br><br>Analysis of the general elections since 2004. The class will survey the general elections in 2000s, paying particular attention to the 2004 and 2015 elections.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J. (2019). “Explaining the end of Spanish exceptionalism and electoral support for Vox”, <i>Research &amp; Politics</i>, 6(2).</li> <li>Colomer, J. (2004). The general election of Spain. <i>Electoral Studies</i>, 24(1), 149-156.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Session 15</b> | <b>The Policy Process</b><br><br>Particular attention will be paid to the social pacts which characterized the early transition period, and compare those processes with the functioning of the policy process in modern times. It will explore the question as to whether consociationalism was an institutionalized form of policy-making, or whether in fact this was a contingent process which took place in the context of the transition to democracy. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heywood, P. (1998). Power diffusion or concentration? In search of the Spanish policy process. <i>West European Politics</i>, 21(4), 103–123.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>Session 16</b> | <b>Spain and the Wider World</b><br><br>This class will explore traditional and contemporary traditions in Spanish foreign policy. The class will focus on the transition of Spain’s foreign policy posture from dictatorship to democracy, its adaptation to entry into the European Community, as well as paying particular attention to modern foreign policy under Aznar and Zapatero.                                                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Powell, C. (2015). The long road to europe: Spain and the European Community, 1957-1986. Real Instituto Elcano. <a href="https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/work-document/the-long-road-to-europe-spain-and-the-european-community-1957-1986/">https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/work-document/the-long-road-to-europe-spain-and-the-european-community-1957-1986/</a></li> <li>Magone, J. (2004). <i>Contemporary Spanish politics</i> (pp. 210 – 231). Routledge.</li> </ul> |

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| <b>Session 17</b> | <b>Spain and Europe</b><br><br>Analysis of the development of relations between Spain and Europe, paying particular attention to the degree to which Spanish government institutions have become 'Europeanized' by membership in the European Union, and to what degree Spain has influenced EU policy.                                                                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Closa, C., &amp; Heywood, P. (2004). <i>Spain and the European Union</i> (pp. 6-30). Palgrave.</li> </ul>                                                                                               |
| <b>Session 18</b> | <b>Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in Spain</b><br><br>The class will focus on the role of civil society in the consolidation of democracy in Spain. In addition, attention will be paid to contemporary social cleavages and political strategies towards exploiting those cleavages                                                                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Encarnación, O. (2001). Civil society and the consolidation of democracy in Spain, <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, 116, 53-79.</li> </ul>                                                           |
| <b>Session 19</b> | <b>Political Corruption in Spain</b><br><br>Explores structural factors, incentives and opportunity structures for political corruption in Spain's contemporary democracy.                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heywood, P. (2005). Corruption, democracy and governance in Spain. in S. Balfour (Ed.), <i>The politics of contemporary Spain</i> (pp. 40-57). Routledge.</li> </ul>                                    |
| <b>Session 20</b> | <b>Terrorism in Spain</b><br><br>This class uses the Basque Country as a case study to explore the effects of terrorism on democracy. It pays particular attention to the terrorist group ETA, its development and current organization and importance. It will also deal with state responses to terrorism, electoral manipulation and intimidation, freedom of speech and the press. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Woodworth, P. (2005). Using terror against terrorists: the Spanish experience. in S. Balfour (Ed.), <i>The politics of contemporary Spain</i> (pp. 61-80). Routledge.</li> </ul>                        |
| <b>Session 21</b> | <b>Terrorism in Spain II</b><br><br>The class will continue exploring the social and political effects of ETA terrorism in the Spanish society. Documentary viewing and debate.                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Partial Documentary viewing: Medem, V. (Director). (2003). <i>La pelota vasca: La piel contra la piedra</i> [The Basque ball: skin against Stone] [Film]. <a href="#">Golem Distribución</a></li> </ul> |

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| Session 22 | Course Related Trip TBA                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Session 23 | <b>The Media and Politics in Spain</b><br><br>This class will analyze the development of the Spanish media from dictatorship to democracy. The class will pay close to the contemporary relationship between politics and the media, in particular how the media affects elite political positions as well as electoral behavior | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sierra, J. (2014). Freedom of the press, expression, and information in Spain. Open Society Foundations. <a href="https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/freedom-press-expression-and-information-spain">https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/freedom-press-expression-and-information-spain</a></li> <li>Gunther, R., Montero, J. R. &amp; Wert, J. I. (1999). The media and politics in Spain: From dictatorship to democracy. (Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials Working Paper No. 176). <a href="https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r00628.pdf">https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r00628.pdf</a></li> </ul> |
| Session 24 | Review Session                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|            | Final Exam                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

#### REQUIRED READINGS

- Aguilar, P. (1997). Collective memory of the Spanish civil war: The case of the political amnesty in the Spanish transition to democracy. *Democratization*, 4(4), 88-109.
- Balfour, S. (2005). The reinvention of Spanish conservatism: The Partido Popular since 1989. in S. Balfour (Ed.), *The politics of contemporary Spain* (pp. 146-68). Routledge.
- Boix, C. (2000). Managing the Spanish Economy within Europe. *South European Society and Politics*, 5(2), pp. 165-190.
- Chislett, W., (2016). A new course for Spain: Beyond the crisis. Real Instituto Elcano. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/monographs/a-new-course-for-spain-beyond-the-crisis>
- Colomer, J. (2004). The general election of Spain. *Electoral Studies*, 24(1), 149-156.
- Closa, C., & Heywood, P. (2004). *Spain and the European Union* (pp. 6-30). Palgrave.
- Encarnación, O. (2001). Civil society and the consolidation of democracy in Spain, *Political Science Quarterly*, 116, 53-79.
- Gunther, R., Montero, J. R. & Wert, J. I. (1999). The media and politics in Spain: From dictatorship to democracy. (Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials Working Paper No. 176). <https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r00628.pdf>
- Hamann K. (1999). Federalist Institutions, voting behaviour and party systems. *Publius: Journal of Federalism*, 29(1), 111-137.
- Heywood, P. (1995). *Politics and government of Spain* (pp. 37-57). Macmillan.
- Heywood, P. (1998). Power diffusion or concentration? In search of the Spanish policy process. *West European Politics*, 21(4), 103-123.
- Heywood, P. (2005). Corruption, democracy and governance in Spain. in S. Balfour (Ed.), *The politics of contemporary Spain* (pp. 40-57). Routledge.
- Linz, L. (1990). The perils of presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy*, 1(1), 51-69.
- Magone, J. (2004). *Contemporary Spanish politics* (pp. 210 – 231). Routledge.

- Medem, V. (Director). (2003). *La pelota vasca: La piel contra la piedra* [The Basque ball: skin against Stone] [Film]. [Golem Distribución](#)
- Méndez, M. (2005). The Socialist Party in government and in opposition. in S. Balfour (Ed.), *The politics of contemporary Spain* (pp. 169-197). Routledge.
- Moreno, L. (2001). The Development of the Spanish National State. *The federalization of Spain* (pp. 36-77). Frank Cass.
- Orriols, L. & G. Cordero. (2016). The breakdown of the Spanish twoparty system: The upsurge of Podemos and Ciudadanos in the 2015 general election. *South European Society and Politics* 21(4): 469–92.
- Powell, C. (2015). The long road to Europe: Spain and the European Community, 1957-1986. Real Instituto Elcano. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/work-document/the-long-road-to-europe-spain-and-the-european-community-1957-1986/>
- Preston, P. (1996). *The triumph of democracy in Spain* (pp. 1-53; 122-159). Routledge.
- Sierra, J. (2014). Freedom of the press, expression, and information in Spain. Open Society Foundations. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/freedom-press-expression-and-information-spain>
- Stepan, A. (1999). Federalism and democracy: Beyond the U.S. model, *Journal of Democracy*, 10(4), 19-34.
- Toharia, J. J. (2003). The organization, functioning, and evaluation of the Spanish judicial system, 1975-2000: a case study in legal culture in L. M. Friedman and R. Pérez-Perdomo (Eds.), *Legal culture in the age of globalization: Latin America and Latin Europe* (pp. 377-412). Stanford University Press.
- Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J. (2019). “Explaining the end of Spanish exceptionalism and electoral support for Vox”, *Research & Politics*, 6(2).
- Villadangos, E.S., (2014). Answers to Spanish centrifugal federalism: Asymmetrical federalism versus coercive federalism. *Perspectives on Federalism*, 6(2), 164-190.
- Woodworth, P. (2005). Using terror against terrorists: the Spanish experience. in S. Balfour (Ed.), *The politics of contemporary Spain* (pp. 61-80). Routledge.

#### RECOMMENDED READING

- Chhibber, P., & Torcal, M. (1997). Elite strategy, social cleavages, and party Systems in a new democracy: Spain. *Comparative Political Studies*, 30(1), 27-54.
- Colomer, J.M. (1998). The Spanish state of autonomies: Non-institutional federalism. *West European Politics*, 21 (44), 40-52.
- Colomer J.M. (2005). It's parties that choose electoral systems (or Duverger's laws upside down). *Political Studies*, 53 (1), 1–21.
- Davis, M. (2005). Is Spain recovering its memory? Breaking the Pacto del Olvido. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(3), 858-880.
- Heywood, P. & Molina, I (2000) A Quasi-Presidential Premiership: Administering the Executive Summit in Spain, in B.G. Peters, R. Rhodes, & V. Wright (Eds.), *Administering the summit: Administration of the core executive in developed countries* (pp. 110-133), Macmillan.
- Torcal, M., & Lago, I. (2008). Electoral coordination strikes again: The 2008 general election. *South European Society & Politics*, 13(3), 363-375.