

## **POL 372 Contemporary Spanish Politics**

### **Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy**

Office: Building 14, 4th floor, room 22

Email: [jbhar@upo.es](mailto:jbhar@upo.es)

Office Hours: 12:00 – 13:00

### **Course Information**

Spring 2019

12:00 – 1:20

Monday and Wednesday

**Build. 25, room 110**

### **Course Description**

This class will introduce students to the important historical, political, social, and economic aspects of contemporary Spanish politics. Firstly, it will examine the legacy of the Franco regime and the transition to democracy after 1975. Secondly, it will focus on the new political, social and economic institutions of the democratic regime. Lastly, Spanish foreign policy in an era of globalization will be assessed.

### **Course Goals and Methodology**

The aim of this course is to introduce the students to the main debates surrounding the Spanish political system. During the 26 sessions of the course, different aspects of Spanish politics will be tackled.

Firstly, the course will question the historical roots of the current political system in Spain. Features like the Second Republic, the Civil War, Francoism and the Transition to democracy will be analyzed in order to stress their relevance on current Spanish contemporary politics.

The second part of the course will deal with the different actors that structure Spanish politics. The role and structure of core institutions, political parties, social movements, lobbies, bureaucracy, mass media and political elites will be assessed.

Thirdly, the course will focus on the dynamics structuring the political system. Those dynamics include the processes of decentralization, Europeanization, internationalization. The rise of the Spanish welfare state, the state and nation building process, the new developments affecting the political culture or the effects of the electoral system will be tackled.

Each session will be based on a fundamental question (e.g. Is Spain evolving towards federalism?). The professor will provide quantitative and qualitative data about that issue, and an open discussion will conclude each session. Different educational methods and techniques will be applied: debates, presentations, readings, videos and an oratory contest will help students to get the basic knowledge about the Spanish political system.

## Learning Objectives

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

1. Understand the recent developments in Spanish politics.
2. Debate about the current state of Spanish politics.
3. Make the distinction between the different concepts of political science (state, nation, power, clientelism, patronage, institutions, social movements, pressure groups...).

## Required Texts

All the required readings will be sent by Email. You may print out the readings if necessary at the copy center located on the campus. In order to learn more about Spanish politics, students can read the following books too:

- Balfour, Sebastian and Preston, Paul, *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, New York, Routledge, 1999.
- Carr, Raymond, *Spain: A History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Coller, Xavier, Badía, Rosa and Bermúdez, Sandra, *Politics and Society in Modern Spain in a Comparative European Perspective*, Barcelona, Fundación La Caixa, 2004.
- Encarnación, Omar G., *Spanish Politics*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2008.
- Gunther, Richard, Montero, José Ramon and Botella, Joan, *Democracy in Modern Spain*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004.
- Hanley, David and Loughlin, John (eds), *Spanish Political Parties*, London, University of Wales Press, 2006.
- Heywood, Paul, *Politics and Polity in Democracy Spain: No Longer Different?*, New York, Frank Cass, 1999.
- Magone, Jose, *Spanish Contemporary Politics*, London, Routledge, 2008.
- Payne, Stanley, *Politics and Society in XXth Century Spain*, New York, New Viewpoints, 1976.
- Pérez-Díaz, Victor, *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Pollack, Benny and Hunter, Graham, *The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Preston, Paul, *Franco*, London, Harper Collins, 1993.
- Preston, Paul, *Triumph of Democracy in Spain*, London, Routledge, 1986.

## General Course Policies

- **Emails:** All communication between the professor and the students can be made via Email.
- **Attendance and participation:** Students are expected to attend all classes. If there is justifiable excuse for missing class, this information must be provided to the proper authorities as required. Active participation in class discussions is required.
- **Readings:** Students are expected to have a look on the readings before coming to class.
- **Use of cell phones:** Please keep your cell phones turned off during class.

## Course Requirements and Grading

Assessment will involve two written exams. The mid-term and final exams will be made of two sections: a multiple-choice test and an open question dealing with the topics tackled during the semester. A study guide will be available.

After each movie (*Pan's Labyrinth* and *Wolf*), students will have to answer a series of questions along with a short essay.

During the whole semester, student will be asked to write short essays about a series of topics. The correction of the homework will allow opening class discussions.

Finally, students will be required to participate to an oratory contest. Each team will fight for imposing its own arguments according to a list of topics.

The final grading will be based on the following percentages:

- Questions and essays about movies: 10 %
- Active participation in class: 10%
- Midterm exam (multiple choice test): 20 %
- Oratory contest: 20 %
- Final exam (multiple choice test): 20 %
- Homework: 20 %

## Attendance and Punctuality

Attendance and punctuality are required. Arriving late to class is disruptive to both the professor and your classmates. Please be punctual, as your professor will count your late arrival as half of an absence. Under no circumstances may a student miss more than 6 classes (or 9 for classes that meet daily), even with a medical excuse. An excused absence is one that is accompanied by a doctor's note: signed, stamped and dated - travelling or missing a flight/train/bus/ferry, etc. is not an excuse. The note should be shown to your professor and must be handed in to the staff at the International Center office within one week of returning to class. After 3 unexcused absences your final grade will be lowered by  $\frac{1}{2}$  a point (Spanish grade) for each day missed (starting with the 4th absence). If you have 6 unexcused absences, you will automatically fail the class. It is each student's responsibility to be informed of exam dates, paper due dates, required excursions, etc. before planning any absences (e.g. relatives visiting, traveling, etc.) during the semester.

## Academic Dishonesty

Academic integrity is a guiding principle for all academic activity at Pablo de Olavide University. Cheating on exams and plagiarism (which includes copying from the Internet) are clear violations of academic honesty. A student is guilty of plagiarism when he or she presents another person's intellectual property as his or her own. The penalty for plagiarism and cheating is a failing grade for the assignment/exam and a failing grade for the course. Avoid plagiarism by citing sources properly, using footnotes and a bibliography, and not cutting and pasting information from various websites when writing assignments.

## **Learning accommodation**

If you require special accommodations, you must stop by the International Center to speak to Rubén (the Faculty coordinator) to either turn in your documentation or to confirm that our office has received it. The deadline is September 28th. Rubén will explain the options available to you.

## **Absences**

Attendance is mandatory at all classes. As we understand that you might fall ill or be unable to come to class (e.g. due to a religious holiday, a flight delay, a family wedding/reunion, a graduation, a job interview, etc.) at some point during the semester, you are allowed up to 4 absences. You will be responsible for the material covered and any work missed. You will not need to justify your absences (up to 4) in any way unless you miss an exam, a presentation, a quiz, etc. In this case, you must present a doctor's note (signed, stamped and dated) to be able to reschedule the exam, etc. It will still count as an absence but you will be allowed to retake the exam, etc. We don't encourage you to use all 4 days unless you really need them as your participation grade may suffer if you are not in class. If used unwisely and you get sick late in the semester, the following penalties will apply:

- On your 5th absence, 1 point will be taken off of your final grade (Spanish grade of 1-10)
- On your 6th absence, 3 points will be taken off of your final Spanish grade
- On your 7th absence, 5 points will be taken off of your final Spanish grade

For classes that meet once a week, each absence counts as two. For classes that meet daily, the penalties outlined above apply if you go over 6 absences (7th absence=5th absence above).

## **Behavior Policy**

Students are expected to show integrity and act in a professional and respectful manner at all times. A student's attitude in class may influence his/her participation grade. The professor has a right to ask a student to leave the classroom if the student is unruly or appears intoxicated. If a student is asked to leave the classroom, that day will count as an absence regardless of how long the student has been in class.

## Class Schedule

### Section 1: "Introduction: Welcome to Spain":

- **Wednesday, January 30, 2019:** Presentation: students, program, system of examination, add and drop period, readings and schedule.

## PART I. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

### Section 2: "Second Republic and Civil War: Why did Democracy Fail?":

- **Monday, February 4, 2019:** It is essential to focus on that period in order to understand the political and social dynamics of contemporary Spain, since most of the current political cleavages are inheritances of the Civil War.  
**Readings:** Sara Schatz, "Democracy's Breakdown and the Rise of Fascism: the Case of the Spanish Second Republic 1931-36", *Social History*, 26(2), 2001, 145-165.

### Section 3: "Francoism: What is the real Nature of the Beast?":

- **Wednesday, February 6, 2019:** Francoism is sometimes presented as a classical dictatorship while some authors think it was the first version of European totalitarianism. What is the real "nature of the beast"?  
**Readings:** Thomas Jeffrey Miley, "Franquism as Authoritarianism: Juan Linz and his Critics", *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 12(1), 2011, 27-50.
- **Monday, February 11, 2019:** List of questions and essay about the movie *Land and Freedom*.

### Section 4: "How to Dismantle a Dictatorship? The Spanish Transition to Democracy":

- **Wednesday, February 13, 2019:** Transition to democracy is frequently presented as a peaceful episode led by a collective movement of political actors. We will examine what really succeeded.  
**Readings:** Fabiana Sacchetti, "The Transition from Authoritarianism to Democracy in Spain (1975-1982)", *Working Paper of the IMT Institute for Advanced Studies*, Lucca, 2009.

## PART II. CORE ACTORS OF THE SPANISH POLITICAL SYSTEM

### Section 5: "Crown, Parliament, Government and Judiciary. Who Governs?":

- **Monday, February 18, 2019:** At first glance, the Spanish political system is based on a classical parliamentary regime. But who really governs?  
**Readings:** Lynn M. Maurer, "Parliamentary Influence in a New Democracy: The Spanish Congress", *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 5(2), 1999, 24-45.

### Section 6: "Parties and Party System: Towards a New Format?":

- **Wednesday, February 20, 2019:** After so many years of stability, the 2008 crisis provoked some change. Is the Spanish political system evolving towards a new balance of political forces?  
**Readings:** Francesc Pallarés and Michael Keating, "Multi-level Electoral Competition. Regional Elections and Party Systems in Spain", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 10(3), 2003, 239-255.

**Section 7: “Spanish Pressure Groups: How to Channel Them?”:**

- **Monday, February 25, 2019:** Spanish institutions, as in other European polities, face different pressure groups intending to influence policy-makers. How do Spanish lobbies organize and how do they get their objectives?

**Readings:** Sebastian Royo, “From Contention to Social Bargaining: Labour Unions and Democratic Consolidation in Spain”, *Democratization*, 12(1), 2005, 60-84.

**Section 8: “Social Movements in Spain: Is Civil Society Organized?”:**

- **Wednesday, February 27, 2019:** Who are the social movements in Spain? How do political institutions and civil society combine? How do social claims circulate from the bottom to the top?

**Readings:** John Karamichas, “Key Issues in the Study of New and Alternative Social Movements in Spain: The Left, Identity and Globalizing Processes”, *South European Society and Politics*, 12(3), 2007, 273-293.

**Section 9: “Spanish Political Elites: Usual Suspects?”:**

- **Monday, March 4, 2019:** Spanish political elites and their systems of recruitment are criticized since the beginning of the financial crisis. How to describe their social profile and evolution since the end of Francoism?

**Readings:** Xavier Coller, Helder Ferreira do Vale and Chris Meissner, “Political Elites in Federalized Countries: the Case of Spain (1980-2005)”, Working Paper del Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, 268, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2008.

**Section 10: “Spanish Public Administration: Reformism or Inertia?”:**

- **Wednesday, March 6, 2019:** The Spanish public administration has faced several challenges since the transition (e.g. decentralization, welfare state, modernization, new public management). What is the current profile of the Spanish public administration?

**Readings:** Lourdes Torres and Vicente Pina, “Reshaping Public Administration: the Spanish Experience compared to the UK”, *Public Administration*, 82(2), 2004, 445-464.

**Section 11: “The Fourth Power? Mass Media in Spain”:**

- **Monday, March 11, 2019:** The period of Francoism banned unofficial mass media. From the 1980s, big media corporations have grown in Spain. Are they related with political parties? How do they influence voters? Are they a real fourth power defending the freedom of communication?

**Readings:** Carles Llorens, “Spain’s Media Concentration Policy: a Patchwork Crucial to the Understanding of the Spanish Media System”, *International Journal of Communication*, 4, 2010, 844-864.

**Monday, March 13, 2019: Mid-term exam!**

**PART III. STRUCTURAL DYNAMICS OF SPANISH POLITICS****Section 12: “Territorial Political System and Decentralization: Towards Federalism?”:**

- **Monday, March 18, 2019:** The Spanish territorial system is a recent creation which was profoundly shaped by decentralization. Is that unstable institutional arrangement evolving towards federalism?

**Readings:** Luis Moreno, “Federalization and Ethnoterritorial Concurrence in Spain”, *Publius. The Journal of Federalism*, 27(4), 1997, 65-84.

**Section 13: “Spain, What Model for a Multicultural Society?”:**

- **Monday, March 20, 2019:** For the last 15 years, Spain has converted into an immigration country by attracting people from around the world. Is this trend over? How does Spain deal with so much variety?

**Readings:** Ricard Zapata-Barrero, "Managing Diversity in Spanish Society: A Practical Approach", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 31(4), 2010, 383-402.

**Section 14:** "Does Spain Exist? Nationalism(s) in the Peninsula":

- **Wednesday, March 25, 2019:** Contemporary Spanish politics has been – and is – largely shaped by center-periphery tensions including terrorism. How do Spaniards deal with their overlapping identities?

**Readings:** Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, "The Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19(3), 2007, 289-306.

- **Monday, March 27, 2019:** List of questions and essay about the movie *Lobo*.

**Section 15:** "Times They Are a-Changin'. Political Culture in Spain":

- **Wednesday, April 1, 2019:** Spanish political culture has evolved in a dramatic way over the last 30 years. Let's have a look at the most important change.

**Readings:** José Ramón Montero, Richard Gunther and Mariano Torcal, "Democracy in Spain: Legitimacy, Discontent, and Disaffection", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 32(3), 1997, 124-160.

**Section 16:** "Elections and Electors in Spain. A Proportional System for a Majoritarian Outcome?":

- **Monday, April 3, 2019:** The current electoral behavior of Spaniards is the product of a 35 years' evolution that started after the end of Francoism. But how did the current electoral system shape those preferences?

**Readings:** José Ramón Montero, "Stabilizing the Democratic Order: Electoral Behavior in Spain", *West European Politics*, 21(4), 1998, 53-79.

**Section 17:** "Spain, a *sui generis* Model of Welfare State":

- **Wednesday, April 8, 2019:** The transition to democracy was also a U-turn towards the creation of a new welfare-state. What model of social policies does Spain belong to?

**Readings:** Luis Moreno, "Mediterranean Welfare and 'Superwomen'", *Working Paper Unidad de Políticas Comparadas*, 2, CSIC, Madrid, 2002.

**Section 18:** "Transparency and Quality of Democracy: Is Spain a Corrupted Country?":

- **Monday, April 10, 2019:** The concepts of transparency, accountability, quality of democracy... have become increasingly popular in political science for the last 15 years. Nevertheless, the high number of corruption scandals in Spain occurred in the 2010s seems to indicate that Spain does not comply with those indicators. So, is Spain a corrupted country?

**Readings:** Manuel Villoria, Gregg G. Van Ryzin & Cecilia F. Lavena, "Social and Political Consequences of Administrative Corruption: A Study of Public Perceptions in Spain", *Public Administration Review*, 73(1), 2013, 85-94.

**Section 19:** "Spanish Foreign Relations. Still an 'enfant terrible'?":

- **Wednesday, April 22, 2019:** Despite its integration to the European Union, Spain still maintains strong links with other areas like Morocco and Latin America. But is Spain an outsider from the viewpoint of the European foreign affairs?

**Readings:** Richard Gillespie & Richard Youngs, "Spain's International Challenges at the Turn of the Century", *Mediterranean Politics*, 5(2), 2007, 1-13.

**Section 20:** "What's New Pussycat? Recent Developments in Spanish Politics":

- **Monday, April 24, 2019:** LGBT rights, abortion, regulation against gender violence, economic crisis, *ley de memoria histórica*... what lessons can be drawn from the last fifteen years?

**Readings:** Eladio Febrero & Jorge Uxó, "Constraints and Alternatives for Employment and Output Growth: Spain during the Great Recession", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 19(1), 2011, 63-81.

**Section 21: "Oratory contest about Spanish Politics":**

- **Monday, May 13, 2019:** Oratory contest 1.
- **Wednesday, May 15, 2019:** Oratory contest 2.

**May 20-23, 2019: Final exam!**

**Holidays**

- **Thursday, February 28:** *Día de Andalucía*. No classes will be held.
- **Sunday, April 14 - Sunday, April 21:** *Semana Santa* (Holy Week). No classes will be held.
- **Saturday, May 4 - Saturday, May 11:** *Feria de Abril* (Seville's April Fair). No classes will be held.