



**SOCIOLOGY
IN
SPAIN**

Edited by

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SOCIOLOGY OF THE POLITICAL TRANSITION

Francisco J. Llera

Reflection on the transitions in international political sociology took a strong hold in comparative politics along with the changes in regime that came about in the seventies in Greece, Portugal and, above all, Spain. The Spanish political transition has been, and still is, of great relevance in comparative politics. Apart from its contextualization in the social and political structures of the societies of Southern Europe, or its interest in the sister republics of Latin America, the circumstances of the transformation of the authoritarian regime into a stable pluralist democracy are studied with interest nowadays in places so different, geographically and politically, as South Korea, Hungary and Poland.

The process of becoming a democracy began in a moment when there already existed in Spain a sociological-empirical tradition, in which the study of public opinion played a vital role, both in private initiative (the studies of the *Fundación FOESSA* (FOESSA Foundation) deserve special mention), and in public initiative from the *Instituto de Opinión Pública* (later in 1977, *el Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* [Institute of Public Opinion]). Centre of Sociological Research), indicating that there was already a basis for knowing and rationalizing the Spanish predisposition towards the first stage of liberalization.

The scope of such a historical process caught Spanish sociology and political science in a moment of initiation and academic institutionalization, with a considerable lack of human and material resources, if we compare the respective standards that had been reached by then by the main scientific communities of western sociology. In spite of these impediments and of the limitations imposed on sociological activity by the distrust and fear of the dictatorship, the lack of information about many of the aspects of political life did not prevent sociology from playing an important part in the outline and administration of the process of transition.

A sociological machinery, which was much used under the leadership of Adolfo Suárez when taking decisions about political reform, was already underway. One of the characteristics of the sociology of this time was, precisely, the active commitment of a great number of sociologists to the main political protagonists of the transition: first-rate sociologists or political scientists such as Luis González Seara, Juan Díez Nicolás, José M. Maravall, Rafael López Pintor, José I. Wert, Jorge de Esteban, Raúl Morodo, Antonio López Pina, José R. Montero, Julián Santamaría, Ignacio Sotelo, Rosa Conde, Luis Rodríguez Zúñiga and José Félix Tezanos, among others, have had, or have, political responsibilities. This rapid political involvement has had, without doubt, a delaying effect on the theoretical and systematic contributions of such a process.

One cannot lose sight of the fact that a scientific community in Spain enables scientific interest in the transformations taking place within Spain to develop beyond its frontiers. In spite of the fact that intellectual and scientific life, particularly sociological and political reflection, were one of the areas with most difficulties for development in the context of the dictatorship, the quantity and quality of global or sectorial analyses is highly acknowledged, especially through the connection and work of many of our sociologists and political scientists in European or American universities. The most outstanding and pioneer case is that of Juan J. Linz, but we must add to this name those of José M. Maravall, Salvador Giner, Julián Santamaría, Juan P. Fusi, José R. Montero, Amando de Miguel, José Vidal Beneyto, Antonio López Pina, Víctor Pérez Díaz, José Cazorla, Luis Ramírez, Rafael López Pintor, Ignacio Sotelo, Miguel Beltrán, Ramón García Cotarelo and Carlos Alba, among others.

The reflection in Spanish begins with a supplement on the political change added to the *Síntesis actualizada del Informe FOESSA, 1975-78* (Updated Synthesis of the FOESSA Report, 1975-78). It was Juan J. Linz who in 1977,

and revising a text from 1974, published the first systematic theorization in English in his *Spain and Portugal: Critical Choices* and he was also the person who directed what was perhaps the most important macro work: *Informe Sociológico sobre el cambio político en España, 1975-1981* (Sociological Report on Political Change in Spain, 1975-1981), to which we must add a massive proliferation of specialized works, the majority of which have been published in English.

Another of the pioneer systematic works in Spanish is the *Teoría de la Transición* (Theory of the Transition) by Luis García San Miguel, in which, apart from weighing up his previous theses which appeared in the journal *Sistema*, he analyzed the first steps of the transition from a liberal perspective.

Although by 1976 José M. Maravall had already published in English several works on the opposition to the Franco regime, the political socialization and the political role of the student movement, in *La política de la Transición* (The Politics of the Transition), he gave his systematic view. This was from his socialist perspective which was distant from functionalism. The central aspects of his analysis concentrate on the complex dynamics between the institutional reforms from above and the mobilization of the people, the relationship between the moderation of the voters and the ideological differences of the parties. It was one of the first studies of political culture, and concluded by discussing the question of the left-wing and, more fully, the socialist programme in 1982.

Among the first works published, which were above all from political science or political law and were of a fragmentary and inconsistent kind, we must point out those of Raymond Carr and Juan P. Fusi: *España, de la dictadura a la democracia* (Spain from Dictatorship to Democracy); Jorge de Esteban and Luis López Guerra: *De la dictadura a la democracia* (From Dictatorship to Democracy); Antonio Hernández Gil: *El cambio político español y la Constitución* (Spanish Political Change and the Constitution); and Raúl Morodo: *La transición política* (The Political Transition).

The comparative perspective appears, among others, in the works compiled by Julián Santamaría: *Transición a la democracia en el sur de Europa y América Latina* (Transition to Democracy in Southern Europe and South America) and Miguel Martínez Cuadrado: *Mutaciones y transformaciones de las sociedades del sur de Europa en el umbral de los años ochenta* (Changes and Transformations in Societies in Southern Europe on the Threshold of the Eighties), besides the extensive bibliography on the subject by Juan J. Linz.

Empirical works based on the studies of public opinion proliferate from the very start, above all from the government-run *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Centre of Sociological Research). Political attitudes, identification of parties and ideological alignments appear in the collective works of the CIS: *La reforma política* (The Political Reform), *La ideología de los españoles* (The Ideology of the Spanish People) and *Partidos políticos e ideologías en España* (Political Parties and Ideologies in Spain) and, above all, in that of Rafael López Pintor about *La opinión pública española: del franquismo a la democracia* (Spanish Public Opinion: From the Franco Regime to Democracy). At this same empirical level, a good number of studies on the regional question were dealt with, such as: the one directed by José Jiménez Blanco: *La conciencia regional española* (Spanish Regional Awareness), the one shared by Salustiano del Campo, Manuel Navarro and José F. Tezanos: *Estereotipos de las nacionalidades y regiones en España* (National and Regional Stereotypes in Spain), Manuel García Ferrando: *Regionalismo y autonomía en España, 1976-1979* (Regionalism and Autonomy in Spain, 1976-1979) and Eduardo López-Aranguren: *La conciencia regional en al proceso autonómico español* (Regional Awareness in the Spanish Autonomous Process). On the whole, the majority of studies on the question of nationalities were carried out monographically by local researchers, whom it would be very tedious to name here.

Another of the important subjects of analysis has been that of the appearance, characterization and crystalization of the political parties, which has gone very much hand in hand with the study of electoral behaviour. As regards this, we must point out the works of Rafael del Aguila and Ricardo Montero on *El discurso político de la transición española* (The Political Discourse of the Spanish Transition), of Jorge de Esteban and Luis López Guerra on *Los partidos políticos en la España actual* (Political Parties in Present-day Spain) and the collective studies directed by Raúl Morodo: *Los partidos políticos en España* (Political Parties in Spain), Pedro de Vega: *Teoría y práctica de los partidos políticos* (The Theory and Practice of the Political Parties) and, the most recent, that of Juan J. Linz and José R. Montero: *Crisis y cambio: electores y partidos en la España de los ochenta* (Crisis and Change; Electors and Parties in the Spain of the Eighties). Although the studies on specific parties, above all on their organic and internal aspects, are not very numerous, we must point out those on UCD by Carlos Huneeus, on AP by Lourdes López Nieto, on PSOE by José F. Tezanos and by Elías Díaz. To all of these we must add the essays on the characterization of party systems which are spread among

numerous publications, and also the regional studies above all in Catalunya, the Basque Country, Galicia and Andalusia.

Works on the Spanish political transition or its most relevant aspects that deserve special mention are those done or encouraged by foreign researchers such as the Italians Leonardo Morlino, Mario Caciagli or Giacomo Sani, the Frenchman Guy Hermet, the Germans Hans-Jürgen Puhle, Michael Buse, Dieter Nohlen and Klaus von Beyme, the Americans Stanley G. Payne, Samuel Barnes, Richar Gunther, Goldie Shabad and Samuel Eaton and the British Paul Preston, Christopher Abel, Raymond Carr, David Gilmour, Kenneth Maxwell, Benny Pollack and David Bell, to name a few, all of whom have worked in close collaboration with researchers in our country.

There remain to be analyzed many others who have researched monographically partial aspects of the transition, such as the role of the social forces, of the elite, of the Church, of the Armed Forces, of terrorism, of political culture, of bureaucracy, or of the small communities, which this limited work will not attempt to tackle.

There follows a select bibliography in Spanish, from which we have excluded articles in journals, analyses that are restricted to autonomous communities and others that refer to partial aspects of the political process and structure. As far as the latter are concerned, the bibliographic works published by Miguel Herrero Lera (1982) and Andrés de Blas (1985) are of great value.

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