

**THE POLITICS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE:  
RE-INSCRIBING LATIN AMERICAN EXPERIENCES**

**PAULO RAVECCA**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE  
STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**GRADUATE PROGRAM IN POLITICAL SCIENCE  
YORK UNIVERSITY  
TORONTO, CANADA**

**FEBRUARY, 2016**

**© PAULO RAVECCA, 2016**

## **Abstract**

Latin America has traditionally been both a politically lively space with strong left-wing forces and a privileged site for “radical” thinking. Indeed, during the 1950s and 1960s, Marxism was very influential in the social sciences. In the 1980s and 1990s, this situation changed dramatically and liberalism became dominant. The prevailing narrative within the academic discipline of Political Science (PS) today describes this shift as a process of “modernization” and “improvement” since social scientists would have moved from “activism” to “serious science,” rightly embracing the notion of academic neutrality. This thesis focuses on the trajectory of PS in Uruguay and Chile, and attempts an alternative interpretation of this process, telling the story of these changes in a different way. The core argument is that changes in PS as an academic discipline in the region are a product of power relations and contextual transformations at different levels. The rise of the United States, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its effects, the traumatizing dictatorships of the 1970s, the experience of the democratic transitions, the hegemony of the neoliberal discourse as well as internal disciplinary dynamics of conflict and institution-building had a huge impact on PS’ reality (its discourse and people).

PS is a human activity that affects and is affected by others: the political nature of the discipline is also constituted by its inevitable involvement in broader power dynamics. Indeed, this thesis unpacks PS’ role in the (neo) liberal formation of the 1980s and 1990s in Latin America. By exploring the Politics of Political Science (PPS) in this way, we will deepen our knowledge of the politics of our times. The research employs multiple methods, including the systematic analysis of 1194 articles published in the leading PS journals of the countries under study, 58 semi-structured interviews, an auto-ethnographic narrative, as well as other complementary strategies.

*to*  
*Cristina*  
*my mother*  
*&*  
*Andrew*

## Acknowledgments

It is certainly unusual to make epistemological comments in the acknowledgments section, but this is a rare piece of writing in many regards. Here, *the other* under study *is us* — political scientists — and, therefore, there is overlap between “acknowledgments” and “object of inquiry.” Critical self-reflection has already begun, and it will be expanded by the interviewees, who opened the realm of conversation in surprising, generous and moving ways. For being part of the body of this text and being ready to untangle academia and its powers, I am profoundly grateful to: Adolfo Garcé, Alberto Mayol, Alfonso Donoso, Alfredo Joignant, Alfredo Rehren, Álvaro Rico, Andreas Feldmann, Anthony Pezzola, Carlos Durán, Carlos Fortín, Carlos Huneeus, Carmen Midaglia, Claudia Heiss, Claudio Fuentes, Daniel Buquet, Daniel Chasquetti, David Altman, Diego Rossello, Eugenio Guzmán, Francisco Díaz, Gerardo Caetano, Hugo Frühling, Jacques Ginesta, Jaime Baeza, Jaime Yaffé, Javier Gallardo, Jorge Landinelli, Jorge Lanzaro, José Miguel Busquets, José Viacava, Juan Andrés Moraes, Juan Carlos Gómez Leyton, Julián González, Julieta Suárez, Laura Gioscia, Leonardo Letelier, Lorena Oyarzún, Lucía Selios, Luis Senatore, Marcelo Mella, María de los Ángeles Fernández Ramil, María Ester Mancebo, María Francisca Quiroga, Marisa von Bülow, Mónica Tagle, Nicolás Bentancur, Niki Johnson, Óscar Landerretche, Pablo Bulcourf, Patricio Navia, Pedro Narbono, Roberto Durán, Rodrigo Egaña, Romeo Pérez Antón, Rossana Castiglioni, Stéphanie Alenda, Tomás Chuaqui and Umut Aydin. After this process of thinking together, I have a better understanding of our discipline and its politics (see note on confidentiality in Chapter 1, Methods section). Germán Parula also accepted to be interviewed and shared with me his perspective on the role of academia around the concerning issue of mining in Uruguay.

Great spaces for learning and critique, a number of York University graduate courses inform the Politics of Political Science (PPS) at various levels: “Gramsci and Contemporary Political Theory” taught by Esteve Morera; “Contemporary Social Transformations: Knowledge, Political Economy and Agency” by Ananya Mukherjee Reed; “From Hegel to Marx” by David McNally; “Symposium in Political Theory” by Asher Horowitz and David McNally; “International Political Economy, Development & Public Policy” by Viviana Patroni; “The Critical Theory of Society of Frankfurt School &

Benjamin” by Asher Horowitz; “The Study of Comparative Politics” by Hannes Lacher and Steven Hellman; and “Theorizing Transnational Sexualities” by Andil Gosine. Two reading and two audited courses played a significant part in the conception and shaping of this dissertation; they are: “From Neo-liberalism to the ‘Turn to the Left’ in Latin America: Political Science’s Political Role in the Last Twenty Years” (reading course) with Ananya Mukherjee Reed; “Critical Theories, Difficult Conservations? Marxism, Postcolonial Studies and Queer Theory” (reading course) with David McNally; “Appropriating Marx’s Capital, I” (audited) taught by David McNally; and Elizabeth Dauphinee’s “Narrative Voice and Auto-ethnography in International Relations” (audited).

The conceptual crafting of the data-base of academic articles that made chapters 2 and 3 possible was a fun but hard enterprise. The so-called operationalization of highly abstract concepts and the organizing of all the dimensions of analysis in this forcefully neat way was challenging: I am grateful to Daniel Buquet, Federico Traversa, Lucía Selios and Verónica Pérez from the *Instituto de Ciencia Política (ICP, Universidad de la República)* as well as to Diego Hernández (*Universidad Católica del Uruguay*) and Mariana Mosteiro for their patient help with that. Special thanks to Marcos Segantini for his guidance in the world of SPSS. Belén Villegas, Camila Zeballos and Mariana Mancebo helped me with the data analysis. Mariana in particular provided important support for most of the duration of the research.

At the PoliSci department of York University nobody would complete her degree without the support of three amazing people: Jlenya Sarra-De Meo, Judy Matadial and Marlene Quesenberry.

I am grateful to Yorkies and other good friends whose presence in Toronto enriches thinking and life: Art Babayants, Balca Arda, Carmen Sanchez, Gökbörü Sarp Tanyıldız, Hide Miyagawa, Jordi Diez, Karl Dahlquist, Liisa North, Lilian Yap, Nadia Hasan, Nausheen Quayyum, Nishant Upadhyay, Ruth Felder, Sarah LeBlanc, Shelley Liebembuk and Thomas Chiasson-LeBel. The Church and Wellesley area yoga community is a space for healing and joy: writing this thesis would have been a different (and harder) experience without the yogis. Adolfo Garcé, Ana María Araújo, Cécile Casen, Carmen Dangiollillo, Diego Sempol, Doris Hajer, Diego Hernández, Inés Ksiazienicki, Juan Andrés Bresciano, María de los Ángeles Fernández Ramil, María Eugenia Jung, María José Vega, Pablo

Liddle and Soledad Morales in different moments and spaces, have also expanded my thoughts and my affects and that is precious for me (as well as for PPS).

Many colleagues at the *ICP* have been great companions of this project. I will highlight one: Pedro Narbondo, who passed away last year leaving a wonderful legacy of critical thinking, sharp sense of humor and skepticism toward whatever smells of power. Participants in the 2012 edition of my *ICP* course on “Social Sciences, Knowledge Production and Contemporary ‘Radical’ Thinking” were very inspiring: Agustín Abreu, Belén Villegas, Camila Zeballos, Diego León Pérez, Doris Hajer, Gabriel Delacoste, Gastón Mántaras, Mauro Casa, Mariana Mancebo and Sofia Idiarte.

Constanza Moreira was a doula at my academic birth and encouraged the critical urge that launched this journey. Javier Gallardo critically embraced this project in its inception, when I wrote a transgressive BA thesis that was eventually chosen as the best of the year. Ananya Mukherjee Reed and Anna Agathangelou supported PPS at its early stages and for that I am enormously grateful. Mónica Tagle and María Francisca Quiroga gave me a tremendous hand during my “field-work” in Chile. Eduardo Canel always provided precious guidance. In both, Canada and Uruguay, we discussed for hours the database as well as Chapter 2. Naeem Inayatullah was extremely generous with his detailed and insightful feedback on a previous version of Chapter 4. Antonio Torres-Ruiz is a friend with whom I share the dream of (as well as the everyday struggle for) a more critical, self-reflexive academia. Lilian Yap closely read most of this thesis, making meaningful conceptual and editorial suggestions.

The Research Group on the History of Political Science at the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP), and the Research Committee 33: The Study of Political Science as a Discipline at the International Political Science Association (IPSA), have both been good venues to share this research and to get feedback. Special thanks to Arturo Fernández, Bob Reinalda, Enrique Gutiérrez, Erkki Berndtson, John E. Trent, Michael B. Stein, Pablo Bulcourf, Sergio Ángel Baquero and Victor Alarcón Olguín. The Latin American Politics Study Group initiative (York University) that I shared for some time with Ruth Felder and Thomas Chiasson-LeBel, as well as the Queer Academic Area (Uruguay) were also spaces where this research “happened”. I thank The Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), The Centre for Research on Latin America and the

Caribbean (CERLAC) at York University, the Tokyo Foundation as well as the Political Science Department at *UdelaR, ICP*, for their support on different stages of PPS.

Freedom for radical thinking and search for excellence — that is how I would define the experience with my PhD advisory committee. As a professor and supervisor, David McNally practices his theoretical and political convictions. I respect that in a way that I truly relish. Given that deep thinkers are supposed to be helpless *vis-à-vis* the scary reign of administration, he also surprised me by being excellent at solving practical issues. Without Elizabeth Dauphinee, Chapter 4 — and therefore the entire architecture of this thesis — would not exist. The generosity of Viviana Patroni who met with me numerous times to discuss in depth this research is something that I treasured. Her theoretical insights as well as her expertise on Latin America helped me to improve many sections of the manuscript, in particular Chapters 2 and 3. Shannon Bell, as chair of the committee, beautifully crafted the space for a fascinating conversation and asked crucial questions. Alan Sears enriched the conversation with further incisive questions and challenging insights pertaining to the very heart of my project. Fernando Leiva, the external examiner, embodied what for me academia is at its best: rigorous critique and intellectual openness. *Due to each of your contributions, my PhD dissertation defense was one of the best days of my life, full of challenge, effort and creativity.*

Ana Franco is the reason why I survived my first few months (or maybe the first years) in Toronto. Paul Soren, Barbara Soren and Svetlana (Soren?) enhance my emotional and intellectual life today. I spent 6 happy years of walks, conversations, laughter and critical thought with my friend Robert Kohls. We created a parallel universe from Church Street: we, indeed, “queered the space.” All the best in San Francisco, professor, and see you later.

Amparo Menéndez-Carrión has been a true mentor for me — growth and durability are markers of a pedagogical relationship always on the move. Gabriela Mosteiro is my beloved sister and I would not be writing these pages without her support: for giving me Foucault and Freud to read when I was an adolescent and for many other things — thank you. A few days ago, Cristina Barcia said to me that the best destiny of pain and trauma is creation. *En eso estamos*: and this thesis is part of such an *interminable* existential task.

My mother, Marta Fonseca teaches me every day about ethics, politics and love. Her very presence in the world pushes me to be a more genuine and critical human being. It is striking how true is the *cliché* that words are helpless in expressing profound feelings of gratitude — thank you for teaching me solidarity and compassion. Finally, to the best reader of my dissertation: Andrew Soren. Our relationship, made by passion, love and *eudemonia*, is inscribed — and keeps inscribing — in the heart of these pages from title to conclusions. These pages are yours. In contrast to what many writers confess, I do not feel compelled to thank my partner for his “patience” because, while I was writing these pages, you were on your own journey of creation and thinking. I admire you and I celebrate that, separate *and* together, we strive to offer something special to others.

From the private back to the public, again: I hope that critical readings will call my attention to any form of reification that this thesis might commit. The hard task of critique and emancipation is always in need of others — my gratitude, then, to the other.



# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
List of Graphs.....	xi
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Figures .....	xiii
<b>Introduction: The Politics of Political Science’s Architectural Composite – One Argument, Two Rooms, Three Stories</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Theory and Methods of “Power”, “Knowledge” and “Complex Relationality”</b> 11	
1.1 (Disciplinary) Self-reflection .....	21
1.2 Methods.....	26
<b>Chapter 2: Authoritarian Political Science, Chile 1979-1989 (COLD)</b> .....	<b>34</b>
2.1 Institutionalized Transition: Towards a Protected Democracy .....	37
2.2 <i>RCP</i> , or the Meaning of Silence.....	50
2.3 A Re-Founding Trilogy: Protected Democracy, Market Economy and Private Property .	52
2.4 Saving the West: Culture, Christianity and Internationalization.....	57
2.5 Academic Training, Law, Meaning(s), Terror .....	66
2.6 Conclusion: The banality of Institutionalization.....	73
<b>Chapter 3: From Revolution to Transition – the Making of a Conformist Academia in Uruguay and Beyond (WARM)</b> .....	<b>74</b>
3.1 Framing the Uruguayan Case: Historical Overview or the Politics of Timing .....	77
3.2 Dictatorship, Transition and Trauma.....	82
3.3 Rethinking Epic Narrative(s). Private Research Centers during the Dictatorship: Resistance... through Neo-liberalization?.....	88
3.4 The Limits of Pluralism: Identity Building, Epistemological Policing and the Shadows of Marx .....	93
3.5 Appropriating Carlos Real de Azúa: Teleology and Destiny .....	105
3.6 Narrative Power(s): Storytelling and the Delineation of the Disciplinary-Self.....	109
3.7 Objectivity and Romance: Uruguayan Political Science and Liberal Democracy .....	111
3.8 The Limits of Conformism: State-Centrism and the Containment of Market Utopias (with a Note on Secularism).....	118
3.9 Complex Relationality and Liberal <i>Unthinking</i> .....	122
<b>Chapter 4: The Intimate Architecture of the Politics of Political Science (HOT)</b> .....	<b>128</b>

4.1 Looking for a Perspective .....	128
4.2 My Dictatorship(s) .....	131
4.3 Straight PS.....	136
4.4 Love for PS and its Complicated Geographies .....	141
4.5 PS for PS .....	145
4.6 <i>Addendum</i> (?) beyond (?) Trauma. Horror <i>in</i> the Body of Thought: Undoing Harm .....	145
<b>Chapter 5: The Temperatures of Thinking and Politics – an Assemblage of Critical Theories and a Problematizing Re-<i>Inscription</i> of Political Science .....</b>	<b>154</b>
5.1 Liberal Unthinking and the Epistemological <i>Desaparecidos</i> of 1990s Latin America...	161
5.2 Complex Relationality at Work: A Radical Alternative to Mainstream Tales.....	167
5.3 Whose Theory? Sustaining Thinking, Protecting (Self-) Reflection.....	181
<b>References .....</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>List of Analyzed Articles.....</b>	<b>230</b>
<i>Revista de Ciencia Política</i> (Chile) 1979-1989.....	230
<i>Revista Política</i> (Chile) 1982-1989.....	238
<i>Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política</i> (Uruguay) 1987-2012 .....	248
<b>List of Analyzed MA Theses.....</b>	<b>260</b>
<b>APPENDIX A: The Articles’ Database .....</b>	<b>262</b>
“Academic” Variables: Theory and Methods (Selection) .....	263
The PPS Variables.....	264
Complete View of the Data-Base (Variables; Spanish) .....	274
View of the Data-Base (Sample of Cases from <i>RCP</i> ).....	277
<b>APPENDIX B: The Interviews.....</b>	<b>278</b>
List of Interviewees in Alphabetic Order (by Name).....	278
Interview Questions .....	279
Descriptive Tables.....	284
Analytical Tables .....	285
<b>APPENDIX C: Situated Understanding(s) of “Quantitative” and “Quantification” .....</b>	<b>347</b>
<b>APPENDIX D: Informed Consent.....</b>	<b>349</b>
Verbal Informed Consent Script .....	353
<b>APPENDIX E. An Example of the Acritical Relationship with the Elites? PS and Mining.</b>	<b>354</b>
<b>APPENDIX F: Syllabus of PPS BA course (Spanish).....</b>	<b>355</b>

## List of Graphs

Graph 1: View of communism <i>Política</i> .....	42
Graph 2: View of communism <i>RCP</i> .....	42
Graph 3: Position toward the US and the USSR <i>Política</i> .....	43
Graph 4: Position toward the US and the USSR <i>RCP</i> .....	43
Graph 5: View of Marxism <i>Política</i> .....	46
Graph 6: View of Marxism <i>RCP</i> .....	46
Graph 7: Type of democracy promoted <i>Política</i> .....	49
Graph 8: Type of democracy promoted <i>RCP</i> .....	49
Graph 9: View of neoliberal reforms <i>Política</i> .....	55
Graph 10: View of neoliberal reforms <i>RCP</i> .....	55
Graph 11: Country of academic training <i>Política</i> .....	61
Graph 12: Country of academic training <i>RCP</i> .....	62
Graph 13: The West and Christianity <i>Política</i> .....	64
Graph 14: The West and Christianity <i>RCP</i> .....	64
Graph 15: Religion as a main topic <i>Política</i> and <i>RCP</i> .....	66
Graph 16: Academic training <i>Política</i> .....	67
Graph 17: Academic training <i>RCP</i> .....	68
Graph 18: Lawyers <i>Política</i> and <i>RCP</i> .....	68
Graph 19: View of Marxism <i>RUCP</i> .....	97
Graph 20: “Critical” authors quoted <i>RUCP</i> .....	98
Graph 21: Conception of the political in “spatial” terms <i>RUCP</i> .....	99
Graph 22: View of communism <i>RUCP</i> .....	100
Graph 23: Position toward the US and the USSR <i>RUCP</i> .....	100
Graph 24: Type of democracy promoted <i>RUCP</i> .....	101
Graph 25: View of neoliberal reforms <i>RUCP</i> .....	121
Graph 26: The West and Christianity <i>RUCP</i> .....	121
Graph 27: The "Quantitative" Component <i>RUCP</i> .....	348

## List of Tables

Table 1: “Popular” authors in RUCP .....	99
Table 2: Interviews by country.....	284
Table 3: Interviews’ average length by country.....	284
Table 4: Interviews’ maximum length by country .....	284
Table 5: Interviews’ minimum length by country.....	284
Table 6: Number of foreign interviewees by country .....	284
Table 7: Past and present academic institutional adscription of interviewees by country .....	285
Table 8: Academic institutions mentioned by the interviewees.....	287
Table 9: Past and present ‘non-university’ institutional adscription of the interviewees.....	293
Table 10: Other institutions mentioned by the interviewees.....	295
Table 11: Think thanks named by country.....	303
Table 12: Anglo-Saxon universities named by the interviewees .....	304
Table 13: View of the dictatorship(s).....	306
Table 14: View of the democratic transition.....	312
Table 15: View of democracy .....	318
Table 16: View of the United States .....	324
Table 17: View of Europe .....	329
Table 18: View of Marxism .....	332
Table 19: View of <i>ensayismo</i> .....	341
Table 20: Typology of articles by methods, AJPS and APSR .....	348

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Photography extracted from “Memory of Activities 1983”, IPS-CHU.....	38
Figure 2: Cover of Special Edition of <i>Política, Chile 1973-1983. Perspectives for a decade</i> , Nov. 1983.....	39
Figure 3: Decree of IPS-CHU’s creation, from “Memory of Activities 1982”.....	40
Figure 4: <i>North American Studies</i> , IPS-CHU, 1986 .....	45
Figure 5: “Printed by <i>Gendarmería</i> ”.....	45
Figure 6: Cover of Special issue of <i>Política</i> on “The entrepreneurial role of the State” and “Politics and Social Communication”, n°13, 1987.....	56
Figure 7: Cover of Special Issue of <i>Política</i> on “Neoconservative Thinking”, n°11, 1987.....	59
Figure 8: Julien Freund, Strasburg University philosopher, Raymond Aron student and well known scholar of Max Weber. Picture of talk on “Fundamental questions of contemporary politics” (June, 1982, IPS-CHU). “Memory of activities, 1982”.....	60
Figure 9: Notebooks of the IPS-CU (1-28). RCP N°2. ....	70
Figure 10: Curricula of the IPS-CHU’s MA Program in Political Science, “Memory of Activities 1988.”.....	71
Figure 11: Cover of the first MA thesis of IPS-CHU.....	72
Figure 12: Social science research centers: Lateness and concentration in the public sector. Extracted from Filgueira (1974).....	82
Figure 13: “Political Science: Object and Methods”, a PS textbook employed during the dictatorship in Uruguay.....	87
Figure 14: “The language of the conquerors soon came to supplant the other languages” (Ghosh, 1994, p. 101) .....	153
Figure 15: The mainstream narrative: Ideological timelines, geographies and knowledge .....	169
Figure 16: PPS critique, complex relationality at work .....	174
Figure 17: The theoretical intervention of PPS .....	175
Figure 18: Typology of academic articles by methods .....	347

# Introduction: The Politics of Political Science's Architectural Composite – One Argument, Two Rooms, Three Stories

"All truth is simple. Is that not a double lie?"

Friedrich Nietzsche

“Proclamar la verdad: ¡el supremo ardid de guerra!” (Proclaiming the truth: the supreme ruse of war!)

Antonio Machado

Knowledge is a battlefield. From Marxism to queer theory, this insight is shared by every theory identified as “critical”, and indeed it may be seen as the epistemological heart of critical thinking. After all, anyone fighting against *any form* of oppression has to start by confronting the narratives and knowledges that sustain it. This thesis builds on such a perspective, and explores the Politics of Political Science (PPS) in Latin America with a special focus on Chile and Uruguay.<sup>1</sup>

PPS is an architectural composite that includes three stories, acting in a room, housed within a larger space. The large space is this thesis at its highest level of abstraction. It is a meditation on the very ‘structure’ of thinking and knowledge, as well as on the role of self-reflection in making analytical connections and broadening political possibilities. This structure is already being built (see also Chapter 1) and will be fully unveiled by Chapter 5. The smaller room is the critical analysis of PPS, where this thesis stages its stories of knowledge and power (Chapters 2, 3 and 4). Indeed, the introspective exercise is located in PS as well as in the narratives around disciplinary development (meta-self-reflection).

---

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that the expression “the Politics of Political Science” is employed by other authors – for instance, Morris-Jones (1983). However, in this case the same name does not mean same thing: as the reader will immediately notice, this thesis’ originality lies at the intersection between the literature on the development of PS and critical theory.

While the theoretical foundations to the PPS room are also being built as I write, and will be completed by Chapter 1, its walls, doors, and content will be erected by the stories that happen within it. Indeed, the spaces are inseparable from the stories that they host: the architecture of this thesis is a (self)reflection on thinking and politics; action and structure; subject and object; the local and the universal.<sup>2</sup> By chapter 5, as we look at the fully furnished room, housed in the larger space, we will hope that the whole structure does not completely collapse in upon itself by its own realization.

The first story will take us to Chile and the PS developed during Pinochet's dictatorship: Authoritarian Political Science (APS) (Chapter 2). By showing that important elements of the discipline's infrastructure were created during, and sometimes by, this authoritarian regime, this PPS subplot challenges the dominant PS narrative that links the institutionalization of our discipline to liberal democracy in a linear fashion (Altman, 2005; Altman 2006; Barrientos Del Monte, 2012; Buquet, 2012; Fortou, Leyva Botero, Preciado, & Ramírez, 2013; Huneus, 2006; Viacava, 2012, among others). The APS saga transforms liberalism from a hero into a less attractive creature, deprived of democratic powers. Indeed, Chapter 2 smashes the trilogy "Liberalism, Democracy, PS" and suggests the need for a nuanced, empirically informed and theoretically dense understanding of PS' multiple historical trajectories. In other words, we need to look at how broader politics affects PS and vice versa.

*The PPS room will feel cold now.* In a sort of Brechtian tone, APS' story will reach more the minds than the hearts. Empirical evidence expressed in numbers and historical records will lead the analysis (See the section on Methods in Chapter 1 and Appendix A). This is an important step; however, social sciences are human activities (Marx, 1978a), and therefore we need to look at human beings' doings in order to grasp the reality of these disciplines. If we want to understand the history of knowledge and power a little bit better, we need to witness more stories: Chapter 3 will expand PPS, furnishing the room with more concepts and experiences.

---

<sup>2</sup> PPS problematizes dichotomist thinking and its reified divisions: Object/Subject; Epistemology/Research; Inside/Outside; Identity politics/Class struggle; North/South; Western/Eastern; Global/Local; Power/Knowledge-Morality; Internal/External; Critical/Conservative and even the trichotomy Marxist/Liberal/Postmodern (see Chapters 1, 4 and 5). I aim to offer a relational perspective that shows the porosity (Buck-Morss, 2009) between power and knowledge and also between these other spaces and stories.

Uruguay has many points of connection with Chile, including a similar dictatorship in the 70s and 80s, but this did not produce APS: why? What happened there? And what does that mean for PPS?<sup>3</sup> The Uruguayan story deals with these and other questions about PS in the country, unfolding a problematizing re-description (Shapiro, 2005) of the disciplinary history from the point of view of power-knowledge dynamics (Foucault, 2006, 1993, 1992, 1991a, 1991b, 1989, 1980; Marcuse 1991; Gramsci, 2008). It proceeds by identifying the conceptual *and* institutional components that, in the PPS interpretation (Geertz, 1997), constitute the dominant Uruguayan PS discourse (Foucault, 1991a, 1991b). The emphasis is again on the way “democracy” is talked about. The focus is on Uruguay, but a comparative perspective is kept by partially following the previous chapter’s structure and analytical strategy. The journey will stop at the various intersections between power and knowledge that reveal meaningful similarities and contrasts with Chile.

Chapter 3 further expands and complicates PPS and this is reflected in a methodological shift. In addition to the numbers and the historical records, 22 in-depth interviews raise the voice of Uruguayan political scientists (see Chapter 1’s section on Methods and Appendix B). *A warmer air will enter the space*, carrying discursive analysis again, but in a version where subjectivity and the experience of trauma are heard (Edkins, 2003; Gil & Viñar, 1998; Giorgi, 1995; LaCapra, 2009; Scarry, 1987; Sneh & Cosaka, 2000). In this way, the chapter takes an extra step to grasp the role of lived experience and subjectivity in intellectual and political transformations, thus deepening and furthering self-reflection.

Self-reflection transforms the space of analysis. The last story raises the temperature of the PPS room to the point of burning, threatening to melt the boundaries between room and story, subject and object. Chapter 4 is *hot* because it practices disciplinary self-reflection through — boundless and brutally open — personal introspection. The exercise is both theoretical and heuristic: the auto-ethnographic narrative and the exploration of subjectivity (Brigg & Bleiker, 2010; Dauphinee, 2013a, 2013b; Inayatullah, 2013; Hamati-Ataya, 2014; Löwenheim, 2010) serve here the purpose of analytically *objectivizing* PS. In other words, ‘I’ (my story) is a tool for knowledge production which means that, after all,

---

<sup>3</sup> The term PPS is polysemic in this thesis. It sometimes refers to the issue of the politics of the discipline and, in other occasions, it denotes the particular approach that I propose to the topic.



hot *is* cold (see Chapter 5). Indeed, the engagement with subjectivity will bring back and restore the PPS room. What is more, ‘the personal’ will reach the main chamber of the house – the philosophical meditation on thinking as such – to reform it. The hidden plot that unfolds through the story of PS and its circumstances is the struggle for sustaining reflective thinking<sup>4</sup> amidst power and abuse (be it “sexual,” “political,” or “academic,” the difference is after all irrelevant). Thinking is threatened by different forms of power that leave traces and marks on the body of thought. This thesis appropriates such threats and traumas in order to expand political and intellectual possibilities (i.e. to re-launch thinking within PS and beyond).

Can we interweave the three stories and envision the overarching PPS plot (i.e. a main argument regarding the discipline)? And if so, how can we theorize this main story? The following lines anticipate how the PPS room looks like after the plots and temperatures of this thesis unfold:

Latin America has traditionally been both a politically lively space with strong left-wing forces and a privileged site for “radical” thinking such as liberation theology, dependency theory, critical pedagogy and local expressions of socialist thought.<sup>5</sup> During the 1950s and 1960s, Marxism was very influential in the social sciences. In the 1980s and 1990s, this situation dramatically changed and liberalism became dominant. The mainstream PS narrative today describes this shift as a process of “modernization” and “improvement” since social scientists would have moved from “activism” to “serious science,” *rightly embracing the notion of academic neutrality* (Bejarano & Wills, 2005; Garcé, 2005; Lanzaro, 2000; Neto & Santos, 2005; Freidemberg, Mejía Acosta, & Pachano,

---

<sup>4</sup> A genuine human need in the sense of Marcuse (1991).

<sup>5</sup> The Marxist intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui (1979) and the pedagogue Paulo Freire (1970) are icons of this saga of Latin American critical thought, while writers such as Eduardo Galeano (1973), Pablo Neruda (1960) and Gabriel García Márquez (1967) are examples of the interpenetration between literature and politics in the region. Meanwhile, the composers, musicians and singers Violeta Parra, Alfredo Zitarrosa and Silvio Rodríguez, well known in Latin America for their complex and politically engaged lyrics, marked generations of activists. Also today, numerous critical intellectual projects are being developed outside mainstream PS. A recent example from Ecuador is the *Buen Vivir-Sumak Kawsay*. This notion, understood as being of indigenous origins, attempts to overcome not just “capitalism”, but a civilizational crisis. This crisis would result from what is usually identified as the “Western” ontology, which as the narratives goes, separates reason from body, and thus culture from nature. The *Buen Vivir* proposes an integrated view where human beings are part of nature, and not opposed to it, and it would thus prevent us from perpetuating the instrumental relationship with nature that has led to the environmental crisis that we are facing. The *Buen Vivir*, finally, would have implications for thinking/practicing politics in Latin America and the Caribbean and anywhere else, and also for scholars and their understanding of the analytical endeavor (Carpio Benalcázar, 2009; Ceceña, 2010; Lander, 2010; León, 2009; Ramírez, 2010).

2005; and Loaeza, 2005 embody such view).<sup>6</sup> This thesis focuses on the trajectory of PS in Uruguay and Chile, and attempts an alternative interpretation (Bevir, 2003; Geertz, 1997; Gerring, 2003), or a “problematizing re-description” (Shapiro, 2005) of this process, telling the story of these changes in a different way. My core argument is that changes to PS in the region are a product of power relations and contextual transformations at different levels. The rise of the United States, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its (academic) effects, the traumatizing dictatorships of the 1970s, the experience of the democratic transitions, the hegemony of the neoliberal discourse as well as internal PS dynamics of conflict and institution-building had a huge impact on PS’ reality (its discourse and people). The other side of the political nature of the discipline is its involvement in broader power dynamics. PS is a human activity (Marx, 1978a) that affects and is affected by others; therefore, by knowing PS we may better grasp the politics of our times.

My theoretical perspective is embodied by the very architecture of the thesis. The reflection mobilizes multiple and inter-connected spaces and stories of knowledge and power. Accordingly, the theoretical category that organizes the journey through the Latin American PPS experience(s), *complex relationality*, is a conceptual composite as well. The notion is informed by different critical theories (see Chapter 1) and makes sense of PS’ trajectory by assembling the complex of processes named above (polarization, dictatorship, transition to democracy, Cold War, academic politics, and neoliberalism). Why complex and why relationality? “Complex” because gathering these diverse processes in a unifying interpretation is challenging. In order to organize such multiplicity, this thesis needs to look for assemblages (Puar, 2007) or points of “porosity” (Buck-Morss, 2009) between knowledge production and dissemination, identity, subjectivity, political economy, conventional politics, and the transnational dimension of political change.

PPS is also “relational” because in its account, all these aspects not only intersect (Puar, 2007) but also dynamically affect, and even mutually constitute, each other.<sup>7</sup> The

---

<sup>6</sup> This perspective is well represented by a special issue on the state of the discipline of *Revista de Ciencia Política (RCP)* (2005), one of the top journals in Latin America. Besides the significant bulk of academic literature that embodies this search for objectivity and political neutrality – and thus, proves the existence of a such narrative – let us be “empiricist” here: I cannot count the times I came across this idea in conferences, personal conversations, seminars and all sort of academic meetings as well in the 58 interviews that sustain this thesis (see Chapter 2, 3 and 4).

<sup>7</sup> PPS is not completely “structuralist”: this mutual constitution is full of accidents and can only be comprehended by looking at concrete *histories*.

exercise shows how apparently disconnected realms of experience are in fact intermingled. Showing such interdependence between registers of change is indeed the aim of this re-interpretation of the PS story (Bevir, 2003). The core theoretical point is that ‘science’ is a component of the social and political relations that it tries to understand. If conceiving things as relations is simply to interiorize their interdependence in the thing itself (Ollman, 1971), in my view PS *is* relations. This means that knowledge production is a key component of the broader social relations in which it occurs, and therefore, knowing is itself an embedded social process that has no exteriority from the multiple manifestations of power.

The story of the institutionalization and “development” of Latin American PS, in particular the consolidation of its mainstream, is a powerful occasion to explore the relationship between knowledge and politics. Concretely, I will show how PS is a realm of experience shaped by “internally” and “externally” interconnected relations of power that at the same time takes an active part in the making of its context (its “room,” to go back to our architectural metaphor). In order to unpack PPS through the dynamics of complex relationality, this thesis needs the assistance of critical theory, or indeed, critical theories in plural. Before I deploy such theoretical vocabularies and explain the methodological ‘how’ of the research, let me refer to two important things: first, what I mean in this thesis by “mainstream PS” and by “mainstream PS narratives,” and second, why this study analyses Chile and Uruguay.

I am aware that, as Kathryn Sikkink has recently argued,<sup>8</sup> to delineate “the mainstream” is always a situated and, to some extent, arbitrary exercise. Yet not quite: besides the controversies around the Perestroika Movement within the American Political Science Association (Monroe, 2005), there is more than enough empirical evidence that shows the existence of a mainstream within American PS that is characterized by empiricism, quantitativism and rationalist assumptions.<sup>9</sup> In this environment, shaped by the

---

<sup>8</sup> “What Political Science for what democracy? Climate of Perestroika?” Round-table at the V Uruguayan Conference of Political Science. Daniel Buquet, Juan Pablo Luna and Kathryn Sikkink. Available at <http://asuntospublicostv.uy/politica/politica/que-ciencia-politica-para-que-democracia-parte-4-clima-de-perestroika>

<sup>9</sup> In the famous email that started the revolt in 2000, an anonymous Mr. Perestroika asked American political scientists: “Why are all the articles from APSR from the same methodology—statistics or game theory—with a “symbolic” article in Political Theory. Where is political history, international history, political sociology,

obsession with statistics and mathematics, political theory is perceived as a “luxury” (Brown, 2011) and, therefore, something that the discipline can live without. Even qualitative research – case studies in particular – has been displaced from the most prestigious US journals. The research is driven by methods, not by problems, which basically makes it useless and disconnected from the real world. What is more, there is a lack of reflection about the epistemological and ideological premises behind all of these choices (Andrews, 2010; Bennett, Barth & Rutherford, 2003; Caterino, 2010; Caterino & Schram, 2006; Green & Shapiro, 1996; Green & Shapiro, 1994; Kasza, 2005; McGovern, 2010; Monroe, 2005; Luke & McGovern, 2010; Mead, 2010; Pion-Berlin & Cleary, 2005; Sartori, 2004; Shapiro, 2005; Taagepera, 2007; Trent, 2009; Trent, 2014). Some critics, from inside and outside the discipline have argued that old and new mainstream forms of American PS, besides embracing liberal democracy, have been functional to the reproduction of capitalist, patriarchal and/or racist structures (Ake, 1979; Alexander, 2005; Cox, 1987; Groth, 1998; Marcuse, 1991; Kaufman 2005; Lowi, 2005).<sup>10</sup> This thesis is

---

interpretative methodology, constructivists, area studies, critical theory and last but not least –post modernism?” (Monroe, 2005, p. 10).

<sup>10</sup> In October 2004, Giovanni Sartori published an article entitled “Where is Political Science Going?” in which he harshly critiqued the discipline that, in the author’s own words, he contributed to create. Sartori argued that even though he had always resisted American PS’ influence, he “could not foresee the narrowness that the notion of science would acquire on American soil” (Sartori, 2004, p. 785). Mainstream PS “has adopted an unsuited model of science (drawn from the hard, exact sciences) and has failed to establish its own identity (as a soft science) by failing to establish its own, distinctive methodology” (p. 785). In other words, PS became crudely neo-positivist. He also suggests that the “*technical*” aspects of research have displaced all the other dimensions of science. PS lacks reflection about the “process of thinking” (and knowing): future political scientists are trained in “research techniques and statistical processing” which “have almost nothing to do with the “method of logos,” with the method of thinking” (p. 785). Sartori also denounced the extreme quantitativism which “is in fact driving us into a march of either false precision or precise irrelevancy”, and in that sense “the alternative, or at least, the alternative for which (the author sides) is to resist the quantification of the discipline. Briefly put, think before counting; and, also, use logic in thinking” (p. 786). This does not imply the rejection of quantification and formalization as strategies to analyze social reality. What is rejected is the arrogance and narrow-mindedness with which this is usually done. I think that Sartori’s critique should be expanded and radicalized. He states that PS “is going nowhere” and explains what he means by that but the question of why this has happened, and how the mainstream can be confronted, are not fully addressed. Sartori ignores the issue of power. The Italian author offers a “half critique” incapable of deconstructing the deep roots of what bothers him. Furthermore, his “incomplete account” tends to reproduce the patterns under his critical examination. In very simple words, a cup that is half full is not always better than an empty one: Sartori seems oblivious to the fact that, even if we accept that the relation between PS and politics cannot be established in terms of simple overlapping – they belong to different logics and realms of human activity – such a relation is also unthinkable in terms of total disconnection – *knowledge and power do inter-act*. Therefore, their interpenetration should be explored. To sum up: the main characteristics of PS noted by Sartori are functional to the ideological role that the discipline performs in contemporary societies (Lowi, 2005).

going to unpack some of these connections between PS and politics in Chile and Uruguay, and by extension, Latin America (Chapters 2, 3 and 4).

What does “mainstream” PS mean in a continent marked by critical thought and European influence? It is not a minor detail that, for instance, dependency theory (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979) was being written in Latin America after the behavioral revolution consolidated in the US (Berndtson, 1997). The tradition of Marxism-inspired thinking does produce a sort of intellectual “path-dependency” (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Levi, 2002; Skocpol & Pierson, 2002; Thelen, 1999). Up until today, the confluence of different traditions makes Latin American PS relatively heterodox both in theory and methods. However, the penetration of American academia has been significant and is increasing in PS and beyond (Rocha, 2014; Ravecca, 2014; Borón, 2007; Leiva, 2008). Here I will identify two generations of mainstream PS.

The first generation refers to the theoretical and conceptual PS underpinnings and is the most relevant in this context. The defining feature of mainstream PS is the embracement of liberal democracy and liberalism, which came to be a disciplinary consensus in Latin America.<sup>11</sup> The second generation of mainstream scholars does not represent an ideological shift: they also embrace liberalism. The generational crusade takes the form of a methodological battle for the supremacy of “quantification” (Ravecca; 2007; Ravecca, 2014; Rocha, 2012). Whether this second generation of the mainstream has fully imposed its vision of science or not is a question of debate (Rocha, 2014). I will show these tensions for the Uruguayan case (see Chapter 3 and Appendix C). The fact that articles with descriptive statistics fall into the “quantitative” camp in many Latin American conversations, while in the US they are classified as “qualitative” (Pion-Berlin & Cleary, 2005; Kasza, 2005) reveals that differences persist (Ravecca, 2014).<sup>12</sup> It is clear, however, that there has been a shift towards mainstream American PS.

The equation that really matters here is: mainstream PS = liberalism. By the mainstream narrative about the development of PS, I refer to the way in which the history of the discipline has been predominantly told in numerous venues such as books, articles,

---

<sup>11</sup> I do not know *any* research or author that disagrees with this point. In a continent where a significant sector of the intellectuals have been perceived as “radicals” this feature of PS should not be taken for granted

<sup>12</sup> This important contrast does not seem being taken into account in some analyses of Latin American PS, for instance Rocha (2014, p. 144; see footnote 19 in particular).

conference presentations, oral traditions and so on (see Chapter 1's Methods section). The tale includes other social sciences (sociology in particular) and, of course, the celebrated transition from Marxism to liberalism. In the section entitled "Complex Relationality at Work" in Chapter 5, the reader will find a succinct description and a conceptual map that summarizes the narrative that both old and new mainstreams share.

Even though this thesis comprises a series of interlocking studies that mobilize different theories and methods, chapters 2, 3 and 5 do offer a systematic comparison between Chile and Uruguay's PS experiences. I will close this introduction with the rationale behind such an exercise. I was shocked when, during my "field-work" in Chile, I came across APS, a phenomenon that did not exist in Uruguay and that was ignored by the regional literature on disciplinary development. It was this sharp contrast between the two disciplinary trajectories that triggered the comparative component of this thesis. Chapters 2 and 3 were designed in a way that, even though the latter incorporates the dimension of subjectivity to the analysis and thus expands PPS, there is still enough argumentative, theoretical and methodological overlap to forge a meaningful comparison.

Chile and Uruguay are often compared because they share a pool of similarities that are instrumental in making the operation viable and pertinent. Both of them are located in the Southern Cone, are small and relatively "developed" within the Latin American context. Furthermore, they have similar political trajectories with relatively strong democratic institutions that were seriously challenged and broken down at the same time and under similar circumstances. The dictatorships that followed also had plenty of common features. Particularly relevant for this thesis is that academics studying the "development" of PS also equate the two cases – in particular, because of the relative youth of the discipline *vis-à-vis* other social sciences in both countries (Altman and Policzer, 2015).

The divergence between Chile and Uruguay's PS trajectories that this thesis focuses on – the very existence of Chilean APS – will be accounted for by looking at the relationship between the discipline and its political context, in particular the different ways their respective authoritarian regimes exercised power.<sup>13</sup> The comparison performs

---

<sup>13</sup> Even though some recent analyses have classified their centre-leftist governments in the same group (Lanzaro, 2007), Chile and Uruguay also differ in their relationship with neoliberalism (Bogliaccini, 2012; Bogliaccini & Filgueira, 2011). I will pay some attention to this because it is a significant aspect of the context of PS. The story of the Chicago Boys would be unthinkable without Pinochet's government.

different jobs simultaneously. While deepening the knowledge about the trajectory of academia and PS, it sheds a different analytical light onto the region's political history. The research also challenges the literatures on the development of Chilean and Uruguayan PS on different fronts, as well as the common sense that assumes that our discipline is intrinsically "democratic." Moreover, while undermining the (deceitful) marriage between liberalism, PS and democracy, the exercise will expand the knowledge of American imperialism in academia and beyond. Finally, throughout the comparison something else will be happening: a multilayered reflection on the role of subjectivity and self-reflection in academia and politics. PPS' self-reflection ends up accounting for itself.

After witnessing – and, of course, being protagonists of – the four stories (the comparison itself is the fourth one) we will breathe deeply and slowly walk from the PPS room to the main chamber of philosophical reflection. We will sit on the old *divan* placed at the center and look around, wondering if the house should be reformed again, or simply demolished.

---

Therefore, to some extent, Chile's APS as well as its neoliberal model of development were both forged by the dictatorship in alliance with appropriate elites that were ready to significantly contribute to the direction of the decision-making in academia and public policy

# Chapter 1: Theory and Methods of “Power”, “Knowledge” and “Complex Relationality”

“(…) when I am active *scientifically*, etc., – when I am engaged in activity which I can seldom perform in direct community with others – then I am *social*, because I am active as a *man*. Not only is the material of my activity given to me as a social product (as is even the language in which the thinker is active): my *own* existence *is* social activity, and therefore that which I make of myself, I make of myself for society and with the consciousness of myself as a social being”

Karl Marx

The core argument of this thesis is simple: *knowledge is political*. This means that power is unavoidable when we try to make sense of PS’ “institutionalization” or “development,” the politically ascetic concept used by the Latin American literature on the history of the discipline (Altman, 2005; Buquet, 2012; Bulcourf, 2012; Fernández & Guardamagna, 2002; Garcé, 2005; Huneus, 2006; Sepúlveda, 1996 and numerous others). I am not alone in this view. This section navigates through the voices of many thinkers and scholars that, within academia, also see “power”.

Marx (1978a) conceptualized science and thinking as a *social or human activity*, and consequently, as activity affected by historical conditions while affecting them. I find this notion accurate, beautiful and highly political: knowledge and knowing are not just imbricated in social life, they *are* social life and thus they are tensed by creativity *and* apodictic determination at the same time. Knowing becomes in this conception a worldly, even sensuous activity, a battlefield implicated in action (see Introduction), and therefore, in both alienation<sup>14</sup> *and* emancipation. It is indeed part of any social transformation, no matter its direction or result.<sup>15</sup> Knowledge is part of everything that is human, be it tragedy

---

<sup>14</sup> If human activity can be alienated by the wage relationship, thinking (which is not ontologically different from the other human activities and in fact is embedded in all of them) can also be alienated. Academia is not an exception; nor is “critical thinking”. Indeed, the field of critical thinking may also produce alienation and be alienated.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, *Capital Volume I* can be seen as an ‘introspective’ intervention that dismantles “political economy” as the science that reifies (and reproduces) capitalist relations at the level of knowledge production. By unpacking this knowledge, we can better understand capitalism, and therefore, the structural dynamics of which political economy is a moment and a “symptom”. Marxism goes deep into capitalism as psychoanalysis



or comedy. This is also the case for Nietzsche and his student *par excellence* Michel Foucault. The Nietzschean critique of religion ended up as an assault on the idea of neutrality and objectivity, which is the translation of Christianity into epistemology (Nietzsche, 1989). Nietzsche locates deontology and epistemology in a common space of problematization. His insight on the opacity of morality, language and knowledge is fundamental for critical theory.<sup>16</sup> Foucault expanded the Nietzschean insight that “everything” is (political) interpretation into the notion of discourse as the site where truth is constructed and regulated (1980; 1989; 1991a; 1991b; 1992; 1993; 2006).<sup>17</sup> The concept that power and knowledge sustain each other in complex ways – in *any* political system or situation – debunks the commonsensical idea that power represses knowledge. However, if powers and knowledges are multiple, they are also unequal. To understand knowledge in the plural means to recognize that there are privileged and unprivileged knowledges. As the case studies of this thesis show, some knowledges are eliminated by other, privileged knowledges (De Sousa Santos, 2008).

If knowledges and powers are inseparable, then we need to study them together and epistemological introspection becomes politically relevant. Introspection of knowledge becomes ‘extrospection’, social research. Let me justify this statement. Sigmund Freud taught us that our narratives about ourselves have to be critically analyzed if we want to gain some sense of autonomy.<sup>18</sup> This self-reflective stand-point may be extended to the

---

goes deep into our subjectivities: from the surface (exchange/rationalized symptom) to the roots of the problem. We do not need to agree with their content to appreciate this tendency to *profound* reflection.

<sup>16</sup> Nietzsche has a conception of *knowledge-as-violence* and *power as a creative force*. The ‘Christianization’ of knowledge and the notion of objectivity are, for him, expressions of poisoning weakness. In fact, justice and ‘true’ knowledge are incompatible. In *Beyond Good and Evil* Nietzsche (n.d.) declares: “Pity has an almost ludicrous effect on a man of knowledge, like tender hands on a Cyclops”. In other words, (and re-locating an expression used by Hannah Arendt in her analyses of the revolutions) violence is part of the *anatomy* – not the pathology – of knowing. The politics of PS (PPS) is profoundly Nietzschean in its way of conceptualizing knowledge and power; in this regard, it rejects Said’s (2003b) and others’ attempts of imagining non-violent ways of knowing. *Knowledge is dystopian* (see Chapter 5).

<sup>17</sup> For Nietzsche, every word is a trap and language hides a ‘philosophical mythology’ (Nietzsche, 1999b).

<sup>18</sup> The common assumption of the conservative and “pessimistic” nature of psychoanalysis has been built in an anti-theoretical way. As both, Castoriadis (1990) and Horowitz (1977) have alleged, it is generally based on Freud’s personal opinions or political views, instead of on a deep exploration of *the dynamics of the theory in itself*. Freud was the creator of psychoanalysis, yet psychoanalysis is a cultural-intellectual collective patrimony which is independent from his political “moods”. I would say that *the psychoanalytic way of experiencing thought*, as well as of “reading” human existence, are clearly emancipatory. Psychoanalysis is critical epistemology in itself. In fact, “radical thought has for decades been faced with the challenge of taking fully into account the implications of Sigmund Freud’s discovery that the ‘laws of slavery’ are not only socioeconomic but also bio-psychological” (Horowitz, 1977, p. 2).

social sciences. In fact, Pierre Bourdieu (1973) argued that epistemology was for science what psychoanalysis was for the individual. Disciplinary introspection shall problematize the involvement of academic institutions and their knowledges in power structures. *The divan (or therapy couch) and epistemology are political sites from whence the polity is imagined, projected, and built.*

Antonio Gramsci and the Frankfurt School represent a shift within Marxist theorizing. The Gramscian notion of hegemony meant the emphasis on the significance of knowledge and culture for the analysis of power as well as for class struggle (Buttigieg, 1990; Giroux, 1999; Gramsci, 2008; Green & Peter, 2009; Laclau & Mouffe, 2004; Sassoon, 1987). In the same direction, the notion of “materialism imageless” (Adorno, 2005, p. 205) developed by Adorno in *Negative Dialectics* implied that there is a kind of materialism that does not conceive the ideational level as a reflection of the so-called infrastructure. Walter Benjamin can also be clearly included in such a theoretical enrichment of Marxism.

The Frankfurt School – Marcuse in particular – worked at the intersection between Marxism and psychoanalysis. Their “critical theory” aimed at emancipation (Horkheimer, 1978) and, thus, undid both the “universal history” written by the victors (Benjamin, 1969) as well as any form of knowledge that reproduces power relations at the level of thinking. In Marcuse’s hands, psychoanalysis (thus, the engagement with subjectivity) becomes dialectical critical thinking (Horowitz, 1977); a move that perhaps pulls Marxism into introspection, and pushes psychoanalysis towards “extrospection”.<sup>19</sup> Epistemology and power go together, again.

Marcuse’s *One Dimensional Man* (1991) pays special attention to the role of knowledge and language in power relations. In contrast with other theorists of power and knowledge dynamics such as Michel Foucault or Edward Said, Marcuse *explicitly* critiques (American) PS. He includes the discipline among the expressions of “technological rationality” understood as “positive or conformist thinking” – which includes but transcends “positivism” – where the “given universe of facts” (liberal democracy,

---

<sup>19</sup>*Eros and Civilization* (Marcuse, 1974) develops the distinction between basic repression (civilization, humanization) and surplus repression (alienation, division of labor, neurosis), which makes the encounter between psychoanalysis and Marxism possible along with the delineation of “communism” as the place where “the pain of separation is no longer experienced as the essence of selfhood” (p. 214).

capitalism) operates as the final context of validation.<sup>20</sup> The supposed neutrality of PS is highly ideological and is implicated in the erasure of the difference between actuality and potentiality (p. 114).

Indeed, technological rationality reduces “the opposition to the discussion and promotion of alternative policies *within* the status quo” (Marcuse, 1991, p. 2). One-dimensionality redraws the boundaries of the possible: while technological advancements give the impression that everything is possible, power is erased from the political conversation and in fact nothing important can be changed. Marcuse is then a critic of the liberal emptying of democracy, because “*free election of masters does not abolish the masters or the slaves*” (p. 7). While Foucault, in a Nietzschean move, avoids ‘totalizing’ analytical attempts, Marcuse unpacks the wholeness (the interconnection between different moments) of power relations in order to understand how a system of domination works. PPS appreciates this move towards “totalization” as it might neutralize undesirable ideological effects of postmodernism.<sup>21</sup> Thus, Marcuse’s work, perhaps underestimated in academic circles, is exceptionally powerful in its exploration of the interconnections between politics and academia.

Marcuse’s notes on language and power are fascinating. He elaborates on the transformation of academic, political and advertising language expressing concern about the imposition of “a syntax in which the structure of the sentence is abridged and condensed in such way that no tension, no “space” is left between the parts of the sentences” (p. 86). Language dynamics, politics and political imagination are all linked. And in one-dimensional times, formal reason displaces dialectical thinking, and instrumentality displaces reflection:

...such nouns as “freedom”, “equality”, “democracy”, and “peace” imply, analytically, a specific set of attributes which occur invariably when the noun is spoken or written. In the Western analytical predication it is in such terms as

---

<sup>20</sup> He invests some time in dealing with his contemporary American political analysts. Indeed, to illustrate the ideological character of empiricism, Marcuse suggests taking a look at “a study of political activity in the United States” (Marcuse, 1991, p. 114). His example illustrates a form of knowledge production where “(...) the descriptive analysis of facts blocks the apprehension of facts and becomes an element of the ideology that sustains the facts” (p. 119).

<sup>21</sup> I do not aim to unpack the (relevant) differences between Foucauldian and Marcusian analyses of power. What I overall want to appropriate for my own journey is the analytical move of locating PS on a historically grounded, theoretical reflection on power and knowledge.

free enterprise, initiative, elections, individual (...) The ritualized concept is made immune against contradiction (Marcuse, 1991, p. 88).

This point reminds me of the concerns about the transformation of academic writing that many of us have today: avoiding complexity and not to think too much seems to be the new (scary) mandate for BA and graduate students. Positivist PS is, from a Marcusean perspective, a form of writing that undermines (self-)reflection.

More recently, postcolonial studies, queer theory and poststructuralist trends in political theory have also politicized language and knowledge, arguing that the way in which objects of study such as sex/gender and the global south are approached are actually part of the problem to be addressed. Again, mainstream knowledges are seen as the epistemological face of domination. Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau and Edward Said's *oeuvres* in particular were instrumental in my BA thesis (Ravecca, 2007) to explore politics from a "cultural" perspective. In contrast with the impoverishing notions of mainstream PS such as "political culture" (Almond & Verba, 1963) or "social capital" (Putnam, 1993), which "entomologize" nations, deny power and freeze the complex notion of culture, these alternative critical theories allowed for two complementary and appealing operations. On the one hand, they challenged Marxism's economism, and on the other, they allowed a politicized epistemological self-reflection. Concretely, if 'culture' and discourse are political, then PS discourses – which are part of culture – are also political. Thus, a language-discourse sensitive approach to power makes political self-reflection possible. These authors provided me (and thus PPS) with some fresh intellectual air in the rather mainstream academic environment where I was trained. None of them were introduced to me by school; I had to find and appropriate them by my own means. I theorize the significance of this in Chapter 4.

Let me make a point on Said and post-colonial studies and then move to the role of queer theory in this thesis. PPS needs to put an effort towards self-decolonizing. Practically all the authors I have referred to here are "dead white men". In fact, my own intellectual background reveals the coloniality of knowledge (we do not need to essentialize geography and skin color but we cannot ignore them). As Spivak has suggested though, we first attempt critique with the materials and tools that we have at hand: a critical exploration of

the implications and limitations of our own education – of who we “are” – is always part of the task of unlearning oppression.

I discovered *Orientalism* and *Nuevas Crónicas Palestinas*<sup>22</sup> in my early 20s, after many years of reading Nietzsche, Marquis de Sade, Marx, Foucault, Freud and other theorists. I still find Said’s (1979) main argument convincing and relevant: the representations of the Orient dominant in the so-called West are functional to a political project of domination. Many authors follow Said’s legacy of ‘Western knowledges’ critique. Yet, others such as Dussel (2000) chose a different direction, such as showing the fluidity of the notion of Europe which implies de-essentializing “The West” as a whole (Aristotle, for instance, was considered oriental in the Middle Ages). In this way, given that it critiques but paradoxically also reinforces the East-West divide, *the category* of orientalism may be considered both a gain and a limit for critical thinking and analysis.<sup>23</sup> However, what matters the most here is that a whole academic tradition (orientalist studies) and academia as such are deconstructed by Said from the point of view of power relations.

The colonial project is also an epistemological one. Domination is deployed through the regulation of whose – and how – knowledge, thinking and “culture” matters (Fanon, 1961; Fanon, 1967). The displacement, destruction or appropriation of “native” knowledges has been named as “epistemicide” (De Sousa Santos, 2008). In post-colonial times (if the prefix “post” really applies) ‘white’ and ‘western’ subjects perform a certain ownership of the world (Smith, 1999) in classrooms and beyond. White privilege (Escobar, 2004, p. 216) is a social hierarchical relation that “has historically privileged white people at the expense of non-European and colored people”. Power is exercised at “both explicit and implicit levels” (Smith, 43, p. 1999) and academia – including PS – is located in its subtle side. The

---

<sup>22</sup> A Spanish book that compiles Said’s texts on the “Palestinian question” (Said, 2003a).

<sup>23</sup> On the one hand, it challenges arbitrary and violent reductionisms (conservative and maybe also “progressive” exoticizations of imagined others) but on the other hand, as Ahmad (1992) and others have shown, at the end it reproduces the very binary logic of thinking that pretends to denounce. Orientalism-as-theoretical-framework does not really break with the logic of the Orientalist social process: once we seriously try to deal with the *relational* dimension of “selfness” and “otherness”, the simplistic hypothesis that the “West”, an invincible and homogeneous agent, “invented” the East in ways that are functional to a project of total domination simply does not work. Paradoxically, Said’s intervention is one of the practices that compose “Orientalism” (!) and, therefore, it is part of the orientalist problem. Not only the two sides of the orientalist dichotomy (East-West) but *the dichotomies themselves* (including the North-South divide) should be radically problematized (Lazarus, 2002). They are simply inappropriate strategies to deal with complex and contradictory human realities. The very notion of the West is, for me, *an act of dispossession* of reason which is somehow perpetuated by Said’s notion of orientalism.

complicated paths of power and resistance, with their social geographies, are inseparable from the path and physical/social geographies of knowledge and theory.

An African philosopher is thus an *African* philosopher while a European philosopher is a philosopher. The same applies to Uruguay (my ‘home’ country) and I will talk about this during my appropriation of a great *universal* thinker, Carlos Real de Azúa (see Chapters 4 and 5). Universality has been stolen and shipped to the “Global North”. This – stealing – is perhaps the only way to produce *any* form of universality (Butler, Laclau & Zizek, 2003) but the point here is that we are talking about how power has been, and is being, exercised in the era of European and American dominance. Dependency (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979; Dos Santos, 1970; Frank, 1966) does not only operate at the level of ‘political economy’. It is also intellectual. Some countries produce highly manufactured theories (“critical” or not) while others provide the raw-materials for academic production, also within PS (I confront this issue in Chapter 5).<sup>24</sup> PS has been oblivious to this problem. However, the International Political Science Association’s Research Committee 33 has started to think about this issue (Trent, 2012).

One example of geographical narrowness in the definition of our discipline is the volume edited by King, Lehman and Nie (2009), *The Future of Political Science: 100 perspectives*. Almost all contributors to the volume are academics based in American universities, although they claim to debate the future of PS at a global level. Even the supposedly radically progressive Perestroika Movement within the American Political Science Association (Monroe, 2005) ignored power dynamics within the discipline at the transnational scale. Paradoxically, this dynamic is somehow reproduced by postcolonial scholars located in US universities who in many cases seem unaware of the irony of this situation. And by people like the writer of this text, who in order to move their academic careers forward have emigrated to places such as Canada, UK and of course the US. This insight pushes me to think that critical scholars need to embark on a *political economy of the self* to complete the critical task of self-reflection. Interestingly enough, postcolonial

---

<sup>24</sup> Even more: in North American universities professors from the so-called Global South are sometimes treated as region informants and second-class academics. The international division of labour has manifestations *within* academic departments where liberal – and, for the most part, condescending – forms of descriptive representation are applied to scholarship.

thinkers do not seem to be very sensitive to the materiality of power, including colonialism (see Chapter 5; Ahmad, 1992; Lazarus, 2002).

Postcolonial studies symptomatize the paradoxical relationship(s) between knowledge and power. In this case, even critical theory may be part of colonial and neocolonial dynamics even while attempting resistance and emancipation. Moreover, indigenous perspectives, old and new, destabilize the very notion of “post-coloniality”, showing that this framework erases the fact that colonialism is still going on (Byrd & Rothberg 2011; Jackman & Upadhyay, 2014). This has been a recent interesting ‘twist’ within the critique of critical knowledge production.

Queer theory (Butler, 1990) politicizes sexual identity, and by extension, identity as such.<sup>25</sup> It shows us that “what it is” (for instance, what it means to be a man, a woman, a gay man, et cetera) is not natural but socially constructed, and that discourses on Nature actually naturalize arbitrary arrangements. In its problematization of identity, queer theory goes against empiricism and the illusion of the neutrality of knowledge; thus, it also informs PPS’ notion that the search for disciplinary identity needs to be self-critical. *Vis-à-vis* mainstream PS narratives, PPS is queer: it opens up questions about PS identity and unpacks the “identity anxiety” among Latin American political scientists as well as the disciplinary contempt with “sociologists.” What are the power implications of the different ways of delineating PS identity? (see Chapter 3 in particular).

Feminism, and even queer theory, however, lack innocence. Besides the serious issue of post-structuralism’s denial of the materiality of power relations (McNally, 2002), to which I will come back later, anticolonial feminism (Alexander 2005; Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991; Wekker, 2006) revealed to us that the feminist agenda and theory and the “global gay” may also be colonized and colonizing. Even queerness can be implicated in oppression. Indeed, Puar (2007) and Morgensen (2010), among others, have unpacked the more than complex relationships between modernity, statehood, neoliberalism and queerness.

The liberal representation of Marxism and neo-Marxism as a dated and useless theory within PS and beyond has been ferocious. Some forms of post-structuralism, in a

---

<sup>25</sup> Certainly, Foucault (1991) already showed how knowledges and theories about sex and sexuality are implicated in government and domination. Not by chance, queer theory is sometimes located under the strange label of “French Theory.”

strange “assemblage” (Puar, 2007) with the neoliberal discourse(s), have been functional to this form of othering (Ahmad, 1992).<sup>26</sup> Indeed the ideational term within critical theory is politically problematic (McNally, 2002) – in a way, it traffics the naturalization of inequality under the table of “difference.” PPS is Marxist because it is just unfeasible to unpack power and knowledge without political economy. Capitalism, and within it, neoliberalism have produced particular knowledge dynamics, and PS transformations may be listed among them (see Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5).<sup>27</sup> Marxist and neomarxist critics have still been doing their job from the margins, pointing out the relationship between capitalism, neoliberalism and knowledge production (Anderson, 2010; Harvey, 2003; McNally, 2002; McNally, 2006; and McNally, 2011 are only a few recent examples). All of these discussions seem not to have had enough room within the Perestroika movement (Monroe, 2005) which, despite being the most critical faction within American PS, has been criticized for not being political enough (Rudolph, 2005).

*What are all of these voices saying?* From the point of view of PPS, they are saying that knowledge belongs to history and plays an important role in it. This means that: a) historical change can only be fully explored by critically analyzing the knowledges that talk about it, and b) in order to make sense of PS history, we need to critically examine its historical conditions and political context. In one sentence, the voices explored above share the simple and powerful idea with which I began this chapter: *Knowledge is political*.

Capitalism, patriarchy, (neo)colonialism, and neoliberalism are all rubrics for power structures that also “happen” in knowing and knowledge. And critical thinking attempts to name and challenge the knowledge that sustains these forms of injustice.

The different theories explored above share a political conception of knowledge production, and yet, they seem to constantly fight with each other. Each of them highlights an important moment of “power” but “forgets” others that are equally relevant. Each of these forms of critique has its own political economy of conceptual violence, and thus may be liberating and oppressive at the same time (Ravecca 2010b; Ravecca and Upadhyay

---

<sup>26</sup> Newman (2007) is a good example of this.

<sup>27</sup> Neoclassical economics is still the most prestigious social discipline in many settings even after the incredibly dire effects of its public policy implications (Bello, 2008; Morelli, 2008).



2013).<sup>28</sup> For instance, Marxists neglected how racialized and gendered processes are key to understanding the dynamics of capitalism (Eley, 2002) while some versions of post-structuralism deny the materiality of oppression (McNally, 2002). It is not by chance that the obsession with language became dominant within critical academia when Marxism and socialism were defeated both academically and politically. This means that postmodernism can be, to some extent, functional to global neoliberalism (McNally, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Wood, 2002; Borón, 2007). Thus, we are talking about contrasting ways of conceptualizing power relations where language, the economy, race and other artifacts operate in different ways with different implications. More tragically, critical theories may oppress each other, which somehow mirrors the situation of ‘subalterns’ oppressing ‘subalterns’ (I am consciously distorting Spivak’s notion of subalternity here).

I want to go back to the most abstract level of my project. Academia, *critical or not*, is *structurally* implicated in power relations (and domination) in many ways –again, good intentions, when uninformed, are powerless and even dangerous. I wonder if the way in which we engage in theoretical and cross-paradigmatic conversations is somehow connected to that. I am not talking only about the theory that we produce, but also about the *mechanics* of academia (see Chapter 5).

PPS confronts these paradoxes and understands power relations as a *complex relationality* between knowledge production and dissemination, identity, subjectivity, political economy, conventional politics, and the transnational dimension of the political. All these aspects dynamically affect (or mutually constitute) each other. The core theoretical perspective, regarding academia and social sciences, is that knowledge production is a key component of the broader social relations in which it occurs. Given that knowledge and theory do not lie “outside power” it follows that any conception or assessment of the political has political implications. Scholars, I think, need to be careful in order to avoid reproducing the asymmetries we see “out there” within our analysis of them. Our discipline is the point of entry of this thesis to the political in our times.

---

<sup>28</sup>Any theoretical approach organizes perception in a way that always hurts, excludes or “orientalizes” (exotices, reduces, etc.) “someone”. Granted, this “internal” violence(s), imprinted in the ways theories or approaches are organized, are also “external” in the sense that they are linked to “extra-theoretical” and extra-academic power dynamics. Thus, this is not a “poststructuralist” lament only: I am in fact thinking on the linkage between *any* academic discourse to very concrete power dynamics that are “cultural” but also “material.”

Complex relationality does not follow the eclectic logic of simple addition of “dimensions,” but navigates *the friction* between realities and theories as well as the impossibility of grasping ‘everything’. That is why each story that happens in the PPS room performs a particular job and sheds light onto a parcel of PS’ reality. The ensemble of these stories attempts to navigate both critical theories and PS’ experiences, avoiding any fictional “synthesis” that solves the contradictions and the incompleteness of knowing. In spite of the constantly changing furniture and stories that it hosts, the PPS room is always the same and that means that the aim is consistent: to understand history and power dynamics of PS (‘contingency’ should be acknowledged but not ‘totalized’: both peoples and realities have ‘identity;’ see Chapter 5).

PPS brings different theoretical and epistemological voices and experiences into a rather syncretic conversation (Buck-Morss, 2009). This “porosity” (ibid) among ways of writing and praxes makes the project part of Puar’s (2007) unhomed interdisciplinary and of Dogan’s hybrid research.<sup>29</sup> PPS advances through making connections between apparently unrelated experiences and concepts, and that makes the result potentially interesting and fragile at the same time. This thesis does not belong to any canonic discipline and this is not necessarily convenient (see Chapter 5). Yet, I would like to think with Trent (2012, p. 161) that “the hybrids are responsible for the flourishing of knowledge” and that I can make a small contribution towards rethinking the history of PS.

By studying PS, PPS studies politics. As said before, we can learn a great deal about a society and its power relations by studying the ways in which it studies itself. Epistemology should be prioritized in the purpose of collective self-clarification.

## **1.1 (Disciplinary) Self-reflection**

The particularity of this project is that mainstream ways of studying politics, along with the institutions and contexts in which they are rooted, become “objects of study.” The discipline and “its theory” are brought into the realm of politics – a clear “post-positivist” move. Introspection in PS is becoming less unusual. Numerous attempts have already been

---

<sup>29</sup> “Restrictiveness within disciplinary boundaries inhibits us from comprehending the broader context of politics” (Trent, 2012, p. 170) and (I add) also of PS’ experience.

made both in the “Global North” and the “Global South”.<sup>30</sup> The efforts to make PS more self-reflective have also resulted in institutional developments such as the creation of the International Political Science Association Research Committee-33 and the debates around the Perestroika movement at the American Political Science Association, along with the opening of intellectual spaces such as the US-based journal *PS: Political Science and Politics*, among several others.

This dissertation, however, does not address already explored issues such as the specificity of PS, its relationship to other disciplines, the problem of hyper-specialization, the “hegemony” of rational choice theory and its consequences, the quantitative/qualitative divide or the professional associations and university departments’ internal politics in terms of academic divisions, hiring policies and career development. Nor is PPS particularly interested in the contributions that our discipline can potentially make to “improve” public policy (Trent, 2009), in how liberal democracy propitiates the disciplinary “development” or in the impact that state policies have on “our” research agenda. To express the point in more precise terms, PPS is interested in all of these issues but it frames them in an entirely different way. The same needs to be said about the innovative scholarship on PS and sexuality even though I will directly address some key questions that queer theory and post-identity politics can open up about PS’ identity (See Chapter 3 and 4; Brettschneider, 1997; Brettschneider, 2011; Smith, 2011).

PPS proposes an exercise of academic introspection of a particular kind. It applies critical theory to disciplinary self-reflection, therefore practicing a *political* self-analysis in the realm of PS. What is even more, PPS critically confronts the forms of introspection currently practiced by mainstream PS in Latin America (and thus proposing a critical meta-self-reflection). Why is this particular kind of “introspection” pertinent in the realm of thinking?

Different bodies of literature have shown that self-reflection is “desirable.” Looking at oneself helps one to see better. Thinking about our own thinking improves our capacity

---

<sup>30</sup> These are some examples: Almond (1990); Altman (2005); Baer, Jewell & Sigelman (1991); Bejarano & Wills (2005); Bulcourf (2012); Cansino (2008); Casen & Ravecca (2010); Easton, Gunnell & Stein (1995); Evans & Moulder (2011); Farr, Dryzek & Leonard (1999); Fowler, Grofman & Masuoka (2007); Garcé (2005); Hartlyn (2008); Hix (2004); Huneeus (2006); King, Lehman Schlozman & Nie (2009); Laitin (2004); Leiras & D'Alessandro (2005); Mejía Acosta, Freidenberg & Pachano (2005); Monroe (2005); Munck & Snyder (2007); Puello-Socarrás (2010); Ravecca (2010a); Ramil & Grebe (2009); Sánchez González (2005); Sartori (2004); Schram & Caterino (2006); Trent (2009; 2012); Varnoux Garay (2005).

to critique. Consequently, the absence of self-reflection brings about the impossibility of self-critique along with the incapacity of changing our ways of thinking (Foucault, 1991; Butler, Laclau, & Žižek, 2003). Self-reflection is, then, the opposite of the obliteration of (theoretical) critical thinking (Butler, Laclau, & Žižek, 2003; see in particular the contributions of Judith Butler).<sup>31</sup> Self-reflection is necessary for “science”.

Thus, the PPS project belongs to the realm of philosophy as defined by Foucault: the critique of established ways of thinking in order to imagine alternative ones. Interrogating mainstream approaches opens up the possibility of identifying and transcending their violence(s) and limitations (Foucault, 1991). This implies challenging the established “politics of truth” (Foucault, 1992) fundamentally articulated to oppressive “trans-discursive” relations of power – in this case, that of PS. I thus consider PPS an opportunity to raise awareness about the complexities of PS’ selfhood, –and also (fundamentally) a strategy to avoid the instrumentalization of our discipline by projects of oppression.<sup>32</sup>

What is more, building from psychoanalysis – and in fact mobilizing my own *experience* of psychoanalytic therapy – PPS conceives transformative introspection as *also* a journey to the “outside” – i.e. an exploration of those “external” experiences that have substantially contributed to forging the internal world. In other words, PS is a “manifestation” (with internal density and “autonomy”) of wider social relations of power and knowledge.<sup>33</sup> My main concern is therefore not how to make the academic market

---

<sup>31</sup> The destruction of the possibility of engaging in reflection about ourselves has taken varied historical forms, all of them connected to some kind of oppression or/and repression: as neurosis and “surplus-repression” (Horowitz, 1977), as fascism (Gramsci, 2008), as positivism and reified formal reason (Bourdieu, 1973; Marcuse, 1974; 1991), as subjugating knowledge dynamics (Foucault, 1993) and as neo-positivism/(neo)liberalism, which I add to the list.

<sup>32</sup> Metaphorically speaking, self-reflection is an antidote against – or at least the opposite of – Hannah Arendt (1999)’s Eichmann.

<sup>33</sup> In order to study any realm of experience or object we need to acknowledge its own “identity” or “personality,” then to proceed to examine its inter-relations with its context. Both object and context are *conceptual* constructs (Bourdieu, 1973). In other words, the analysis does not uncover an essential self-sufficiency of the object but unfolds a situated point of view from which such an object *becomes* relatively autonomous. This study recognizes the “relative autonomy” of PS and, *because of that*, also looks at its multiple ‘dependencies.’ This note is interesting given the absurd belief – widespread within Latin American PS – around the radical division between “socio-centric” (sociology) and properly “political” (PS) explanations of political processes. In this logic, only the acknowledgment of the autonomy of politics creates room for the autonomy of PS: social disciplines do not embody different points of view but rival hypothesis. The consequences of this sort of fundamentalist, a-epistemological and ‘primitive’ way of looking at the very identity of social disciplines (as enemies!) are certainly significant as well as revealing of power-knowledge

niche of PS somehow better but to remind ourselves that prior to being “disciplines”, social sciences *are* human activity (Marx, 1978a). And it is in human activity where the shape of our (collective) lives and the political is at play and at stake. I thus propose a theoretical reflection on the political as such, through an exploration of the articulation between knowledge and power in the specific realm of human activity called PS. Introspection is social research.

Self-reflection is also a political gesture. For Marcuse, “epistemology is in itself ethics, and ethics is epistemology” (Marcuse, 1991, p. 125); and Gad Horowitz (1977) argues that any scientific analyst who is not committed to the possibility of emancipation is pledged, not to reason, but to reason of established domination. Even though I am skeptical about this pristine way of linking knowing and ethics (see Chapter 5) PPS accepts the challenge of unpacking the oppressive implications of dominant forms of thought and of practicing PS. This implies an ethical commitment which is, I hope, very different from any self-celebratory moralist rhetoric.

During the winter of 2013, I attended Prof. Elizabeth Dauphinee’s graduate course on “Narrative Voice and Auto-ethnography in International Relations” at York University. The experience has had a significant impact on my PPS project. Indeed, this innovating literature has been incorporated into this thesis on many levels. The third story of PPS (Chapter 4) is an auto-ethnography that practices disciplinary introspection through personal self-reflection. Furthermore, and even though this thesis uses multiple methods of inquiry including statistics, analysis of historical records and semi-structured interviews (Chapters 2 and 3, also see the Methods section below), PPS and auto-ethnography have meaningful commonalities. They both mobilize self-reflection as a form of knowledge production, pose a challenge to mainstream PS and its epistemology of detachment and objectivity, and seek to re-conceptualize analytical rigor (Brigg & Bleiker, 2010).

This project explores PS’ disciplinary self, but given that a huge part of my life “happens” in such a space, my personal experience has become relevant research material. Indeed, PPS explores human groups I belong to, and some of the most revealing moments of the “field-work” occurred in situations that go beyond “participatory observation” since

---

dynamics. Paradoxically, liberal PS has a ‘fascist’ relationship with the sociological-other where there is no room for difference and complementarity.

they were in fact “real” episodes of my academic life. As the auto-ethnographic researcher, I investigated myself as social material. However, as mentioned above, while this research contains ‘narrative moments’, it also extends introspection through means that are more convincing to mainstream publics. I made this choice taking into account that “we are a generation of minds poisoned by objectivist rationality” (Elizabeth Dauphinee, personal communication). Chapter 2, in particular, has already succeeded in reaching those minds (Ravecca, 2015). Indeed, its obsession with empirical reconstruction, the deployment of massive amounts of evidence, as well as its option for a quantitative strategy in dealing with discourse analysis, are more appealing for mainstream PS than exploring personal experiences and feelings. PPS mobilizes idioms that mainstream scholars can relate to, which enhances the intensity of its critique. This multiplicity, however, is not only the result of a “rational” (in the sense of instrumental) decision. As mentioned in the Introduction, the very architecture of this thesis “materializes” my deep convictions that favour pluralism in the terrain of thinking and social research.

Yet, in the end, academic writing is an intimate endeavor housed in a fortress of references, quotes, numbers and other artifacts that simulate detachment. My purpose is to unpack such a vulnerable dimension within PS. I look for a reflection that helps me grasp the complex relationality that shapes my own experience as an academic and as a human being. I am thus trying to have awareness of my own positionality and its implications. This may sound like “postmodern narcissism” but I do not think it necessarily is. No doubt, my own experience is a point of departure and not a point of arrival for the analysis.<sup>34</sup> I agree with Wendy Brown’s statement that “Theory’s most important political offering is (the)

---

<sup>34</sup>I find this Gramscian formulation very meaningful: “The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is “knowing thyself” as product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory” (Gramsci, 2008, p. 324). Thus, for Gramsci, “knowing thyself” is the starting point, and not the end, of critical elaboration. This makes me think in a couple of directions. First, this fits very well with my notion that introspection is about the outside too (and about power) and that ‘real’ self-reflection is always about “others”. Thus, the exploration of the self is not a sort of postmodern narcissistic exercise. Second, I think that there is another way of looking at this that perhaps problematizes Gramsci’s rigidity or even lack of dialectical thinking. Knowing thyself never ends: Freud argued that the journey that one starts with psychoanalytic therapy was somehow impossible and, therefore, infinite. This means that one is *always* beginning the (self) critical journey. If Marx’s “original accumulation” may be read as an analytical category instead of as a self-contained historical moment, as Harvey (2010) has pointed out, I believe that knowing thyself is the permanent exercise that sustains critical consciousness, in an always failed attempt to repeal the alienation provoked by the system sustained by “original accumulation”. Lineal temporality is not a good container for dialectics. Putting together our “traces” is a life-long personal and collective task, precisely because there is no inventory (as many seem to think).

opening of a breathing space between the world of common meanings and the world of alternative ones, a space of potential renewal for thought, desire, and action” (Brown, 2002, p. 574). If power relations shape the ways in which we experience the world, if they have an impact on desire, identity, feelings, ways of knowing, etc., then we need to “work through” those desires, identities, feelings and ways of knowing in order to grasp those relations that (have) forge(d) “us”. Theory is about our lives, which are social material.

## 1.2 Methods

PPS grapples with significant episodes in the relationship between knowledge and power within Latin American PS. In methodological terms, this thesis is an ‘interpretivist’ project (Geertz, 1997), concerned with discourses and meanings as well as with their operations in political context(s). In the words of Clifford Geertz, “one is trying to get a story, a meaning frame to provide an understanding of what is going on” (Gerring, 2003, p. 27). In the same line, Mark Bevir (2003, p. 19) states: “our practices are (...) radically contingent in that they lack any fixed essence or logical path of development. This emphasis on the contingency of social life explains why interpretivists denaturalize alternative theories.” PPS’ mission is to denaturalize (i.e., politicize) the mainstream narratives about the development of PS in Latin America, showing how politics affects PS and vice versa. This deconstructive operation is done through the problematizing re-description (Shapiro 2005) of the discipline’s history in Chile and Uruguay.<sup>35</sup> However, in contrast with Bevir’s characterization of human behavior – which of course has to include the practice of interpretivism itself – this thesis does have a “logical path of development”: PPS cares about meanings *and* structures (see my comments on Marcuse (1991)’s totalizing view on power in the previous section of this Chapter). After all, PPS is also a room! (See Introduction).

The analysis is done through a series of interlocking studies that mobilize different theoretical and methodological idioms. The epistemological discontinuity between the following chapters is a product of my pluralist conception of social science. I thus consider these ‘ruptures’ between the sections as a strength: as shifts that aim to capture, from

---

<sup>35</sup> Or, in more radical and perhaps theoretically dense terms, I aim to do a problematizing re-*inscription* of the discipline’s story: re-inscribing PS – its texts *and* materialities – into the society in which it is embedded (see Chapter 5). PPS is interpretivist, but *also* Marxist.

different angles of vision, the complexity of PPS. The chronological scope of the stories is also multiple. However, every chapter in some way goes through the right-wing dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s, which operate as the historical anchor for the analysis of PS trajectories. In other words, all the chronologies of the stories that “happen” in the PPS room are *conceptually* gathered by the historicity provided by the experience of authoritarianism and its effects. Indeed, PPS is a room furnished with violence, hence the danger of collapse.

Even though this project is theoretical at its core, it provides abundant evidence in support of its formulations. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide detailed explanations of their methodological procedures. The basic components of the research strategy are the following:

1. A systematic and in-depth analysis of the 1194 academic articles published by the leading PS journals in Chile and Uruguay since their foundation up until 2012.

- 163 articles of *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política (RUCP)*; Uruguay; 1987-2012)
- 487 articles of *Política* (Chile; 1982-2012)
- 544 articles of *Revista de Ciencia Política (RCP)*; Chile; 1979-2012)

In the case of Chile, the analysis was particularly systematic for the authoritarian period (*Política*: 188 articles 1982-1989; and *RCP*: 122 articles 1979-1989). The full list of articles has been separated under References. The procedure was two-fold. Each article was read at least 4 times (twice by a research assistant, once by me and a last time together). The pieces were assigned values using a SPSS database with 89 descriptive and conceptual variables that operationalize PPS dimensions of analysis. The construction of the data-base’s conceptual structure was arduous. It started in February 2013, and after numerous attempts, the definitive SPSS version was finalized in April 2013.

The descriptive set of variables is extremely comprehensive. The following are only a few examples: Title; Language; Journal; Year; Volume; Number; Keywords (up to 5); Author’s name (up to 2); Author’s sex (up to 2); Author’s nationality (up to 2); Author’s institutional affiliations (up to 4); Author’s position (up to 4); Author’s academic training (up to 2); Author’s country of academic training (up to 2); Research Area (up to 2);



Funding; Quantitative Component (see Appendix C or Ravecca, 2014); and Methods (up to 2).

The *most relevant* conceptual variables through which the ideological analysis of PS was performed (what I call the “PPS variables”) included: View of Marxism; View of communism; Position toward the US and the USSR; Type of democracy promoted (basically, polyarchy versus “protected”) (See Appendix A or Chapters 2 and 3); View of neoliberal reforms; “The West” and Christianity (see Appendix A or Chapter 2 and 3); Religion as the article’s main topic (see Appendix A or Chapter 2); Spatial Conception of Politics (from narrow to expansive) (see Appendix A or Chapter 3); Theoretical perspective; and Presence of “alternative” topics (see Appendix A).

Appendix A, as well as Chapters 2 and 3, offer a detailed explanation of how the conceptual dimensions were operationalized and quantified. The articles were also analyzed in an interpretative fashion by reconstructing the main conceptual components of the discourse of the discipline (see Chapters 2 and 3).

**2.** 58 semi-structured interviews with 16 primary questions of Chilean (35), Uruguayan (22), and Argentinian (1) political scientists.

A total of 86.7 hours of interviews were carefully transcribed and analyzed with the same dimensions of analysis employed in the SPSS data-base as well as in interpretive terms (see Chapter 3 and 4). The interviews served different purposes. In the case of Chile (Chapter 2), the statistical data and the historical records were cross-checked and enriched by the evidence provided by the scholars’ testimonies. This also applies to Uruguay (Chapter 3), but in this case, the analysis included a systematic engagement with the role of subjectivity and trauma within academic and political transformations.

The spectrum of scholars covered by the interviews is comprehensive given the scale of the PS community in these countries. In fact, virtually the whole institutional universe of the discipline has been included. Appendix B contains the complete list of interviewees, questions, details on coding and universe of covered institutions. It also documents the systematic analysis that sustains Chapters 2 and 3 based on the interviewees’ perceptions of the following dimensions: Dictatorship, Democratic Transition, Democracy, the United States, Europe, Marxism, *Ensayismo* (See Chapter 3), and Political Theory.

Confidentiality has been retained by assigning codes to the interviews which do not coincide with the order appeared in the acknowledgments. Additional, complementary interviews were done with activists (see Appendix E) and political scientists from different countries of Asia, Europe, North America and Latin America.

### 3. Auto-ethnography and self-reflection.

The PPS architectural composite also has its own “intimate” structure. The third PPS story starts by delineating such an intimacy and concludes by digging even deeper into the very *autobiographical* foundations of this thesis (Chapter 4).

The auto-ethnographic exercise tackles the following questions: Which affects and experiences sustain PPS’ research questions about PS and power? Why it is so important for us, political scientists, to interrogate our discipline as a political object? Why am I doing this exercise of disciplinary self-critique? Why, finally, am I so attached to the idea and practice of introspection? The analysis will not offer a ‘positivist’ search for the ultimate causes of the research project. Rather, it will navigate some meaningful life moments in order to engage with the story *inside* the history that the research explores. It locates disciplinary introspection within personal introspection. The issue of trauma will be revisited (See also Introduction and Chapter 5).

### 4. Observation *in situ* at multiple PS departments and numerous seminars and conferences.

The following are *some* of the institutions that I visited with ethnographic purposes and where I took part in different academic activities.<sup>36</sup>

- Chile: *Instituto de Asuntos Públicos (Universidad de Chile)*; *Instituto de Ciencia Política (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)*; *Universidad Diego Portales*; *Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH)*; *Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (Universidad de Chile)*; *Universidad del Desarrollo*; *Universidad Andrés Bello*, *Escuela de Ciencia Política (Universidad ARCIS)*; *Escuela de Historia (Universidad ARCIS)*; *Universidad ARCIS*; *Fundación Chile 21*; *Pontificia*

---

<sup>36</sup> In some cases, I mention a department as well as the university that hosts it. This means that, even though the highlighted specific academic unit had a particularly important role in the research, I also explored other institutional spaces within the university in question.

*Universidad Católica de Chile; Universidad de Chile.* (See Chapter 2 and Appendix B).

- Uruguay: *Instituto de Ciencia Política (Universidad de la República); Departamento de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas (Universidad Católica del Uruguay); Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios Uruguayos (Facultad de Humanidades, UdelaR); Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (CLAEH); Facultad de Derecho (UdelaR); Facultad de Humanidades (UdelaR); Universidad de la República.* (See Chapter 3 and Appendix B).
- Argentina: *Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA); Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO).*

Conferences are an important site in the making of the discipline. Many of my analytical observations were made and registered during my *active participation* in academic events such as these (see especially Chapter 3):<sup>37</sup>

8<sup>th</sup> Latin American Conference of Political Science (Lima, 2015); 5<sup>th</sup> Uruguayan Conference of Political Science (Montevideo, 2015);<sup>38</sup> Launch of the *Revista de Ciencia Política* Volumen 35-1 (8<sup>th</sup> Latin American Conference of Political Science, 2015); 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration of the BA Program in Political Science and Public Administration, “Challenges for Political Science’s reflection in Mexico”, (Mexico, *Universidad Iberoamericana*, 2014); Round-table on Mining (Montevideo, *ICP*, 2014);<sup>39</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> World Conference of Political Science (Montréal, 2014); 11<sup>th</sup> Argentinian Conference of Political Science (Paraná, 2013); 7<sup>th</sup> Latin American Conference of Political Science (Bogotá, 2013); Panel on “The Study of Public Policy in Uruguay: Evolution, Assessment and Perspectives” at the 12<sup>th</sup> Research Conference of the School of Social Sciences (Montevideo, *Universidad de*

---

<sup>37</sup> In some cases I mention both, a conference and a specific activity hosted by the former. This means that I took part in (or at least attended) other panels and events at the conference in question but I decided to highlight the specific event that is mentioned. The Latin American events’ titles have been translated.

<sup>38</sup> In this case I had access to the videos of some of the presentations.

<sup>39</sup> Appendix E does an in-depth analysis of two 2014 round-tables that the *Instituto de Ciencia Política (ICP, Universidad de la República)* organized on Extractive Industries. The case study highlights the lack of critical distance between Uruguayan PS and the political elites.

*la República*, 2013);<sup>40</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium of Students of Politics and International Relations (Bogotá, *Universidad Diego Arboleda*, 2013); Launch of the *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* (11<sup>th</sup> Argentinian Conference of Political Science, 2013); Roundtable of the Research Committee 33, International Political Science Association (Córdoba, Argentina, 2012); 4<sup>th</sup> Uruguayan Conference of Political Science (Montevideo, 2012); International Symposium on Political Science Today (Algiers, *l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des sciences politiques*, 2012); Carlos Real de Azúa 1916-1977. Evocation and colloquium with Tulio Halperin Donghi (Montevideo, *CLAEH*, 2007); 6<sup>th</sup> Research Conference of the School of Social Sciences (Montevideo, *Universidad de la República*, 2007); 1<sup>st</sup> Uruguayan Conference of Political Science (Montevideo, 2006); 5<sup>th</sup> Research Conference of the School of Social Sciences (Montevideo, *Universidad de la República*, 2006); Round-table “Carlos Real de Azúa, Political Science pioneer in Uruguay (1916-1977). Evocation after 25 years of his death” (Montevideo, 2002).

As part of my fieldwork, I also attended many book launches, PhD dissertation defenses, roundtables and seminars on the development of PS, as well as other academic PS activities in Asia, Europe, North America and Latin America.

5. The research has also included other activities such as:

- a) seminars on the theories employed by PPS;
- b) systematic analysis of the regional and global literature on PS development and other related topics (over 1000 titles);
- c) production of 4 documents-summaries on the state of the art of PS' history and development;
- d) in-depth examination of regional PS journals' earliest issues (with particular attention to Uruguay and Chile), BA, MA and PhD programs' syllabi and curricula, Program Directors' talks and speeches at relevant events, and institutional documents as well as other materials (see Chapters 2 and 3; some of the historical records examined have been separated under References);

---

<sup>40</sup> A research assistant took field-notes and recorded the event.

- e) description of the life trajectory of the early contributors to *RUCP*, *Política* and *RCP* (see Chapters 2 and 3);
- f) historical and contextual analysis of the academic units in which these journals are located;
- g) complete digitalization of the journals and other materials;
- h) analysis of visual archives and photographic registers (Chapters 2 and 3);
- i) ‘participatory observation’ in meetings and PS events in the Americas (Chapters 2, 3 and 4);
- j) collection, systematization and analysis of press releases of PS departments;
- k) collection, systematization and analysis of faculty performance evaluation criteria employed by academic units of both countries;
- l) collection and digitalization of MA theses in political science (University of Chile, 1982-2012);
- m) writing of a Methodological Memory in which the challenging process of the SPSS database’s construction is described in detail (Appendix A).

A final note on “field-work:” the data collection took place from August 2012 to July 2013, and it was a fascinating process that I cannot fully describe in these pages. It also included the teaching of a university course, “Social Sciences, Knowledge Production and Contemporary ‘Radical’ Thinking”, based on the theories and reflections that inform PPS at the *Instituto de Ciencia Política* in Uruguay. The group of students was wonderful and created a sort of permanent laboratory of (self-)reflection that resulted in an undergraduate seminar with several critical and sharp presentations on knowledge and power within PS. The event was attended by, among others, the Director of the *ICP* at the time, Dr. Pedro Narbono.<sup>41</sup> Both the course and the seminar that gave closure to the process have been relevant components of the “methods” of transformative praxis of self-reflection that is PPS.<sup>42</sup> The linkage between research, teaching and radical critique seem to

---

<sup>41</sup> Dr. Pedro Narbono (1953-2015) was a critical scholar who achieved the position of Director of the *ICP*. More importantly, he is the most sophisticated author on the Uruguayan state and his classes were incredibly intellectually inspiring.

<sup>42</sup> Teaching my research as an unfolding, open-ended adventure allowed me to *research my teaching* and my pedagogical views, which in their turn, affect my identity as a scholar and my very conception of PS. Note that my students were part of the researched environment. Our conversations systematically ended in a lively

be a place to start unlearning oppression. PPS needs to become a *classroom* (see Appendix F).

This project is a political, methodological and epistemological effort of de-reification. It looks for a shift within the realm of interpretation of PS history in Latin America and beyond. PPS is about knowledge, passion *and* politics: from PS to PPS, this journey is about enhancing awareness of how complex is our identity as political scientists, teachers and people who try to think and change reality.

---

self-exploration of PS. Thanks to my students' anecdotes and experiences with PS and their professors, I learned a great deal about the 'nature' of the discipline in Uruguay and beyond.

## Chapter 2: Authoritarian Political Science, Chile 1979-1989 (COLD)\*

In most accounts, Augusto Pinochet's authoritarian regime is understood to have been an obstacle for the development of political science (PS) in Chile (Altman, 2005; Altman, 2006; Barrientos Del Monte, 2012; Buquet, 2012; Fortou, Leyva Botero, Preciado, & Ramírez, 2013; Huneus, 2006; Viacava, 2012, among others). This chapter seeks to destabilize this understanding by showing that important elements of the infrastructure of the discipline were created during, *and sometimes by* this authoritarian regime.<sup>43</sup> This challenges the dominant narrative that links the institutionalization of PS in Latin America to liberal democracy in a linear fashion, and suggests the need for a nuanced, empirically informed and theoretically dense understanding of PS' multiple historical trajectories.

The Politics of Political Science (PPS) is an alternative conceptual framework to mainstream accounts of the history of PS in Latin America. PPS is informed by critical theory and aims to unpack the linkages between the discipline, its political context, and power relations. In other words, PPS attempts to shift from the question of institutionalization to the problem of *what* is institutionalized and its *political* implications. This chapter offers the first step in such exploration. Through an in-depth and extensive examination of the PS produced during the Chilean dictatorship, I identify and characterize an institutional and intellectual space that I will call Authoritarian Political Science (APS).

The notions of discourse (Foucault, 1991; Said, 1979), hegemony (Cox, 1987; Gramsci, 2008; Laclau & Mouffe, 2004) and even the more mainstream concept of Weberian legitimacy are attempts to grasp the epistemological and cultural dimensions of

---

\* I am grateful to Mariana Mancebo for her assistance at all stages of the research that sustains this chapter. A preliminary version of this piece was presented at *Universidad Iberoamericana* in México City at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration of the BA Program in Political Science and Public Administration (“Challenges for Political Science’s reflection in Mexico”, October 27-29 2014) and in Lima, Perú, at the 2015 annual conference of the Latin American Political Science Association. This chapter has benefited from the comments of Pablo Bulcourf, Eduardo Canel, Elizabeth Dauphinee, Ruth Felder, Arturo Fernández, Juan Pablo Luna, David McNally, Viviana Patroni, María Francisca Quiroga, Diego Rossello, Antonio Torres-Ruiz and Lilian Yap. María Francisca Quiroga and Mónica Tagle’s help and guidance was crucial during the fieldwork in Santiago.

<sup>43</sup> Heine (2006), for instance, addresses the flourishing of PS during the authoritarian period and on footnote 11 acknowledges the “ambiguous” relationship that the regime had with the discipline. However, his analysis of PS’ take off does not fully consider the *active* role that the regime had in the process and its theoretical implications.

politics and power. Thinking and knowledge are entrenched in power structures and dynamics, and thus academia and the knowledge that it produces are not ‘outside power’ and the political struggles that they analyze. In other words, there is no exteriority between academia, power, and political economy (Alexander, 2005; Marcuse, 1991).<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, through multiple vocabularies, critical theories have argued that powers that ‘think and talk’ are more vigorous and effective than a culturally naked power. From these theoretical perspectives, the outstanding effectiveness of the dictatorship in reshaping the fabric of Chilean society (Lechner, 1990; Mayol, 2012; Moulián, 2009) may be better understood by paying attention to the regime’s engagement with knowledge and academia (Mella, 2011b). Here, I will show that such an engagement included PS and the mobilization of the liberal democratic idiom.<sup>45</sup> I thus propose to study PS’ political history, or in other words, the political role of the development of PS during this dictatorship.

PPS treats PS as an object of political enquiry. The main purpose of this chapter is to present APS’ main features, emphasizing their implications for how we understand the linkage between the discipline and power. What follows is a systematic and in-depth analysis of *all* the articles published during the dictatorship by the two main PS journals in Chile, *Política* (188 pieces, 1982-1989) and *Revista de Ciencia Política (RCP)* (122 pieces, 1979-1989), along with other relevant historical records.<sup>46</sup> In order to locate APS within the broader chronological context, and especially to compare with the PS that would come after the transition, a larger data set was used that includes the 487 articles published by *Política* (1982-2012) and the 544 articles published by *RCP* (1979-2012).

The analysis focuses on what is perhaps the most delicate issue for any political scientist and for politics as such: the democratic question. The argument will proceed in five parts. In the first section, the framework of APS will be unpacked by analyzing its discourse (Foucault, 1991) around the transition to democracy, the Cold War (the perception of the US, the Soviet Union, communism and Marxism), the notion of ‘protected

---

<sup>44</sup> Marcuse (1991) is one of the very few books that address American PS from the perspective of critical theory (see Chapter 1).

<sup>45</sup> Pinochet’s regime’s mobilization of neoclassical economics has been already explored (Markoff & Montecinos, 1994).

<sup>46</sup> These numbers do not include institutional memorandums published by the journals (7 pieces by *Política* and 6 by *RCP*), book reviews and Special Issues without volume number. This material was carefully analyzed but not included in the SPSS database used to process the information that follows. For these Special Issues another database was created, and the results did not significantly change once they were included in the analysis.



democracy’, as well as by exploring the explicit conception of democracy when available in the articles. Given that this is an exploration of how meanings are regulated (Geertz, 1997), the second section will address significant “silence(s)”. The third section will look at the location of neoliberalism and the State’s role in the economy within APS’ theorizing on democracy. The cultural dimension of politics in general, and the weight that APS assigns to Christianity and the East-West divide in particular, are addressed in section four. Throughout, but specifically in the last two sections, I will prove that APS was indeed “academic” and highly internationalized. Both aggregated data and specific illustrative cases are provided as evidence.<sup>47</sup> At all times, I will pay careful attention to the sharp academic and political differences between *Política* and *RCP* and their home institutions, while theorizing about the different materials they provided to assemble APS.

A tormenting and fascinating question pushes me to write this, our first PPS story. The dictatorship meant for Chile systematic torture, killing and forced disappearances. However, *at the same time*, Chilean APS *was thinking* and publishing on issues ranging from the nature of Marxism to the pros and cons of different electoral systems. What does the overlap of these contrasting realities – killing and thinking – reveal about the relationship between knowledge and power? Section five addresses this complexity from an empirical standpoint. Finally, I will conclude by proposing a definition of APS, and will advance some reflections about its theoretical implications.

Two important clarifications have to be made in order to avoid misunderstandings. First, this chapter does not address what is outside of APS: in particular, the private academic institutions where the intellectual opposition to the regime was located as well as the scholars on exile; the significance of both has been abundantly documented by the literature (Heine, 2006; Huneus, 2006) and *it is taken for granted* by this thesis. And second – in connection with the former – to examine how power produced knowledge (PS

---

<sup>47</sup> The procedure was two-fold. Each article was read at least 4 times (twice by a research assistant, once by me and a last time together). The pieces were assigned values using a SPSS database with 89 descriptive and conceptual variables that operationalize the dimensions of analysis already mentioned in this introduction. The articles were also analyzed in an interpretative fashion (Geertz, 1997) by reconstructing the main conceptual and political features of APS. I conducted 35 interviews with Chilean political scientists, and while they have not been systematically integrated into this chapter, the arguments proposed here were cross-checked and enriched with the evidence provided by them.

in this case) does *not* imply to forget the obvious: that authoritarianism meant the loss of ideas and the shutting down of alternative voices.<sup>48</sup>

My aim here is not to displace previous critical analysis of this painful period. On the contrary, my expectation is that the interrogation of APS' concrete historical experience will *expand* and enrich the kind of questions that Latin American political scientists ask about the discipline and its politics. In other words, this chapter prepares PPS' room for the stories to come.

## **2.1 Institutionalized Transition: Towards a Protected Democracy**

I visited the Documentation Center of the Institute of Public Affairs (INAP; former Institute of Political Science) at the University of Chile several times in January 2013. Thanks to one of my first interviews with a librarian recruited in the early 1980s, I discovered the “Memories of Activities,” an institutional newsletter published from 1982 to 1992. As the name suggests, these booklets document the memory of the institution. I was surprised when my interviewee mentioned that Lucía Pinochet, the dictator's daughter, was “a regular” at the institute's many activities. This minor anecdote revealed to me that Pinochet's regime was radically different from the Uruguayan dictatorship and that had had significant implications for PS' history. However, I was going to see something even more illuminating –and shocking. We were sitting in my interviewee's office. It was a hot afternoon but the house of the INAP was pleasantly cool. While listening to her I leafed through the pages of these old documents. From one of them, this picture emerged from the shadows of PS' history and the first PPS story began to be written.

---

<sup>48</sup> Voices that continued to exist, but they were produced in other settings. It is well known that universities in several other countries in Latin America (for instance, Costa Rica and Mexico) benefitted enormously from the exodus of intellectuals from the Southern Cone.



**Figure 1: Photography extracted from “Memory of Activities 1983”, IPS-CHU.**

In this ceremony depicted above and held in 1983, Augusto Pinochet received the first copy of a special issue of *Política*, the official journal of Chile University’s Institute of Political Science (IPS-CHU, 1982-2001). Titled “Chile 1973-1983: Perspectives for a Decade,” the publication analyzes the first decade of “military government” (as non-detractors call it) (see Figure 2). IPS-CHU was formally founded on November 16, 1981 through ‘legal act’ 14.251, signed by Brigadier General Alejandro Medina Lois, then the university’s president (see Figure 3). *Política* was launched in 1982, the same year as the creation of IPS-CHU’s MA Program in PS with majors in Government and Political Theory. Meanwhile, the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (PUC)’s Institute of Political Science (IPS-CU), founded in 1969, had launched *Revista de Ciencia Política* (*RCP*) in 1979. The international reader should be warned that Chile University and PUC are considered the “traditional universities” and the most prestigious institutions for higher education in the country. In other words, these institutional developments and expansion happened in Chile’s academic epicentre. My interviewee, a ‘nonacademic’ person, understood well something that most academics seem to have forgotten: “those weren’t moments of intellectual darkness, the IPS-CHU was more productive than today!” (Ch30). Indeed, *Política* published more articles in the period 1982-1990 (47%) than between 1991 and 2000 (30%). *RCP* published 24% of its articles in the period 1979-1990 and 18% between 1991 and 2000.

By showing Chilean PS' development during Pinochet's rule, this 'hard data' goes against common sense and the narrative that directly links the expansion of PS to democracy. Yet, facts become meaningful only thanks to theory. What may this old picture tell us – political scientists and other intellectuals – if theoretically interrogated? What is it saying about 'us'? What does the fact that there could be PS under a dictatorship say about the discipline, liberalism and politics?



Figure 2: Cover of Special Edition of *Política*, *Chile 1973-1983. Perspectives for a decade*, Nov. 1983

## Decreto de Fundación

CREA INSTITUTO DE CIENCIA POLITICA

DECRETO N° 14.251

SANTIAGO, 16 de noviembre de 1981.

Con esta fecha, la Rectoría de la Universidad de Chile  
ha expedido el siguiente decreto.

VISTOS: lo dispuesto en el D.L. N° 111, de 1973; lo establecido en el D.F.L. N° 1, de 1971; en el D.S. del Ministerio de Educación Pública N° 11.099, de 1980, y lo señalado en el U. DE CHILE (O) N° 1153, de 13 de noviembre de 1981, del Prorector Subrogante,

DECRETO:

- 1.- Créase el Instituto de Ciencia Política de la Universidad de Chile, a cargo de un Director.
- 2.- El Instituto de Ciencia Política dependerá, jerárquica, normativa y administrativamente, del Rector de la Corporación.

Tómese razón, comuníquese y regístrese.

ALEJANDRO MEDINA LOIS  
BRIGADIER GENERAL  
RECTOR

HECTOR HUMERES NOGUER  
PRORRECTOR

**Figure 3: Decree of IPS-CHU's creation, from "Memory of Activities 1982"**

A conceptual examination of the articles published in this period reveals a constellation of discourses that gravitated around this institutional expansion that I will call Authoritarian Political Science (APS). A clarification should be made from the outset. I do not claim that all the authors who published during this period had "authoritarian" values (in fact many of them did not), nor that each analyzed piece fits all of the characteristics attributed to APS. What I do here, instead, is an *empirically grounded interpretative reconstruction* (Geertz, 1997) or *problematizing re-description* (Shapiro, 2005) of a set of ideas and views that were prominent within our discipline in the period under analysis. In other words, I trace APS through a set of dimensions that capture the ideological features of the PS of the time. Both aggregated data and specific illustrative cases are provided as

evidence. I focus on the democratic question –how was democracy discussed by APS? At the end of the chapter I come back to the very notion of APS.

One of the key topics addressed by APS is the importance of strong and durable *institutions building* (Cuevas Farren, 1979a; Cuevas Farren, 1979b; Cea Egaña, 1982b) for the country –and for the discipline itself.<sup>49</sup> The language employed, centered on the notion of institutions, is familiar to any political scientist because it is *our own, liberal* language – which, from the outset of this analysis, opens the question of the continuities between APS and liberal PS. Although some authors reject political parties and liberal democracy (Rodríguez Grez, 1986, p. 136; Ibáñez, 1985, p. 161), most of them reflect on a possible and even desirable transition to democracy. The transition was indeed a salient topic in the agenda of both journals and their home institutions, and it was addressed both domestically and internationally.<sup>50</sup> A main concern is that this process be stable, peaceful and well organized. In some cases, this concern crystalizes in a concrete conceptual category, “institutionalized transition” (IT) (Benavente Urbina, 1985; Benavente Urbina, 1989; Cuevas Farren, 1989a; Cuevas Farren, 1989b; Cuevas Farren, 1990; Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989b; Carmona, 1983), which denotes the control that the military government needs to exercise over the process of regime change. For this purpose a set of institutional tools, provided by the 1980 Constitution, were mobilized (Yrarrázaval, 1982, pp. 116-117).

Thus, in *Política* and *RCP*'s extensive reflections on the production of a “stable democracy” a sort of ‘double movement’ is at work: the coming back of democracy is welcomed as long as the new system has some crucial differences with the pre-1973 political regime that allowed *Unidad Popular* and President Allende to polarize Chilean society, eroding governability to a point that the Army had to intervene (Cuevas Farren, 1979a). Thus, a 1985 article argues that IT “corresponds to non-traditional governments

---

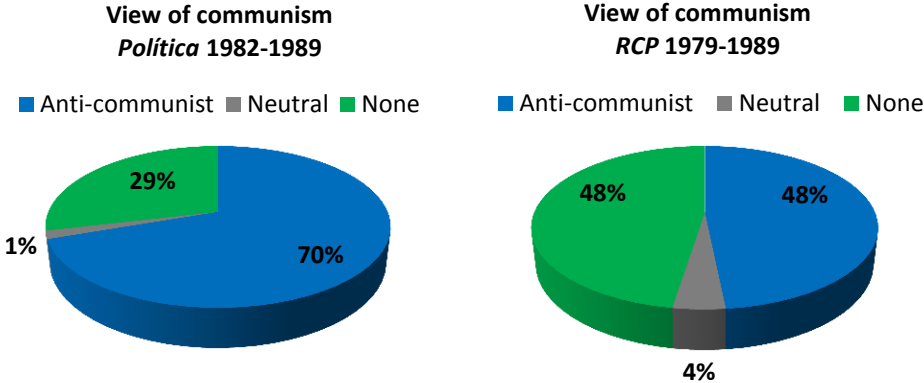
<sup>49</sup> Note that Cuevas Farren served as Director of both IPS-CU (1975-1982) and IPS-CHU (1982-1994). Therefore, his “voice” is particularly relevant. In different occasions he states that the development of PS is his main aim and that the discipline is called to make a crucial contribution to the institutional development of Chile (Cuevas Farren, 1979b, p. 1; Cuevas Farren, 1991, p. 114). Cuevas Farren’s discourse shifts over time from a hardcore authoritarian tone to a liberal democratic or at least quasi-democratic framework. This trajectory becomes clear by contrasting his introduction to *RCP* n°1 (Cuevas Farren, 1979b) or his first *RCP* article (Cuevas Farren, 1979a) with some of his late interventions (such as Cuevas Farren, 1990). His voice appears in the two journals, mostly in *Política*, in different formats (articles, published seminar interventions, speeches, institutional reports, etc.). He published 21 pieces in *Política* and 1 in *RCP*. This difference is expectable given that he left the IPS-CU soon after *RCP* was founded. His last appearance was in 1993.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, Mujal-León (1982) explores the Spanish transition and Gajardo Lagomarsino (1989a) studies the Mexican one.

that, because of powerful reasons, have disrupted the institutional continuity of a country and are now compelled to establish a new and permanent political order so that the institutional crisis that obliged them to intervene does not occur again” (Benavente Urbina, 1985, p. 46; translation mine). This aspect of APS’ discourse is significant in *both* journals even though it is clearly prominent in *Política* and less so in *RCP* where, as it will be shown, a ‘right-wing’ but polyarchic tone prevails before the transition.

What kind of democracy should Chile become through IT? And why is IT – an under-control transition – necessary at all? APS defines this democracy through a number of components that I explore in the following pages. The traumatic experience of Unidad Popular’s government and the Cold War framework determine an important part of these elements: the overriding need for “protection” (Cuevas Farren, 1979a, p. 6; Ribera Neumann, 1986, p. 67). The new democracy is going to need protection from its enemies – namely, communism and other radical political projects (Yrarrázaval, 1979; Yrarrázaval, 1982). In this view, democracy and communism are incompatible. The problem is that communism mobilizes the means offered by democracy to destroy it from the inside. Indeed, 70% of *Política*’s articles and 48% of *RCP*’s hold strong anti-communist views (see Graphs 1 and 2).

**Graph 1**

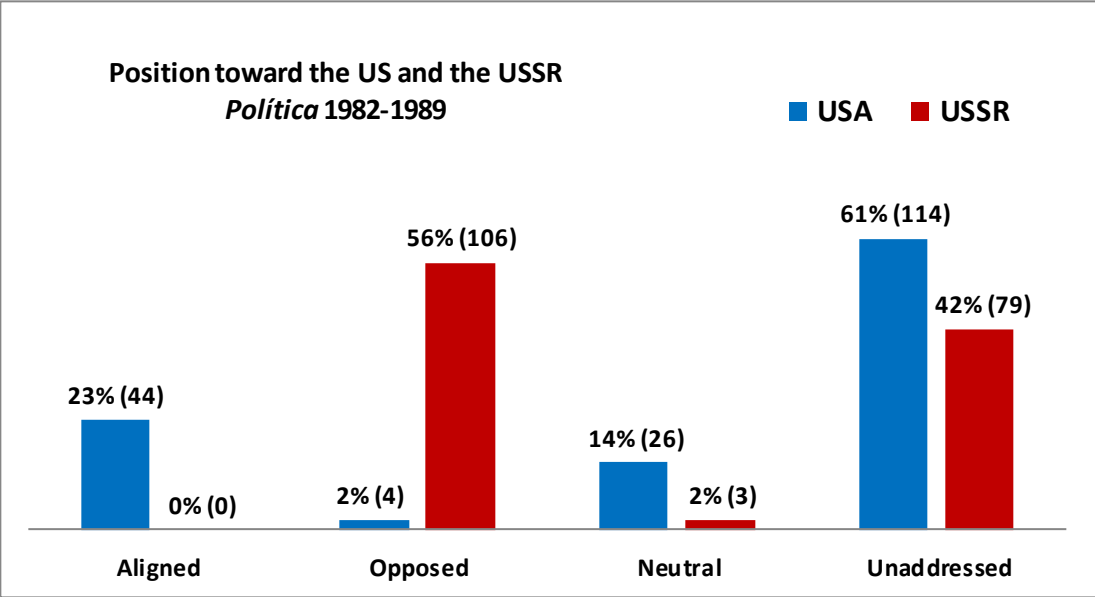


**Graph 2**

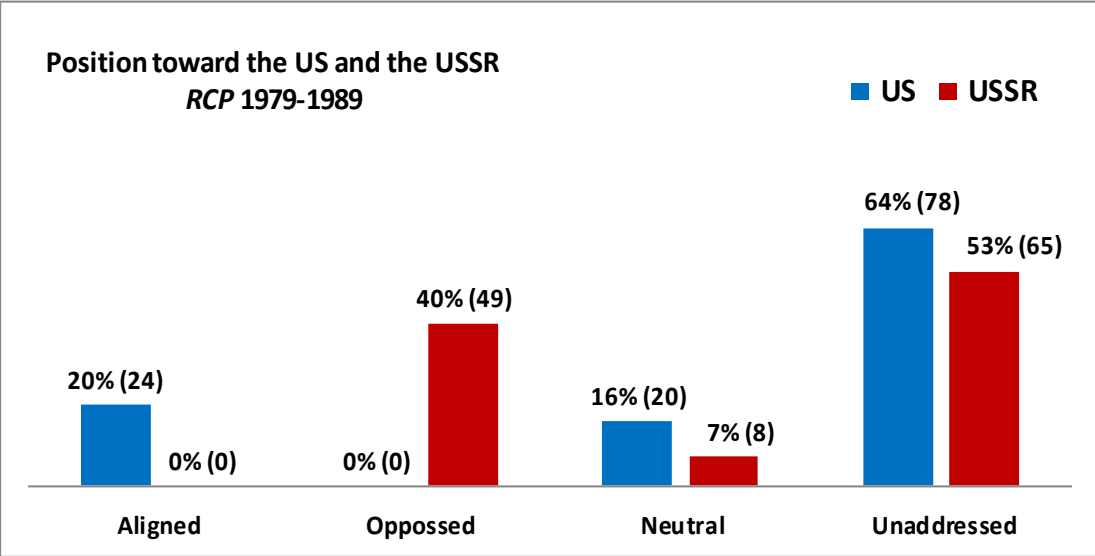
APS’ anticommunist framework was fairly international. Indeed, the Soviet Union and the US have an intense presence in the conversation: 56% of *Política* and 40% of *RCP* articles depict the USSR in negative terms while 23% and 20% are aligned with the US. Given that

there are no articles aligned with the USSR, almost none that criticizes the US and that many of them simply do not address international politics, these numbers are significant (see Graphs 3 and 4).

Graph 3



Graph 4



Furthermore, the institutional-intellectual collaboration between Chilean and American anti-communism is illustrated by American contributions to *RCP* (Theberge, 1979) and *Política* (Tambs & Aker, 1982), the latter being particularly brutal in its



language about how to deal with (in fact destroy) the Marxist forces in El Salvador (Ravecca, 2014). James Theberge published in both *Política* (1984; 1988) and *RCP* (1979; 1983) before, during, and after he served as Reagan's ambassador in Chile.<sup>51</sup> He critiqued US pro-human rights policies and what he called the Carter administration's "moralism" (Theberge, 1979, p. 66). In 1988, he received a posthumous tribute by the IPS-CHU (Cuevas Farren, Mac Hale, & Trucco, 1988). Other *RCP* articles that target Carter's administration because of its pro-human rights policies and discourse in South America and Africa are, respectively, Wiarda (1985) and Kunert (1979).<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, Roger Fontaine, Reagan's advisor on Latin American issues and Director of Latin American Studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, subtly supported Pinochet's regime while criticizing Carter's lack of hemispheric perspective (Fontaine, 1980). Finally, the figure of Howard T. Pittman (1981), introduced as an American "Ex-Colonel" who holds a PhD in social sciences, is revealing of the interpenetration between academia, power and international politics.

Numerous conversations and interviews with academic and administrative staff of those years confirmed the intense relationship between *both* IPS-CU and IPS-CHU with the American Embassy and with American universities. A very concrete example of this is the IPS-CHU's publication on North American Studies *supported by the US government and printed by Gendarmería, part of the Chilean security forces*. It is even more remarkable that some issues of *Política* were also printed by the police (see Figures 4 and 5).

---

<sup>51</sup> In August 1983 an international seminar on "Regional, Hemispheric and Global Tendencies of International Relations" took place at the IPS-CU. Theberge was a guest speaker as well as David Singer (Singer, 1984), a Michigan University professor whose complex and mathematically formalized contribution explores the possibility of identifying "cycles of war". *Anti-communism and complex science shared the stage*.

<sup>52</sup> Howard J. Wiarda, Massachusetts University Political Science Professor, was the director of the conservative American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. His academic career is impressive.

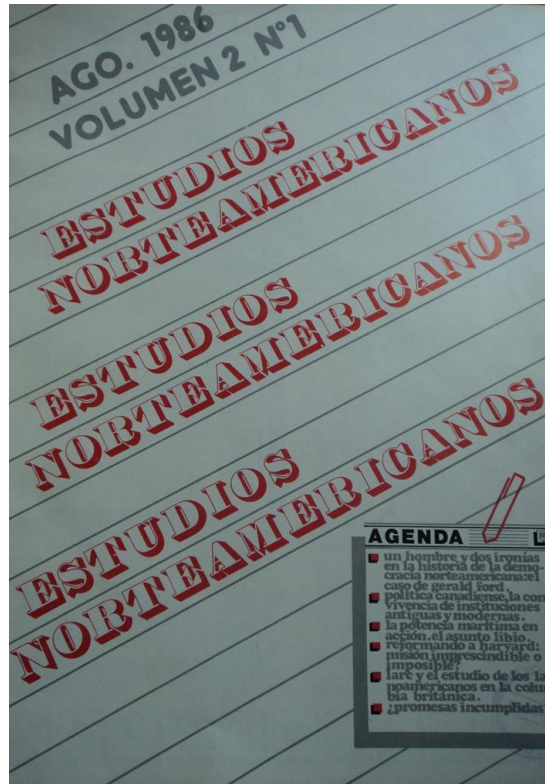


Figure 4: *North American Studies*, IPS-CHU, 1986

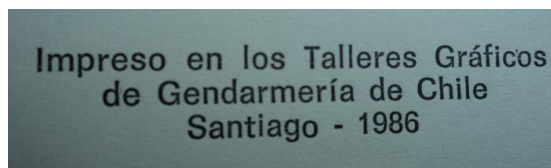
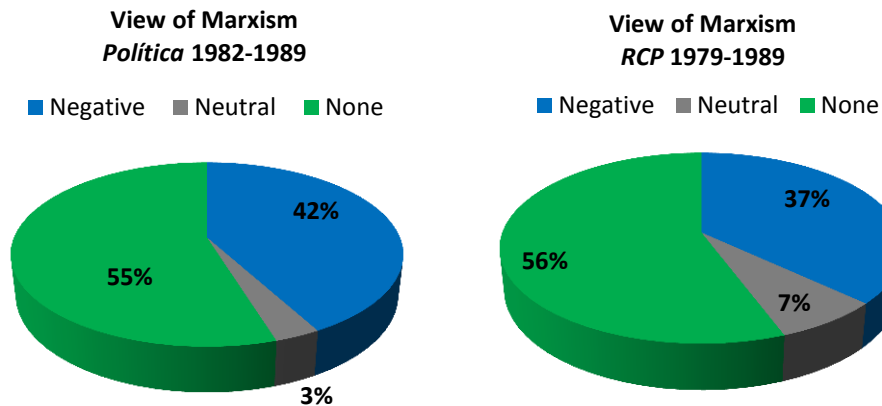


Figure 5: “Printed by *Gendarmería*”

Marxism, the theoretical arm of communism, was understood by APS as an enemy that should be seriously dealt with in academia and in all sorts of public forums, including the media. In contrast to the relative silence and indifference that would predominate in the later years, APS produced articles, papers, theses and books that dealt with Marxism as an intellectual enemy. The articles are numerous – 79 in *Política* and 45 in *RCP* – but illustrative examples of this trend are Yrarrázaval (1979; 1982). Thus, 42% of *Política*'s and 37% of *RCP*'s articles published in the authoritarian period had a negative view of Marxism (see Graphs 5 and 6). Given that there are no articles that embrace any form of Marxism or neo-Marxism and that many of the pieces explore topics unrelated to any ideological debate, these are very high numbers. Yet aggregated data cannot compete with

the interpretative power of a detail. The first issue of *Política* published an article titled “Partisan programs, ideologies and preferences: Anthony Downs’ model” (Wilhelmy, 1982). The topic of the piece decidedly belongs to the ‘mainstream’ repertoire of our discipline. Therefore, the only mention of Marxism-Leninism in a footnote reveals to what extent its presence was conspicuous in APS’ conceptual universe.

**Graph 5**



**Graph 6**

Marx is confronted in philosophical, theological, ethical and political grounds. While the engagement with classical liberal authors such as Thomas Hobbes (Miranda, 1984; Miranda, 1986; Godoy, 1987-1988), Immanuel Kant (Miranda, 1986), Adam Smith (Mertz, 1984) and Tocqueville (Godoy, 1983) has an empathetic tone, Marx’s views are systematically dismissed.<sup>53</sup> The following quote is quite representative: “Marxism is an ideological model that simulates the real” (Yrarrázaval, 1979, p. 8). APS insisted on the power of ideas and ideology. Marxism had concrete political incarnations and implications, and therefore, the academic battle was a political one. This results in an interesting form of political analysis that cares about the cultural dimension of politics and academia itself. ‘Communism’ and ‘Marxism’ will consistently diminish their presence after the transition, to the point that they practically disappear in the period 2001-2012.

<sup>53</sup> Raymond Aron also received attention (Aron, 1984; Durán, 1984; Godoy, 1984; Lapouge, 1988).

I will now delineate in more detail the notion of ‘protected democracy’ forged by right-wing Chilean forces, including by APS.<sup>54</sup> “Protection” relates to the necessary restriction of political pluralism and to the active role that the Army needs to perform in the new democracy. A form of tutelage is thus needed in order to make sure that democracy does not destroy itself. In this logic, the political act of limiting the powers of democracy is a genuinely democratic procedure. Ribera Neumann (1986, p. 33), following Justo López, calls this ‘dialectical suicide’ in opposition to ‘factual suicide’ –when democracy, in order to avoid the destruction of its essential principle (i.e. freedom), limits the scope of its application. For proponents of protected democracy, ‘naïve democracy’, ‘artless liberalism’, and ‘ahistorical rationalism’ should be avoided. In the same vein, a 1985 article argues that “the democratic system allows an unrestrictive pluralism and thus propitiates its own destruction. These are the reasons why the legislators determined some basic limits to political pluralism. This new conception has been called ‘Protected Democracy’” (Zepeda Hernández, 1985, p. 161, translation mine). Only in this way will Chile be a well-organized and rational democracy (Yrarrázaval, 1979, p. 9).

In this narrative, the military government is apolitical and non-partisan. It has obediently followed the mandate – given by diverse social groups and sectors – of transcending particular interests and putting the Chilean nation first. That is why the presidential succession process should avoid “the reappearance of the kind of divisions and sectarian behaviours that *forced* the military pronouncement of 1973” (Núñez Tome, 1988, p. 75, translation and emphasis mine). The language with which APS names the *coup d’état* is revealing in itself. The violent overthrow of President Salvador Allende that ended his life is in numerous occasions conveniently called a “pronouncement,” while the limitation to the majority rule is discussed as academic considerations about the trade-off between pluralism and order – a language that is not foreign to mainstream PS and contemporary liberalism. Thus, the way of understanding the experience of *Unidad Popular* and the coup frames the engagement with the transition and the new democracy.

A strong nationalist language is linked to a sort of right-wing international project. Democracy is said to have internal and external allies as well as internal and external

---

<sup>54</sup> Rubio Apiolaza (2011) explores the legacy of Jaime Guzmán, a relevant right-wing intellectual of the period who showcases the important political role performed by *part of* the Chilean academia during the dictatorship.

enemies such as the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). Both cases reveal the coordination between external and internal anti-democratic projects and thus the need for ‘protecting democracy’. According to Benavente Urbina (1987), the MIR’s dramatic situation is one of young people who were and are incapable of perceiving their own reality – recall that Yrarrázaval (1979) conceptualizes Marxism as a ‘simulation of reality’. They are always ready to imitate foreign ideas, attracted by a “strange seduction for violence and blood and that is why they cannot understand Chile, its past, and its vocation for integration. They give their backs to History and reality, so their country has ended up looking at them with disdain, as strangers” (Benavente Urbina, 1987, p. 155; translation mine). Here, Marxism and Communism are alien-and-alienating insidious enemies that undermine the strength of the Chilean nation.

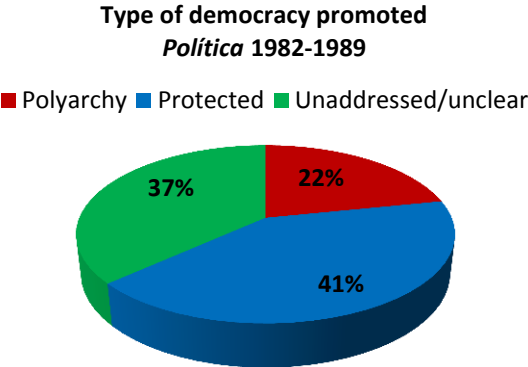
In this logic, it was the military that defeated the enemies of Chile. Democracy should not betray its saviours. Thus, the protection of democracy by the military was also about protecting the military. The fear of judicial retaliation seems to be an important component of how APS frames the transition. In this regard “it is desirable that in the immediate future the military-civilian relationship develops in a friendly and harmonious manner according to the framework that follows from the new institutional political framework” (Cuevas Farren, 1989a, p. 56; translation mine).

I want to highlight a very important point. *Mainstream PS’ expertise is a fundamental component of APS*. Marín Vicuña (1986) worked on electoral systems from the point of view of ‘institutionalized transition’ and ‘protected democracy’. The argument goes as follows: between 1963 and 1973, the partisan competition pushed the political system towards the left and weakened the right (p. 139). The policy implication was to strengthen the center by applying the electoral binomial system combined with the political presence of the military.

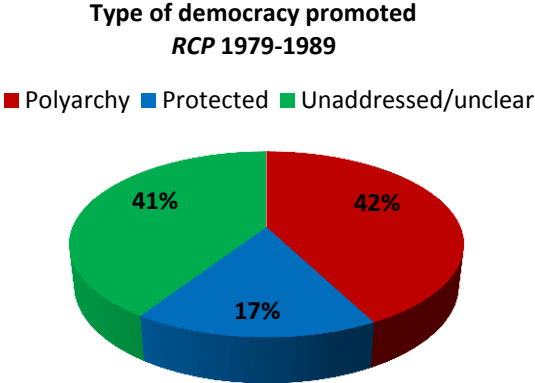
Between 1982 and 1989 41% of the articles in *Política* held a “protected” conception of democracy while 22% were polyarchic. In this respect, *RCP*’s situation is almost the inverse of *Política*’s: 17% of its articles promoted a ‘protected’ democracy and 42% were polyarchic. Clearly, polyarchy prevailed in *RCP* and this speaks of a sharp and important difference between the two journals. And yet, besides the fact that aggregated data cannot represent well the intensity of a discourse, that almost one in five articles

promotes a limited type of democracy is still outstanding. The authoritarian framing of democracy is present in both journals. This conception of democracy literally *disappears* from *RCP* in the 90s while in *Política* it abruptly drops in the same period. By the 2000s, ‘protected democracy’ is gone from Chilean PS.

**Graph 7**



**Graph 8**



IPS-CHU was very active in mobilizing international networks and in organizing thematic seminars and numerous academic activities (Ravecca, 2014). These can be traced thanks to the Institutional Memories published in this period (1982-1992), Cuevas Farren’s speeches, *Política* itself and other historical records. In the second half of the 80s, many articles elaborated on the transition. Indeed, an entire 1986 seminar supported by the conservative German *Hanns Seidel Foundation* was dedicated to the fundamentals of democracy at the institutional, geographical-territorial, economic and even ‘spiritual’ level. The interventions were published in two special editions of *Política*. The notion of a protected democracy

appeared in these conversations as well as in the seminars about “the Subsidiary State” and on “social communication and politics” published in volume 13 of *Política* in 1987, among others. However, APS did allow for *some* dissent. Protected democracy was indeed contested in these spaces. Thus, Article 8 of the 1980 Constitution that proscribed political groups that threatened the ‘family’ or promoted class struggle was called a “legal aberration” by Cumplido Cereceda (Rojas Sánchez, Ribera Neumann, & Cumplido Cereceda, 1987, p. 151).

## 2.2 RCP, or the Meaning of Silence

*RCP*’s location and status within APS is more complex than *Política*’s. We already saw that the discourse on ‘protected democracy’ is not at all dominant on its pages and, indeed, many of its articles speak the standard and supposedly objective academic idiom. Yet I want to argue that, from an interpretative point of view, there is a strong case for locating many *RCP* discourses within the space of APS. The *RCP* spectrum starts with Cuevas Farren (1979a), who supports the coup and the military regime, and ends with Myers (1989), who addresses in a rather obscure but critical way forced disappearances.<sup>55</sup> In the middle, there is a mixture of polyarchic, conservative, and authoritarian discourses along with significant silence(s).

Reading silences is always a challenge (Butalia, 2000; Dauphinee, 2013; Spivak, 1988). The problem with aggregated data and numbers is precisely that the subtlety of discourses, powerful details and relevant silences get lost. Let me explain what I concretely mean by “significant silences” with a few examples. Durán (1980) and Infante (1980) approach international relations issues from a theoretical and public policy perspective respectively. One could not guess that these texts were written in the midst of a dictatorship. *RCP*’s International Relations orientation allows for this kind of disconnection with the local political context. However, in the same issue, “The subversive war as a method on International Relations” (Sasse, 1980) and “Elements of a totalitarian conception” (Rojas Sánchez, 1980) break such a silence from a clear-cut right-wing perspective.

---

<sup>55</sup> It is the first time that the *desaparecidos* are mentioned. Interestingly, the article does not refer to Chile but to Argentina. Myers (1989) conceptualizes them as a travesty of death and murder (p. 29).

Miranda (1982) analyzes the Chilean electoral system and its effects. Its updated bibliography, as well as its narrative, belongs to mainstream Anglo-Saxon PS. The piece mentions “the fall of Allende’s government” (1982, p. 59) *en passant* and then it simply continues its conversation with Duverger and Douglas Rae. Tuteleers (1982) argues that checks and balances and the separation of state powers is “one of the main guarantees offered by the democratic system to men in order to defend themselves against an arbitrary government and, therefore, to be able to live in freedom” (p. 97; translation mine). In this piece, written by a Chilean scholar, the situation in Chile is again ignored. Furthermore, the quintessentially democratic components of “democracy” such as universal suffrage and political equality are not mentioned.

The presence of a very ‘professional’ form of geopolitical analysis, which extends the silence about the democratic issue, is also remarkable: Pinochet de la Barra (1985) and Riesco (1985), for instance, were originally interventions in a 1984 IPS-CU seminar on the Chile-Argentina territorial controversies. There are many others of this kind, such as Meneses (1979). Durán (1981) documents a 1980 seminar on the relationship between geopolitics and International Relations, and offers some interesting theoretical reflections on the topic. The framework is clearly academic. He cites American military official and scholar John Child’s contribution to the Latin American Research Review (Child 1979)<sup>56</sup> and in endnote 17 acknowledges military official Juan Emilio Cheyre’s intervention at the seminar (Durán 1981, p. 25).<sup>57</sup>

Besides *RCP*’s neoliberal (Hayek, 1982; Nishiyama, 1982; Novak, 1983) and hardcore right-wing discourses (Bravo Lira, 1987-1988; Cea Egaña, 1982b; Sasse, 1980), sometimes framed in religious terms as we will see later, the cases of significant silence are numerous. The dynamics of passive acceptance or discrete resistance within *RCP vis-à-vis* the military government are complex and ambiguous. Clearly, the two institutions under study are different. While IPS-CHU performed the role of an intellectual arm of the dictatorship, within IPS-CU divergent logics coexist.

---

<sup>56</sup> Child’s work is also published by *RCP* (Child, 1981).

<sup>57</sup> Cheyre would become Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army from 2002 to 2006 and would distance the military from Pinochet’s dictatorship. However, he was also involved in human rights controversies.



A note on complexity is needed here. In *RCP* the polyarchic discourse is preeminent,<sup>58</sup> but *Política*, as aligned with the military government as it was, should not be simplified either. *Política* also contains democratic discourses and it was a diverse space. On its pages Uruguayan scholar Gros Espiell (1983) argues early on for the restoration of the rule of law and pluralism in Uruguay while Pezoa Bissieres (1989) explores O'Donnell's *oeuvre* in analytical and academic terms. Even more interestingly, a few pages away from Tambs and Aker (1982), which engages with the situation in El Salvador from an extreme right-wing perspective, there is a book review of Edward Said's *Orientalism*.<sup>59</sup> Zipper (1982) not only acknowledges Said's main contribution to contemporary critical thinking but also appropriates the book to advance some reflections about knowledge-power dynamics within Area Studies. Applying the logic and argument of *Orientalism* to Latin American Studies, the author argues that sometimes American scholars easily become the academic authority on a country or region after spending a few weeks in the place. Their perspective is frequently simplistic and superficial. Zipper also refers to academic dependency and to how many Latin American scholars learn about their own reality at institutions in Europe or the US. As a result, they end up reproducing problematic accounts of their own political and social reality (I share this view; see Chapter 5). The tone of the author is careful and he does clarify that this is a general tendency with many exceptions. This is the kind of relevant, self-reflective epistemological conversation about the geopolitics of academia and knowledge production that mainstream PS seems reluctant to have today (!).

### **2.3 A Re-Founding Trilogy: Protected Democracy, Market Economy and Private Property**

In the already mentioned IPS-CHU 1986 seminar on the “Fundamentals of a democratic regime,” documented by a special issue of *Política*, the first featured article in the economic section is significantly titled “Private property rights: The basis for democratic stability”

---

<sup>58</sup> In fact Robert Dahl lectured on “Controlling Nuclear Weapons: Democracy versus Guardianship” in the launch of the 1985 academic year of the MA program of the IPS-CU. The title of his paper was translated in a way that affects the meaning: “Nuclear Weapons: Democracy and Protection. Why the guardians fail” (Dahl, 1985).

<sup>59</sup> Lewis Tambs is a conspicuous member of the American right. His trajectory is analyzed in “Lewis Tambs, Latin American Geopolitics and the American New Right”, by Prof. Leslie W. Hepple. The piece is available at <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/geography/migrated/documents/lewis.pdf>

(Urenda Zegers & Eyzaguirre García de la Huerta, 1987). The article collects two interventions with no disagreement on a crucial point: private property rights are fundamental for democratic stability. Urenda Zegers clarifies that he is particularly referring to private ownership over “the means of production” (p. 16). The author defends the “Christian and Western democratic system” where this right guarantees the dispersion of power within society. The intervention closes with references to Tocqueville and Kant. Meanwhile, Eyzaguirre García de la Huerta mentions Locke, Montesquieu and (quite paradoxically) Rousseau. His argument is framed in terms of possessive individualism. The link between the natural right of private property and democracy is freedom. Among the legal and constitutional provisions that are necessary for the protection of private property and democracy the author mentions the ‘subsidiary state’. In other words, the welfare state undermines democracy. There should also be cultural consensus about the necessity of a private property regime and an ethical framework for the exercise of such a right. The author warns the reader that future governments should not make the same mistakes of *Unidad Popular* if Chilean society is going to avoid the collapse of its new democracy.

The two previous examples are crystal clear: a key component of APS’ conceptualization of democracy was the mutually indispensable relationship between the (protected) democratic system, the market economy and private property rights. In this schema, the state’s limited role in the country’s economy is a prerequisite for freedom (Cuevas Farren, 1979a; Nishiyama, 1982; Pazos, 1987). This conflation of democracy and neoliberal capitalism is a fundamental conceptual move with radical ‘material’ implications.

An entire seminar published in volume 13 of *Política* was dedicated to ‘the entrepreneurial state’ and to a draft of the Constitutional Organic Law that, by a reinterpretation of the 1980 Constitution, improved the protection of the subsidiary principle (see Figure 6). The introduction to the seminar was meaningfully titled “The subsidiary principle and the Chilean political regime” (Cuevas Farren, 1987). The opposition between the subsidiary state and ‘an absorbent state’ (17) was discussed in political terms. The subsidiary state corresponded to a modern, efficient and ‘free’ institutional framework. Neoliberalism was the best development strategy.

Again, the notion of protection is mobilized to refer to the threat that anti-market parties pose to the political regime of the country. Indeed, there was an intervention by the Minister of Interior that argued that a private sector-based economy was the path to a free and developed society (García Rodríguez, 1987). His presence in the seminar speaks of the priority given by the government to the principle of subsidiarity. García Rodríguez observed that the fact that this gathering was being held in the University of Chile was meaningful given the university's role in the shaping of the nation's future. Furthermore, a member of the Constitutional Organic Laws Study Commission appointed by the Pinochet government was invited to speak about the technicalities of the law, and of course, the capitalists' voice was also invited to the table. Manuel Feliú Justiniano, President of the Production and Commerce Confederation, celebrated corporations and proclaimed the importance of keeping social policies focused on the poor. A Professor of PUC and also a member of the Commission proclaimed:

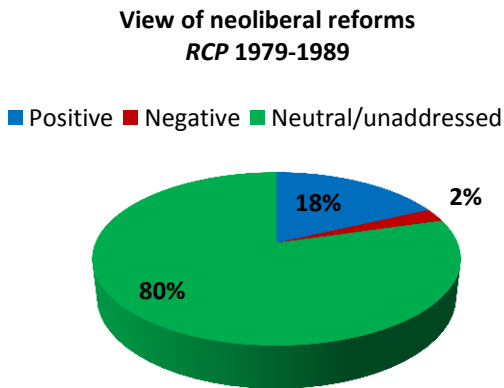
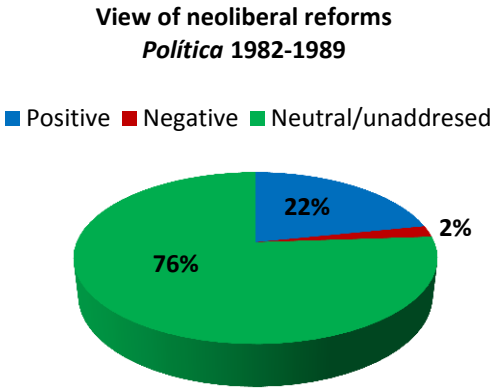
Fortunately, knowledge about the relationship between personal freedom and private property has recently spread [...] In the new scheme that has emerged after 1973, freedom has become the symbol and aim of the country's new institutional arrangements. Freedom is guaranteed by private property, free economic initiative and by the full adoption of the concept of the subsidiary state. An abundance of social market economy and neoconservative thinkers nurture the government officials who are creating a new Constitution in order to put the State into man's service (Bruna Contreras, 1987, p. 59, p. 68; translation mine).

Note the explicit linkage between knowledge production (“an abundance of social market economy and neoconservative thinkers”) and Pinochet's government. The seminar concludes with the words of an “ex-Minister of State” who calls *en passant* Manuel Feliú (the big entrepreneur) his “great friend” (Collados Núñez, 1987, p. 79) and quotes Locke and Hobbes to argue that the Chilean State is still a Leviathan that should be reduced as soon as possible. His final thoughts are framed in terms of Chile's belonging to Western culture and ethics.

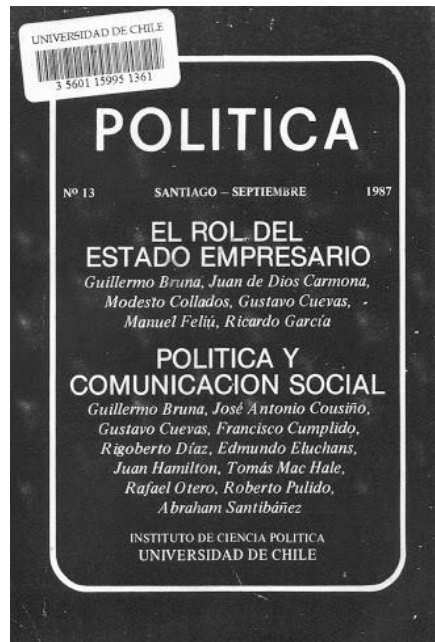
The idea that the pursuit of a free society implies the affirmation of the “private property system” is elaborated by many other articles published in the period (Yrarrázaval, 1982; Novak, 1983; Sandoz, 1983; Cuevas Farren, 1979a; Pazos, 1987), as is the idea that both the reduction of the state and the enforcement of private property are key to achieving development (Pazos 1987, p. 191). In this light, the Pinochet regime's main aim is to

expand freedom (Cuevas Farren 1979a, p. 17). APS conceptualizes development and freedom in strictly possessive individualist and liberal terms, excluding the egalitarian dimension of democracy. Indeed, 22% of *Política* and 18% of *RCP* articles promote neoliberal reforms. This is not a low number taking into account that a) PS journals do not have economic reforms at the center of the conversation and b) only pieces that in *very* explicit terms support neoliberalism were computed under this category (see Graphs 9 and 10).

**Graph 9**



**Graph 10**



**Figure 6: Cover of Special issue of *Política* on “The entrepreneurial role of the State” and “Politics and Social Communication”, n°13, 1987.**

The “abundance” of neoliberal and neoconservative thinkers referred to by the quote above are not Chilean citizens, for the most part. The neoliberal component of APS was embedded in an international (mostly British and American) project that successfully reshaped power relations during the 70s and 80s. This international dimension affected not only Chile, but was in fact a product of US hegemony in the region. Bruna Contreras (1987) was not the only one to assert that international (neoconservative) academia nurtured the military government. Many APS authors argued that ideas shaped policy and that concepts and theories were powerful political weapons at the national and international level. The following quote capitalizes on a well-known US scholar, Samuel Huntington, to defend the neoconservative agenda and justify neoliberalism:

The democratic system should allow and foment individual economic progress, not only for economic reasons but also, as Samuel Huntington has shown, for political ones: a market economy always demands the dispersion of economic power. This dispersion creates alternatives to the power of the State. [...] In this regard, an interesting phenomenon took place in a country like Chile where political and economic thinking used to have the aim of pointing out how wrong those with a different ideology were. Today, perspectives have changed and this allows having hope about the future (Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989b, p. 58; translation mine).

In this view, democracy has intrinsic limits based on the absolute principle of private property. In other words, democracy cannot decide about everything: protected democracy is meant to protect the market economy. It is revealing that the contours chosen to delineate the limits to democratic power are not the notion of human rights (the *demos* cannot decide to violate fundamental rights) but the sacred principle of private property (democracy shall respect capitalism). The ‘change of perspective’ alluded to by the quote means that Pinochet’s regime and its intellectual and social allies are winning the battle not only in the institutional realm but especially in the cultural terrain. In other words, for them, Chilean culture has changed for the better – neoliberalism has been successfully imposed. Many Chilean critical intellectuals would agree with Gajardo Lagomarsino in that the subordination of politics to the market economy is one of the most remarkable achievements of Pinochet’s regime that has persisted after the transition. *In this period, neoclassical economics colonizes politics* (Lechner, 1990; Leiva, 2008; Mella, 2011; Mayol, 2012, Moulián, 2002).

## **2.4 Saving the West: Culture, Christianity and Internationalization**

Ideology and the world of culture (Geertz, 1997) are taken seriously by APS. In this regard, there is overlap between APS, Gramscian and Foucauldian approaches to power and politics. Indeed, there are numerous references to Gramsci in *Política*. Volume 14, for example, alludes to an entire Metropolitan University seminar on the Italian author, with an intervention by *Política* editor Jaime Antúnez Aldunate (1987, p. 245).

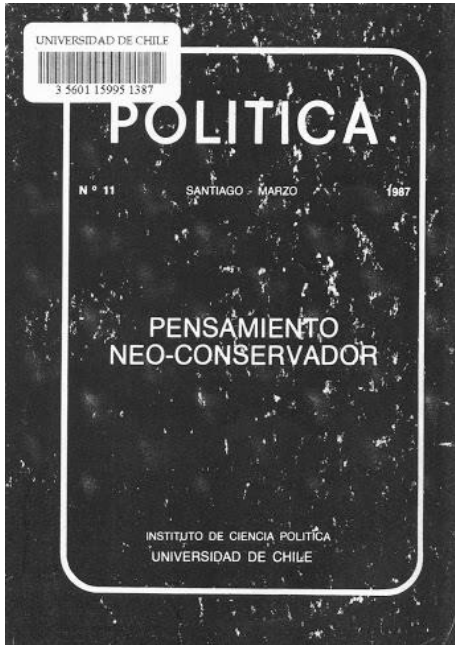
Protected democracy is indeed *also* a cultural (and ‘discursive’) project. In Rojas Sánchez, Ribera Neumann and Cumplido Cereceda (1987), titled “Defending Democracy,” Rojas Sánchez argues that democracy should be circumscribed to a form of government. In other words, the meaning of democracy should not be stretched to the point that it includes an entire way of life and should not be extended to other realms such as the family and the institutions for education. In this sense, democracy is *not* a cultural project. However, the argument is precisely that fundamental values that *transcend* and sustain democracy are taught in non-democratic institutions that should be kept that way. It is interesting that the first thing that a piece on “defending democracy” does is assert the centrality of non-

democratic institutions and hierarchy as the substratum of modern democracy (and ‘civilization’). The ontological ‘density’ of both the family and the Church transcend any form of government, including the democratic one. In this regard, they are more fundamental because they incarnate Western civilization, Christianity and humanism. The author explores the role of the university along with the importance of keeping the ‘purity’ of political language to capture ‘the truth’. In this context, Rojas Sánchez is critical of the idealization of the ideological ‘center’ and argues that there can be extremism ‘there’ also.

In a 1987 seminar on “Politics and Social Communication” (see Figure 6 above), Cumplido Cereceda and Bruna Contreras (1987) and Díaz Gronow (1987) discussed Articles 8 and 9 of the 1980 Constitution that forbade proselytism of destabilizing theories that promote class struggle, violence and/or attack “the family”. In these interventions there is a clear awareness about the role of journalism in particular, and culture in general, in power struggles. Pulido and Santibañez (1987) and Otero (1987) debated the notion of personal and public honour protected by Article 19 of the 1980 Constitution (Pulido & Santibañez, 1987, p. 175). Hamilton and Eluchans (1987) engaged in a debate about the regulation of television. They disagreed on how much freedom the mass media should enjoy. The clashes between the seminar participants show the complexity of APS. As I discuss elsewhere, this neoconservative formation allowed space for dissent, which was a ‘smart’ way of navigating the transition (Ravecca, 2014). The clashes in these seminars indicate that we need to understand APS as a space rather than a monolithic discourse. These debates may well be considered more interesting than those propitiated by liberal PS later, because they include power and culture in the conversation. They go far beyond a narrowly conceptualized notion of politics.

Labin (1983, p. 149) proclaims: “we should not forget this capital lesson of history: powers that philosophize are frequently more evil than those that just administrate.” According to APS, the international left operated in the cultural and academic realm; therefore, the reaction should also be cultural and academic. In an international conference on Neoconservative Thinking organized by IPS-CHU (see Figure 7), the editor-in-chief of the most circulated newspaper in Chile, *El Mercurio*, quoted Julien Freund (referring to a talk that he gave in the same room 5 years before, see Figure 8), Bobbio, Schmitt and Gramsci – who represented a cultural project of destruction of Christian and Western

civilization (Antúnez Aldunate, 1987).<sup>60</sup> Antúnez Aldunate, *who was also an IPS-CHU professor*, argued that right-wing politics were still too focused on the ‘infrastructure’, and that while they may have been good at fighting Leninism, they had not noticed the transformations within Marxist theory and practice that Gramsci had performed.



**Figure 7: Cover of Special Issue of *Política* on “Neoconservative Thinking”, n°11, 1987.**

---

<sup>60</sup> The re-appearance of names, institutions and activities matter because they reveal that APS operated as a discursive and institutional (neoconservative) space.





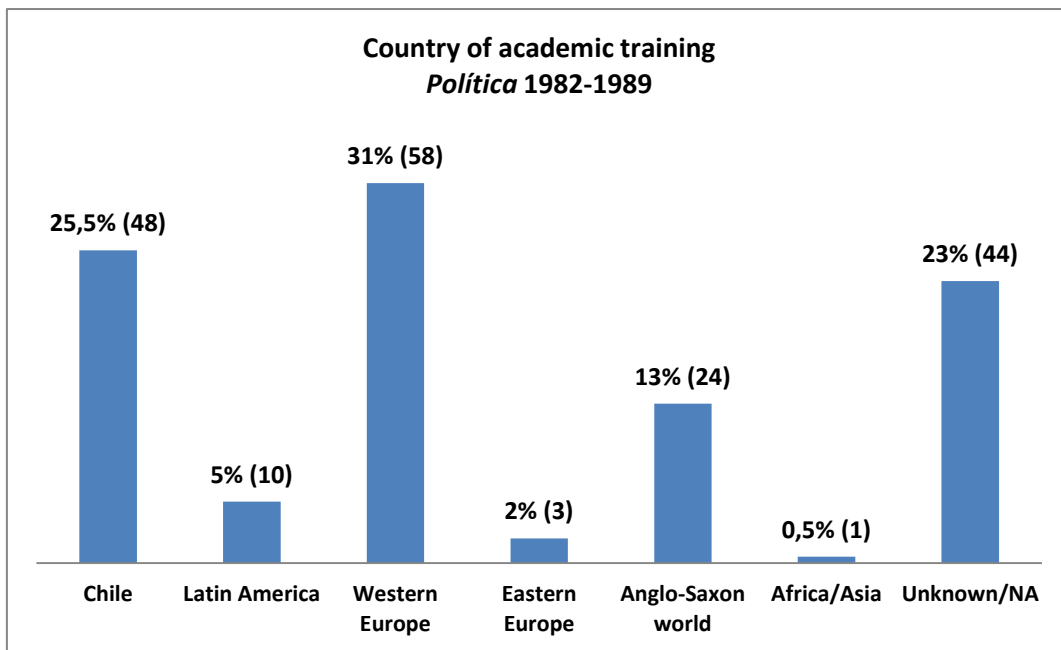
**Figure 8: Julien Freund, Strasburg University philosopher, Raymond Aron student and well known scholar of Max Weber. Picture of talk on “Fundamental questions of contemporary politics” (June, 1982, IPS-CHU). Memory of activities, 1982.**

Some of the repeated theoretical references speak a lot about APS ideology: Huntington (Barría, 1989; Cea Egaña, 1982a; Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989a; Reichley, 1982), Hayek (Hayek, 1982; Nishiyama, 1982), Carl Schmitt (Rojas Sánchez, 1980) and Schumpeter (Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989a; Mertz, 1982; Nishiyama, 1982). APS operated in an internationalized ideological framework where (economic) liberalism and (cultural and political) conservatism intersected and reinforced each other.

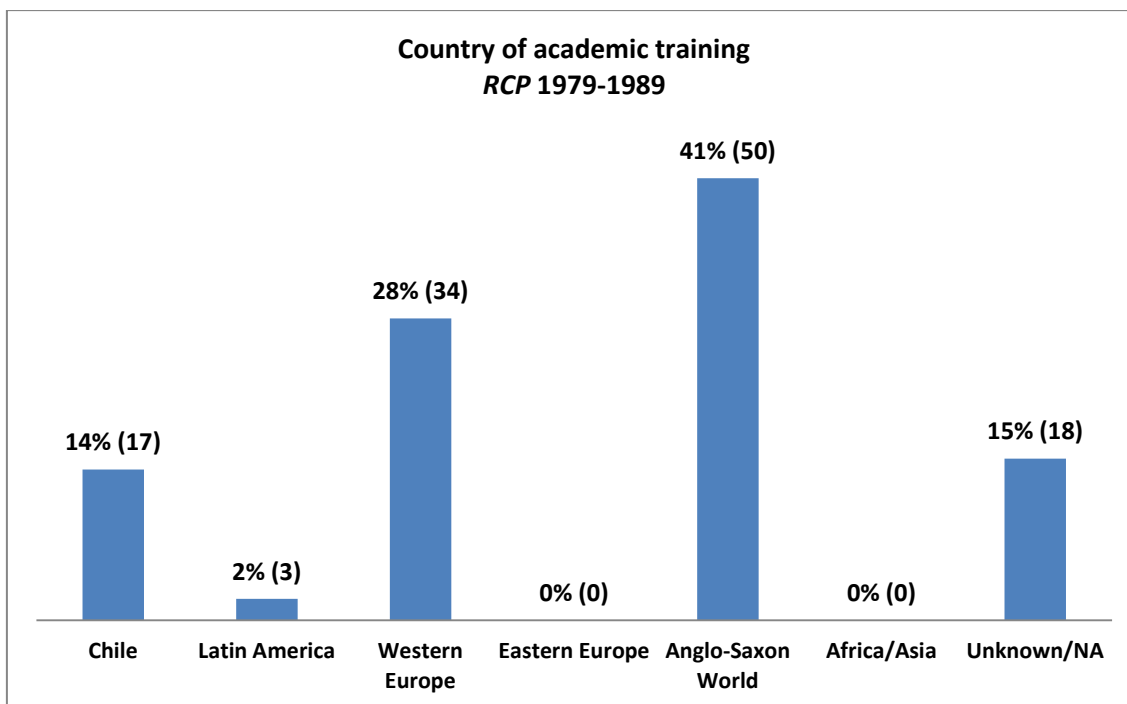
Consequently, the enemies of capitalism and Western civilization were discussed in both political and cultural terms. While Marx’s presence within APS’ conversations was consistent, Nietzsche and Freud, along with some spiritual ‘deviations’ such as Liberation Theology, were also identified as corrosive voices of the international (cultural) “left” that undermined the fundamentals of Western society *from the inside*. The same logic of *protected democracy’s international awareness and internal policing* was applied to culture and society. In this view, Marxism, psychoanalysis, relativism, nihilism, among others, had formed a common cultural offensive:

...the emancipatory scheme proposed by Marx, Nietzsche’s instinctual vitalism and Freud’s sexualism, have successfully merged in a common front to attack the traditional-Christian culture, without carrying the dead weight of soviet style bureaucratic collectivism and taking advantage of the political and economic structures of Western culture (Massini-Correas, 1988, p. 46; translation mine).

The ideological battle occurs at the intersection between the national and the global, which means that the academic conversation cannot be narrowly local. The common sense depicts the Chilean dictatorship as a regime isolated from the international intellectual arena. However, APS was highly internationalized. I was able to trace the academic itinerary of most authors published in the period. In *Política*, 46% of the authors obtained their degrees in the US and Europe while in *RCP* this was the case for 69% of the contributors. Even taking into account that I could not find information for 23% and 15% of *Política* and *RCP*'s authors respectively, 85 in 188 and 84 in 122 are still high numbers for the Latin American context (see Graphs 11 and 12).



Graph 11



Graph 12

At least 67 contributors to *Política* between 1982 and 1989 and 39 to *RCP* between 1979 and 1989 were foreigners. The presence of European scholars is remarkable in *Política* (34 from Western Europe and 8 from Eastern Europe) and the presence of Anglo-Saxon scholars (24) is prominent in *RCP*. Note that among the 103 confirmed Chilean authors in *Política*, 42 received foreign academic training, while the same holds for 39 of the 58 *RCP* Chilean contributors. Furthermore, both journals, along with the “Memories of Activities” and many other historical records show extensive academic connections with Latin America, Europe, the United States and, curiously, South Africa.<sup>61</sup> In the case of *Política*, we have the curious presence of authors originally from Eastern Europe associated with Soviet dissidence, who in some cases were actually invited to Chile.<sup>62</sup> APS was not alone in the world: its protagonists and therefore its narratives and conversations were fairly international. Indeed, around 30% of *RCP* and 20% of *Política* articles of the period correspond to research on IR and geopolitics.

<sup>61</sup> Kunert (1979) in *RCP* and Petrus Putter (1983) in *Política* develop pro-Apartheid South Africa discourses within an anticommunist framework.

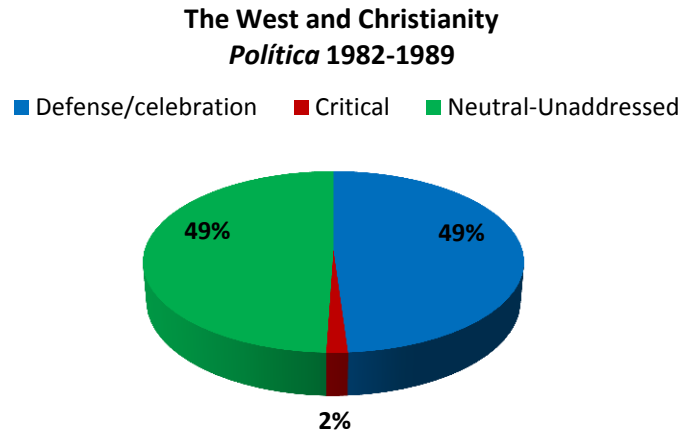
<sup>62</sup> Interestingly, in 1988 the ICP-CHU hosted Nicolai Tolstoi, descendant of Leo Tolstoi, to give a talk on his book *Victims of Yalta* and on human rights in Eastern Europe.

*RCP* and IPS-CU's external orientation is also expressed by their numerous international guest speakers (Dahl, 1985; Gershman, 1985; and Novak, 1983, to name just a few) and by the translation of articles published in the main international journals such as *Government and Opposition*, *Hispanic Historical Review*, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, *Philosophical Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Revue Francaise de Science Politique*, *The American Political Science Review*, and *The Washington Quarterly*. *Política*, with a European orientation, only reproduced a couple of pieces from journals such as *Epoche* and *L'Altra Europa*.

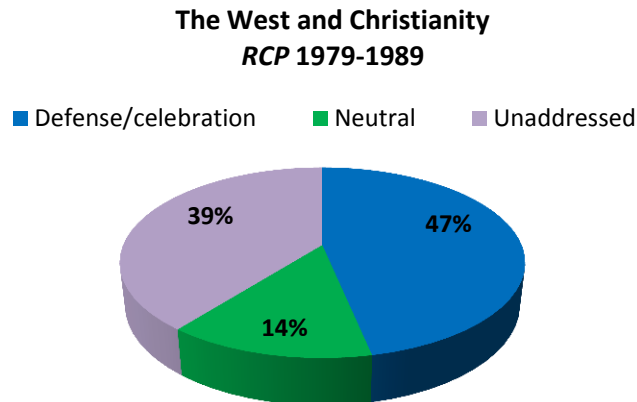
However, IPS-CHU and *Política* did also have intense connections with the United States. American conservative intellectual Paul Gottfried was one of its many international guests. He participated in the 1986 seminar on "Neoconservative Thinking" which also had speakers from England, Portugal, Italy, Spain and France. In his talk, Gottfried argued that American culture and the arts had been captured by the left. He asked if it was possible to push a leftist, and sometimes nihilist, culture to support conservative writers, artists and academics, thus breaking with the leftist rule over knowledge and the arts (Gottfried, 1987, p. 106). Interestingly, the piece refers to the need for conservative poetry and theatre, and talks about power in ways that neo-marxists and post-structuralists would agree with. Alejandro Silva Bascuñán, as the discussant of Gottfried's intervention, was not a passive recipient of what the American intellectual forwarded. After making a joke about how misleading it was to call the United States by the single word "America" (given that Chile is also America), Silva Bascuñán talked about an inescapable paradox: on the one hand, the uniqueness of nations and peoples should be acknowledged, and therefore, whole cultural models should not be simply transplanted from one place to the other. On the other hand, we need to learn from international experiences (Silva Bascuñán, 1987).

Protected democracy is a local expression of the clash between two incompatible global projects. At a world scale, it is Western civilization itself that has to be defended. The East/West dichotomy is framed in 'cold war,' civilizational and religious terms. The numbers in this case are strikingly similar: 49% of *Política* articles and 47% of *RCP*'s "defend" or "celebrate" the West and/or Christianity (see Graphs 13 and 14). Sometimes the argument meshes anti-communist with civilizational arguments and Christian views.

Graph 13



Graph 14



Within this group, I identified and analyzed the articles that specifically focus on religion. They invariably do so by framing Christianity in ‘anti-Marxist’ and frequently neoliberal terms. It is indeed fascinating to see how APS assembled Catholic and pro-market discourses, given the emphasis of Catholicism on the spiritually purifying powers of poverty. Pope Juan Pablo II visited Chile in 1987. This event was talked about by Domic (1987), Valdivieso Ariztía (1987), Hasbun (1987) – a priest himself – and Mac Hale (1987); these were all *Política* articles originally published in the press to confront the “communist” campaign of misinformation against Chile that had human rights violations claims at its core. The issue closes with the transcription of a reflection by the Pope. Moreno (1987) also refers to this visit in *RCP* but in more theological and academic terms.

There were also highly conceptual theological interventions (Bentué, 1986; Cottier, 1985; Francou, 1986; Novak, 1983; Poradowski 1984; Poradowski, 1986). Widow (1979), published by *RCP*, offered a radical critique of modern democracy and modernity from a religious perspective, and Joseph Ratzinger, who would become Pope in the future, published in both *RCP* (1984) and *Política* (1986; 1987).<sup>63</sup> Michael Novak, from the conservative American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, was invited to a political theory seminar in 1983 hosted by the IPS-CU. His talk combined a Catholic framework with pro-capitalist advocacy – Adam Smith and the Gospel.

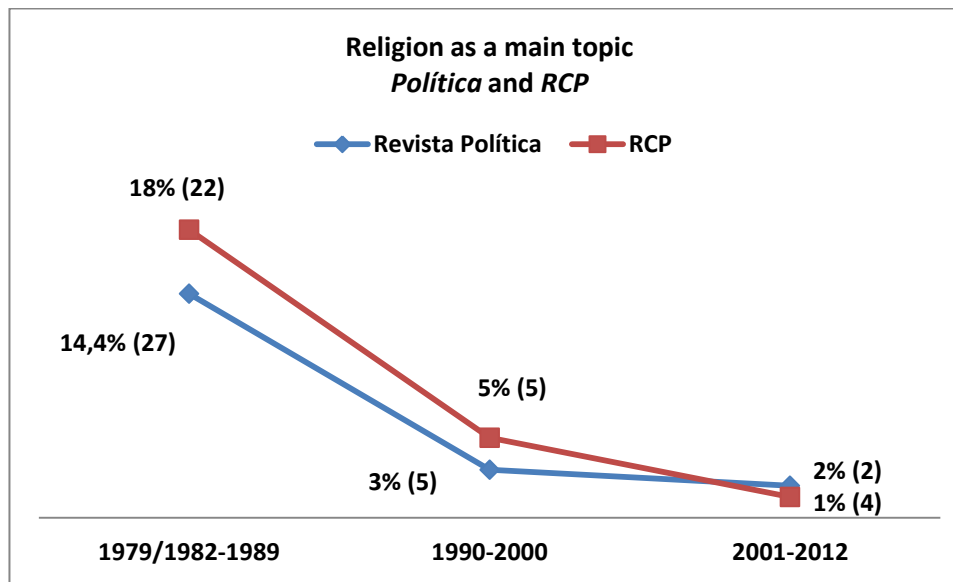
In November 1984, IPS-CU hosted a seminar on “The Gospel, Ethics and Politics” which was published by *RCP* in 1985. The six interventions (Cumplido Cereceda, 1985; Flisfisch, 1985; Gaete, 1985; Ibáñez, 1985; Mifsud, 1985; Moreno Valencia, 1985) covered radically different views of the political role of the Gospel and a “Working Paper” published by the Chilean Church at the time. On the right side of the ideological spectrum, Ibáñez (1985) challenged the ‘democratic dogma’ that linked democracy to human rights, and assumed that any other regime was immoral.

In the period 1979-1989, a significant number of *RCP* articles had religion as a main topic (22 in total, or 18%). One could assume that the institutional location of the journal within a Catholic university could be a factor explaining this remarkable presence of religion in a PS publication. I thus extended the analysis to all the articles published until 2012 (487 for *Política* and 544 for *RCP*): in both journals, religion dramatically drops to the point that in the 2001-2012 period it practically vanishes (see Graph 15).

---

<sup>63</sup> Juan Antonio Widow obtained his PhD in Philosophy in Spain. As a committed far-right figure, he supported the dictatorship. In June 2010, Widow was harassed by human rights activists after he attended a documentary exhibition and tribute ceremony for Augusto Pinochet. Fascist websites described the attack as a manifestation of the “Demo-Marxist Hatred.” This was an intervention on “Faith and Reason” at a course on Catholic culture (Gabriela Mistral University, 2013): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poqBDeGu5iQ>. The professor concludes by saying that in our times, the main social and cultural discourses exclude the Truth, which means to exclude God.

Graph 15



## 2.5 Academic Training, Law, Meaning(s), Terror

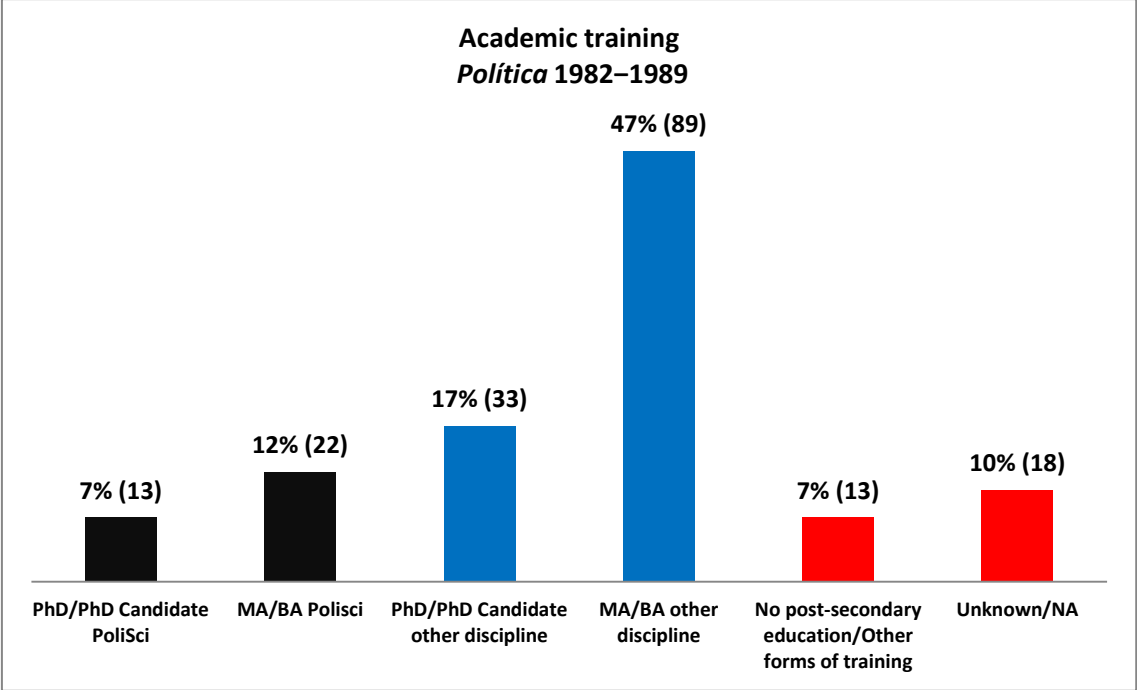
APS was an academic space and many of its protagonists were indeed highly qualified scholars. Most of *Política*'s and *RCP*'s contributors had university-level education. This challenges the commonsensical idea that what happened during those years “was not really academic”, as some of my interviewees and many colleagues argue in different spaces.<sup>64</sup> *Política* had a more interdisciplinary orientation and was more open to non-academic contributors while *RCP* had a clear PS and strict academic orientation — around 60% of its contributors were PhDs (see Graphs 16 and 17).

It is well-known that law and lawyers had an important role in incompletely consolidated PS academies in Latin America. The difference between the two journals in this regard is striking: at least 70 (37%) of *Política*'s contributors between 1982 and 1989 were lawyers, while this was the case for only 18 (15%) in *RCP* in the period 1979-1989. The numbers fall dramatically in the following periods, which speaks to the professionalization of PS, a process for which *RCP* is an extreme example (“the guiding light”, as one interviewee declared, Ch34) (see Graph18). It is quite interesting that it was

<sup>64</sup> Especially in the Latin American context where, on the one hand, the PhD requirement for professors has been imposed only recently and, on the other hand, the expectations around the BA degrees are still higher than in North America.

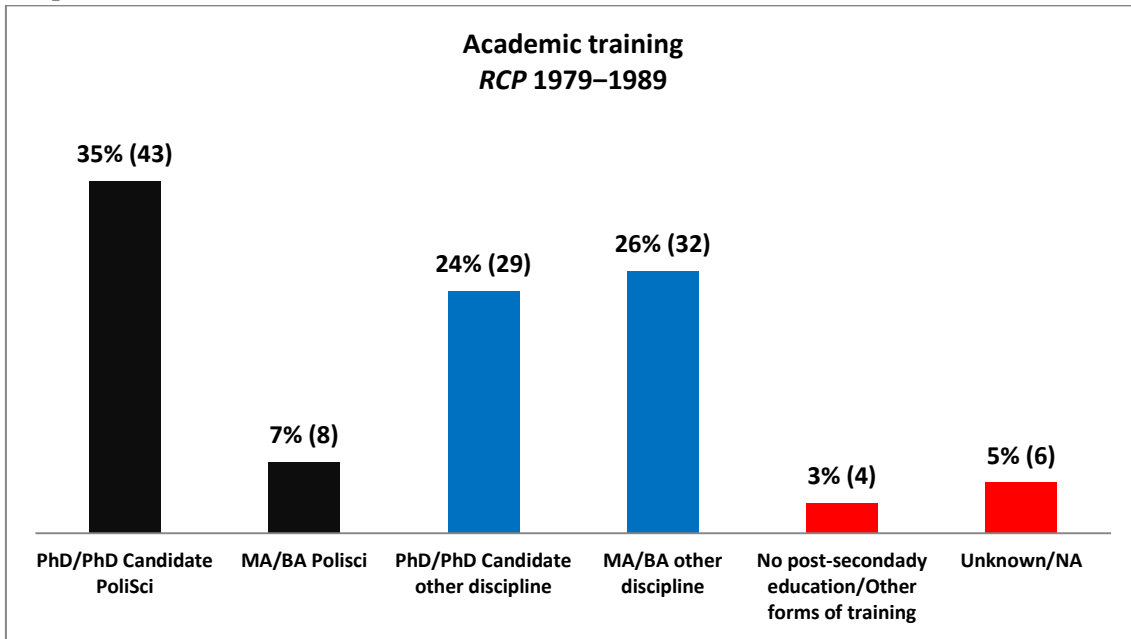
the law-oriented journal that was the most aligned with the dictatorship. However, this may not be paradoxical given that *Política* developed a politically relevant knowledge and lawyers' expertise has been particularly relevant for policy making processes in the region.

**Graph 16**

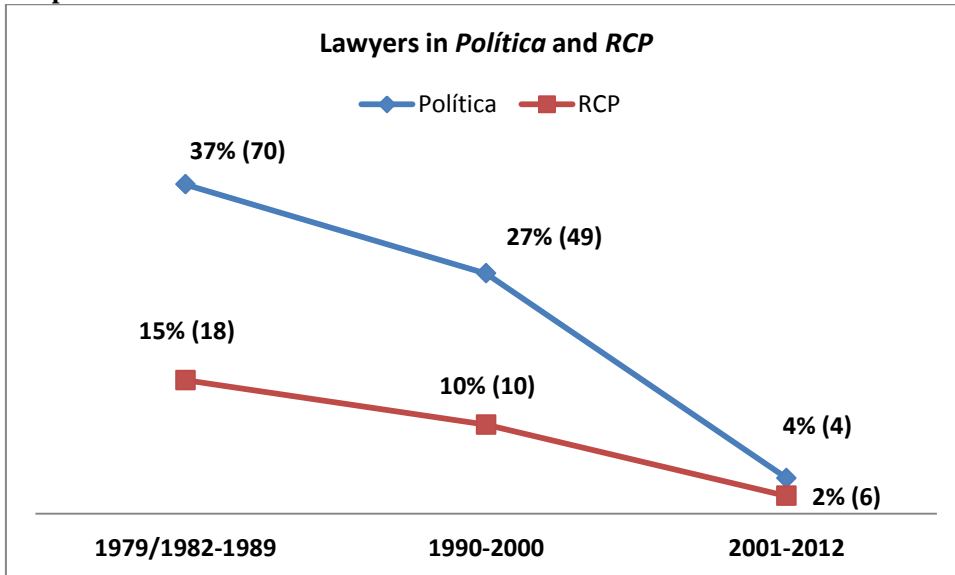




Graph 17



Graph 18



A crucial point emerges through this search for meanings and discourses, which cannot be expressed by any numerical figure. *Política* and *RCP*, along with other key documents of the period under analysis, reveal the existence of a *mixture of discursive logics* within APS. On the one hand, there is what might be called a scientific will for the study of politics, expressed in the concern around “methods” and “methodology”, the

defense of academic “objectivity,” as well as in profuse references to liberalism and its values (freedom in particular). On the other hand, this same kind of PS was functional to an authoritarian regime and it was invested in the protection of Pinochet’s legacy (i.e., in building a “governable” and stable democracy).

Figure 9 analyzes IPS-CU’s *Notebooks* (numbers 1-28), advertised by *RCP* in 1979. The titles corresponding to an authoritarian script were highlighted with orange, while those consistent with PS’ standard language – as we know it –, were marked with blue. The same exercise was done with the 1988 curricula of the IPS-CHU’s MA in Political Science (Figure 10). Both figures show the apparent contradiction mentioned above. In this period, Chilean PS *talks and promotes* ‘democracy’ and liberalism while “being authoritarian”. Thus, in APS’ discourse, “democracy” and “liberalism” seem to peacefully coexist with “authoritarianism” or, in other words, the latter seem to operate as the framework for “liberal democracy”. These findings open up all sorts of empirical, theoretical and *political* questions

Certainly, if PS could actually embody the knowledge of an authoritarian regime as it did, it seems imperative to reframe the notion that our discipline is an intrinsically democratic knowledge. Or perhaps, we, political scientists *need to be more suspicious about those power relations that make of “liberal democracy” the ideological vocabulary that sanctifies PS*. It might be the time to start thinking on PS’ power relations *within* ‘democracy’.

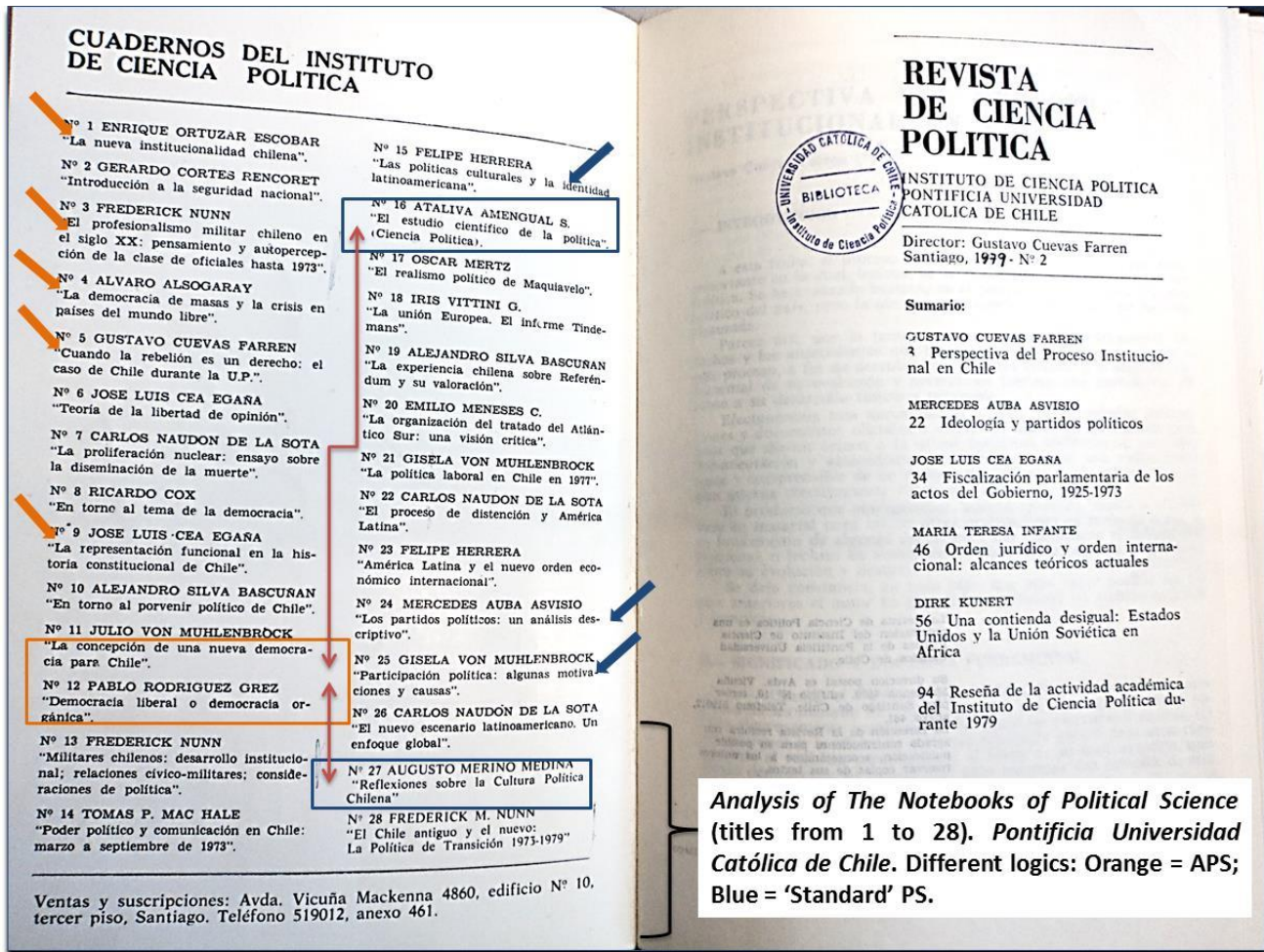
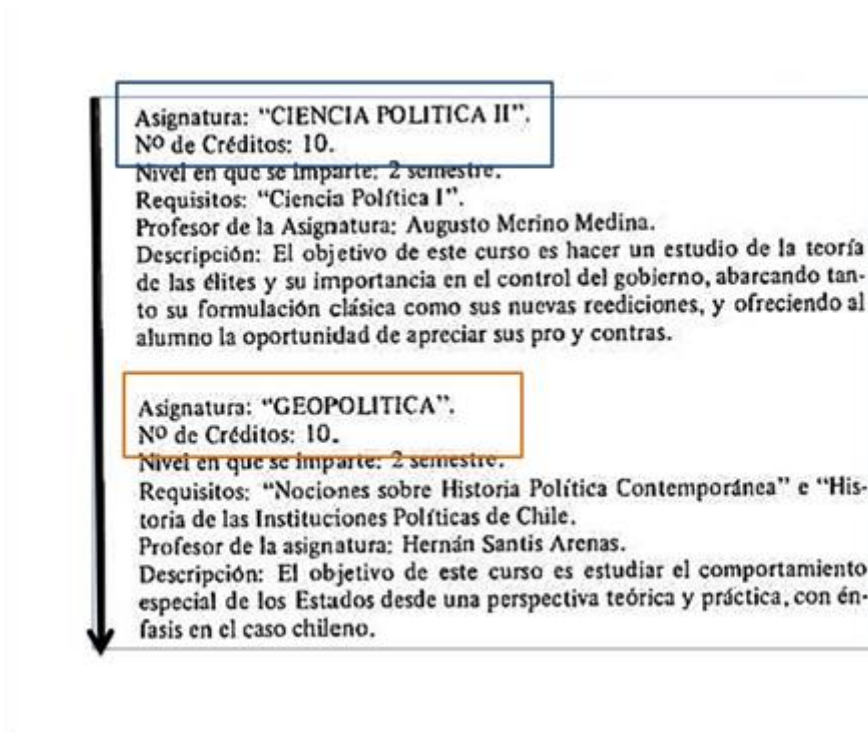


Figure 9: Notebooks of the IPS-CU (1-28). RCP Nº2. Own elaboration.



**Figure 10: Curricula of the IPS-CHU's MA Program in Political Science, "Memory of Activities 1988." Own elaboration.**

The presence of the regime and the right-wing project that it incarnated, then, was performed *also* by PS. The dictatorship *was in academia*, in both *RCP* and *Política*, though in different ways. This regime 'killed and thought' at the same time,<sup>65</sup> and this, from the point of view of critical theory, especially that of the power and knowledge literature (Foucault, 1991; Gramsci, 2008), may help to explain the capacity of such a regime of reshaping Chilean politics, culture and political economy.

*Sometimes killing and thinking were done by the same people.* Jaime García Covarrubias was a high-ranking military member and head of the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) who had three contributions to *Política* (1987; 1988; 1989). The 1987 article is based on his MA thesis. Covarrubias was a member of the 1985 cohort of the MA program at IPS-CHU and defended his thesis in 1987. In the MA programs of both IPS-CHU and IPS-CU, especially in the former, the presence of military members was significant in this period (see as an example Figure 11; Ravecca, 2014).

<sup>65</sup> And of course, it also killed thought as well.

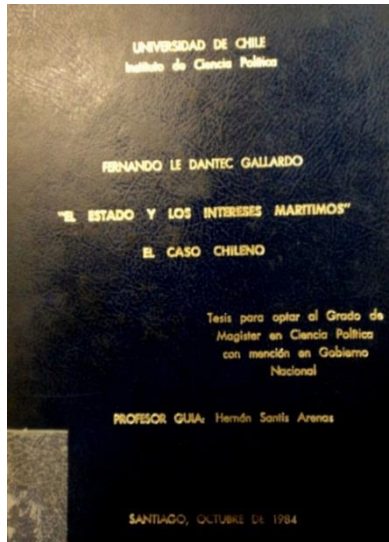


Figure 11: Cover of the first MA thesis of IPS-CHU

Prof. Emilio Meneses published in *RCP* (1979; 1981a; 1981b; 1982; 1992; 1995; 1998) and *Política* (1983). In 1998, a scholar by the name of Felipe Agüero published in the same *RCP* issue as him (Agüero, Tironi, Valenzuela, & Sunkel, 1998). This would be an unexceptional situation had Agüero not emailed some IPS-CU scholars two years later claiming that Emilio Meneses, faculty member of the institution, had participated in the interrogation team that tortured him at the National Stadium of Chile, which was used as a prison after the coup of 1973. He also made this public in a widely read Chilean newspaper. We have to read the silence(s), again. Meneses' voice is highly professional and academic. Even though some of his pieces are framed in Cold War terms, in only one of them does he refer to Marxism. And even then, he does so in a rather neutral way. He explores very 'scholarly' issues such as Chilean foreign policy in the first half of the XX century (Meneses, Tagle, & Guevara, 1982). He was a professor in the War Academy of the Chilean Army, where Pinochet taught too. But he also holds a PhD from Oxford University... That tortured and (alleged) torturer write in the same journal constitutes a crude manifestation of the interpenetration between academia and political context.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> For more detailed information about this case see Verdugo (2004).

## 2.6 Conclusion: The banality of Institutionalization

I would like to propose the category of Authoritarian Political Science. APS was a space inhabited by academics, military members, businessmen and religious authorities. It was cosmopolitan: Chilean, European, North American and even Russian dissidents were its protagonists. Chilean *APS was political science*: it mobilized ‘typical’ categories and notions of the discipline such as political regime, democracy, electoral systems, competition, civic participation, transition, government, political stability, among numerous others. APS promoted a democracy “protected” from communism and Marxism that in its turn should protect the market economy. At the socio-cultural level, it embraced the neoconservative agenda, building from the East-West cleavage and “Christian values”. This institutional and discursive space was radically implicated in concrete power dynamics and mechanisms such as the 1980 Constitution, the crafting of the binominal electoral system and a well-known set of neoliberal reforms. The analyzed journals *are not* APS but sites where this set of discourses circulated. A way of phrasing this is that *RCP* in particular was both inside and outside the space of APS.

APS mobilized the language of democracy and liberalism within an authoritarian project. It shares with many liberal thinkers and discourses the emphasis on stability and order as well as the naturalization of the market economy (i.e. capitalism, and sometimes, neoliberalism). Such an emphasis did not go away after the transition and in fact it became part of the common sense of the political system and academia in Chile and beyond. This opens up the questions about the ruptures and continuities between APS and ‘standard’ PS. Granted, power does not disappear from knowledge when ‘democracy’ arrives.

The exploration of the institutionalization of PS becomes purposeless or – even worse – *banal* without the analysis of the content and the socio-political role of the discipline. Knowledge is structurally implicated in power relations. Therefore, exploring academic discourses is just another way of studying politics. By expanding the awareness of the impact that context has had on ‘our’ science, this kind of epistemological exercise of self-clarification helps to prevent our academic practice from becoming a mere reflection of the dominant powers of our times, whether they be authoritarian or liberal-democratic.

## Chapter 3: From Revolution to Transition – the Making of a Conformist Academia in Uruguay *and Beyond* (WARM)\*

**U10-** Juan<sup>67</sup> accompanied Rodney Arismendi<sup>68</sup> to Moscow  
(*Long silence*)

**PR-** Impressive...

**U10-** (*Interrupting*) (Name of person)<sup>69</sup> was the representative of the Uruguayan Communist Party in Cuba!  
(*Very long silence*)

**PR-** The ideological changes have been so profound...

**U10-** For the record, I am very interested in your research; it is really useful for me... for self-analysis.

**PR-** I know.

**U10-** To analyze myself...

**PR-** (*Interrupting*) For discernment, I see.

**U10-** *Self-discernment.* Because one lives and the wave just takes you...

In a 2013 panel on the development of Political Science (PS) in Uruguay, a member of the audience asked an uneasy question: How do politics and political events affect PS' research

---

\* This chapter benefited from exchanges with historians Juan Andrés Bresciano, Diego Sempol and María Eugenia Jung. I am grateful for my exposure to their deep knowledge of Uruguayan history. Alan Sears helped me to refine my engagement with liberalism as a political philosophy and ideology. Amidst the crafting of my reflections on trauma, Barbara Soren rightly suggested exploring the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website as well as studying some of the vast scholarly literature on the Holocaust. Amparo Menéndez-Carrión and her insightful, theoretically dense reading of the Uruguayan “polis” (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015) is always inspiring for my own analyses and this is, once again, the case. A preliminary version of this chapter was presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Latin American Political Science Conference of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP) in Lima, Perú. The multiple conversations sponsored by the Research Group on the History of Political Science in Latin America were encouraging and fruitful. From the outset of this chapter, I would like to acknowledge the work of Álvaro Rico (Rico, 2005), one of the rare attempts to understand the political transformations in Uruguay from a critical perspective that looks at the role of academic knowledge, including political science. Belén Villegas and Camila Zeballos helped me with the first articles' pre-classification and Mariana Mancebo collaborated with me in the second pre-classification and data-analysis, among other tasks. As in the rest of this thesis, I of course did both, the definite classification and the final data-analysis, so the full responsibility for this chapter and its potential deficiencies are mine (see footnote 47).

<sup>67</sup> This is the only time a fake name is employed. From now onwards the interviewees are going to be named using codes. “CH” corresponds to Chileans and “U” to Uruguayans.

<sup>68</sup> Rodney Arismendi (1913-1989) was a historical leader of the Communist Party in Uruguay. He was also a leading communist ideologue in the South American context.

<sup>69</sup> This person has not been interviewed and, thus, there is no code.

agendas?<sup>70</sup> Most studies about our discipline's history ignore this issue, the colleague complained. In other words, they do not focus on power, which is paradoxical given that our science has the word 'political' in its name. The Politics of Political Science (PPS) is an endeavor of critical theory that not only accepts, but also extends and radicalizes such a challenge. Here, I would like to explore the following questions: What do the PPS look like in Uruguay? How can we write a *political* history of the discipline in this particular case? What are the similarities and the contrasts with the fascinating Chilean experience? How can we account for them? Is there a meaningful story to tell about power-and-knowledge in the realm of PS in this small country mostly ignored by global academia?<sup>71</sup> And, if so, what may such an exercise achieve in terms of understanding the *polis* in which this story takes place?

Given that there was no Authoritarian Political Science (APS) in Uruguay, I decided to develop a broader and longer exploration of the discipline rather than focus on a specific phenomenon. Indeed, this chapter offers a problematizing re-description (Shapiro, 2005) of PS history from the point of view of knowledge-power dynamics (Foucault, 1980; Foucault, 1988; Foucault, 1989; Foucault, 1991a; Foucault, 1991b; Foucault, 1992; Foucault, 1993; Foucault, 2006; Gramsci, 2008; Marcuse 1991). It proceeds by identifying the conceptual *and* institutional components that, in my interpretation (Geertz, 1997), constitute the Uruguayan PS discourse (Foucault, 1991). The focus of problematization is, again, the way "democracy" is talked about. Contextual and structural factors are companions of the discourse analysis – I am interested in the meaning *and* the political economy of the discipline.<sup>72</sup> The focus is on Uruguay, but I will keep a comparative perspective, partially following the previous chapter's structure and analytical strategy. The journey will stop at the various intersections between power and knowledge that reveal

---

<sup>70</sup> Panel on "The Study of Public Policy in Uruguay: Evolution, Assessment and Perspectives", XII Research Conference of the School of Social Sciences (*Universidad de la República*), September 2013.

<sup>71</sup> The causes of this indifference go beyond the small scale of the country. I will suggest an interpretation here. Uruguay is not 'dangerous' or strategically relevant from the point of view of mainstream or conservative academia. Additionally, it seems not 'exotic' or 'revolutionary' enough to catch the attention of progressive or critical eyes. Uruguay is unsexy because it shows 'boring sameness': 'white' people not-in-war and relatively impoverished but not to the point to make the experience interesting or moving for the critical graduate student *à la* Indiana Jones. Uruguay is hard to romanticize or to *use* to satisfy desires of transcendence of any kind.

<sup>72</sup> PPS is, therefore, a form of critique that transcends the divide between cultural and material analysis (see Introduction, Chapter 1 and Chapter 5).



meaningful similarities and contrasts with Chile. This chapter, however, further expands and complicates the meditation on power and knowledge, changing the furniture and the temperature of PPS' room.

Research for this chapter consisted of a systematic analysis of *all* the articles published by *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política (RUCP)* from 1987 to 2012 and other relevant historical records. In addition, 25 in-depth interviews were conducted. These conversations did more than just provide information. They took a significant step to grasp the role of lived experience and subjectivity in intellectual transformations, thus deepening and furthering self-reflection.

The main argument is that Uruguayan PS has been acritical with respect to political parties and the elites. The issue is then – why? To answer this question, this chapter explores the conditions and circumstances that account for the forging of a ‘conformist’ PS. Our discipline, I claim, has participated in the post-dictatorship narratives and mechanisms of power. More than an object of inquiry, “democracy” has been the locus and the idiom of the discipline about which it cannot have a critical reflection.

The chapter unfolds in nine sections. The first section locates the itinerary of PS within the history of social sciences in Uruguay. It specifically deals with the lateness of the discipline's development, a feature that is crucial to understanding PPS. Section 2 shows that in contrast with Pinochet's regime, the Uruguayan dictatorship 1973-1984 did not mobilize the social sciences. Quite the contrary, the regime dismantled and displaced such disciplines from the system of public education. This reveals sharp contrasts between these two regimes' ways of exercising power. The absence of APS in Uruguay has implications for the democratic transition and PS' political role. Section 3 explores the role of the Private Research Centers (PRCs) during the authoritarian 1970s. The traditional interpretation is that the PRCs were sites of peaceful resistance that kept the social sciences alive. Here, I argue that they *also* embodied a temporary shift towards a neoliberal governmentality of academia and a *permanent* ideological mutation towards radical asepsis, which has had significant political and intellectual effects. Thus, thinking was “kept alive” in a particular way that had political implications. The following sections offer a deeper exploration of PS' democratic discourse.

Uruguayan PS has been imagined and narrated as entrenched with “democracy”. Sections 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 analyze the conceptual operations that shaped such an identity. Three components of that process are particularly scrutinized: the rejection of Marxism and embracement of liberalism; the uneasiness around sociology; and the disciplinary appropriation of Carlos Real de Azúa, a well-known Uruguayan thinker. Section 8 offers another point of entry to the relationship between PS and context, showing sharp contrasts between Chile and Uruguay. Most saliently, Uruguayan PS is liberal but did not promote neoliberal reforms, and unlike Chilean PS, it is also secular, reflecting the ethos of the country. The last section (9) theorizes the findings. The multidimensional conditions of PS’ trajectory are grasped through the notion of “complex relationality.”

### **3.1 Framing the Uruguayan Case: Historical Overview or the Politics of Timing**

In the last decade, there has been an increased interest in discussing the development of PS in Uruguay.<sup>73</sup> In this discussion, one main feature stands out and is widely acknowledged: its late arrival (Altman, 2005; Filgueira, 1974; Garcé 2005; Pérez Antón, 1986; Pérez Antón, 1992). ‘Timing’ here refers to the historical circumstances that forged the discipline and have crucial implications for its politics. Time is about history: Uruguayan PS was formed during the democratic transition and was liberal-democratic *at birth*. In the following pages, I locate the discipline within the broader historical trajectory of the social sciences.

Social sciences in general were late-comers in Uruguay. The Social Sciences Institute was formally created in 1956 (Filgueira, 1974; Filgueira, 1986; Solari, 1959) while the foundational process for the Institute of PS (*ICP*) took-off as late as in 1985, after 13 years of right-wing authoritarian (and brutal) rule. Both institutions were originally located at the law school of the University of the Republic (*Universidad de la República* - UdelaR).<sup>74</sup> Indeed, social sciences did not have their own institutional home until the founding of the School of Social Sciences in 1989. PS is among the last of the social

---

<sup>73</sup> Interventions have been published by *RUCP* and other Latin American journals as well as presented in national and international events, including the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP)’s annual conference.

<sup>74</sup> UdelaR was the only university in the country until the dictatorship and it remains the most important institution for higher education today.

sciences to be institutionalized in the country, and for years it was taught only in specific courses (called *cátedras*) at the School of Law and the School of Economics.<sup>75</sup> The first sociologist trained in the country graduated in 1973 (Filgueira, 1974) while the first political scientist defended his BA thesis in 1994.<sup>76</sup>

There is a small but consistent body of literature on the trajectory of social sciences in Uruguay.<sup>77</sup> The conversation always refers to this lateness and its possible causes in a country well-known for its relatively high standards of living and developed welfare state, as well as for its strong university structures in traditional areas such as medicine, law, and architecture (De Sierra, 2005; Filgueira, 1974; Filgueira, 1986; Rama, 1977). De Sierra (2005, p. 476), for instance, argues that local elites' self-perception of Uruguay as a successful country prevented them from developing 'official' social sciences. The high national self-esteem, sustained by favourable international conditions and a sequence of social democratic governments, observers argue, might explain why no population census was done between 1908 and 1963 (Buquet, 2012; De Sierra, 2005; Filgueira, 1974; Filgueira, 1986; Pérez Antón, 1986; Pérez Antón, 1992; Prates, 1987). Filgueira (1986, p. 174) claims that the need for systematic knowledge was precluded by a "false optimism" and a parochial attitude.<sup>78</sup>

In a previous text written after the coup, Filgueira (1974) develops a detailed, and at moments bitter, analysis of the situation of sociology in the country.<sup>79</sup> He makes a number of relevant points: in the early 1970s, the "subsystem" of social sciences was particularly

---

<sup>75</sup> Pérez Antón (1986, p. 225) goes as far as to say that PS is chronologically the latest social science that appeared in the country.

<sup>76</sup> The 1990s have been described by many as the neoliberal peak in the region, when 'communism' was indeed a spectre but in a radically different way as the one imagined by Marx.

<sup>77</sup> Among others: Altman (2005), Bentancur (2003), Buquet, (2012), Chasquetti (2013), De Sierra (2005), Filgueira (1974; 1986), Garcé (2005), Garcé & Rocha (2015), Pérez Antón (1992), Prates, (1987), Ravecca (2010; 2014), Rocha (2012; 2014) and Solari (1959).

<sup>78</sup> Pérez Antón is a good representative of the "optimistic" perspective that De Sierra and Filgueira criticize. For Pérez Antón, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century social sciences were not necessary given that the political parties' reflections about the national reality were of high quality. This author was one of the founders of the *ICP* and a creator of the party-centric hypothesis about the Uruguayan *polis*, as we will see.

<sup>79</sup> Carlos Filgueira is considered one of the founders of 'modern' sociology in Uruguay. The author understands the consolidation of the social sciences as a process of institutionalization. This process includes obvious signs of development such as the creation of courses, programs, research centres, training for researchers and academic production, but it also entails the creation of a legitimated space in society, the demand for sociological expert knowledge as well as an academic community with shared values, common dialogue and evaluation criteria of quality standards. Thus, Filgueira's notion of institutionalization goes beyond the mere production of institutions, centres or activities (Filgueira, 1986, pp. 166-167)

underdeveloped in the context of an underdeveloped institutional and cultural framework for science,<sup>80</sup> the institutionalization of the social sciences was a late process in comparison to other disciplines and to other Latin American countries;<sup>81</sup> this development was happening almost exclusively in the public system (which made social sciences very vulnerable to policy changes; see Figure 11);<sup>82</sup> economics was the social science gathering most of the resources and research centres. Sociology comes second and the other disciplines are practically nonexistent (Filgueira, 1974, p. 8).

A main issue for Filgueira (1974) has been Sociology's persistent lack of intellectual and institutional autonomy *vis-à-vis* Law and lawyers in particular. During the 1950s, a group of "sociologist-lawyers", "sociologist-architects", and "sociologist-historians" emerged whose activity was located in the sociology courses of their respective schools (Law, Architecture, etc.) (Filgueira 1974, p. 10). This amateurism was an obstacle for both the individual training of scholars and the institutionalization of a realm where sociologists could interact with each other and forge a common identity.<sup>83</sup>

However, in the pre-coup period of the 1960s and early 1970s, social sciences did go through a process of consolidation. The author divides these years into two moments. In the early 60s, the crisis of the development model based on the import substitution industrialization was clear. Amidst Cold War tensions and in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution, the Alliance for Progress was launched. In this context, the Uruguayan government created the CIDE (*Comisión de Inversiones y Desarrollo Económico*), an inter-institutional organism that was tasked with formulating a development plan for the country.<sup>84</sup> This attempt to rationally plan the future favoured the social sciences. According to Filgueira, in this phase the *UdelaR* did not operate as a dynamic pole but was driven by

---

<sup>80</sup> Until 1950 the whole universe of social sciences had 7 institutions, including departments and research units (Prates 1987, p. 13).

<sup>81</sup> This delay is clear if we take into account that in Chile the Institute of Sociology and its BA program were created in 1954. The comparison with Brazil and Argentina confirms this paradox of a secular and modern society that put a strong emphasis on education but did not develop an efficient system for science and technology (Filgueira, 1974, p. 173).

<sup>82</sup> Taking all the periods studied by Prates (1987) 82% of social science research units belong to the public sector. This feature is more salient for the period 1961-1971, which is the most dynamic in terms of the creation of institutions: only 15% of the new institutions were founded by the private sector.

<sup>83</sup> "Independency" and "identity" would be the exact same obsessions of future PS. Sociology will change roles from oppressed (*vis-à-vis* Law) to the oppressor that should be defeated.

<sup>84</sup> Needless to say, the *Alliance for Progress* was a soft version of American imperialism. 'Development' was the strategy to confront the influence of the Cuban revolution.

external forces towards an expansion of the social sciences. He adds that in this period, the influence of Marxism was scarce and in fact American academia was already the dominant model. He also notes the fading of the French influence (Filgueira, 1974, p. 23). This problematizes the overarching description of the social sciences of the decade as dominated by Marxism and radical politics (Garcé, 2005).

During the second half of the 1960s, what Filgueira calls “the expansion of the university” takes place amidst rising political polarization and state repression. The militarization of the guerilla persecution precipitated — and increased — the political involvement of the military, which culminated in the 1973 *coup d'état*. These were agitated times for the University. Significant changes were introduced in the *planes de studio* (the BA curricula) of different schools. Sociology was incorporated into the mandatory introductory courses in several programs (Filgueira, 1974; U13, U21). This meant an enormous *quantitative* growth (i.e., expansion). U13 describes this dual dynamic of growth and politicization:

In the School of Law and to some extent in the School of Economics the syllabi were reformed. I did the 1971 Plan as a student representative.<sup>85</sup> We moved social sciences to the introductory courses. Now the number of students in the first year was not 10, like in the PS course of the 6<sup>th</sup> year. They were 600, 700, 800! This change occurred in 1971 and many high school teachers became university professors. Some of them came from the School of Humanities but others came directly from High School institutions. In some cases they had a political motivation: the communists, the filo-tupamaros, the socialists, everyone perceived those Law students as a bastion for political recruitment, and in fact they were. These people measured success not in the number of lawyers but in how many new militants would go to protest to the streets or would join the *Tupamaros* or the parties.

Multiple and sometimes contradictory registers and aspects mesh in the complex story that I am trying to tell. Contrary to what the mainstream narrative would argue later, this same move towards politicization meant an expansion of social sciences as an *autonomous* field. U21 remembers: “The great move of the 71 Plan was to say ‘social sciences are not an ornament for lawyers’. The Law diploma used to say ‘Doctor in Law and Social Sciences’.

---

<sup>85</sup> The UdelaR is autonomous from the government and has a three-body structure of governance: faculty, students, and alumni.

The certificate of my dad reads that: Doctor in Law and Social Sciences!” We will see later that PS’s separation from sociology would happen in a radically different political atmosphere.

This ideologically charged academic environment was not formed in a historical vacuum. Academia was just another space in which broader social processes manifested. I want to stress the *class dimension* of such political polarization (something that is erased by official accounts from both the political system and academia). Carlos Filgueira, who was at the time perceived as a conservative scholar by the student unions, relates state repression to a class-based process through which the role of professional politicians was taken over by members of the economic elite “who began to exercise power in a more direct way” (1974, p. 26).

Filgueira (1974), however, is highly critical of the left. One of his main concerns is local academia’s cultural isolationism. In 1969, the Institute of Social Science presented a report that condemned “any policies of funding or subsidies in any form coming from foreign or domestic capital” because of its corrupting powers (cited in Filgueira, 1974, p. 27; Prates, 1986). Prates (1986) argues that institutional, professional and ideological obstacles limited the development of social sciences before 1973. The political radicalization in particular prevented “systematic empirical research” (Prates, 1986, p. 17). Some of these problems persisted after the dictatorship when the public university came to life again. Indeed, more than a decade later, Filgueira (1986, p. 166) claimed that the problems of sociology were still the old issues of organization, institutionalization and consolidation. This is connected with the distortions introduced by the “bureaucratic” and “politicized” public university into the organization of science. The threat of ideologically driven isolationism was persistent. For these authors, clearly, an activist social science is seen as an undesirable moment of academic destruction.

Their views are representative of a double-sided narrative of blaming. First, at the epistemological and academic levels, radicalization meant the impossibility of serious science. Therefore, social sciences need to be ‘objective.’ Second, and more importantly, *radicalization appeared as one of the causes of the coup and the loss of democracy*. Indeed, social sciences would be seen as partially responsible for such a tragedy. This double accusation provided the formula for the future social scientists: we need to be objective *and*

liberal. PS has been the main protagonist of such a shift within the discourse of social sciences in Uruguay. And to understand this enormous change, we need to explore the experience of the dictatorship.

1. El proceso de creación de centros dedicados a las ciencias sociales en el Uruguay indica un considerable crecimiento que se dio recién en la última década (1961-1971). Es en este período que se constituyen las dos terceras partes de los centros existentes (64 %), como resultado de un crecimiento exponencial muy nítido. (véase el Cuadro No. 1) (4)

<u>CUADRO No. 3</u>	
<u>Centros dedicados a las Ciencias Sociales</u>	
<u>según dependencia administrativa (en %)</u>	
Administración Central	25
Entes Autónomos	18
Universidad	32
Municipio	-
Para-estatal	9
Sector privado	16
	100 (37)

FUENTE: Conicyt, Uruguay.

Figure 12: Social science research centers: Lateness and concentration in the public sector. Extracted from Filgueira (1974)

### 3.2 Dictatorship, Transition and Trauma

The dictatorship removed the introductory sociology courses mentioned above as well as most of the disciplines related to social sciences from *UdelaR*. Sociology was wiped out from the advanced years of the BAs as well. The Institute of Social Sciences was closed and many of its members were fired. At the same physical venue, a new Institute of Social

Studies was created whose academic activity was scarce and did not produce any relevant research during its whole existence (Filgueira, 1986). From the point of view of the professionalization of sociology, the creation of this institution was, according to Fernando Filgueira, a reversion of the development path –a sort of process of de-institutionalization.

The consensus among interviewees and authors is indeed overwhelming: *the dictatorship was devastating* for social sciences (U4, U5, U13, U15, U18, U21). Filgueira (1974, pp. 31-32) explains that the regime's intervention within the university (*la intervención de la Universidad*, as the experience was named) began a period of *destruction* of these disciplines. The public offices that had some social science activity also saw the disintegration of its technical teams (Filgueira, 1974). Given that most of social science research and teaching was concentrated in *UdelaR* and other public organizations (Figure 11) this meant an appalling situation. The terms employed by other authors to describe the period are consistently negative. De Sierra (2005) mobilizes same notion of destruction and adds *dismantling*, while Pérez Antón (1992, p. 49) argues that anything perceived as critical or disruptive was *amputated*. For Garcé (2005) and Altman (2005) social sciences were *interrupted*. Finally, Prates (1986) refers to a *freezing* process of the University in general.

Markarián (2012) attempts going beyond the widespread analytical emphasis on the repressive aspects of the dictatorship by exploring its public policies on education, in particular those directed toward the public university. According to her findings, there was not a global and systematic modernizing project for the sector. Yet, there are a few analytical suggestions that are thought-provoking, especially that the dictatorship seem to have privileged the 'technical' dimensions of education as well as problem-solving forms of knowledge. This a) contrasts with the Chilean case and the philosophical density of APS; and b) implies an effort to change the relationship between academic knowledge and society towards the de-politicization of academia. Social sciences were *per se* suspicious: in Uruguay "social sciences meant left-wing" (U15).

Academic activity during the dictatorship was under permanent threat. This also had its effects during the transition as the practical urgencies of a "devastated" *UdelaR* (U12) radically diminished the space for conceptual debate. According to Gregory (2009, p. 78), it is difficult to find a major work in Uruguayan social sciences published in the mid to late 1980s that has no support from privately funded research institutes. It is revealing that in a



book about intellectuals and the left in Uruguay, the chapter on the dictatorship is called “Interlude”. Gregory indicates that the military were their own organic intellectuals pointing out that “it was such that they produced a gargantuan two-volume account of their motives and actions in the unremittingly dense, monochromatic prose of a battlefield report, modeled on the doctrine of national security promoted in United States military centres and widely practiced throughout the Southern Cone” (p. 75).

Uruguay’s and Chile’s dictatorships had a lot in common but they dealt with knowledge in radically different ways. Pinochet’s regime deployed a neoconservative ‘philosophical’ knowledge ready to dispute the terrain of hegemony of the cultural left (see Chapter 2). This battle included academia and PS. This relates to an enormous capacity to create ‘positive’ legacies (multiple durabilities claimed as successes by a significant part of the population even today).<sup>86</sup> APS did not exist in Uruguay. The overly destructive nature of the dictatorship speaks about how the regime exercised power and helps to explain how PS would relate to liberal democracy later. The Uruguayan dictatorship did not create any ‘good memories.’ Thus, the linkage between liberal democracy and PS appears accurate *for* the Uruguayan case (Buquet, 2012; De Sierra, 2005; Garcé, 2005; Pérez Antón, 1986).

In two interviews with ICP founders (U13, U18), a member of an even older generation of PS scholars was mentioned. Even though I was already very active in the local PS community and I had been working on disciplinary introspection for some time, this was a new name for me. U8 was one of the very few political scientists who taught PS during the dictatorship. I decided to try to interview him. Reaching this person, totally forgotten by today’s PS academia, was a fascinating experience.

The most interesting part of the conversation was not recorded upon the interviewee’s request: during the dictatorship there was an unexpected “academic freedom” because of the inefficiency of the censors. They represented themselves as warriors of democracy and where there was no need for military interventions they gave some room for freedom. Because of his relationship with a leftist professor, U8 was almost assigned the

---

<sup>86</sup> This does *not* mean that the Uruguayan dictatorship did not produce a legacy or that it did not change Uruguayan society (Caetano & Rilla, 1998; Cosse & Markarián, 1996; Menéndez Carrión, 2015; Yaffé, 2010). Granted, *any* power entails a form of knowledge. Thus, I am not arguing for the stereotypical notion of the dictatorship as a “long night,” “blackout” or for the idea that the military was ‘primitive’. I do argue, however, that the lack of interest in intellectual knowledge and the undermining of the university contrast with the Chilean case and is an important element to take into account when reading these regimes and their trajectories both in ‘reality’ and in peoples’ memories.

citizenship category of C – which meant that the person was considered a threat to the nation, and consequently, was not allowed to serve as a civil servant. Luckily, it was proved that U8 did not engage in subversive activity. This is an important point: “They persecuted communists and guerrilla members but they felt that they were defending democracy, where there was no danger in their eyes they pretended not to notice anything (*hacían la vista gorda*) ... They wanted a protected democracy which would not be a rare thing in the international realm.”

In other words, in U8’s narration the military persecuted *people* involved in radical politics rather than ideas, theories or disciplines. He surprised me by showing me a syllabus and a textbook of the 1970s that included Marxism (Figure 12). However, either because of the Military’s anti-intellectualism or because Uruguayan social scientists were overwhelmingly involved in radical politics, the global result remains the same: social sciences *were under siege during the dictatorship in Uruguay*. Even economics, a friendly knowledge for this type of regime to say the least, did not flourish in the same way as in Chile (Markoff & Montecinos, 1994).

In short, the Uruguayan military operated through negation and censorship. They may have tolerated social sciences in some cases but they did not cultivate these knowledges. Their brutality and lack of sophistication remained in the memory of Uruguayans to the extent that it is rare to find scholars who would say *anything* positive about the period. This illustrates their relationship with such a regime. Uruguayan PS in particular was institutionalized *after* the transition and it was forged *as* the knowledge of democracy. Even though the intellectual effects of authoritarianism require further exploration, here I would like to make a point on the dictatorship, subjectivity and political and intellectual transformations in Uruguay.

The images with which interviewees describe their relationship with the authoritarian regime are very powerful and revealing (see also Appendix B). The dictatorship was a “monster” unto which one dreams of extirpating an eye or an arm (U3). It was also a long road with a dense fog that paralyzes you (U5) or simply a terrifying, oppressive regime that controlled your movements, conversations and thoughts (U15): “We were all terrified. We only had spaces in the interstices because control over society was brutal ... You walked on 18 de Julio Avenue and it was full of cops. They passed by all the

time. I was socialized with cops beside me. I still carry my ID everywhere. *It is a mark that I carry*” (my emphasis). For U4 it is an entire period of life Uruguayans were disposed from: “The dictatorship took away so many things from us. It took so many things away from me. I was 15 in 1973. Imagine everything they took from me from when I was 15 to 24 years old!”

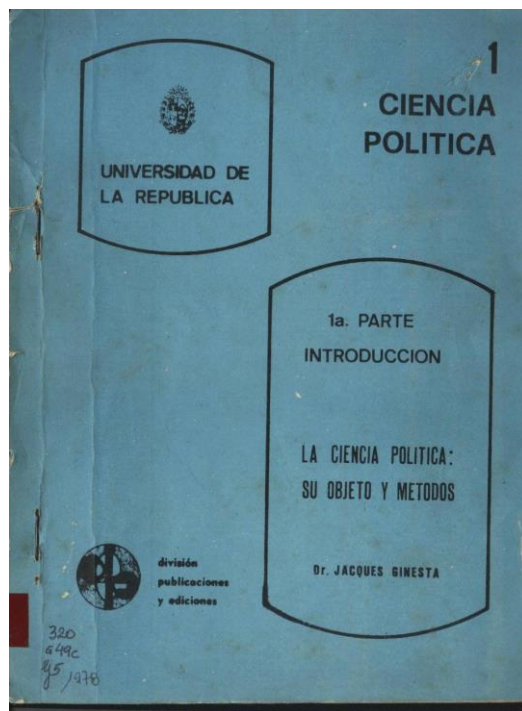
This period produced deep changes in how academia relates to politics, socialism and democracy. The dictatorship unintentionally, and by contrast, ‘taught’ scholars about the importance of the rule of law (U1, U6, U7, U10, U12, U13, U14, U17, U18, U3, U22). “The dictatorship made me categorically embrace democracy” (U18). Scholars were not “loyal” to democracy before: “Democracy was just a form, democracy was of others. Democracy was not yours” (U12). Given that this democratic learning process (González, 1993) included persecution and exile, it was deeply traumatic. The emotionally charged narratives of distress, suffering, loss, struggle and damage embody the historical interweaving between subjectivity and political transformations (Campbell, 2003; Fleming, 2005; Freud, 1986a; Horowitz, 1977; Marcuse 1974). In a way, the trauma *is* the ideological transformation: if scholars cared about socialism and dismissed democracy, and if their quest for utopian equality contributed to the political polarization responsible for the coup, then they were guilty for their own collective pain and, even worse, for the horrific consequences of the dictatorship for the country as a whole.<sup>87</sup> The traumatic betrayal (Edkins, 2003) here operates on two levels articulated in a discourse that says: “the state, instead of protecting me, attacked me, but I deserved to be attacked: I am betrayed because I betrayed first.” There is guilt and there is ‘punishment’ for academia and for the left in general. It is understandable how in this context Marxism and socialism became despicable (U17), shameful (U5) or ridiculous (U20) as we will see below.

Trauma may or may not produce personal and collective growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). In this case, it did not leave space for critical reflection and the expansion of imagination (Ravecca, 2010; see Chapter 4). The conceptual shift was somehow

---

<sup>87</sup> In this narrative, scholars are self-perceived as “leftists.” What is interesting is that even scholars who were never part of the left would perceive Uruguayan academia *as such* as left-wing. These colleagues locate themselves as “exceptions” without contesting the general characterization.

‘mechanical’ and thus it produced a particular form of intellectual narrowness and rigidity.<sup>88</sup> If the dictatorship is the enemy, then democracy becomes a political aim more than an object of critical inquiry. In some cases, the fall of the Berlin Wall finished the traumatizing task of emphasizing the *liberal* aspect of liberal democracy (U5, U2) as well as of expelling socialism from the acceptable vocabulary. Thus, the global US-led enterprise of defeating alternative projects to neoliberal capitalism and its “National Security Doctrine” were successful. *The body of thinking also received “electrical shocks” and suffered “disappearances”*. PS embodied these theoretical transformations while a very particular form of democracy was imposed: elections, stability, order and private property. Paradoxically, such a democracy would soon break the sacred “rule of law” to protect human rights violators.



**Figure 13: “Political Science: Object and Methods”, a PS textbook employed during the dictatorship in Uruguay.**

<sup>88</sup> Something close to “positive thinking” in Marcusean terms: “(...) a syntax in which the structure of the sentence is abridged and condensed in such way that, no tension, no “space” is left between the parts of the sentences” (Marcuse, 1991, p. 86). In this case, such reifying language reproduces “democracy” and “liberalism” as unthinkable, naturalized realms.

### **3.3 Rethinking Epic Narrative(s). Private Research Centers during the Dictatorship: Resistance... through Neoliberalization?**

Between 1973 and 1979, several private research centers (PRC) were created, including four that would extend their activity throughout the region thanks to their participation in *CLACSO* (Prates, 1987).<sup>89</sup> This was a reaction to the dictatorship's radical institutional dismantling of the social sciences (De Sierra, 2005, p. 499) and the firing of most of the academics from the public sector. An epic tone predominates in the narration of this experience (De Sierra, 2005; Filgueira, 1974; Filgueira, 1986; Prates, 1987). The PRCs are perceived as sites where social sciences' institutionalization could finally happen in addition to being a peaceful form of resistance against authoritarianism. For Prates (1987), for instance, they kept critical consciousness alive. This narrative has empirical basis and I acknowledge its valuable contribution to make sense of the period. However, I want to critically engage with such a view, conceptualizing it as part and parcel of the power-knowledge dynamics to be scrutinized. I thus propose a problematizing reinterpretation<sup>90</sup> of the PRCs that challenges the representation that both the literature and most of my interviewees provide about them. The main point: the dictatorship pushed scholars towards a neoliberal model of management with ideological implications.

Prates (1987) offers a detailed analysis of the PRCs and conceptualizes their emergence and consolidation as part of the rich range of peaceful resistance against the dictatorship (p. 10). Furthermore, in Prates' view the PRCs took social sciences to a more advanced stage, achieving goals that the pre-coup *UdelaR* did not because of its heavy bureaucratic structure and its over-politicized dynamics. In terms of academic internationalization, these centers made great progress: Indeed, they engaged with regional social science networks such as *CLACSO* before the research units of *UdelaR*. In this period, social sciences abandoned their provincialism and isolationism (Filgueira, 1974, p. 24), confronting an enormous challenge in terms of management, administration and

---

<sup>89</sup> *CIESU* (*Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay*) and *CINVE* (*Centro de Investigaciones Económicas*) were created in 1975; *CIEDUR* (*Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo*) in 1977; and *GRECMU* (*Grupo de Estudios sobre la Condición de la Mujer en Uruguay*) in 1979.

<sup>90</sup> I am combining the conceptual vocabularies of Geertz (1997) and Shapiro (2005) here.

fundraising. What matters here is how the authors' politics shape the description of the period:

If we take into account the ideological perspective and the political practices that guided social sciences within the University in the pre-coup period, it becomes easy to understand that, especially for those teams that came from that institution, building managerial capacity implied a huge learning effort (Prates, 1987, p. 23; my translation).

This literally means that the new 'material' conditions transformed the way of being an academic in the country, a process that included ideology. What Prates called "learning effort" can be read as a shift in the terrain of power (Menéndez Carrión, 2015) and of governmentality of academia (Foucault, 2006) – the need to search for funding is a powerful intellectual disciplining force.

Prates (1987, p. 52) makes another point: Taking the risk of making "dubious transpositions" she argues that the notion of the informal sector comes to the mind of the observer. What is witnessed, indeed, is the constitution of a highly competitive market structured by several organizations with small-scale operations and scarce resources that achieve high productivity through a labour-intensive strategy. In other words, the researchers became entrepreneurs, funding seekers and/or precarious workers, experiencing firsthand what happens when the state withdraws from an economic activity – neoliberalism applied to academia. For Prates, this form of organizing academic activity allowed the social sciences to consolidate.<sup>91</sup>

The situation described *and* the celebratory tone with which it is narrated have a clear neoliberal logic. Given that this point is controversial let me extensively quote Filgueira (1986, p. 183) here:

There are differences in the organizational forms that these private centres adopted. However, in my opinion, the most important point is that they achieved efficient decision-making structures thanks to their way of funding, the relatively reduced membership, their efficient way of relating to Latin American institutions and the rest of the world and, fundamentally, because of their *flexibility* and rapid adaptative capacity to *the demands to which they were subjected*. This contrasts with *the heavy and complex bureaucratic mechanisms of the precedent institutions*

---

<sup>91</sup> The hesitation of Prates in applying the notion of informal sector to academia is interesting. The risk of "dubious transposition" means in this context that academia should not be analyzed with the same categories employed for our objects of study. One can see in such a position the resistance to accepting that academic institutions and discourse are part of the social realm in which they are embedded.

(*i.e. the public university*). To this we should add *an intense competition* in which the centres had to engage in order to survive in a context where *research by contract* or defined by grants/projects with their pre-established schedules and terms, proved to be more adequate for the new discipline that was taking shape. (Translation and emphasis mine.)

The point is reinforced on the next page. The PRCs were undeniably successful in doing research and teaching. They demonstrated that sociology could be developed in unwelcoming conditions and they showed efficient ways of ‘organizing science’. The PRCs’ flexibility and speed in the orientation and reorientation of research and teaching *is an example to take into account for the future*, especially given the “tremendous difficulties” that the (public) university normally represents as a host for science (Filgueira, 1986, p. 184). *UdelaR*’s excessively parliamentary structure and fragmented power prevent efficient decision-making.

This experience should be then projected into the future way of organizing social sciences in the country, especially in terms of the institutions upon which disciplinary development will be based. Note that Filgueira makes these arguments in the mid-80s when Uruguayan democracy had just been recuperated and there was a ‘window of opportunity’ for policy innovation in higher education. His proposal goes in the direction of minimizing the role of the public university in knowledge production.

Filgueira (1986) is aware of the destructive role of the dictatorship and indeed this is the point of departure of the analysis and the author’s experience. But instead of arguing for the recuperation of the public university, the argument blames such an institution for the previous backwardness of social sciences, paradoxically embracing the organizational model (indirectly) imposed by the dictatorship. The mutation of the academic landscape is impressive: from a ‘dogmatic’ rejection of external funds to a situation in which 50% of the PRCs’ funding was provided by international institutions (Prates, 1987, p. 50). The lack of any critical or ‘more balanced’ reflection about the problematic aspects of this is striking and parallel the lack of critical thinking concerning the visceral rejection of Marxism that would happen later.

Such a shift within the governmentality of academia had intellectual implications: indeed, these material and institutional changes had an intellectual expression. On the one hand, these centres were always under suspicion and therefore self-censorship was common

(U4, U15). This ‘training’ in self-disciplining can be, for interpretative purposes, projected into the future. But also, and to put it metaphorically: if Carlos Filgueira “saved two generations of scholars” (U15) and social sciences in general, it is because he was allowed to do so by the far right-wing dictatorship. And if that is the case, it is because the kind of social science that he practiced was not perceived as a threat.<sup>92</sup> Let me elaborate about the implications of this.

As I mentioned earlier, Markarián (2012) argues that the dictatorship seemed to have aimed for a more “technical” or “practical” form of knowledge within the university. Paradoxically, this was somehow achieved by the PRCs. In practice, social sciences would become what Carlos Filgueira thought they were *and* should be: “*la penosa descripción de lo obvio*” (the pathetic description of what is obvious) (U15); a merely *useful* type of knowledge. I think that the dictatorship could approve of such a social science. The forging of ‘non-ideological’ social sciences is thus a shift in the direction of both the ‘professionalization’ *and* the disciplining of intellectuals –paradoxically, while ‘resisting’. A highly empiricist and ‘anti-critical theory’ version of social sciences became dominant in Uruguay in this period.<sup>93</sup> This was part of a process “of detoxification from Marxism” (U5) that would be completed during the transition, when political scientists would definitely escape “the Marxist Church” (U7). To sum up: the type of social science that survived *is* in itself a victory for the US-led project of dismantling socialist politics and thinking.

The institutional project of basing science on the PRCs’ structure and political economy disappeared after the restoration of the UdelaR.<sup>94</sup> However, the ideological and epistemological shifts seem to have consolidated. For De Sierra (2005), during the dictatorship “the issues analyzed did change, as did the discursive contexts, predominant ideologies and explicit political referents, but the conceptual core of the situation remained basically as it had been before the coup” (p. 493). The second half of the sentence remains mysterious to me: if the issues, discourses, ideologies and political referents changed, it is

---

<sup>92</sup> Quite tellingly, economics survived, institutionally speaking, the authoritarian assault on social sciences.

<sup>93</sup> In the sense of Marcuse (1991) and Horkheimer (1978): A merely useful knowledge that collapses the difference between actuality and potentiality (Marcuse, 1991).

<sup>94</sup> The dictatorship intervened in the political economy of the sector through strangling sources of funding and the creation of private universities. However, UdelaR remained the dominant institution of the system up until today.



hard to accept that the conceptual core of “the situation” remained unchanged. He also argues that a radical epistemology of “asepsis” became dominant.

Persecution, torture and exile taught scholars about the importance of the so-called rule of law. Meanwhile, those who could work at PRCs learned about objective science. Some steps in the direction of the hegemony of objectivity and liberalism – *or towards the representation of liberalism as the objective idiom* – were taken in this period. Indeed, the kind of reactivation of social science that the PRCs performed goes well with the language of liberalism and the celebration of liberal democracy, the “great discovery” of the transition. Prates (1987, p. 33) refers to the PRCs’ active participation in the CONAPRO (Programmatic National Commission), a multi-sectorial space to discuss the transition to democracy. The renewed, non-ideological social sciences contributed to the restoring of liberal citizenship and governmentality in post-authoritarian Uruguay, a role that PS would extend and improve. Other authors also emphasize the ‘collaboration’ between social scientists and political parties (Pérez Antón, 1992, p. 56).

The democratic transition consolidated the project of the US-backed dictatorships: the unthinkability of socialism and the naturalization of liberalism. This has been a continental and for the most part successful enterprise. *The described radical ideological mutations of academia during the authoritarian period were instrumental for such a process: they were indeed directly linked to the dismantling of the infrastructures of dissent* (Sears, 2012). The consolidation of social disciplines as objective idioms happened, and participated, in a moment of liberal victory. ‘Asepsis’ naturalized power relations: in this context, liberalism and capitalism (Alexander, 2005; Gramsci, 2008; Horkheimer, 1978; Marcuse, 1991). Socialism became unthinkable by the imposition of liberalism as unthinking, as ‘nature’ – transition *against* revolution (U6). A strong narrative coming from the political establishment and the media blamed radicalism for the institutional collapse of 1973. Therefore, stability, order and rule of law needed to be embraced.

### 3.4 The Limits of Pluralism: Identity Building, Epistemological Policing and the Shadows of Marx

“Exiting Marxism, going back to reality” (U5)

There is an unexpected similarity between the quote above, from a self-identified liberal and democratic scholar, and Yrarrázaval (1979) who, from an extreme neoconservative view, describes Marxism as a ‘simulation of reality’ – not in vain I located that Chilean piece as part of APS. As a BA student I was always fascinated and shocked by the radical rejection of Marxism by most of my professors in Uruguay. This section explores the forging of PS identity, paying special attention to its ideological dimensions.

The university was “devastated” by the dictatorship (U12, U13, U15, U18, U21) which framed the academic experience during the transition. Many of the stories that I collected show the university and academia as a lived experience situated in this particular historical context. Indeed, several interviewees remembered the years of the democratic transition as ones of material scarcity and institutional mess. It seemed that almost everything needed to be done from scratch in quite literal terms (U12, U13, U21). I find the following testimony powerful and somehow moving:

(Name of colleague) and U21... those dudes were there for whatever the ICP needed. If you had to steal a table from the Law School because we did not have any, we were ready... (Name of colleague), U21 and myself. There is a famous episode from the early days of the ICP that someday we should recreate: when we stole the desk for the Director. We stole my desk from the Law School and we carried it along Frugoni street. At some point the Dean saw us from his car and screamed at us while we were running with the damn desk!”<sup>95</sup> (U13).

U12 also remembers how angry the dean was but in his memory what was stolen were a

---

<sup>95</sup> The international reader should be warned that this scene does not imply a ‘real’ robbery. It portrays an unauthorized re-allocation of a basic resource (such as a desk) from an office with surplus to another with none. From the point of view of interpretation there are two points to highlight here: first, U13 (founding director of the ICP) refers to the Director’s desk and immediately after, to “my desk”. Besides the intention behind this gesture, U13 has a clear institutional orientation and a long-term vision. He can see the process in very ‘objective terms’. This may be a sign of an institution builder. Second, the very unlikely idea of “recreating” this episode speaks about the permanent need for reassuring the identity of the discipline. The narratives and memories are key in this regard. This anecdote is both slightly ridiculous and heroic: it shows in a funny way the effort of the predecessors in building the discipline. The fact that PS did not have even a desk for the director speaks not only about the poverty of the public university but also about the illegitimacy of PS at the time: the directors of Law departments did have a desk for sure; otherwise this one couldn’t have been stolen!

couple of doors *to make* a desk. We should de-dramatize the “stealing” part of the story. There was not “stealing” in the literal sense but a desperate attempt to build an institution *and an identity* with whatever resources were available. “It was done like a nest with sticks stolen from everywhere. It was incredible!” (U13).<sup>96</sup> The resources “from everywhere” were concrete as well as intellectual – the pioneers had different disciplinary backgrounds. The phrase “a political science without political scientists” says it all. The question is how it was possible to forge PS under such conditions. This is fascinating, indeed: how to build a strong identity with scarce resources and with people who come from “outside.” How to build an interior from the outside? How were the needs for incorporation and the urge for exclusion woven? The *lack* that marked the initial situation of PS seems to have been compensated with an assertive identity discourse that strived for the discipline’s growth.

Along with the institutional precariousness, the transition to democracy was the other marker of the birth of PS (Buquet, 2012; De Sierra, 2005; Garcé, 2005; Pérez Antón, 1986). The two aspects intersected. Thus, the need for institutional and disciplinary assertiveness was also fuelled by ideology. Indeed the PS narrative radicalized the ideological mutations that we noted with the PRCs. Objectivity for science, liberalism for politics, and a mix of them for PS are the signs of the new times.

I am interested in the analytical power of details and gestures, and their implications for social research (Dauphinee, 2013; Geertz, 1997). Aggregated data and nomothetic attempts risk erasing *the experience of meaning*. Let me mobilize this theoretical statement through a concrete example. In the previous section, we learned from Filgueira (1974) that Uruguayan academia was both “parochial” and “ideologically narrow,” to the point of rejecting any collaboration with international institutions. Filgueira experienced this narrowness first hand: he was accused of being an agent of imperialism because of his ties with the Ford Foundation (U7, U13). His was not the only case (U10). Some of the future ICP founders participated in a sort of “popular trial” against him that involved a public statement of condemnation. Upon his return to the country, after the dictatorship, one of the first things U13 did as ICP director was to institutionally apologize to Filgueira:

**U13-** There were also acts of *mea culpa*. One of the first things I did when I

---

<sup>96</sup> A public testimony by one of the first PS BA students in the country (Altamiranda, 2009) refers to those days when the Program, originally hosted by the Law School, did not even have permanent classrooms to function.

returned to Uruguay was to apologize to Carlitos Filgueira. He ranked first in a contest at the Institute of Sociology in 1970. We [the student body] publically shamed him, because he had ties with the Ford Foundation. Of course, during and after the dictatorship *everybody worked for the Ford, Rockefeller and other foundations* that kept the little candle's flame alive. This episode [of repentance] took place in a context of vindication of democracy, pluralism and political parties... the traditional political parties and the party system.

**PR-** So it was a sort of critique of the critique of the system.

**U13-** Exactly, Exactly!

This act of “*mea culpa*” is such a powerful, meaningful and complex fragment of experience. It shows how two academic biographies, part and parcel of the political reality of the country, intersect in two different points that delineate a collective trajectory. This strong sense of *guilt* around Filgueira's treatment is much more than that. The narration of this micro-experience embodies the discourse around the wrongs of the left in that period. During the transition and after, the leftist ‘illiberal’ and ‘anti-democratic’ views and practices were seen as at least partially responsible for the political polarization that crashed the Uruguayan democracy in 1973. This includes social sciences and social scientists, massively identified with the left (U1, U6, U7, U10, U12, U13, U14, U17, U18, U3, U22).

PS undoes this path. The discipline is born as a pro-systemic creature that embraces stability, order and the rule of law from the very beginning. It is only natural that Marxism was perceived as narrow minded, dated and even dangerous, being expelled outside the realm of acceptability. Taking distance from Marxism and radical politics was also a way of legitimizing PS *vis-à-vis* the mainstream political parties, which in a party-centric society (Caetano, Pérez Antón, & Rilla, 1986) have a powerful capacity of regulating the public conversation.

It has been argued that the *ICP* was a plural space from its inception (Rocha, 2012a; Rocha, 2012b; Garcé, 2005). Garcé (2005) offers an exultant description of the intellectual forging of the institution: “A very important achievement [of U13's administration] has been to assemble (*haber amalgamado*) different political, ideological and theoretical tendencies which stimulated the formation of a pluralist environment highly beneficial for

academic debate and learning” (Garcé, 2005, p. 237; translation mine).<sup>97</sup> This pluralism has been a tangible reality at different levels. For instance, as I already mentioned, the protagonists of the *ICP* foundational process came from different disciplinary backgrounds (History and Political Sociology in particular) and had diverse geographical and professional trajectories (U12, U13, U18). Furthermore, no particular theory or set of theories were imposed and multiple testimonies and analyses coincide in the notion of the absence of intellectual policing of any kind (Garcé, 2005). And yet, Uruguayan PS has actively ignored Marxism, neomarxism and critical theory of *any* kind up until today (Ravecca, 2014). Indeed, as I mentioned above, during my BA years I was disturbed by the brutal and unsophisticated disdain for Marxism that many of my professors transmitted in the classrooms. I was also intrigued by the conceptual easiness displayed by academics in conferences and other academic spaces when they declared as a matter of fact, without any sense of complexity, that the development of PS was possible *because* socio-centric theories, such as Marxism, had been abandoned. What was most striking for me was not the existence of such a discourse but the fact that nobody seemed to be bothered by it with the exception of a few students.

It seems that a rudimentary conception of the autonomy of politics has narrowed the pluralism celebrated by Garcé (2005). In this logic, the explanation for political processes should be looked for in the “political system” in Sartori (1984)’s sense. This has operated as a principle of regulation of PS’ pluralism. Everyone was welcome as long as he or she adjusted to this norm. This permitted also the separation from sociology which was somehow equated to Marxism and radical politics.

Consequently, Marx has been ignored, even from the point of view of the history of ideas. The consensus around such indifference is overwhelming (U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U9, U10, U11, U12, U13, U14, U15, U16, U17, U18, U19, U20, U21, U22).<sup>98</sup> In contrast with the cases of Tocqueville and Locke, for instance, there is no *RUCP* article that

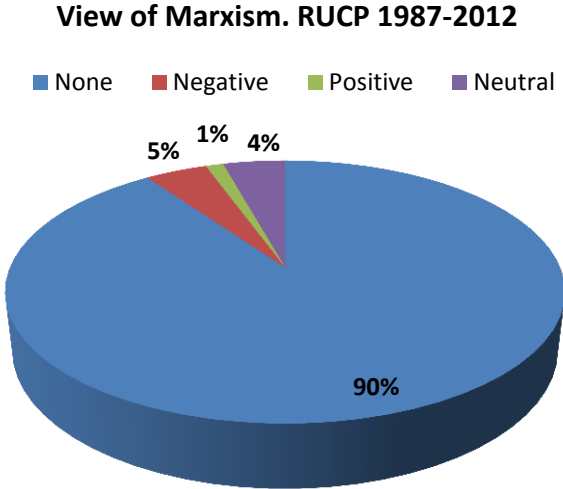
---

<sup>97</sup> The original – in Spanish – reads: “Un acierto muy importante en su gestión fue el de haber amalgamado distintas corrientes teóricas, ideológicas y políticas, estimulando la conformación de un ambiente pluralista, altamente beneficioso para el debate y el aprendizaje académico” (Garcé, 2005, p. 237).

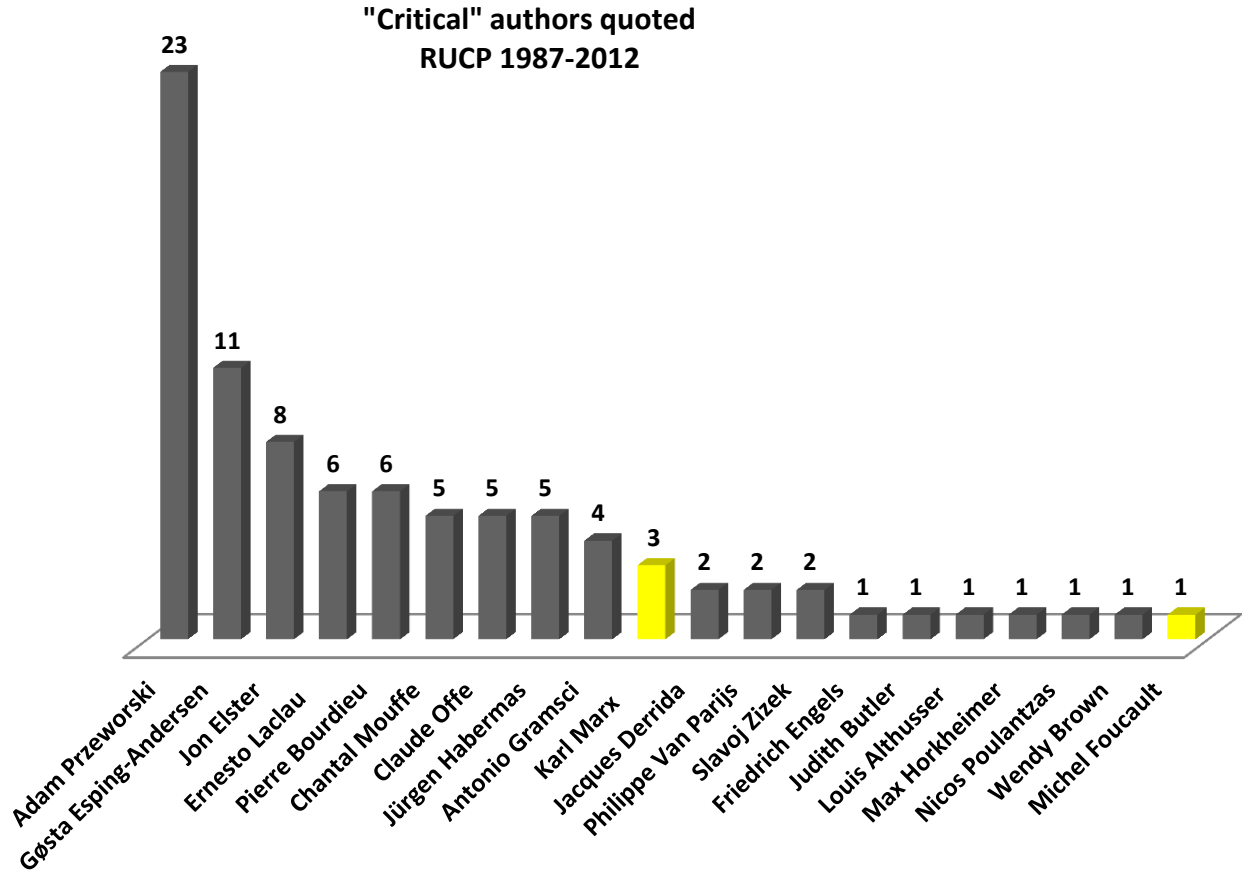
<sup>98</sup> In this regard, the testimony of U11 – a British scholar living and working in Uruguay – is interesting, given that it sheds “comparative” light onto the case: “in British academia and intellectual life (Marxism) was present (...) here not at all!”

addresses Marxist theory as its main theme (Graph 19). Furthermore, contemporary critical thought has not been included either, as we can see in Graph 20. Marx has been quoted three times in the whole history of the journal; Michel Foucault once. In terms of theory *RUCP* seems to be more welcoming for the tradition of analytical philosophy. Globally, this chart shows the marginality of critical Political Theory in Uruguayan PS.

**Graph 19**



Graph 20



Graph 20 also provides elements to grasp *RUCP*'s dominant conception of the political: political parties and more lately public policy (Buquet 2012; Garcé & Rocha, 2015) seem to be considered the unique protagonists of politics. This is consistent with Table 1 which presents the most cited authors. Such a narrow and elitist perspective precludes the incorporation of articles on other aspects of the political (grassroots movements in particular). Graph 21 confirms that a narrow conception of Politics (basically, the State and Political Parties) prevails. Section 7 expands on this.

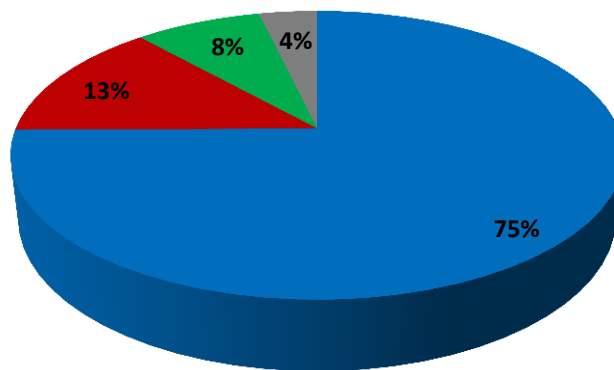
Table 1: “Popular” authors in *RUCP* (1987-2012)

Most cited authors	Number of citations
Lanzaro	47
Sartori	46
Mainwaring	45
Buquet	39
Caetano	38
Lijphart	35
O’Donnell	35

Graph 21

Conception of the political in 'spatial' terms *RUCP* (1987-2012)

■ Narrow ■ Intermediate ■ Expansive ■ Unclear

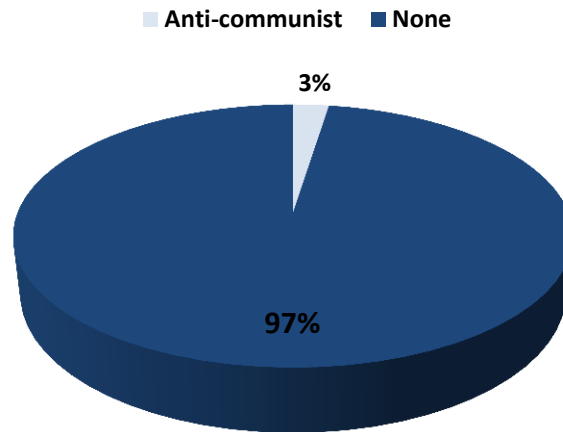


Given the overwhelming consensus around the strong connection between social sciences and the left in the 60s and early 70s (U1, U15) the almost absolute absence of Marxism (including neo and post-Marxism) in *RUCP* is striking. Communism as a historical reality has not been addressed either, even though *RUCP*'s first issues were contemporary with the agonizing years of the Soviet Union (Graphs 22 and 23). Such indifference needs to be situated within an academia that looks inwards *and* a liberal discourse that despises communism without embracing anti-communist narratives.



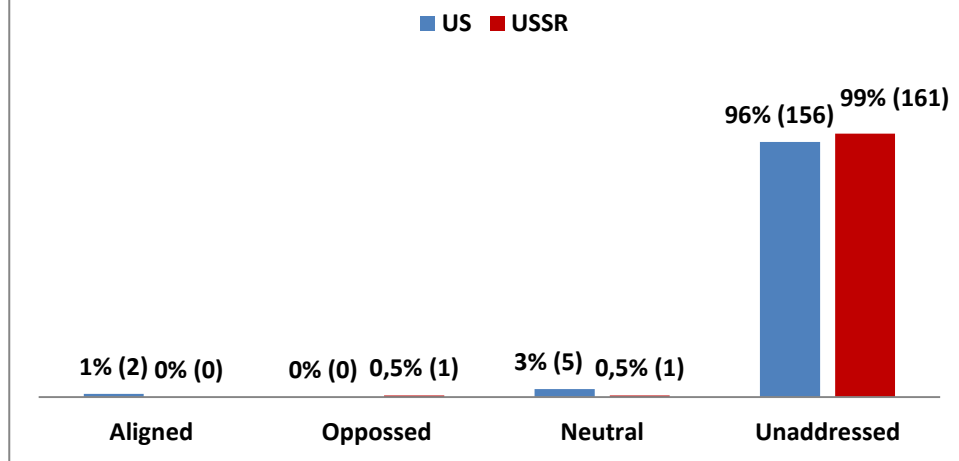
Graph 22

View of communism. RUCP (1987-2012)



Graph 23

Position toward the US and the USSR.  
RUCP (1987-2012)



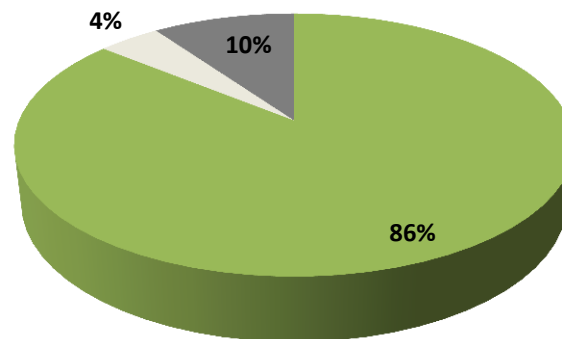
Uruguayan PS is a creature of the transition to democracy forged by scholars from left to moderate right who unanimously opposed the dictatorship (U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8 U9, U10, U11, U12, U13, U14, U15, U16, U17, U18, U19, U20, U21, U22). “Protected democracy” is consequently absent in *RUCP*: Uruguayan PS is fully polyarchic (Graph 24). And “Marxism, from the perspective of polyarchy is idiotic” (U17). This is a sharply dissimilar power-knowledge formation and ideological timing from the one we saw with APS. The Cold War *framed* PS in both Chile and Uruguay but in different ways. Uruguayan

PS was born *within and for* liberal democracy in a context of the collapse of socialism in reality and thought. There was no need to talk about communism, a topic that actually reminded some political scientists about their ‘anti-democratic’ beliefs of *not long time ago*. In Chile, PS was *cultivated (not denied)* by the dictatorship, so the enemies of the regime had to be addressed.

**Graph 24**

**Type of democracy promoted. RUCP (1987-2012)**

■ Polyarchy    ■ Extended    ■ Unaddressed/unclear



Here I need to go back to, and expand, the insight about the entrenchment between subjectivity, epistemology and politics, even global politics (Agathangelou, 2004; Brigg & Bleiker, 2010; Dauphinee, 2013a; Dauphinee, 2013b; Löwenheim, 2010). These ideological transformations that we are exploring have an experiential and biographical dimension. The transition from ‘Marxism to liberalism’<sup>99</sup> and ‘from sociology to PS’ has been interwoven with the fabric of scholars’ lives. I will thus now turn into discourse (Foucault, 1991; Said, 2003b) and language (Laclau and Mouffe, 2004)<sup>100</sup> but in the register of the subjective, personal and ‘testimonial’ (Butalia, 2000). Epistemological, theoretical and political changes are also made by human experience. Let me then theorize a bit more the connection between trauma, language and the discipline.

From the beginning of this dissertation I conceptually situated social sciences *as* part and parcel of “human activity” in the very basic sense of Marx. PS is a space of human

<sup>99</sup> I am using simple and broad terms to make a point here.

<sup>100</sup> Always conceptualized in terms of their role on truth formation, identity building and power.

action and interaction. The discipline has its own social life while at the same time it is part of broader social life. Therefore, “theory” and “ideologies” of scholars and intellectuals are *also* historical and biographical entities. We also know that time, memory and subjectivity are *milieus* where domination and resistance are manifested (Alexander, 2005; Edkins, 2003; Fleming, 2005; Marcuse, 1974). If we put these insights to work together the result is that 1) social sciences have not exteriority *vis-à-vis* power relations and 2) the memories and subjectivities of scholars have a role in their scholarship and its changes, especially in the case of social sciences where we study dynamics we are heavily involved in. Scholarship is made by *subjects* of social reality: scholarship, as a human activity, is affected by its *object* (human activity). This is not only an epistemological insight but also a political perspective with huge implications for understanding the politics of academic knowledge and PS in particular. What does this mean for the case under study?

In Uruguay the UdelaR was part of the “infrastructures of dissent” (Sears, 2012) that came under attack during the dictatorship – it was actually “dismantled” as we saw before. The *coup d'état* in general and the persecution of intellectuals in particular constituted traumatic experiences for scholars and, therefore, scholarship. This story has all the elements of trauma (Edkins, 2003; Giorgi 1995; Kellermann, 2001; LaCapra, 2009; Sneh & Cosaka, 2000). There is 1) a moment of unexpected violence and force that hurt intellectuals and people around them. Some of them were already adults heavily politically involved (with the left-wing) and other were teenagers who went through the dictatorship as young adults. Both groups suffered the dictatorship at different levels and in diverse ways. 2) A mainstream and hegemonic narrative – promoted by influential politicians – during and after the dictatorship that blamed radical politics (which include intellectuals) for the fall of democracy. The issue of language here is key: within the available narrative the left-wing on the one-hand and the military on the other appeared as responsible for the coup. This is a powerful move: a self-directed guilt located Marxism and its theoretical surroundings as politically and conceptually *wrong* and, therefore, they had to be expelled as far as possible. This trauma was instrumental for the separation from sociology, as I already pointed out.

The emotional intensity of the adjectives and images about and around Marxism speak of ‘something else’ than ‘just’ an intellectual shift – perhaps intellectual changes are

never ‘just’ that. They seem to reveal the tremendous impact of historical experience on scholars’ views: “swindler”, “untrustworthy”, “shameful”, “ridiculous”, “dogmatic”, “Church”, “mocked”, “expiated guilt”, “crude”, “repented”, “obsolete”, “precarious”, “anti-science”, “toxic”, “erased”, “despicable”, “stupid”, “idiotic”, “a path that I interrupted forever”, “I threw it in the garbage”, “shit”, “crisis”, “mea culpa”, etc. (see Appendix B).

It is difficult to measure the “weight” differential between the collapse of the Soviet Union and the effect of the dictatorship within this process – and in fact I am not particularly interested in such a positivist procedure. My aim is precisely to craft a vocabulary to navigate the messiness of this story. The dictatorship and the fall of the Soviet Union are components of a *complex relationality* – a series of interlocked internal and external factors – that affected scholars’ subjectivities and views. Academic transformations are part of the larger transformation of the country.

This process had very concrete effects on the lived experience of scholarship. Indeed, colleagues with a neo-Marxist background had to negotiate with a difficult reality. “Some of us were forced to unlearn much of what we knew.” As a new scholar in the context of the transition, U1 had to change his research topic because his theoretical views were unacceptable within Political Parties and Government, which was the mainstream research area of the discipline during the 90s (Buquet, 2012; Rocha, 2012). U17, the only scholar singled out in many interviews as a “neo-Marxist” experienced a feeling of inadequacy both in research and in teaching at the MA level in particular. He described his situation as being “extremely depressed” and as being extremely detrimental to his academic productivity. He characterized some of the colleagues as “aggressive liberals” and recalled some “violent” exchanges with students (scholars identified as Uruguayan “big names” today) in which they asked him not to teach those “dated” theories anymore. “I threw all of that in the garbage,” he concludes.

In the interviews, this theoretical change is not described or experienced as a gradual and meditated one but as a violent rupture: as an *act* perpetrated with words through which the other, in this case the beliefs “of the past”, are completely dismissed. Such rejection or embarrassed escaping (U7) denotes trauma at the ideological level. I am *not* arguing that these scholars are necessarily “traumatized” (I am not a psychologist) but that, for interpretative purposes, it is productive to frame these narratives through some of

the elements of the category of trauma. The point I am trying to make is that the *traumatic dimension* of the dictatorship and the transition has had intellectual manifestations within PS. In other words, scholars' subjectivity is another – crucial – component of PS' complex relationality.

I would like to finish this section with a note on complexity, again. How strong, in reality, was Marxism in the late sixties? And what does “strong” mean in this context? Clearly, Marxist politics were salient. However, the intellectual referents of the left seem to have belonged to the political parties. Indeed, Marxist scholarship seemed not to have been abundant. The academic Marxism was “weak” (U19). “They did not create a ‘school’”. This is why academic Marxism was easily destroyed (U19). For U12 the political discussion was regulated by Marxist categories and scholars were simply immersed in that environment. This coincides with U8, the academic who taught PS during the dictatorship: the regime, in his view, persecuted leftists, not theories. Interestingly enough, it seems that the party-centric theory about the Uruguayan *polis* works well once again (Caetano, Pérez Antón, & Rilla, 1987). This partisan form of Marxism only needed to be “inverted” to become dogmatic liberalism (U12). This problematizes the narrative about Marxism being an obstacle to the emergence of PS. It was Uruguayan society and its socio-political dynamics that politicized knowledge in the plainest sense of the term. The source of the “problem” was beyond academia. It is not surprising, given their power, that the traditional political parties could impose their interpretation(s) of reality (including that the left was guilty of the coup).

The dictatorship pushed scholars to bury radical politics and Marxism. They did so, sometimes, as a form of keeping them alive.

**U15:** We did read Marxism during the dictatorship but we had to dig the books up because they were buried... so we read from very wet and deteriorated books!

**PR:** Dig them up!?

**U15:** Yes, we somehow got a bunch of books such as *Capital*, *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, and *The Eighteenth Brumaire* through a senior researcher but they were buried in the backyard of his house. So we had to go there and dig them up. We read them... it was a very thin paper with silk texture. They were really wet! (my translation).

Another colleague mentioned that he mostly reads and sees the world from a critical theory perspective, but that he does not engage with it in any way in his writing today (interview

code omitted). I could read the discomfort during and because of the interview. He was angry at ‘something’. It seems that it is hard to write – to think – when you bury authors.

### 3.5 Appropriating Carlos Real de Azúa: Teleology and Destiny

Carlos Real de Azúa (1916-1977) is one of the most acclaimed Uruguayan intellectuals of the twentieth century.<sup>101</sup> He has also been considered the predecessor, or even the founder, of PS in Uruguay (Aguiar, 1984; Buquet 2012; Garcé, 2005; González, 2007; González, 2002; Pérez Antón, 1986; Pérez Antón, 1992; Ravecca, 2014). In a move that mimics the narratives that singularize Machiavelli as the founder of modern PS in the “western world”, Real de Azúa is praised for acknowledging ‘the specificity of politics’ in the Uruguayan context (Aguiar 1984; Gallardo, 2002). This view is well illustrated by an early text on PS development, in which an entire section is dedicated to “The foundational *oeuvre* of Real de Azúa” (Pérez Antón, 1986, p. 228). Another example is “Carlos Real de Azúa: a pioneer of Political Science in Uruguay (1916-1977),” a 2002 academic event that celebrated his legacy. (Awkwardly, but meaningfully, this activity was sponsored by – *and physically located in* – the Parliament).<sup>102</sup>

I am interested in how de Azúa is read and appropriated by the narratives of PS identity building. In 1984, César Aguiar published “Notes on Real de Azúa and Political Science in Uruguay”. This article links the birth of PS to the work of Real: “There has not been an inventory made of PS in the country (in fact, there is not much to make an inventory of). But with justice and certainty we can assert that PS in Uruguay could not exist without Real de Azúa” (Aguiar, 1984, p. 5; translation mine).<sup>103</sup> The emphasis is put on this author’s alleged rejection of Marxism’s anti-political reductionisms. Indeed, one of the main merits of de Azúa – the argument goes – was to acknowledge that the political

---

<sup>101</sup> Mallo (2011) is based on the author’s PhD dissertation on Carlos Real de Azúa’s life and writing. A vast literature about him can be found at:

[http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos\\_Real\\_De\\_Azua/doku.php?id=sobre](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos_Real_De_Azua/doku.php?id=sobre)

<sup>102</sup> One of the participants questioned the location of the seminar, saying that Real de Azúa was particularly jealous of his independency from the political system (González, 2002). In 2007 another colloquium was organized by CLAEH with the participation of Tulio Halperin Donghi – “Carlos Real de Azúa 1916-1977. Evocación y coloquio con Tulio Halperin Donghi” – where I participated as a discussant. Susana Mallo asked some uncomfortable questions about the itinerary of radicalization of de Azúa. She was preparing Mallo (2011) at that time.

<sup>103</sup> Available at

[http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/carlos\\_real\\_de\\_azua/textos/critica/cesaraguiar.pdf](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/carlos_real_de_azua/textos/critica/cesaraguiar.pdf)

system has its own logic and rules. Politics cannot be reduced to the social: “Something similar to what Althusser and Poulantzas, who would probably be dismissed by Real de Azúa’s intellectual style and greatness, failed to explain when they talk about ‘relative autonomy’” (p. 3).<sup>104</sup> Once again, PS’ identity is based on a version of the notion of the autonomy of the political that expels Marxism (and in this case also neo-Marxism) as a reasonable academic perspective.

Some identify ‘PS moments’ within Real de Azúa’s trajectory, in a curious effort to separate them from other moments of his work which (sadly, one could add with irony) are mostly grounded in sociology and the humanities. The arguments tend to be subtle but, when fully unfolded, there is no doubt that the author went through a teleological journey towards PS: “In his intellectual history de Azúa went through a focus on literature to a focus on political science” (p. 4). Others refer to the transition from historical sociology to political science (Pérez Antón, 1992, p. 46; Pérez Antón, 1986, pp. 228-229). The idea is always that de Azúa has overcome something else, reaching a new (better) stage: our discipline – and such a journey is parallel to the transition from *ensayismo* to science (see footnote on *ensayo* and *ensayismo* a few lines below).

I am not particularly interested in evaluating ‘the accuracy’ of such an account even though Real de Azúa (1983), written just before the author’s death in 1977, has *not* a ‘PS perspective,’ at least in the mainstream sense.<sup>105</sup> This can be understood by just reading its strange title: “The World Euro-Center–Periphery Cleavage and the Excepted Areas 1500-1900.”<sup>106</sup> What matters here is how de Azúa is appropriated and mobilized in the narrative to manufacture PS identity. The operation overemphasizes his rejection of Marxism and underemphasizes his late commitment with the left as well as his interdisciplinary and complex form of writing. This form of discursive ‘identity regulation’ through, to some extent, a ‘fictional’ Real de Azúa reminds me of how families and nation-states administer people’s selves through essentializing tales and linear time sequences that erase

---

<sup>104</sup> The translation is mine and is not literal. The original reads: “Algo así como lo que Althusser y Poulantzas, que probablemente producirían escalofríos al estilo y la envergadura intelectual de Real de Azúa, intentan explicar y no lo hacen al hablar de ‘autonomía relativa’.”

<sup>105</sup> Thus, for Ángel Rama, Real de Azúa, “first, was a literary critic and literature professor and, with the assistance of time, he became a critic of culture, thought and what Mexicans name with the ugly word ‘polítólogo’ (political scientist)” (Rama, 1977, p. 3).

<sup>106</sup> Both the object of study (different development paths) and the different variables analyzed make the text an interdisciplinary one.

contingency and the accidental dimension of collective history (Butler & Spivak, 2010; Edkins, 2003; Buck-Morss, 2009) (See Chapter 4). This is particularly paradoxical in the case of Real de Azúa who defined himself as “a specialist on generalities” with a clear interdisciplinary vocation.<sup>107</sup>

In a beautiful and nuanced text about Latin American political theory, he problematizes “the urge for the immediate and ‘drastic’ use of social sciences” and the notion of science “as a missile to be hurled at some enemy” (De Azúa, 1973, translation mine; Mallo, 2011, p. 182). Thus, he was critical of ‘militant’ versions of the intellectual endeavor. In his view, and this formulation is in my opinion just superb, social sciences are a weapon for the liberation of Man but also for “*the liberation off/from the partial liberations*” (ibid, translation mine).<sup>108</sup> With a much smaller readership and fame, Real de Azúa argued before Judith Butler that theoretical interrogation should not be stopped in the name of action, security or justice. “Partial liberations” should also be critiqued in order to prevent them from becoming *total* oppressions especially given that, as Butler says, oppression names itself as its other (Butler, 2003). However, the reification and simplification of theories, Marxism included, is also completely foreign to the incredible intellectual openness of de Azúa: an openness that shaped his version of PS. Indeed, in the same text, he argued that Latin Americans were in a privileged position for combining different intellectual traditions (including Marxism again) (de Azúa, 1973). In this regard, and keeping in mind my reading of the dictatorship, I cannot avoid sharing the following quote:

If you allow me a *confidence* even more confessional than what I have said until now, I will say that I am a citizen of a nation that in less than four years went from a system of coalitions and equilibrium at various social levels; from government action that respected legality and all individual rights; from the hegemony of a middle class political personnel trained in the everyday exercise of different forms of compromise... we went from a nation with all these features to an opposite system of a practically autocratic imposition, illegality and limitless repression executed by a bunch of government agents – military members, big bankers, land owners who one day stormed the roles and functions they – as a collective – had been foreign to until then. If we take a look at this picture – unsophisticated but, I believe, essentially accurate – *we can suspect that the Marxist insights about*

---

<sup>107</sup> See for instance

[http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos\\_Real\\_De\\_Azua/doku.php?id=entrevistas](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos_Real_De_Azua/doku.php?id=entrevistas)

<sup>108</sup> Available at:

[http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos\\_Real\\_De\\_Azua/lib/exe/fetch.php?media=teoriayetica.pdf](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos_Real_De_Azua/lib/exe/fetch.php?media=teoriayetica.pdf)



*social domination, the relationship between economic and political power, class antagonisms, the effect of money over politics, and democracy as a mere appearance that vanishes because of social pressures are useful. They have been more useful than the behaviorist and functionalist typologies and models in order to understand what has happened in my (in our) surroundings. (1973; translation and emphasis mine.)*

The quote brings to mind Filgueira (1974) – again, a scholar far from being identified with the left – and his observation regarding the role of the economic elites and the benefits they attained during the dictatorship (something that is not said enough in Uruguayan PS classrooms and texts). These are intellectual and political moments erased by the mainstream narrative because, among other reasons, Uruguayan PS has a mandate to ignore *social* classes. There are other things that get erased too. In the launch of *Carlos Real de Azúa. An inapprehensible intellectual* (Mallo, 2011), Hugo Achugar challenged the sharp distinction that mainstream academia today draws between *ensayismo* and science.<sup>109</sup> Indeed, scientism would become aggressive in the academic community; especially in PS (see for instance Buquet, Chasquetti, & Moraes, 1998 as an example). The generational crusade in Uruguay has been methodological: the important figures of the new generations did not challenge the old one at the ideological level – liberalism still reigns – but they radicalized the notion of the autonomy of politics and absolutized methodology, and even

---

<sup>109</sup> I cannot extensively elaborate on the issue of *ensayismo* here, but let me say a couple of words. *Ensayo* refers to a piece that proposes a reflection about an issue, and *ensayismo* refers to such a style of writing which has been very present in the Latin American context. In Uruguay and in the region, *ensayo* has become a derogatory term to name an unscientific form of knowledge that is not based on research. What has been particularly interesting (and somehow sad) is to see through the interviews how this concept operates as a volatile category or floating signifier (Laclau & Mouffe, 2004) to disqualify the intellectual production of others. The notion is mobilized in extremely different ways and with different targets – the accuser is also accused in most occasions. It is revealing that the only colleagues who were not named as *ensayistas* by anyone was the group identified as the most mainstream one: the experts on political parties who base their research on “quantitative methods” and rational choice institutionalism. In contrast, this group considers everyone else “*ensayistas*” (the colleagues who work on public policy, history and political theory). The problem of disqualifying narratives is widespread though. Indeed, *the need for an evil or inferior otherness has been a very consistent finding throughout my research*. All my interviewees are extremely sophisticated people and yet, it seems that the building of the academic self needs to be done in antagonistic ways. The other is permanently thought of as a threat: Academia is about policing and securitization. In the impoverishing and divisive dialectics of *ensayismo*, a very conservative notion of science wins. It is really the voice of the master that speaks and rejoices in the self-hatred and the false-consciousness of the subaltern. Note that *ensayismo* is also seen as an underdeveloped form of knowledge and somehow opposes Latin America (and to some extent continental Europe) to the more advanced United States where people do not write *ensayos*. Global politics, writing and epistemology meet again.

concrete methods (statistics in particular). It is a paradox that Real de Azúa is symbolically consumed by discourses that deny his embracement of complexity and interdisciplinarity.

Real de Azúa has been unwritten in another way. He was also gay, and I think that matters. This is also a story of writing masculine epistemologies on a queer erased body (of writing). *The father of Uruguayan PS was queer*. I will talk more about sexuality and the discipline in Chapter 4.

The ultimate erasure. We already referred to the destructive work that the dictatorship did to education in Uruguay. Rama (1977, p. 40) refers to this destruction in powerful terms and argues with anguish that it “is not excessive to compute (Real de Azúa’s) death among the sorrows that we owe to the brutal militarism that has taken over Uruguay” (my translation).<sup>110</sup> Death is, in this case, an important moment in the shifting of political theory – the moment of *exiling* critical thinking even when the body of the thinker remained at (an unrecognizable) home.

### **3.6 Narrative Power(s): Storytelling and the Delineation of the Disciplinary-Self**

*The ways in which the history of the discipline has been narrated* symptomatize liberalism’s naturalization as the uniquely acceptable theoretical idiom (Rico, 2005). Garcé (2005) engages with the already discussed lateness of PS’ development through three hypotheses. The first one, taken from Pérez Antón (1992), states that the high-quality reflections of Uruguay’s politicians about their own practice made PS unnecessary or redundant.<sup>111</sup> The following alternatives seem more likely. The second hypothesis suggests that the centrality of political parties may have inhibited, instead of stimulated, political reflection. In other words, the extensive and intensive politicization of the country may have prevented balanced approaches to political issues from flourishing.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> The original reads: “No es exceso poner esta muerte en la cuenta de las penas que debemos al militarismo torpe que se ha apoderado del Uruguay” (Rama, 1977, p. 40).

<sup>111</sup> Pérez Antón (1992)’s argument is an example of what Filgueira (1974) and De Sierra (2005) identify as an excessive optimism about the country’s reality with conservative consequences.

<sup>112</sup> This resembles the argument of U19, a scholar highly critical of mainstream PS who argues that Marxism in Uruguay was academically weak because it was not located in the University but in political parties and groups. This *subjection* to its object of analysis (political practice) made Marxist thinking vulnerable to changes in social circumstances. In other words, there was not ‘theory’ but just thinking circumscribed to concrete situations. When the situations that sustained Marxism disappeared, this school of analysis vanished

The third hypothesis is the one that matters in this context. The predominance of Marxism and other ‘socio-centric’ theories in the 50s and 60s may have been the main obstacle for the development of PS. Let us unpack the implications of this view. The very notion that these “anti-political” theories could prevent the birth of the discipline is in itself a symptom of the ideological climate of academia in Uruguay in the early 2000s. *Garcé links the birth of PS to the crisis of Marxism*. Thus, Marxism and its derivatives are thought, not only as ‘exterior’ *vis-à-vis* the discipline, but also as its enemies. This sort of essentialization and reduction of such a complex discursive formation (Foucault, 1984) to its conceptually poorest version is entrenched in Uruguayan PS, and it is also a component of the (meta-) discourse around PS development.

During the 2012 Uruguayan Conference of PS, at a round-table with the Presidents of the National Associations in the region, this narrative showed up once again.<sup>113</sup> Some of the interventions referred to ‘dated paradigms’ that subsumed politics into society which prevented PS from flourishing in the past. The resistance against a “fictional American academic dominance” was mentioned as a current problem in Argentina in particular. Other challenges mentioned were the (“ridiculous”) notion of academic imperialism, the anti-empirical mentality, the absence of institutionalized standards (peer review and indexations) and the persistence of “*ensayismo*”. The authoritarian experience was also listed among the ‘negative’ factors in PS history because, “as Huntington says, where democracy is weak, political science is weak”. In this framework, Marxism and authoritarianism collude against PS and pristine, democratic liberalism.

Clearly, up until 2012 this narrative framework was prevalent among the PS National Associations of the region. When the floor was open for a conversation about the state of our discipline in the region I asked the participants for their thoughts about the Perestroika movement (Monroe, 2005; see Introduction, Chapters 1 and 5), and the answer was that the only Perestroika they knew was the Russian one! The US that mainstream Latin American scholars ‘consume’ is also fictional, partial and tailored to fit into a

---

with them. This incestuous relationship with the object, that inhibits theoretical reflection, is also practiced by PS today, but in the name of objectivity.

<sup>113</sup> “Political Science in the Region”, Uruguayan National Conference of Political Science, 2012.

hegemonic project.<sup>114</sup> Going back to Uruguay, a piece published in 2012 (Buquet, 2012, p. 6) reproduces the equation between PS and liberalism: There was no space for PS in the 60s because of the predominance of “structuralist” views. If we push the logic to its extreme the final result is clear: There is trade-off between PS and Marxism. Interestingly enough, some of the authors arguing this used to belong to the Communist Party (U2; U5; U7).

*Historians of PS reproduce PS’ biases.* In many cases, these are more militant disciplinary narratives than analyses of the discipline. Many colleagues seem not to be aware of how violent this form of academic identity regulation is. The expulsion of Marxism is also the expulsion of *people* from the space of acceptability and, therefore, from journals (such as the *RUCP*) and other academic sites.<sup>115</sup>

This is about politics, again: indeed, the meta-narratives around PS’ trajectory are also a point of entry into broader political transformations. We have already seen that academics were subjectively affected by the dictatorship, the defeat of Marxism and the collapse of the Soviet Union, and how PS was forged under these political conditions. Now we are seeing that not only knowledge, but also the reflections *about* knowledge, seem to have been shaped by PS’ object of study (i.e., politics), in a sort of cruel anti-positivist joke. In other words, PS is knowledge without epistemology and a knowledge without self-reflection becomes ideology. The next section expands on this.

### **3.7 Objectivity and Romance: Uruguayan Political Science and Liberal Democracy**

“In the School of Law I had a lot of advantage because PS was built against sociology. We were the nice, neat and good, and they were the fat, dirty and leftist.” Jorge Lanzaro

---

<sup>114</sup> The symbolic consumption of the US, imagined as a homogeneous space where “there are rules and standards” (as it is said once and again), is mobilized by mainstream scholars in the South to reinforce their position of power. In this regard some of the comments made by Kathryn Sikkink in this round-table are interesting: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrHCvveeN98>

<sup>115</sup> Not surprisingly U17, a scholar whose work is informed by neo-Marxism, felt that there was no space for him in the *ICP*, which had a detrimental impact on both his academic productivity and emotional well-being. Recently U17 was challenged for using the notion of “Neoliberal State” in one of his articles, even though such a notion was conceptually based on international literature – peer reviewers are gate keepers and ideological police, as the Perestroika movement and many others have denounced (Monroe, 2005; Holt, 2003).

If you build your identity against Marxist economic reductionism and socio-centric views (sociology), then the sources to explain politics need to come from within. The discipline's scope should be traced in ways that exclude "society" and the "economy", which prevents welcoming broader conceptions of the political, interdisciplinary approaches and, of course, political economy. This is what happened in Uruguay where the interest in political parties was almost the "exclusive" one in the PS formation period of the 90s.<sup>116</sup> The interest in public policy would grow in the 2000s (Bentancur & Mancebo, 2013; Buquet 2012, Rocha, 2014). In my view, this shift, however, does not expand the (narrow) dominant conception of politics (See Graph 21 above). The country has been thought of as a party-ocracy (Caetano, Pérez Antón, & Rilla, 1986) and, consequently, social movements and other aspects of the political have remained ignored.

If Carlos Real de Azúa is considered a "pioneer" of Uruguayan PS, Jorge Lanzaro has a relationship with it that can be characterized as that of "fatherhood".<sup>117</sup> He was the first director of the ICP and his leadership is widely acknowledged. He talks very openly about this crusade to separate from sociology and law, which he argues was necessary to build the PS community and identity. However, Lanzaro's discourse is highly sophisticated and shows a reflective and ironic distance from this process. Given his vast social sciences background, he can believe in neither a sharp distinction between disciplines nor a radical notion of autonomy.<sup>118</sup> This awareness seems to have been lost on later generations. On many occasions, the name of Jorge Lanzaro is symbolically mobilized and consumed to reify PS identity (Ravecca, 2014).

The "attachment" to political parties and democracy was not merely analytical. There is, indeed, a general acknowledgment from all former directors of the *ICP* that PS

---

<sup>116</sup> Interestingly, Filgueira (1986) presciently complained about the politics-centered type of sociology practiced in the country, as well as about the general dismissive indifference towards psycho-cultural dimensions. PS radicalized this later, as it appropriated politics and displaced political sociology (De Sierra, 2005).

<sup>117</sup> In the words of an interviewee with a very long history in Uruguayan PS (in fact, one of its founders):

*We have a very important figure: Jorge Lanzaro [...] he not only led the ICP for ten years but also conceived and created the institution. To understand the first period of PS' institutionalization I would refer to the figure of Jorge Lanzaro and to a process which was the convergence of the PS that had been elaborated in the country and the academic training of those who had studied abroad because of exile or choice. That convergence was peaceful, loyal and very fecund. Both collide indeed: the figure and the process. Jorge Lanzaro was decisive. (U18).*

<sup>118</sup> Keep in mind that Uruguayan PS started with a pluralistic call by Lanzaro to people without PS degrees and it was in that regard interdisciplinary – perhaps that is why it needed to launch a crusade for its identity.

has not been critical enough *vis-à-vis* the Uruguayan democracy and political parties. The celebratory perception of political elites radically challenged the traditionally critical view that intellectuals held of the political system before (Lanzaro, 2000). Thus,

Uruguayan PS takes distance from historiographic perspectives that were quite drastic in their censorship of the Traditional Political Parties, which were accused of empiricism, paralyzing heterogeneity, and submission to the upper classes. Besides internal disagreements, PS authors *acquitted* political parties on the basis of a more refined reconstruction of the problems that they have faced as long as the concrete alternatives that they had available. (Pérez Antón, 1992, pp. 57-58; emphasis and translation mine).

This positive view was radicalized by the generations educated by the *ICP* founders.<sup>119</sup> The following are some of the main components of the PS' narrative about Uruguayan democracy:

1. Our exemplary democracy was built by the traditional political parties. In more elegant words, “the centrality of the political parties as dominant political actors is a line of long *durée* of our history and a key feature of our politics.” (Caetano, Pérez Antón, & Rilla 1987, p. 41; translation mine). This feature has been labelled *partidocracia* (party-ocracy).

2) The Uruguayan political system functioned, functions and will function satisfactorily and indeed “Uruguay is admired because of the balanced and democratic ways of processing reforms in politics, the State and the market” (Buquet, Chasquetti, & Moraes, 1998, p. 83; translation mine).

3) Uruguayan democracy has been gradualist and temperate in the introduction of pro-market reforms. Note that, in contrast with APS “moderation” – more than neoliberal standards of efficiency – are valued and celebrated by these texts. Balanced and negotiated arrangements have been seen as a core feature of Uruguayan politics (de Azúa, 1984). To

---

<sup>119</sup> As I said before, the rupture between generations operated in the realm of methodology and methods, not in the realm of ideology:

*There was a very strong vindication of political parties by the scholars from CLAEH which we also embraced. Jorge Lanzaro and Luis Eduardo González were more moderate, but we (their students) got extremely passionate [...] until the coup d'état intellectuals and academia were critical of the parties; we all used to think that they were just trash but after the end of the dictatorship the parties were celebrated. (U5).*

Another interviewee from the same generation confesses:

*We sang praises, praises to the Uruguayan political system! That is what “The Imaginary Invalid” is all about (reference to an important book of Uruguayan PS). Among all the contributions to “The Second Transition” (reference to another important book of Uruguayan PS), the worst text, the most acritical, is the one I wrote; I am sure; that was the spirit of the age (U7).*

see “gradualism” as a self-evident merit is another example of the inter-penetration between PS and its context.

The tone of Uruguayan PS is well represented by the next quote from the first *ICP*'s Director: “The revisionism – of anti-critical critique – that this book cultivates and which is the product of careful and to some extent provocative explorations (...) refers to the quality of the government and to the parties’ dynamics” (Lanzaro, 2000, p. 13). Jorge Lanzaro brilliantly analyzed this period:

I mean, given that we *had to be* so laudatory of the Uruguayan political history, of the political system, of democracy, which is linked to the autonomy of politics... we were not critical enough. On the contrary, we were the defenders of our politicians even more than they were defenders of themselves; we were more invested than them, especially in the traditional political parties. We lost a little bit of... *we needed to do* a lot of work in one direction and we abandoned the other direction, the direction of critique. There were a lot of things to be critical about. (Personal communication.)

It is fascinating that this form of ‘optimism,’ which seems to be more a political than a scientific or analytical disposition, is conceptualized as a necessity of both Uruguayan democracy (harshly criticized by intellectuals before) and PS (whose luck is perceived as attached to that of the political system). Such ‘attachment’ to its object had implications for both research and education. This was a period of ideological shift “towards the right,” as Lanzaro recognized. In the Uruguayan context, this meant that social scientists moved from the radical left to an area that includes the “reasonable” left and the center. In my own interpretation, the imprecision of these labels matters less than the collective self-perception of ideological mutation.

Its alignment with mainstream politics shaped the political role of PS. For instance, there were challenging aspects of Uruguayan democracy that were ignored by scholarship. Rico (2005) critically explores some of them. Here (and in Chapter 4) I will focus on the Law of Expiry of Punitive Claims of the State (*Ley de Caducidad de la Pretensión Punitiva del Estado*) approved in 1986 which – in practical terms – protected the military from the legal repercussions of human rights violations committed during the dictatorship. Under abnormal circumstances of fear and unequal campaign conditions, a referendum against the law took place in 1989. The result was traumatic for the families of the victims, human rights activists and, in general, for those who promoted the *voto verde* (green vote) against

the law. The government and its allies gained 58% of the electorate for the yellow vote. Besides the real threat of authoritarian backlash if the law was revoked and the conditions of the campaign – among other things, the TV channels were against the referendum – the Expiry Law interrupted (once again, and paradoxically) the rule of law, introducing the notion that powerful criminals cannot be punished while normalizing state repression.

Clearly, more research needs to be done around the psycho-sociological and cultural effects of a legal disposition that, in the name of the “logic of the facts” (as it reads in its text), bypasses basic notions of justice (Rico, 2005). That such a law was democratically sanctioned does not take away the problem: it actually makes the situation even more traumatizing. Professional law-makers asked the people they represented to undermine the mechanisms that we, collectively, had to achieve justice; this is somehow the very definition of trauma! From a liberal perspective (a view that, as we already saw, became dominant in Uruguayan PS), the law distorts the roles of state powers in favour of the executive: in other words, the separation of powers, a basic feature of constitutional rule, is undermined. Liberalism was the victim of its own hegemony.

In any case, there was and there is a lot to reflect, analyze and critique regarding this law. However, according to Arias (2012), Uruguayan academics remained silent on this matter, reproducing the narrative – which, let’s remember, is also about silences (Butalia, 2000; Dauphinee, 2013a) – of the mainstream political parties and the elites. Similarly, Rico (2015) argues that PS ignores the dictatorship. Indeed, only 4 *RUCP* articles (out of 163) address human rights issues and *none* focuses on the Expiry Law – a highly relevant event in the country’s political history. For Arias, academia just followed the project of erasing the past: “... academia, because it omitted this topic, promoted the option of forgetting” (Arias, 2012, p. 32). The interviewees, in another admirable collective gesture of raw honesty, today bitterly agree with such an assessment (U4, U6, U10, U13, U18, U20, U22). PS has been thought of as the science of democracy, so it simply ignored the dictatorship and, to some extent, its legacies:

What happened? I think that reality was like *a stone that covered a veil*<sup>120</sup> that created a social environment that strongly conditioned (the public debate). After

---

<sup>120</sup> Even though the notion of a stone covering a veil is awkward and the phrase is highly unstructured – the product of the messiness of ‘oral language’ – I decided to go for accuracy rather than grammar and aesthetic perfection when I translated the testimony. My aim was to keep its expressive power.



the ratification of the law through the referendum of 1989, at the social and political level the topic was not spoken of anymore, and I believe that in academia we followed that path. This generated an absolute disregard for addressing the problem. *I don't have a more specific explanation than that.* “Well, this issue was solved by our society”, so nobody felt that it was necessary to problematize it (U22; emphasis mine).

The narrow way of looking at democracy examined before, the lack of critical distance from political practice, as well as the indifference towards the socio-cultural and psychological dimensions of the political, allowed for a very effective way of concealing the complexity of the situation. This logic can be represented in this rather crude formula: the people “voted,” period.<sup>121</sup> Indeed, the Uruguayan polyarchy as such (i.e., in institutional terms) worked well, and that is what counts. Oscar Bottinelli (2011), one of the leading electoral experts of the country, is a good example of this logic. Bottinelli attacks the argument that fear played a role in the victory of the yellow vote by showing the consistency between the support for the yellow and green options (April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1989) with the support for political groups who promoted each option in the national elections (November 26<sup>th</sup>, same year).<sup>122</sup> People simply followed their partisan preferences in both instances: nothing to do with fear.

Bottinelli, in the name of science and discarding anything that cannot be quantified, reinforces the legitimacy of the law. This narrative actually reduces Dahl's vision of the democratic process (Dahl, 1991) to its Schumpeterian components (Schumpeter, 1984). For instance, it is not clear to me how citizens' “enlightened comprehension” was possible in a context where the President and the TV channels censored a spot against the law where Sara Mendez, a former political prisoner and mother of a disappeared child, asked for Truth and Justice.<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, Bottinelli does not ask how and why the elite opted for such a ‘solution’ in the first place (must only the people be fearful and not the elites?). In any case, this is a clear example of the political implications of the way Uruguayan PS conceptualizes politics. The following exchange with U18 is revealing in this regard:

---

<sup>121</sup> This was the response of a colleague, who distances himself from “the mainstream,” to my critique of PS for not problematizing the Uruguayan democracy in the light of the Expiry Law during a personal conversation in the 8<sup>th</sup> Latin American Conference of Political Science (July, 2015).

<sup>122</sup> Available at <http://www.factum.edu.uy/node/31>

<sup>123</sup> An extensive interview with Sara Mendez is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Dd5L2zAGsY>

**PR-** I've never heard a conversation around, just to put an example, "the deficits of Uruguayan democracy"

**U18-** That's right.

**PR-** It could have happened; something could have been said about that.

**U18-** You are right; you are right.

**PR-** We have been "optimistic" to say the least.

**U18-** Look, as a citizen and as an academic, I was always critical of the Expiry Law. I was always critical. I voted green, etcetera.

**PR-** The topic of the law was never incorporated into a reflection about the quality of our democracy...

**U18-** That is why I agree in that that was a mistake and I agree that, for instance, a book so...

**PR-** (*Interrupting*) Why do you think that happened?

**RP-** Why?

**PR-** Yes, why... It is something extremely obvious.

**U18-** Yes, absolutely.

**PR-** It did merit a reflection on the quality of our democracy.

**U18-** I think you are right. I think you are right.

**PR-** Why do you think there is not such reflection, then?

**U18-** Because there is no critique... yes, yes, this reflection was lacking when the traditional parties were in office so we cannot say "there was a sort of political solidarity" (the interviewee is basing his analysis on the fact that scholars in Uruguay are broadly identified with the left)

**PR-** Exactly. That is not the register; that is not the issue.

**U18-** That is not the issue or the cause, I agree. I don't have an answer for that question. It's a great question!

The contrast between this critical assessment and some of the celebratory texts that this scholar has written about the traditional political parties in Uruguay leaves me perplexed without eroding my empathy. The *lack of language and lack of knowledge* around why PS has not had an interest on human rights is consistent with other testimonies. This, in a community whose expertise is to talk about – and indeed explain – political issues is very revealing (especially, given that the last two testimonies are from political scientists with a strong training in history). These perplexities – these holes in the narrative – make me want to keep thinking about these complex issues of academia, biographies and power.

The database of *RUCP* articles that I created for this research goes until 2012. Interestingly, the last article of the series explores the economic and legal implications of the financial support provided by lenders to the Uruguayan dictatorship (Bohoslavsky, 2012), which, in my view, complicates the relationship between 'democracies' and 'dictatorships' (Ravecca & Torres-Ruiz, 2014). It seems that the room for critical reflection has expanded at least partially. The financial crisis of 2002, which revealed the failures of

the Uruguayan political system (in terms of lack of accountability, political irresponsibility, etc.) was pointed out as a moment for critical awakening by some political scientists (U7, U22).

This research does not cover the relation of PS with the progressive governments of the Broad Front 2004-2020. I hope to address this issue in the future. There are indications that the lack of critical distance *vis-à-vis* the political elites and the state is persisting, though in new forms (Garcé & Rocha, 2015; Ravecca, 2014).

### **3.8 The Limits of Conformism: State-Centrism and the Containment of Market Utopias (with a Note on Secularism)**

It is impossible for me to remember how many times I have heard and read that Uruguay is a country resistant against neoliberal discourses and policies. In relative terms, and in contrast with the Chilean trajectory in particular, Uruguayan elites have been moderate in the introduction of market reforms. Furthermore, direct democracy (in the form of plebiscites and referenda) undermined the neoliberal agenda on a few occasions (1989, 1992, 2003 and 2004). This is reflected by the academic production of PS in particular. In fact, some of the most field shaping texts praised the Uruguayan political system for having such a gradualist and moderate approach (Buquet, Chasquetti, & Moraes, 1998, p. 83; Lanzaro, 2000). In sharp contrast with APS (see Chapter 2), *RUCP* has been, since its inception, very reluctant to endorse neoliberalism.

We need to keep in mind that PS does not generally address ‘neoliberalism’ or economic philosophies as a main area of research. Yet, it is interesting that while similar percentages of articles do not address the issue (between 76% and 82%), the percentage that are “critical” in Uruguay (16%) is similar to the percentage that “support” neoliberalism in the Chilean journals (18 and 22%) (see Graph 25). *Once again, science and politico-temporal context:* Uruguayan PS is Uruguayan and thus it follows the social-democratic pattern of the country. *RUCP* just does not host neoliberal discourse (2% of the articles promote liberalizing reforms).

As I argued before, the Chilean dictatorship had a clear sense of direction and it achieved, not only many reforms but a cultural change, something celebrated by its “organic intellectuals” (Bruna Contreras, 1987; Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989b). In the case

of Uruguay this is less clear: neoliberal values and reforms have not been incorporated into large arenas of social activity with the same intensity, even though the Uruguayan dictatorship did have a neoliberal orientation in several areas of policy and neoliberalism has had tremendous implications for the “Uruguayan *polis*” (Finch, 1992; Menéndez-Carrión, 2015; Vacs, 1998).

Tomás Mulián (2002, p. 11) has argued that in Chile corporations “have been the stronghold of the capitalist revolution by mediation performed by the dictatorship” (my translation). The author explains that there has been an economistic mechanization of political rationality that narrows the realm of the democratically debatable. In 1990 Norberto Lechner had forwarded a similar argument:

With the reigning neoliberal discourse since 1975, political categories (popular sovereignty, State, representation) are substituted by economic categories (comparative advantages, market, transaction). While the official doctrine of the regime (National Security Doctrine) keeps a low profile, a factual hegemony of the market is imposed (1990, p. 16; translation mine).

These reflections bring to mind Marcuse’s notion of “technological rationality” (Marcuse, 1991). Marcuse’s concrete problem was how contemporary capitalist power dynamics affected freedom through narrowing the realm of thinking even in a context of liberal democracy (see Chapter 1). His analyses of social science, and American PS in particular, unpack its militantly anti-reflective ways of writing as well as its reification of capitalism and consumption society.<sup>124</sup> At a simpler register, the point is that Chilean corporations and entrepreneurs are powerful political agents that have an important sector of the intelligentsia as their organic intellectuals. “Order and stability over democracy” (Álvarez Vallejos 2011, p. 125; translation mine) is a summary of their vision. This corporate empowerment had an academic expression in APS.

---

<sup>124</sup> Mulián argues that, in Chile, the contemporary mechanization of politics “where a decision around the final aims in society that differs from the currently accepted ones becomes irrational, is contradictory with the essence of democracy” (2002, p. 13, translation mine). The political elites *and academia* narrow the realm of the thinkable and debatable. The result: “once the “unrealistic” excess of meaning is abolished, the investigation is locked within the vast confine in which the established society validates and invalidates prepositions. By virtue of its methodology, this empiricism is ideological” (Marcuse 1991, p. 114). This is just power. Marcuse is one of the few critical theorists who unraveled the profound relationship between liberal PS and neoliberalism.

The connection between Chile and the United States is in this regard powerful,<sup>125</sup> and allows us to theorize the relationship between social and epistemological transformations at the international level. In this case, neoliberalism is also an intellectual and academic international project (See Chapter 2). However, the local has its own density and historicity (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015) and indeed Uruguayan political scientists' thinking reproduces a radically different environment. Not even the most liberal academics in Uruguay would declare "less fiscal pressure and less public spending; competition creates inequality and that is good" (Fernández de la Mora, 1987, p. 20, translation mine).

In the future, I will deepen my theoretical understanding of some recent intellectual transformations in Uruguay, especially in terms of the regulation of academic writing and its political meaning. One of my interviewees referred to the policing of the students' writing in a revealing way. She insisted that one of her students had to "straighten" his language because it was "too philosophical." The notion of clarity and transparency as mandatory for academic language, reminds me (again) of Marcuse's elaboration about the imposition of a sanitized form of writing. In this style of thought the given universe of facts is the final context of validation. The distance between actuality and potentiality collapses. Chile went further in this process, which is manifested in its current academic dynamics.

The interpenetration between context and science is revealed sharply in another area: Religion. Uruguay has been characterized as a relatively secular country; at least this has been the cultural reality for broad sectors of society, particularly the intelligentsia. Thus, some aspects of Chilean academia were surprising to me. The analysis of *Política* and *RCP* required changes to the conceptual structure of the original database. Indeed, an important variable was added: "The West and Christianity." In both journals, during the period 1979-1989, around half of the articles 'defend' the West as a political-cultural identity threatened by the East, understood in both Cold War and religious terms (Communism and Islam respectively). Chile is perceived as being monolithically 'western'

---

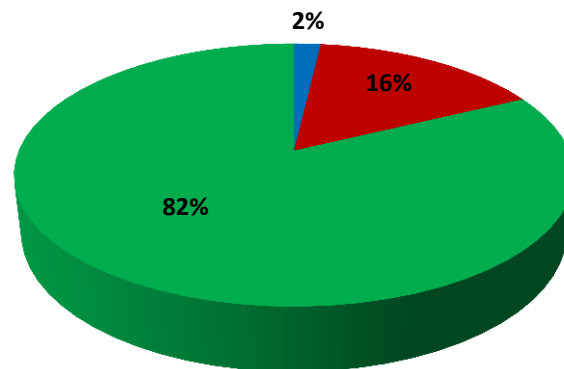
<sup>125</sup> I do not refer to "imperialism" here, given the multiple contributions that "the South" and Southern scholars have made in the forging of neoliberalism (Ananya Mukherjee Reed, personal communication). However it is clear that in this case the United States functioned as a "toxic democracy": "The toxicity of a regime/state/society has to do with (...) the little space left for the expression of other socio-political possibilities, and the actual actions taken by state representatives and political/economic elites to block and derail autochthonous and/or alternative democratic experiences and models at home – think McCarthyism – and abroad (e.g. Chile in 1973, Guatemala in 1954, Mexico in 1913, etc.) (Torres-Ruiz & Ravecca, 2014, p. 130).

and Catholic (erasing the Mapuche community and other groups from the map). In the whole history of the *RUCP* there are *no traces of such a discourse* (see Graph 26). *This example illustrates the power of context in shaping the text of science* (of course, absence of a prominent catholic discourse does not mean absence of racist views: Uruguayan society has been traditionally proud of being “white” and there is no evidence to suggest that academia is different).

Graph 25

View of neoliberal reforms, RUCP (1987-2012)

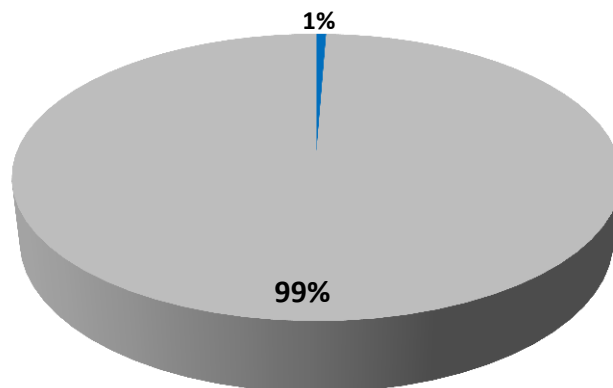
■ Positive ■ Negative ■ Neutral/unaddressed



Graph 26

The West and Christianity in RUCP 1987-2012

■ Defense-celebration ■ Neutral/Unaddressed



### 3.9 Complex Relationality and Liberal *Un*thinking

What has been shown in this chapter needs to be conceptualized and analytically ‘put together’ with the assistance of theory. I will mainly mobilize queer theory’s insights around discourse, identity and power. Queer theory (Butler, 1990) is mostly known for radically politicizing gender(ed) identity (see Chapter 1). At first sight, it may understandably be regarded as an awkward companion for a thesis on the politics of knowledge. However, dislocating a theory from its ‘natural’ realm (a paradoxical formula for a post-structuralist approach), and re-locating it in a new *milieu* to observe its operations, may be a productive move if it is carefully done. In other words, the insights of queer theory may help to (re-)read the politics of disciplinary identity.

Indeed, not only gender and sexual identities are culturally produced and constructed. We can expand the scope of such an insight, and say that the formation and reproduction of *any* identity involves power dynamics linked to the naturalization of its features. Along with this reification of the “self,” and indeed as a part of it, there seems to be a constant need for a careful delineation of exteriorities and alterities (those who are not “us”). This cultural production of a natural(-ized) self, I argue, is also at play within knowledge and academia.<sup>126</sup> Here, inspired by this view while keeping the Marxist orientation of this project, I want to interrogate the power dynamics around the forging of PS identity – what is ‘happening’ within the narratives of PS identity?

While for Chilean APS they were an obsession, Marxism and communism were never a theme of conversation in *RUCP*. The contrast is sharp. Indifferent silence(s) in writing, along with intellectual mocking in classrooms and hallway conversations, have been the predominant Uruguayan ways in times of Marxism’s decay (one could guess that leftists reconverted into liberals do not become anti-communists). What is particularly revealing though is that *PS itself* has been thought and narrated as incompatible with Marxism, the acritical embracement of liberalism being the unspoken complement of such a rejection. There is “porosity” (Buck-Morss, 2009) between internal and external power relations: clearly, the ideological shift from the radical 60s to the moderate 90s at the very

---

<sup>126</sup> Foucault, for instance, challenged the claims that psychoanalysis and Marxism are “sciences” by asking what kind of power dynamics are deployed through such claims, and what kind of knowledges they disqualify (Foucault, 1980).

core of the PS identity-building process, was crafted by domestic and international conditions – and this is an interpretative point where the encounter between discourse analysis and international political economy allows a better understanding of the *complex and relational* layers of power.

This move away from “ideology” and towards “objectivity” was linked to PS’ relationship (and ‘warfare’) with sociology, both in terms of competing paradigms and resource seeking. What we are discovering, then, is that within the notion of discarding ‘socio-centric’ theories – the cornerstone of PS – several things were indeed happening. Let me elaborate on this a bit more.

In the late 1960s the expansion of sociology happened in a context of political polarization (Filgueira, 1974). In contrast, during the democratic transition and after (80s and 90s), PS had a sort of ‘window of opportunity’ for identity building in the rejection of both sociology and Marxism. This double rejection is a contingent event that has been essentialized by the mainstream PS narrative – what I am aiming here is precisely to disrupt the narratives of disciplinary reification.

On a plainly political level, the overcoming of radicalism and ‘socio-centric approaches’ was assembled to a (self-)critical reading of the leftist critique of the mainstream political parties and liberal democracy – *the critique of the critique* (Lanzaro, 2000; U10; U13). As if “socio-centrism” and Marxism needed to be literally reversed, Uruguayan PS has been blatantly liberal and party-centric. The very *fact* of the (narrow) definition of the political embraced by the discipline is a foundational political act with huge consequences, as we saw in the case of the Expiry Law.

“The party-ocracy” (Caetano, Pérez Antón, & Rilla, 1986) and The Second Transition (Lanzaro, 2000) are academic *and* political interventions. Their praise for mainstream political parties is linked to a mode of thinking about the transition, democracy, the dictatorship as well as the desirable future of the country. The dictatorship traumatized the intellectual left who, in her attempt to rescue the main protagonists of liberal democracy, the political parties – and rescuing herself in the process – committed hubris.

Time and timing were crucial. All of this was situated in, and interlocked with, the context of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the consolidation of US hegemony in the region, both politically and academically. These international and historical circumstances framed



the positive reevaluation of democracy linked to the transition in unilaterally liberal terms. Marxism and the radical left were perceived as something *of the past* and associated with an ‘underdeveloped’ version of science, while liberalism *and* objectivity were thought, in a sort of postmodern pastiche, as the language of the future – the politics of temporality are also attached to ideology. The syllogism of the present was: Democracy is liberal; PS is democratic. Thus PS is, and should be, liberal. In other words, one ideology was perceived as non-ideological. The separation between academia and ideology meant that the international academic dominance of the US was seen as politically neutral.

On the most abstract level, the consequence of the equation between PS’s very identity and this sort of objectivist liberalism is the naturalization of capitalism as the uncontested (back-) ground for democracy.<sup>127</sup> In other words, capitalism is trafficked under the table of democracy. This implication (as any good ideological move) remains invisible, but it is really crucial as it reveals how capitalism succeeds in naturalizing itself through (also) academic knowledge. This goes back to the fascinating reflections of Karl Marx in *Capital* Volume I about how certain knowledges (classical political economy in his case) sanction capitalism at the level of knowledge production and re-create false consciousness (see Chapter 1).<sup>128</sup> This, as we saw, does not necessarily mean support for neoliberal policies. In this regard, the Chilean and the Uruguayan cases have significant differences (see also Chapter 5). And such variances really matter, politically and analytically, as they speak of the density of the local and the importance of keeping a situated analysis.<sup>129</sup>

Uruguayan PS was born during the democratic transition *as a* liberal-democratic discourse. The very notion of transition was more a political project than a carefully crafted scientific category (Lesgart, 2003, p. 242). Such a political condition transcends ‘text’ and involves the materiality of social life. In all of his studies, Foucault made the point very clear: discourse is always linked to institutional and ‘material’ power dynamics. His notion of governmentality shows how a multiple set of components and levels are linked in a configuration of knowledge and power (Foucault, 2006). In my argument, PS was part of

---

<sup>127</sup> It is definitely a paradox that a ‘postmodern’ theory – queer theory– and not Marxism, is the most instrumental in identifying this political economic consequence of the way PS has been forged.

<sup>128</sup> In the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* there are also profound epistemological reflections about how knowledge is a manifestation of its own object.

<sup>129</sup> Those contrasts reveal different levels of capitalist naturalization, as well as the crucial importance of discourse and the superstructure.

how power was exercised in the post-transition period, a power that was classed (capitalism was protected) and elitist (the traditional political parties were idealized).

The constitution of the current political subject in Uruguay is the product of a dictatorship sponsored by the US, which had powerful disciplining effects on action and thinking. The socialist project, democratic or not, was erased from the cognitive and political map – such an operation is clearly evident today, when the progressive Broad Front gained power because it migrated to the center of the ideological spectrum (Garcé & Yaffé, 2005). More than critically analyzing this process and Uruguayan democracy, PS *embodies* them.<sup>130</sup> This *disciplined* social science in both senses of the term, an endeavor celebrated from Filgueira (1974) to Buquet (2012) among other colleagues, naturalized the status quo, and from the point of view of critical theory, embodied the rationality of domination (Horkheimer, 1978; Marcuse, 1991).

To sum up, *the complex relationality that shaped PS involved different intertwined registers*: political economy (the definitive defeat of any alternative to capitalism), the international (the collapse of the Soviet Union and the US hegemony in the region), theory and epistemology (the hegemony of liberalism, abandonment of Marxism and the separation from sociology), institutional enterprise (the creation of the *ICP*) and, last but not least, subjectivity (trauma, guilt). This multiple process regulated what can be considered PS and what was expelled beyond the walls of the discipline's identity. The consequences are multi-layered and go from micro-practices of intellectual policing of BA students in sometimes brutal, narrow and parochial ways, to the lack of critical distance with its object of study, the mainstream political parties in particular. As showed in the previous sections, the process of formation of PS involved different moments as well: the substance of time – that is, history – shaped PS.<sup>131</sup>

If knowledge is historical (Buck-Morss, 2009), to understand history we need to (re)examine knowledge and its politics. Indeed, the study of knowledge production may

---

<sup>130</sup> I have not fully engaged with post-colonial thinking in this thesis but, clearly, PS has had also (post) colonial moments and dynamics that should be explored (see Chapter 1).

<sup>131</sup> This interpretation operationalizes my conception of power relations presented in the Introduction as a complex relationality between knowledge production and dissemination, identity, subjectivity, political economy, conventional politics, and the transnational dimension of the political. I have shown that all these aspects dynamically affect (or mutually constitute) each other. I am not a structuralist though, and that is why such “mutual constitution” is, in my view, full of accidents and could only be apprehended through looking at concrete *histories*, which is exactly what I did in this chapter.

reveal significant aspects of the society that is being known. From this particular perspective, epistemology is about society. Let me go back to “anecdote,” again, to unpack this insight. On Tuesday, October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2006, President Tabaré Vázquez spoke at the central round-table of the First Uruguayan Conference of Political Science. There, he shared the stage with two other presidents. The President of the Uruguayan Association of Political Science (AUCiP), Daniel Buquet, and the President of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), Lourdes Solá, who also gave speeches. Buquet solemnly declared that PS is not neutral when it comes to political regimes:

There is only one principle to defend to death and that is democracy... in this case Political Science is not neutral because it supports democracy and makes a contribution to keep and improve it.<sup>132</sup>

Democracy, then, should not be taken for granted. Such a regime, more than just an object of inquiry, is thought of as a fragile system that should be defended. Given that this political regime is now at work, the political scientist should become a pro-systemic creature, a guardian of the status quo. A series of questions come to my mind. What kind of democracy is being talked about? Should I be “democratic” to be a political scientist? And if so, what does that mean? What kind of violence is being deployed here? Who is being silenced through this apparently reasonable statement? What does the statement that political science “supports democracy” mean and do? To who is it directed? I wonder if in this statement we can see traces of the same logic of Marxism-Leninism and any other dogma: indeed, if political science “is” democratic, “what happens” to those political scientists or discourses that challenge liberal democracy as the unique acceptable political option... should they be eliminated? If something should be defended “to death”, where is the room for ‘free’ thinking and critical reflection? It seems that, here, we have reached the limits of PS’ episteme.

This attachment to *what is* may also become a systematic celebration of the successful politician (U18). “Give me something with power and I will like it,” joked a colleague in an academic meeting a few years ago. Uruguay is a politics-centered society

---

<sup>132</sup> “En este ámbito hay un único principio para defender a muerte que es la democracia... ahí sí la Ciencia Política toma partido y no es neutral porque está a favor de la democracia y hace su aporte en la medida de lo posible para que la misma dure y mejore” (my translation). Speech by the then President of AUCIP, Daniel Buquet, at the central round-table of the First Uruguayan Congress of Political Science (2006).

and PS follows that path: political analysis lacks critical reflection about, and distance from, its object of study (U6), a feature that has been intensified after the trauma of the dictatorship. This scientific embodiment of political parties allows very little space for reflection and theory (U6).

Pérez Antón (1992, p. 56) celebrates that, during the transition, the PRCs and the UdelaR organized inter-partisan forums to discuss the future of the country. U1 remembers how uncomfortable the *ICP* academic seminars of the early 90s were, where politicians (“from center left to right, but right *right*”) invited as discussants used to arrogantly lecture the participants, including the political scientists. The scene shows the collapse of the necessary (analytical) distance to cultivate knowledge but not in the critical way of assaulting reified definitions of science. In this case, science becomes ideology by naturalizing certain political discourses *while* embracing objectivity. The acknowledgment of PS’ political condition and of the historical nature of our science may furnish PPS’ room with more distance, critique and independence. For now the signals are not promising: a few days ago I received the invitation for the *ICP*’s 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration. Former presidents Julio María Sanguinetti and Luis Alberto Lacalle, as well as the current Vice-President Raúl Sendic, were invited to speak on October 29<sup>th</sup> (2015) about “Present and future of democracy in Uruguay.” It seems that our – second – story on power and trauma ends up with an episode of compulsive repetition.

This exercise of disciplinary introspection has unfolded a political analysis of Uruguay and, by extension, Latin America. Indeed, this story has shown something that happened almost everywhere: the rise of liberal capitalism and US hegemony (Gramsci, 2008), which had also manifestations within academia. This ‘universality’ (Butler, Laclau, & Žižek, 2003), however, does not imply the lack of density of the local (Menéndez Carrión, 2015). In simple language, the outputs were consistent but the paths were different. And that dissimilarity also has implications for the output (for instance, the rejection or embracement of neoliberalism). The Chilean and the Uruguayan cases show these complex academic and ideological paths of convergence and divergence.

## Chapter 4: The Intimate Architecture of the Politics of Political Science (HOT)\*

Placing (the) internal-external entwinement at the centre of research (...) is not to abandon the idea of science: quite the contrary, closely engaging the network of relations in which the author produces knowledge promises to deliver more nuanced, comprehensive, and perhaps even more scientific forms of insight than approaches that strive for authorial self-sufficiency and detachment.

Brigg and Bleiker (2010, p. 794)

### 4.1 Looking for a Perspective

In 2012, an immigration officer decided to give me zero points on “adaptability to the country,” which at the time meant the denial of my permanent residency application. The immigration process into Canada became uncertain and frightening. This unexceptional experience transcends the personal: by showing the power that states (and the corporations that they represent) exercise over average people, it incarnates a tiny moment of international politics, political economy and power relations. The state names you, as we all know, and this naming has material implications – such as the power of rejection and expulsion (Butler & Spivak, 2010). The distance is short from the international political economy to our bodies (Agathangelou 2004; Agathangelou, 2006; Alexander, 2005; Enloe, 1989).

For me this event also recalled older moments of rejection and painful ‘othering’. Indeed, this scrutiny over my persona resembles the rejection and the insults hurled at me by other kids for being an undesirable subject called a ‘fag’ in both elementary and high school.<sup>133</sup> Both situations involve power relations and are part and parcel of the social. ‘Inequality between countries and their citizens’ or ‘discrimination and bullying’ are the distant and sanitized labels used by mainstream social sciences. But they somehow wash

---

\* Cristina Barcia, Elizabeth Dauphinee, Naeem Inayatullah, Shelley Liebembuk, Robert Kohls, David McNally and Viviana Patroni read and provided feedback on the numerous versions that this chapter has gone through. Elizabeth Dauphinee, Cristina Barcia, Marta Fonseca and Andrew Soren together – *and* in different spaces, times and registers – made the *ongoing* journey of this piece of writing possible: my gratitude to them expands every day.

<sup>133</sup> Even though from the point of view of queer theory it may be regarded as ‘mainstream’ I consider the work of Didier Eribon (2001) an important contribution to understand this type of othering.

out the pain from the analysis. And pain, as Elaine Scarry (1987) reminds us, is of theoretical and political interest.

The editor of an academic journal recently rejected one of my articles. His language resembles that of the letter from the immigration officer. Cold, disengaged, impersonal. What I find fascinating and sad, besides the debatable unfairness in both judgments, is the capacity of language to devastate.<sup>134</sup> In both cases, language hurts and the situation prevents dialogue of any kind. Realizing that I am not used to ‘rejections’ in my academic activity, I think that this may be a powerful moment of learning. I fear my defensiveness and my potential incapacity to accept tough critique. But I also wonder to what extent we, students and scholars, are allowed to actually *create* in these anti-intellectual/managerial times (Gaulejac, 2012; Marcuse, 1991), when many claim that graduate school is merely a means to get a job (Kelsky, 2012) and, as Nicholas Kristof pointed out in the *The New York Times*, “rebels are too often crushed or driven away” (Kristof, 2014).

Academia has its security borders, gatekeepers, and bullies, in mainstream and critical orthodoxies alike. Herbert Marcuse notes that “defense and security are still large items in the intellectual as well as the national budget” (Marcuse, 1991, p. 211). The nation-state, sexuality, and academia are all carefully policed (Alexander, 2005; Butalia, 2000; Marcuse, 1991; Smith, 1999) and I wonder if this violent policing is a necessary moment of (any) identity building... what are, if they exist, the alternatives beyond “a reactionary (academic) ‘we’ formation”?<sup>135</sup>

This is a thesis on the politics of political science (PPS). The argument is straightforward: the academic discipline of PS is implicated in the power relations that it analyzes. *We are political*. Here I want to ask: Which affects and experiences sustain my

---

<sup>134</sup> Nietzsche (1989), Marx (1978a; 1978b; 1990) and Freud (Castoriadis, 1990; Fleming, 2005; Floyd, 2009; Freud, 1986; Horowitz, 1977; Marcuse, 1974; Marcuse, 1991) linked language to power in different ways. They opened up paths that were further explored by the Frankfurt School, Michel Foucault (1980; 1984; 1988; 1989; 1991a; 1991b; 1992; 1993; 2006) and many others. More recently, postcolonial studies, queer theory and poststructuralist trends in political theory have also politicized language and knowledge arguing that the ways in which objects of study such as sex/gender and the global south are approached are actually part of the problem to be addressed. Butler (1990; 2003), Laclau (2003; 2004) and Said (2003b) in particular were helpful in my BA years to explore politics from a ‘cultural’ perspective. A conversation between Butler, Laclau and Žižek was especially significant (Butler, Laclau, & Žižek, 2003). Politicizing language means to politicize the academic discourse. In order to ‘fully’ understand politics, we need to explore the role that ‘our’ languages and knowledges have in them (see Chapter 1).

<sup>135</sup> Here I borrow some words from Wendy Brown’s intervention at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rrbnbmA3n5o&feature=related>

research questions about PS and power? Why it is so important for us, political scientists, to interrogate our discipline as a political object? Why am I doing this exercise of disciplinary self-critique? *What is at stake?* Why, finally, am I so attached to the idea and practice of introspection?

The intimate architecture of any academic story is always a personal one. Knowing is a lived experience that is part of life and its circumstances. At times, sharing that existential substratum with others may be productive. In other cases, quite the opposite (Bleiker & Brigg, 2010). Revealing ‘the personal’ may be obscene or analytically irrelevant. I fear more the latter than the former: I do not care that much about being perceived as obscene but *I do want to know*, I do want to contribute to knowledge. I care about knowledge-and-power because I have experienced this encounter in ways that both destroyed me and saved me. And it still does.

This chapter does not offer a ‘positivist’ search for the ultimate causes of a research project. Rather, I wish to navigate some meaningful life moments in order to engage with the story *inside* the history that my research explores. I aim to locate disciplinary introspection within personal introspection: Just another way of studying knowledge, power and politics.

## 4.2 My Dictatorship(s)

I was born in Montevideo, Uruguay at the end of a dictatorship that had horrendous consequences for the people around me. I was five years old when the transition to democracy took place in 1985. Soon after, this little country disappeared from the news for decades. Horror always leaves traces, however, and pain never goes away completely (Agathangelou & Killian, 2009; Edkins, 2003; Kellermann, 2001; LaCapra, 2009; Scarry, 1987).<sup>136</sup>

The dictatorship radically affected most of the scholars I interviewed in my research (see Chapter 3 and Ravecca, 2014). It also shaped the texture of my family life. My mother was a communist militant whose family was endangered and disrupted multiple times. Her brother and her then husband were imprisoned and tortured. My brother Daniel was kidnapped and savagely beaten. A few times he was found unconscious in random parks. My mother would sometimes receive anonymous death threat calls saying that her daughter, who was at the moment playing in the garden of the house, could suddenly disappear. We know that families are vehicles for political experience and the emotions involved (Greco & Stenner, 2013; Kellerman, 2001) and even though I did not directly experience any of these events, I did absorb a profound repulsion for the military and authoritarianism, something that travelled with me to Toronto.

Politics were everything in my family. They were more important than money and love. Money was despised while love and personal life were subordinated to the search for 'justice'. Yet I absorbed the unconditional love of my mother and that was in itself a great training for life and politics. Knowledge was also part of the repertoire of important things. I now see the violent dimension of this enlightened posture that subordinates the personal and the emotional (and, sometimes, the body). Nevertheless, I appreciated the belief that

---

<sup>136</sup> During the Uruguayan dictatorship 1973-1985 the private space and the cultural realm were disrupted (Cosse & Markarián, 1996; Gil & Viñar, 1998; Giorgi, 1995; Paternain, Ravecca, & Somma, 2005). The horrendous abuses have been abundantly proved by, among many others, the courageous document titled *Nunca Más* ("Never Again") published by an Uruguayan human rights advocacy group (Serpaj, 1989). I do not remember how old I was when I read it, but I do recall the physical experience of horror that such reading produced on me. I want to highlight an important project called "Memoria para armar" (Memory to assemble) which collects the testimonies of women who experienced the dire effects of the dictatorship. Some of these texts were performed in a series of shows by *Teatro Circular of Montevideo*. All these are efforts for 'doing something' with the experience of trauma which "takes place when the very powers that we are convinced will protect us and give us security (in this case the security forces, precisely) become our tormentors" (Edkins, 2003, p. 4).



oppression could be overcome with knowledge. Despite Nietzsche and Foucault, or perhaps enriched by them, that belief lingers in me still.

Today I realize that, for me, the dictatorship was, and still is, a bunch of stories told by others. In fact, I experienced liberal freedom all my conscious life. But those narratives were a crucial part of my reality;<sup>137</sup> they produced *many powerful emotions and thoughts*. The materiality of those memories and the pain they carry are hard to apprehend with words (Edkins, 2003; LaCapra, 2009; Scarry, 1987; Sneh & Cosaka, 2000). I grew up listening to the stories of the dictatorship, receiving traumas and treasures (traumatic treasures?): Women being savagely beaten by soldiers and fighting back with their high-heel shoes; my grandfather (a doctor, poet and politician highly idealized by my family) protecting leftist militants from right-wing mobs; and the ignorance of the *milicos* who solemnly declared that “our society should be protected against the testicles of communism” (they meant, of course, tentacles), “Uruguay is one step behind the abyss and we should take a step forward”, “the meetings of more than one person are forbidden!” Bitter and ironic storytelling around the military’s ‘primitivism’ became a form of resistance.<sup>138</sup>

The *milicos*, I was taught, were ignorant and stupid. Interestingly, in that narrative, sometimes they (as a collective) were also *pardos (brown)*... a word that mixed class and race. I wonder now about the weird politics at place in mocking them. Somehow, when the middle-class leftist militant was tortured by a *milico*, there was a paradoxical form of inverted class struggle –so different from Chile, where the military officers were much more prestigious and richer. These two were similar and yet very different dictatorships, as I would find out a couple of decades later through my research. In any case, that weird form of racism of leftwing politics was paradoxical and confusing for me – and confusing paradox is a good starting point for theory.

I was not ‘there’ during the dictatorship, but I have many ‘memories’ of it. As a child I used to have spectacular images in my mind: tanks on the streets, soldiers everywhere hunting my mother and her *compañeros (comrades)*. It was hard to understand

---

<sup>137</sup> We can call it discourse, or language, or whichever other category we may choose. Even though they have different implications, in this context they have something relevant in common: the insight that the way that ‘reality’ is talked about is constitutive of reality.

<sup>138</sup> Trauma, as Kellermann (2001) suggests, is inter-generationally transmitted.

that ‘the mundane’ was still going on during the dictatorship and was in fact the unique reality for the vast majority of the population (some Uruguayans did not even notice the regime change!). Years later, talking to Dora, an older university classmate who was a member of the guerrillas in the sixties,<sup>139</sup> I also realized that during that period my mother and her *compañeros* were actually *young*. Until that point, I would imagine my mother, Dora and the others as they looked at that present moment, which somehow made me feel more connected with their pain and perhaps more outraged. Mine was a dislocated temporality, with all the inaccuracies of life and politics.

My family’s situation and stories forged my relationship to the official world of politics and its institutions. We were ‘the communists’ (an insult for many people at that time), dangerous subjects located at the margins of mainstream society. I also learned about the role of knowledge in power relations: Years before reading Gramsci, I was told many times that, during the dictatorship, schools at all levels became caves of indoctrination and symbolic violence. (So many stories, again. One day one of those ‘teachers’ appointed by the dictatorship, a military member without any credentials, terrified my brother Daniel and his classmates when he put his gun on the desk. A not so subtle way to show who was in charge in the classroom). After the transition to democracy, the mainstream media framed problems in terms used by the right-wing and the TV channels became another antagonist for me. The suspicious attitude and the experience of isolation did not go away.

When I was a child my mother used to recite poems to me. I have the remote memory of how awkward I used to find Gustavo Adolfo Becquer’s mannered texts. Books were a solace in a situation of relative economic deprivation and rejection of bourgeois life. They were also political allies. Knowledge was deeply appreciated at home. Even though the menu was sometimes biased (the soviet propaganda was welcomed, and I read all those dubious booklets from the communist *Editorial Progreso*), the idea that thinking and critique were part of a meaningful life was very much present, and I treasured it. Books were never forbidden and thinking was never repressed, as my extensive and obsessive reading of Marquis de Sade and Nietzsche, as well as my own book of dark poetry written in my troubled early 20s, would prove. Those were gestures *against* my family’s narrative

---

<sup>139</sup> While the Communist Party opted for a peaceful path towards revolution, other groups such as the MLN (National Liberation Movement) chose armed struggle.

but located in a register that was seen as acceptable. *That* Marxism could be turned against itself and become something different. (There is not one but multiple Marxisms, and each of them are lived experiences of oppression, liberation or both, as the long and humbling conversations with my friends from Eastern Europe and other places frequently remind me).

After the tragic period of the dictatorship, scholars massively turned to liberalism, and (liberal) ‘democracy’ became the new fetish. I turned to something else that I am still discovering. There are two issues that I feel the need to explore: what did these experiences – the dictatorship and what came after – do to me and what did they do to the discipline that I am studying. I want to know more about the encounter between these two registers and that is why I am telling this story.

I just called my mother to confirm some figures that show up in the paragraph below. I could not do so. She was heading to *feria Tristán Narvaja*, a typical market in Montevideo, to get some fresh fruits and vegetables. The background noise made the conversation difficult. Amidst the noise I could at least get one phrase clearly. She said: “in the early 1980s I was *militando* (doing political work) a lot and I used to take you everywhere”.

On December 29<sup>th</sup> of 1983 I turned 3 years old. The same day, Germán Araújo finished his famous hunger strike against political censorship.<sup>140</sup> So my birthday party ended (too) early and my mother took my sister and me to the huge and peaceful demonstration organized for his support. Unexpectedly, it was brutally repressed with horses and *chanchitas*.<sup>141</sup> Someone in the crowd screamed that they were shooting and panic spread. We ran; we ran so much. We ended up in front of the closed doors of a *parrillada* (barbecue restaurant) called Taití. A tall guy took me in his arms to protect me. The soldiers were coming. My mother was holding hands with my scared sister. I guess I

---

<sup>140</sup> Germán Araújo (1938-1993) was a Uruguayan journalist and politician. He was the director of *CX 30 The Radio*, from which he systematically opposed the right-wing military regime (1973-1985). His speeches on the radio became a symbol of the resistance against the dictatorship. In 1984, amidst the transition to (a precarious) democracy, Araújo was elected senator by a coalition of leftist groups identified with the number 1001, member of an even larger progressive coalition called the Broad Front, which eventually won the national elections 20 years later. He was a ferocious critic of the *Ley de Caducidad* (Expiry Law) which prevented judges from persecuting human right violations perpetrated by the military. He was a constant presence in the conversations of my family during my childhood.

<sup>141</sup> Chanchitas (little female pigs) was the popular name of the armored vehicles used by the military for repressing and sometimes kidnapping.

was scared too. We did not know what was going to happen. Everyone was pushing the door and screaming to the owner: “please open the door, open the fucking door!” Finally the door was opened and that particular crowd, us included, escaped the beating batons.

After writing the paragraph above I could finally have a conversation with my mother without the annoying background of Tristán Narvaja’s unpleasant noises. And it seems that my story makes several mistakes! I am conflating two different situations. In one of them I was present; in the other one I had not even been born yet. According to my mother everything is ‘true’, but the sequence and characters of the events are mixed. Should I go back and ‘correct’ the story? Is that really the point?<sup>142</sup> It seems to me that others remember things about us that we forget or never knew. I am not thinking only of ‘information’ but also about ‘representation’. The other carries pieces of us. The other’s unique reading of us contributes to our uniqueness in the world. We are singular only because we are among others, as Hannah Arendt told me numerous times during those endless hours of class preparation in the tiny garage of the old Institute of Political Science (*ICP*) house that served as reading space – the precariousness of the Uruguayan public university. (I was 25 years old when I started teaching Contemporary Political Theory, a challenging course that closes the BA in Political Science). When someone who knows you dies, a version of yourself dies with her. And because you could never know that version of yourself completely, now you cannot be certain about which part of you just died: our own death does not belong to us, and it goes unnoticed. Without others we simply cannot exist. We know all these things already (and smart people have taught us about them, from Aristotle to Arendt) but in this text that I am writing now I want to experience and *feel* theory. Because *experiencing and feeling theory* is theoretically and politically relevant. Happily, my mother is alive and her version of the past expands and complicates my own and vice versa. The workings of memory matter because the ways in which I remember have effects on the affects and thoughts that shape my politics – subjectivity and social relations encounter in our memories and nightmares. The story I just told above did happen

---

<sup>142</sup> I now wonder if ‘narrative’ with its positivist tendency towards factual reconstruction and its well organized way of saying (even when it tries to portray discontinuity and rupture) can be reflexive enough (Edkins, 2003; Hamati-Ataya, 2014). I choose then a different direction. *The direction of unfolding questions and exploring meanings. And of mixing narrative, theory and ‘science.’*

*to me*. It is about my family, Uruguay, the discipline, myself, and I remember it. I will not correct it. *Not now*.

I also remember seeing my mother crying in front of our black-and-white TV. “El voto verde” (the green vote) lost the referendum against the Expiry Law, and this meant that the Uruguayan population decided not to judge human rights violations committed by the dictatorship. It was 1989, and I was 8 years old. We hugged and I could feel her pain in my chest. State terrorism democratically sanctioned: how to make sense of that? What kind of feelings and questions were opened that day? Abuse and impotence were the markers of the dictatorship, and the transition to liberal democracy extended that profound trauma and sense of betrayal. Social justice, kicked on the head countless times by the military boots, was now abandoned in agony by the establishment of liberal democracy.

My professors did not problematize the quality of the democracy that left my mother crying and trembling. They were also traumatized: the pain that the dictatorship imprinted on bodies and souls transformed political scientists’ relationship to socialism and liberal democracy. The former was despised; the latter was worshipped. They blamed ‘radicalism’, in academia and beyond, for contributing to political polarization and the collapse of our democracy. They blamed the political left for its obsession with equality and for not caring enough about ‘the rule of law’. In other words, my professors, many of them with a leftist past, felt ideologically and politically guilty. They became liberal and elitist. They celebrated the same political parties that, in the name of protecting democracy, prevented judges from doing their job.

Liberalism is always raping itself... it seems to consistently violate its own principles to favor the powerful. At its core, it is still the ideology of proprietors (Losurdo, 2011). In post-transition Uruguay, private property rights and the military were protected and order and stability imposed. That sacred ‘rule of law’ celebrated by my professors was the rule of injustice. And it was this (self-)violence that made me obsessed about the “Politics of Political Science.”

### **4.3 Straight PS**

Urvashi Butalia says that we need to have “the language to describe our own experience, to make sense of it” (Butalia, 2000, p. 200). But for me there were no words for many years.

In a personal world so full of books and eloquent phrases there was no one single (allowed) word to name my experience. When I was 16 years old, in one of our first sessions, Cristina, my psychoanalyst, said a frightening one: “homosexuality”. I covered my mouth with my hands and shouted: “Oh no!” The vocabularies for healing would be slowly, slowly crafted. In my early 20s I wrote a piece for *Brecha*, a prestigious weekly in Uruguay, in which I could finally put words to my experience and circumstances. The publication of this text was a special moment for me (years later, in the same weekly I published an article on “The politics of political science”, another self-reflexive exercise). Cristina still sometimes refers to that piece in our Skype sessions. “Au commencement, il y a l'injure” (Eribon, 2001, p. 29). *L'injure*, insisted Didier Eribon, and his book spoke to me, about me. And a simple book review became a manifesto; a text coming from deep inside of me but crafted for others.<sup>143</sup>

In the first place there is the polymorphous attack, states Eribon, and there is the injury. *In the first place there is the injury.*<sup>144</sup> Humiliation creates a very disturbing kind of pain that leaves you in deep solitude. The residues of shame and guilt for not being strong enough to defend yourself accumulate somewhere and poison you – you cannot defend yourself from homophobia because you are guilty, because they are saying the truth: *you are the injury*. The location of the forces that attack you is so unclear... outside or inside? Both?

Marxism, for me, was homophobic and queer at the same time.<sup>145</sup> *I made it queer*. Something similar can be said about Uruguayan secularism and rationalist culture. My

---

<sup>143</sup> About the operations of homophobia in Uruguay see Ravecca (2010c; 2013); Ravecca and Sempol (2013); Sempol (2008; 2010), and especially Sempol (2013).

<sup>144</sup> What matters here is the experiential appropriation of Eribon’s work, not the assessment of how ‘queer’ or ‘radical’ his book is. Books are *biographical* creatures.

<sup>145</sup> Eley (2002)’s historical work shows that — in Europe — left-wing forces have traditionally been indifferent and sometimes even hostile towards feminist and anti-colonial struggles. The Southern American experience was not different and the Uruguayan left was not exceptional. In fact, discrimination against ‘homosexuals’ was a common practice in moderate and radical left-wing groups, even after the transition to democracy in the mid-1980s (Sempol, 2008; Sempol, 2010). My family was active in the (sometimes subtly, sometimes not so subtly) homophobic Communist Party and, as a child, I heard stories about ‘homosexual’ comrades being almost expelled by their fellows. I remember my mother saying that she and others protested against that because “it was unfair.” I remember another comment about a gay militant who, against all expectations, did not betray the party when he was caught and tortured by the military. He resisted the torture without ‘talking’ and everyone was surprised. The framework of this story is problematic from every angle and it is very revealing of the type of othering to which queers were subjected by ‘progressive’ families and political groups. In terms of theory, while in 1935 Sigmund Freud told a mother that the homosexuality of her son was not an illness (Freud, 1951, pp. 786-787), close in time Antonio Gramsci’s conservative reflections on the

family's discourse on justice and aggressive atheism were definitely helpful when I came out to them. I could mobilize their vocabulary to challenge them; their own beliefs worked in my favour. If they were defenders of the marginalized, the poor and the weak, if they were against dogmatism and on the side of science, how could they oppress me? I remember sharing with my mother the letter Freud wrote to another mother of a 'homosexual', saying that homosexuality was not an illness. In contrast Gramsci, who would soon become so fundamentally helpful in challenging my professors' very conception of politics, was a foe of 'sodomites'. I would later write "Fuck you" many times on the sides of the pages of the Prison Notebooks. Yet, my love for Gramsci persisted, which in itself is a sign of the complexity of politics and affects. At the end, the violent modern rationalism of Uruguayan communism, mediated by Freud, proved to be queer-able.<sup>146</sup> My family changed along with the country's transformation, becoming more and more accepting. At the beginning it was difficult. Full acceptance took time and I guess it is always on its way.<sup>147</sup> I always felt loved and that is perhaps what matters the most.

Meanwhile, mainstream PS in Latin America is obsessed with democratic institutions and political tolerance but, like the 'antidemocratic' left that it (self) critiqued so harshly, it is also quite homophobic: sexuality is not material for democracy neither in theory nor in practice. Homophobia within PS has been, for me, a lived experience rather than an abstract entity...

It was the first time that I was attending the *ICP's fiesta de despedida del año* (New Year's party). I had just started working there 10 hours a week and my (symbolic) salary was around US\$100 a month. I was 24 or 25 years old. For me it was a big deal: I was becoming an academic and being there was a sign of this huge achievement. I was also uncomfortable and nervous: male political scientists, and perhaps especially in those times, tended to be aggressive and assertive. I can handle that very well today. I perhaps became

---

"sexual question" described homosexuality as a "bestiality" (Gramsci, 2008, p. 295). Marxism is of course a complex body of practice and theory and, if it has indeed marginalized subjects and struggles, it also has its own margins. Anderson (2010); McNally (2002), the relevant tradition of marxist feminist thinking and political economy (Hennessy, 2000) and the recent call for more collaboration between queer and Marxist perspectives (Floyd, 2009; Sears, 2005), among countless others, are signs of this complexity. Because of all of this, Marxism is homophobic and queer at the same time.

<sup>146</sup> A seemingly strange strategic ally if we think of the critique that feminist and queer theory have later made of psychoanalysis. Theories and names lack essence but have history.

<sup>147</sup> This statement, I think, should be read in isolation from the "gay issue" for it to reach its complete theoretical and political potential.

one of them in some way. (Something has always caught my attention: how many women perform *within* PS a sort of masculine assertive academic identity. I know that my observation is problematic –why should I assume that women are ‘feminine’; what does that mean? – and yet, both in academic approaches and personal interaction I have observed this so many times: Feminists, as Niki Johnson<sup>148</sup> mentioned to me in an interview, have to be tough and good on charts and numbers to become respectable! *Within mainstream PS the macho rational choice boy is a centrifugal force that has the power of crafting his surroundings*). In any case, in those years I was very vulnerable.

At some point, a senior colleague, an extreme version of the rude political scientist alpha male, said that he did not understand why faggots in the university did not *confess*. This reminded me of the declaration of “Democratic Faith” that the dictatorship pushed on the people, and the classification of subjects performed through the categories A, B and C. Being assigned a C meant that you were a threat to the nation and an undesirable subject. Now we were in democratic times, but for this ‘progressive’ and liberal academic, I was a C. I had to *confess* that I was queer. I remained in silence: a silenced silence. At our table was an older man that I thought to be gay. I did not know if the ‘joke’ was directed to me, to him, to both of us or was just another ‘random’ bullying comment. The older man and I did not build any solidarity. We just could not do anything. The horrific feeling of transparency assaulted me, again: the childhood fear and anxiety of entering the classroom. Of going to my high-school. To school. To the Institute of Political Science.

Homophobia – inside and outside – affected my way of being a political scientist in those years. It dictated with whom I would engage intellectually in the department and with whom I would speak for any purpose. Those were not free choices. Marginalities frequently magnify each other: my theoretical preferences (let’s say, Foucault over Anthony Downs) and my lack of enthusiasm for liberal democracy were somehow other forms of academic ‘queerness’. The space of PS has warning signs and one-way roads and that is not just about dominant ideology and liberalism. Our discipline’s ‘sexuality’ is an extension of the aggressive masculinity of politics. The fact that the PS I was taught by my professors would never reflect on the regulation of identities and bodies that affected my life so much made me suspicious of it. Was PS a place of de-politicization? Was PS a space and discourse for

---

<sup>148</sup> A feminist scholar who lives and works in Uruguay.



the naturalization of the status quo (political and sexual)? The mainstream of my discipline needs a political and ‘sexual’ critique, and that is why I am writing the Politics of PS.

Years later, I would even collaborate with the bully in panels and other academic spaces. Our conversation has changed; Uruguay has changed. I think he changed. But overall I did. Today we have a Gender and Sexual Diversity section in the *ICP*. I teach queer theory in one of my courses, and I critique gay marriage (approved by the Uruguayan Parliament in April 2013) and its neoliberal cooption. PS does not critique liberal democracy in Uruguay, but the intolerance against critical views has also weakened. Personal and social changes reshaped power relations, inside and outside. For me, self-exploration, psychoanalysis, and critical theory made the words appear, and stay. Silence, along with the body – the very ‘infrastructure’ of our human existence – also started to mean something different. One day I want to write about critical theory *and* yoga (one of the many gifts that Toronto gave me).

I learned the register of love and care from my mother. Politically speaking, I think that register is also the one of compassion vis-à-vis a cold ethicality. Homophobia is like a war that destroys your infrastructures of love. Until very recently many of us were denied the possibility of love and having a home that transcends your mother, your friends, your cat. The impossibility of love is highly political: it is socially produced – also by closeting forms of PS and those theories that naturalize this specific form of oppression (homophobic Marxism included). The terrain of emotions and affections has been conquered by many of us. Space has been expanded, inside and outside. In recent years the Toronto-Montevideo dialectics of my existence has expanded and nuanced even more my range of movement and experience.

À *propos*, Real de Azúa, the great intellectual and *father* of Uruguayan PS (see Chapter 3) was a ‘homosexual’ (in his time, ‘gay’ was not part of our vocabulary).<sup>149</sup> I remember my deep smile, when I learned this in 2007, in an informal conversation after a seminar at CLAEH,<sup>150</sup> where I had to talk about him. “I knew it”, I thought. “The tortured

---

<sup>149</sup> Carlos Real de Azúa (1916-1977) is one the most relevant Uruguayan thinkers. In classrooms and academic forums he is acknowledged as the “father of our PS” for his sharp historical and political analyses. His books are essential to understand any aspect of Uruguayan society. See for instance Real de Azúa (1984).

<sup>150</sup> The Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (Latin American Center of Human Economy, CLAEH) is a private center for higher education and research in Uruguay, inspired by Christian and progressive ideals. During the dictatorship, the public institutions for education were under the scrutiny of the

sinuosity of his writing was always saying something else”. And, afterwards, I walked up along Zelmar Michelini Street (another man killed by the dictatorship) to join the annual (sexual) Diversity March in the center of the city.

#### 4.4 Love for PS and its Complicated Geographies

The starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is ‘knowing thyself’ as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory.

Antonio Gramsci (2008, p. 324)

In the United States, some canonic PS authors such as Almond and Verba praised the American democracy as the most civic and humane in the world, actively ignoring the horrors of racial segregation at home and imperialism abroad (Almond & Verba, 1963). At the other end of the Americas, Uruguayan PS was institutionalized later, after the democratic transition of 1985 (Buquet, 2012; Garcé, 2005). None of my professors had any sympathy for the military government that, with the support of the US, oppressed Uruguayans from 1973 to 1984. Many of them had in fact a history of engagement with left-wing organizations and were traumatized by the dictatorship and the collapse of the Soviet Union. They then radically embraced liberalism and (American) pluralism.<sup>151</sup> They tried to undo their dogmatic past with another dogma. I still get upset when I think about the absurdity of the enterprise. Someone told me that they escaped the ‘Marxist Church’ that contributed to political polarization. And I replied... and then you quickly jumped into another temple, which contributed to neoliberalism and injustice.

During the 1990s, and along with the consolidation of US hegemony in the region, a narrow discourse of moderation and reasonability appeared. Neo-positivist and liberal PS occupied a parcel of the privileged space of ‘*the center*’, getting both *political credit as democratic and epistemological credit as objective science* – a rare mix of conveniences! Marxism and socialism were rejected and ridiculed by the media and in the classrooms. Liberalism can become Stalinist in its own way and it indeed did so (Guilhot, 2001).

---

military. CLAEH was an important refuge for social research and academic life. It is still a very active institution.

<sup>151</sup> There is consensus regarding this, as it is shown by the set of interviews analyzed in the previous chapter.

Dogmatic liberalism proved to be as intellectually oppressive (and boring) as simplistic forms of Marxism (Rico, 2005). This outcome of history and politics did not help to expand the thinking and the political imagination in Uruguay.

I have loved PS since the day I set foot in the School of Social Sciences of the University of the Republic, the main (and public) university of Uruguay. Knowledge was, and still is, precious for me. But I also started thinking that PS was at times quite oppressive. My professors celebrated the quality of our democracy, even when their beloved “political system” decided not to judge the crimes of the powerful. This was painful for me.<sup>152</sup> Those same crimes could have killed my mother, as they indeed killed other mothers. I still remember her face of devastation when the electorate decided not to prosecute human rights violations, a decision promoted by Julio María Sanguinetti, our president, in the name of the ‘ethics of responsibility’: our democracy was menaced by the potential return of the military into power, so the responsible thing to do was to acquiesce to the situation and renounce justice. Thus, within the dominant narrative, one of my favourites, Max Weber, became a weapon as Nietzsche or Marx did several times in the twentieth century. My professors did not have the language to problematize this discourse. They lacked the words; the only available words were those of the powerful.<sup>153</sup>

Scholars’ bodies and subjectivities are involved in theoretical and epistemological transformations. The trafficking of dogmatic liberalism (again, a liberalism ready to betray its tenants if stability and order are, presumably, at stake) under the table of ‘objective science’ was a symptom of guilt and trauma that fed the machine that re-traumatized people, including myself. The killing and torturing<sup>154</sup> done by the dictatorship affected both scholars (and therefore scholarship) and my family. At the same time, PS participated in a

---

<sup>152</sup> As one of my interviewees said, in a self-critical tone, (after the transition) “we sang praises to the Uruguayan political system” (Interview U8).

<sup>153</sup> Trauma undermines language and speech (Edkins, 2003; Sneh & Cosaka, 2000).

<sup>154</sup> In Ravecca (2014), I refer to torture as a material act with powerful ‘theoretical’ effects. The body (in this case the tortured and the expelled one) is a site of ‘theory,’ as Foucault and Marx showed in different ways. While torture was applied to ‘individual’ bodies, the effects were collective and extensive. The tortured/disappeared body of the socialist militant performed the theoretical act of eradicating “socialism” as a thinkable political aim. Put torture in this way, the boundary between theory, experience and the body collapses: there is “porosity” between these realities. The interpretations (from center-left to right) of the collapse of the democratic system reproduce *the act of torture* (of people and “socialism”) at the level of discourse. The victim is guilty. Torture and pain were the result of embracing socialism.

public discourse that affected my family while my family affected my way of ‘being in’ PS. They both inhabit the same history and here they encounter in the same story.

In theoretical (but somehow very material) terms, the very definition of politics that mainstream PS holds is violent, exclusive and it invisibilizes the painful (collective) experiences of many. The expansive conception of politics showed up, we have to remember, to unpack forms of oppression that remain undetected by only looking at electoral systems, elections and public policy. Queer theorizing (Butler, 1990) had thus to come, *from outside my own discipline*, to help me to politicize my own (queer) experience of oppression as well as to reclaim the classroom and the academic meetings as a space that I could legitimately, and genuinely, inhabit. PS is a human activity (Marx, 1978a) done by people. The homophobic and sexist conditions in which our activity is performed (not only or mainly in Latin America) do matter. PS is still white, male, and straight (Breuning & Sanders, 2007; Trent, 2009; Trent, 2012; Brettschneider, 2011; Smith, 2011).

*Contemporary paradox accumulation:* Toronto did not rescue me from homophobia at home, as most people usually assume when I tell them that I come from Montevideo. Discrimination and acceptance are evenly distributed between these two cities and, in fact, my social circle ‘there’ is more open-minded than many people ‘here’. What neoliberal Toronto offered me, along with its fascinating cosmopolitan fabric, was... Marxism and other critical theories. While Uruguayan academic Marxism has been decimated, York University has been an epistemological and theoretical refuge where I learned that another type of PS is possible and that critical theory is alive. Ironically, the political left in Uruguay is much more powerful and *developed* – labels are never innocent or harmless – than the Canadian. The streets of Montevideo have traces of Marxism and class politics everywhere. Toronto doesn’t... or at least it doesn’t in the same way. Bizarre and primitive conservative Rob Ford would be unthinkable as Montevideo’s mayor because people there are, at least in relative terms, politically cultivated. Without Uruguay and its wonderful public *and free* university, Toronto and York would not have been the same for me.<sup>155</sup> Words are helpless in organizing the multiple times, spaces and contradictory experiences

---

<sup>155</sup> I am also immensely grateful to the amazingly dense cultural fabric of Uruguay – from the Cinematheque, where I watched movies from all over the world since I was a teenager, to its epic theatre companies, to its small and friendly bookstores, where another version of the political was always available to me. This relates to what Amparo Menéndez-Carrión calls the “Uruguayan polis,” which is under threat today (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015).

that sustain a perspective. “The Politics of Political Science” lie on a fluid geographical and theoretical place, ‘always-in-between,’ that I am not able to fully capture.

Different vocabularies – from Marxism to queer theory, to post/anticolonial thought – have helped me to put words to the fact that academia is never ‘outside’ power (Alexander, 2005; Said, 2003b). These theories sometimes treat each other with violence. I have seen them doing great and regrettable things. Privilege is a moving constellation and heroes do not exist. Every subject (‘workers’, ‘gays’, ‘women’, ‘people of color’) can be the locus of oppression. All of these theories and constructs, however, helped me to challenge dominant PS and its narrow liberal, elitist and, at the end, pro-capitalist narratives.

Our ‘science’ belongs to history and to politics and, thus, *through the critical analysis of PS we can better understand the politics of the time*. Knowledge is involved in power from ‘the personal’ to ‘the social’. Knowledge has a material history. Or, as Naeem Inayatullah suggested to me: knowledges *are* material history. Sometimes they are grounded in the body; sometimes they move in more abstract registers, but they are always linked to power and its materiality. PS is also (part of) our material history. Knowing the ways of knowing is a powerful way of (re)knowing the object known. By this meta-navigation through the mediations performed by official knowledge – by dismantling their positivities and unpacking their silences – one can better understand power itself.

Does all of this mean that our discipline is not lovable? Let me go back to ‘story’ to tackle this question. My grandfather was a center-right wing politician and powerful figure in his *departamento*. His daughter, my mother, moved to the capital when she was 16 and became a communist. They loved and accepted each other and my mother still has an inflated, sometimes even annoying, admiration for him. In her eyes my grandfather was a wise man. And, yet, she could still radically disagree with him to the point that in the local elections she supported the leftist opposition. Once, my mother cried while staring at her dad’s name and “big and beautiful picture” on the ballot paper... she did not vote for her beloved father. After that, she transferred her formal residence to her actual address in Montevideo and thus to another electoral circumscription, where the ideological adversaries were outside the family. Luckily she did not have to face that dilemma again. I felt so much respect for her when she told me this story. She cried, yes, but she did what she thought she

had to do and that was, for me, a precious lesson on politics, difference, acceptance and love. It was also a lesson about knowledge: The critique of knowledge comes from the love for knowing.<sup>156</sup> Cannot we feel empathy for PS and critique it at the same time? Are narrow corporatism and blind defense, or rejection and resentment, the only choices available?<sup>157</sup>

## 4.5 PS for PS

The opening anecdotes of this chapter remind us that power travels through the Nation-State(s), sexuality(ies) and academic disciplines without caring about the conceptual boundaries that we trace between them. Narrative as a form of writing is political and epistemological because it can pull back together what ‘analysis’ separates. By restoring the integrity of the socially concrete (Marx, again), writing and reading stories may perhaps become a powerful way of reclaiming ‘free movement’ in theories, classrooms, airports and further beyond. Introspection is a desperate need for both people and sciences. And self-reflexive, theoretically informed narrative may become an antidote against a reactionary (academic) ‘we’ formation.<sup>158</sup>

## 4.6 *Addendum* (?) beyond (?) Trauma. Horror *in* the Body of Thought: Undoing Harm

"Wo Es war, soll Ich werden"

Sigmund Freud

“To be radical is to grasp the root of the matter. But for man, the root is man himself”

Karl Marx

---

<sup>156</sup> A highly philosophical exercise: philosophy may be understood as the critique of thinking and, therefore, of truth (Foucault, 1998, p. 12). Such a critique is *the practice* of the love for knowledge and truth. And introspection, I would argue, is part of the philosophical way of relating to the world, including of course the internal one. *The critique of our families, disciplines and ourselves. The critique of our critique.*

<sup>157</sup> A way to answer this question is to clarify that I have been heavily involved with *RUCP* as assistant editor for some time now. The same journal I critically engaged with in Chapter 3.

<sup>158</sup> Autobiography may: 1. involve theoretical awareness and density; 2. show, not only the power effects of knowledges, but also how subjects confront, navigate and mobilize knowledges in transformative ways (agency within knowledge-power relations); and 3. deploy a multilayered self-consciousness that problematizes the reification of the self that autobiography risks to imply.

My way of reading knowledge/power dynamics and my conception of the politics of political analysis come from *somewhere else*. Certainly, my aim is not to unfold a reifying narrative about ‘the origins’<sup>159</sup> that would (re)insert linearity into the “trauma time” (Edkins, 2003), concealing the contingency of this intellectual enterprise. However, there is a point in my experience that changed everything for me, maybe because of its “intrinsic” significance; perhaps because of its social implications. Either way, I think and feel that it is *politically* relevant to engage with that event here. I have to confess that I was going to omit this from the dissertation. It was the extensive reading of the literature on trauma that finally convinced me about how powerful it may be to connect the questions around the politics of academic knowledge to this specific event of my personal trajectory. Thus, if in the previous section I delineated a sort of “intimate architecture” of my research project, I think that this “addendum” opens up the possibilities of digging deeper into the very foundations of such architecture.

In 1993 I came back from spending eight months with my oldest brother in Europe. He, as thousands of Uruguayans, had been an ‘economic exile’ since I was 9. The trip had failed in rebuilding our relationship. Our family was dealing with the tensions created by the issues we had during my visit. I was 13 years old now. I do not remember why I decided to visit my siblings’ father. My mother and he had been separated for many years and they never had a good relationship. But he still was somehow part of my family (maybe, on some level, he was a phantom of the male parental figure that I always lacked). I visited him at his place in my old neighborhood. That day *what happened with my siblings’ father*, as I would call that event for many years, *happened*. I remember running out from the dark apartment and going straight to my sister’s place. I do not know how I managed to tell her, but I did. I still do not know how to make sense of that night (or was it an afternoon?).

When my mother arrived home, she was looking very elegant and smelling wonderfully, as usual. When she tried to hold me I shouted “please don’t touch me, I’m dirty!” *I was somehow performing*. I felt that what had happened was my fault, and given

---

<sup>159</sup> An operation despised by Nietzsche (Foucault, 1992).

that I was guilty of the family tragedy about to come, I needed to exaggerate. But what was exactly being exaggerated? I actually did not know what I was feeling or what I was supposed to feel. I only knew that what had just happened was wrong and that I was hurting my mother and destroying my family. I was certain that they would choose and protect *me* and somehow expel and punish *him*: I was confusedly guilty for *that*. I felt as if I were lying about everything: my language was a lie. Where was the dirt? Had I fulfilled an obscure desire to take their father away too?

Harm in its purity –that is what I discovered that day. I just do not have the words to name this. I cannot organize this conflation of times, spaces and emotions. Since *what happened with my siblings' father* happened I have always had a sort of estrangement with my own feelings and desires.

My mother and my sister supported me in a radical, visceral way. My brothers chose silence. They only said that I did not have any responsibility for what had happened and, after some months, decided to resume their relationship with their father, something that my mother and my sister could not understand.<sup>160</sup> I did not know what to think, and *how to think*, about that. I am still figuring it out but around the whole situation there is a blind spot that seems to be unthinkable. I know that I will always be trying to grasp an unnamed area where (my) thinking cannot be. Nobody ever blamed me (but myself, so everyone did). From my family to my therapy the mobilized script sentenced “abuse”, and I came to terms with such a notion. For a long, long time it was very hard for me to understand that I was not guilty. I think that I will never fully understand it. There are knowledges that cannot be known.

How could this *communist hero*, imprisoned by the dictatorship for many years, do what he did? My brothers found a consoling explanation: alcoholism. My mother and my sister rejected the hypothesis, and articulated the situation in a radically alternative manner: pedophilia. Sometimes I think that he tried to destroy my mother. The politics of naming and narrative, again.<sup>161</sup> I cannot go into his mind and body. I do not feel the need to make sense of him anymore. I can only try to make sense about this for myself. The very

---

<sup>160</sup> Now, as I wonder about how they lived this experience, an awareness of otherness and a feeling of compassion expands.

<sup>161</sup> In this case this aphorism, somehow extreme, applies: “In the animal kingdom, the rule is, eat or be eaten; in the human kingdom, define or be defined” (Szasz, 2004).



possibility of thinking (and, therefore, of being) would become a problem for me: the very experience of trauma. *I have to conquer thinking every day.* My extreme forms of marking up texts enact my struggle to be able to think in spite of the wounds (see Figure 14). Yet, strange and paradoxical as it may sound, this traumatic experience opened up countless possibilities *for* thinking and creation thanks to psychoanalysis, critical theory, and love. Abuse, trauma and beauty meet in forms that we need to hide.

Indeed, today I read this event as a sharp lesson on power, theory and knowledge. *What happened with the father of my siblings* has become a lesson on power relations and the volatile nature of names and structures of moral intelligibility; and it also taught me about the role of knowledge, thinking and language in struggle (note how I name this event even today). That day confronted me with a difficult aspect of the human condition: the point where the good-evil divide becomes blurry (Dauphinee, 2013). Again, and again: a Communist hero imprisoned by the evil military abused me. What are the deep meaning and the full implications of *that*? My family, where so much love was available for me, could not protect me. And later PS (at least the one that I first encountered) would declare that this (the private sphere) is not political (and therefore, it does not matter) and thus we do not need to talk about it.

A main lesson for life and politics. Those who represent the good can hurt you. They can kill you; or they may push you to kill yourself. “*Los representantes de la luz construyen patibulos*”/ *The representatives of the light build gallows*, I would write many times as an adolescent. You can be hurt by socialists, sometimes in the name of socialism. My siblings’ father inoculated me with torture and innocence died for me that day. Desire was obscured. Marquis de Sade (1975; 1977a; 1977b; 1986; 1987; 1996; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; Panero, 1999) and Nietzsche (1989; 1992; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 1999d) provided me with the vocabulary and imageries that portrayed the contradictions that hurt me. I am grateful to “horror” and “darkness” because they were such powerful sites for thinking and creation for me during an important period of my life. That meant a great deal for my politics and future ways of theorizing.

I rediscovered Carlos Real de Azúa, the great Uruguayan intellectual, during the writing of this thesis. As in critical theory, for him thinking is a tool for human liberation, yes, but also a tool *for the liberation of/from the “partial liberations”* (Real de Azúa, 1973)

(see Chapter 3).<sup>162</sup> This insight is, for me, mind-blowing. The partial liberations change in history of course. They may be called democracy, communism, feminism, anti-racism, social justice, etc., etc. *Every* theory and position has its own economy of violence: theories are emancipatory and oppressive at the same time, and thus critique is *always* needed. I learned this from the father of my siblings, and I am somehow grateful to him.

The experience of trauma showed to me how knowledges are intrinsically part of power, abuse and resistance. Inside the individual, within the family and in larger communities, including the Nation-State, there are always knowledges battling. Power relations connect the dots from child abuse to the power of nation-state(s), to “the market” (let us not forget “the market” as a site of abuse). Not only because all of these forms of domination are sexualized and complicate desire, but also because they show how political knowledge and narration are. From the justifications of domestic violence to the technical excuses for austerity measures, whatever the site is, when power happens there is a war between views – sometimes a narrative hosts a war within.

Introspection (in the plain sense of self-reflection) is crucial if we do not want our knowledge practices to be part of abuse. In other words, I conceptualize introspection as a way out from the position of the abuser. This is a highly political insight if we think of it *as* political. Today, Friday, August 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015 the American Psychological Association is discussing its role in torture in the context of the war on terror.<sup>163</sup> A few days ago, I attended the Latin American Political Science Association Conference in Lima. During my visit to some of the historical sites, I learned about the role of prestigious American universities in stealing Incan treasures from Perú. My own abuser tried to convince my family that I provoked the situation (I was lucky: many *many* families support the adult and

---

<sup>162</sup> The sentence can be interpreted in two ways: that critique may protect ‘us’ *from* the partial liberations or that critique may liberate partial liberations from themselves. Even though both go in the same direction of the crucial role of critical thinking within politics, I opted for the latter, because it does not stress “negative freedom” (the individual *versus* projects of liberation). Indeed, in my interpretation, self-critique makes radical politics more emancipatory but not “less radical”. The original in Spanish reads: “la teoría política latinoamericana tiene que preocuparse por servir, en tanto el destino de toda ciencia y toda cultura es ser función de las necesidades del hombre, arma para la liberación del hombre y aún liberadora de sus parciales liberaciones”. This piece was written in 1973, the same year of the *coup d’état*. Such encounter of theory and history is very powerful: Real de Azúa reflects about the different forces, from left to right, that obliterate the possibility of thinking and, therefore, of freedom. He would die in isolation in 1977 in a context of state repression.

<sup>163</sup> For a very careful and serious report on this see Democracy Now:  
<http://www.democracynow.org/2015/8/7/headlines>

silence the child). In all of these cases, there is a knowledge that needs to be created in order to open up the space for thinking and confronting the powerful knowledge that justifies oppression (sometimes in the name of its opposite).

Oppression comes from unexpected places from the ‘private’ to the ‘public’, and that is important for theory. Also today, in Uruguay the highly admired trade union federation (PIT-CNT) is protecting civil servants involved in the torture of “minors” (as children and youth in conflict with the law are called in the country) (Corti, 2015). The same trade unions that suffered torture by the state during the dictatorship and are well-known for their heroic resistance have now a Vice-president who sanctions human rights violations. The abused children invariably come from the poorest and most vulnerable sectors of society, which makes it even more significant that a Marxist-inspired organization is the one that sentences them to death – the collective death of innocence. A part of the “turn to the left” in Latin America that should not be romanticized by any means. Partial liberations should be kept partial.

I might not have enough “theory” to articulate the next thought but I do want to make the point. The narrative of monstrous exceptions does not undo the ‘denounced’ practices and even less so their conditions of possibility. Quite the contrary. The problematic ‘exteriorizing’ of the ‘criminal’ from the social body has been critically analyzed for the case of the Holocaust (LaCapra, 2009). For instance, the issue was explored by Arendt (1999) around Eichmann’s case. The contemporary figure of ‘the pedophile’ is particularly clear to me: the notion of an evil radical-other erases the crucial question of the social gendered norms that sustain and actually normalize abuse of power. Colonialism, narratives of superiority and dynamics of prestige and power allowed universities to engage in crimes in the global south and allow African Americans to be killed by the police today. In Uruguay, widespread punitive desires close to what has been called “social fascism” (Escobar, 2004) sanctions the torture of “minors”. Paradoxically, the logic that locates the civil servants involved in such practices as criminals completely foreign to “us,” seems similar to the narrative that erases the systemic marginality in which “minors” have to survive and that partially explain their disruptive behavior. *The figure of the pedophile shares with the blaming of children that, through them, “society” (the rest of us) becomes “innocent”.*

To fully grasp the structures of oppression we need to shake the – fictional – pure exteriority between us and their crimes.<sup>164</sup> *We are the criminals. Is it possible to navigate such insight* (Dauphinee, 2013)? The demonizing and singularizing of the “criminal” by left or right remove the collective responsibility and are part of the same mechanism that erases the voice and the writing of the victims *of the present moment*. If the victims of the Holocaust were silenced at the beginning (LaCapra, 2009) today they are mobilized to silence the Palestinians. The ‘exceptionalization’ of abuse favours the powerful *of the present moment*. In other words, the persecution of the criminal whoever he or she might be (the pedophile, the capitalist, the racist, the terrorist, the minor) is also a dangerous “partial liberation” (de Azúa, 1973) that needs to be critically addressed. Sadly, it seems that ‘power’ can be analytically dismantled only after it ‘happens’. While a power dynamic or a form of domination is unfolding, academia and society brutally repress any attempt to antagonize it. Confronting dominant biases is regarded as biased, as “ideological”. Being on the side of the victims *of the present moment* is frequently seen as even obscene and distasteful. Critical reflection seems to arrive too late. This text also arrives too late and embodies such a tragedy.

Opening the space for critique is the opposite of fascism’s logic, whose core operation is the obliteration of thinking.<sup>165</sup> If, as Walter Benjamin (1969) taught us, it is the victors who write history, then counter-reading or re-description comes from an ethical commitment. Yet, I would add, *who “writes” the present?* Can we critically confront the new? (Buck-Morss, 2010). I am not sure but we need to try. In the way I understand such political commitment it entails the refusal to conceal complexity. Not even in the name of justice. Thinking, in order to survive, needs to be aware of its intrinsic partiality. Being critical is, from this perspective, cultivating an awareness of the historical nature of how we ask, feel and think – being aware, in other words, of the contingency of who we are (Marx, 1878a). If this ethical commitment is truly historical, it needs to be self-reflexive in order to

---

<sup>164</sup> I think that the notion of “porosity” (Buck-Morss, 2009) needs to be applied to trauma and guilt.

<sup>165</sup> The destruction of the possibility of engaging in a reflection about ourselves has taken varied historical forms, all of them connected to some kind of oppression or/and repression: neurosis and “surplus-repression” (Horowitz, 1977; Marcuse, 1974), fascism (Gramsci, 2008), positivism and *reified* formal reason (Bourdieu, 1973; Marcuse, 1974; Marcuse, 1991), subjugating knowledge dynamics (Foucault, 1993) and neo-positivist (neo)liberalism should be added to the list.

detect and maintain its own conditions of possibility (De Azúa, 1973; Butler, 2003).<sup>166</sup> De-essentializing operations do not imply a crude relativism that denies any form of universality (Buck-Morss, 2009; McNally, 2002). It is precisely the need to challenge ‘abuse’ that sustains the ‘suspicion’.

PS may benefit from engaging with its own contingencies and partialities.<sup>167</sup> How is political analysis related to the powers under study? What is being trafficked through the contemporary cheerful normative commitment with liberalism? As long as ‘democracy’ and liberalism remain unthinkable they will be the locus and the discourse where abuse ‘happens’. Indeed, “democracy,” as any other partial liberation (Real de Azúa, 1973), needs to be de-totalized. PS has been the ‘perfect’ site to explore the relationship between knowledge and power. The query expands and translates an older and more intimate question: *How could a political hero hurt me and make me hurt myself?* Names and stories (i.e. knowledge) do things to us and we do things through them. The location of that doing is always multiple and messy in time and space. Something is clear though: Interrupting reification to expand thinking, in *any* context, challenges domination. And academia is not the exception.

The location and the making of an authorial voice are consubstantial to what is authorized and – therefore – to what is and can be known. Thus, I wanted to (dis)locate myself within my research and, in searching for the tools to do so neither a rationalist methodological individualism nor a radical anti-identitarian constructivism seemed to be convincing. “The author is a shifting node in a larger and constantly moving network of experience” (Brigg & Bleiker, 2010, p. 794) and yet, as Brigg and Bleiker also suggest, we somehow know that *we are we*; that we are not someone else. The author has a voice, and is not just an arbitrary social construction; the subject is not just an accident. Foucault should

---

<sup>166</sup> This is a powerful passage: “The first step would be to recognize not only the contingency of historical events, but also the indeterminacy of the historical categories by which we grasp them” (Buck-Morss, 2009, p. 11). Historical categories that, I would add, are consubstantial to the events that they name. And we go back, once again, to Foucault and his notion of philosophy as the critique of truth.

<sup>167</sup> Besides the cliché that teaching is political, there is something about knowledge and abuse that I want to say: *Sabemos que el que no sabe puede saber cuándo el que sabe se equivoca y que es importante en la práctica docente saber eso. Hay que reconocer el derecho del que no sabe a resistir y contestar no lo que sabe el que sabe sino la posición de privilegio del saber.* (We know that s/he who does not know may know when s/he who does know is wrong. It is very important to acknowledge this in our teaching practice. We need to recognize the right of those who do not know to resist and contest, not the knowledge of the person who knows, but the privileged position of knowledge itself). The classroom, for me, is sacred.

be contextualized, dismantled. Taking him too literally is unproductive. I am not fully poststructuralist because the practice of psychoanalysis (and, in a different way, Marxism) was also too important in becoming myself. My intuitions on the self and politics lie on the never-fixed point of tension or friction between different critical theories and experiences, including the poetical. Today I am grateful to any intellectual vocabulary that helps me to heal. That is a way, my way to engage with *our* contingencies and partialities.

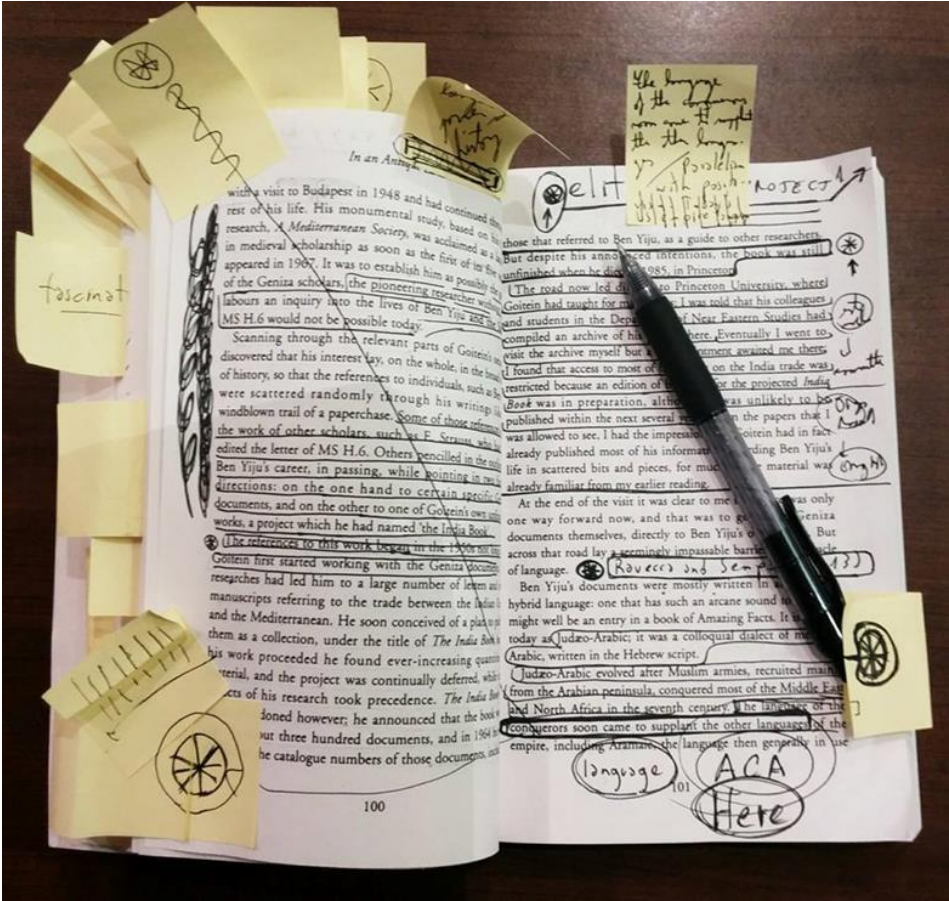


Figure 14: “The language of the conquerors soon came to supplant the other languages” (Ghosh, 1994, p. 101)

## Chapter 5: The Temperatures of Thinking and Politics – an Assemblage of Critical Theories and a Problematizing Re-*Inscription* of Political Science

This thesis is a meditation on power and knowledge; it is informed by critical theory and located within political science (PS). The reflection has been organized through a series of interlocking studies with diverse epistemologies, methodologies and methods. Epistemological pluralism and methodological discontinuity have been an important source of originality in this exercise.<sup>168</sup> Such a variety of angles and points of departure was given cohesiveness by a consistent problem of inquiry and a recurring set of theoretical questions, which have been pervasive throughout the journey.<sup>169</sup> This sort of multiple unity or unified multiplicity has been the main strength of this research on the Politics of PS (PPS).

**Chapter 1** traced the conceptual path(s) and assembled a set of critical vocabularies to talk about the politics of knowledge (and the epistemology of power) while also delineating the analytical strategies that would follow.<sup>170</sup> The piece situated self-reflection – and meta-self-reflection – as crucial in order to capture the embeddedness of our own practices and categories of knowing in the reality that is supposed to be “just” known. That a non-oppressive knowledge – to actually happen – requires critical introspection has been

---

<sup>168</sup> This study shares with Puar (2007, p. xvi) its “unhomed interdisciplinarity” and with Trent (2012, p. 161) its “hybrid specialization.” The latter requires a brief explanation: the hybrids “turn toward the exterior to learn and illuminate from advances in similar sectors in neighboring disciplines.” They “are responsible for the flourishing of knowledge” (p. 162).

<sup>169</sup> In her studies on citizenship in Latin America, Menéndez-Carrión (2002a; 2002b), following Smith (1995), rejects “mindless eclecticism”. As with Menéndez-Carrión (2015), this thesis is both modern and postmodern while consistency is provided by the problem under study.

<sup>170</sup> Marx, Nietzsche and Sade; Freud, Gramsci, Foucault and the Frankfurt School; postcolonial studies, queer theory, neo/post-Marxism, critical indigenous studies and critical disability studies, among other radical approaches and authors, share a very fundamental notion: *that knowledge and power are inseparable*. The cases of contemporary scholars who develop a self-reflexive critique of knowledge are many. The following are just a few significant examples. The critical project of Enrique Dussel problematizes modernity and science as well as the projects of civilizational superiority attached to them. Edward Said’s *Orientalism* was devoted to unpacking a mainstream body of knowledge that informs (even today) imperialist policies. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s classic “Can the Subaltern Speak?” is powerful since it shows the violences “critical theory” may incur. Judith Butler showed how knowledges on gender are not neutral. Herbert Marcuse is particularly important because he *explicitly* unpacks the connections of (American) Political Science with ‘one-dimensional’ domination. I will stop the endless list here (see Chapter 1). Inspired by all these voices, this thesis has unpacked the politics of political science and even *the politics of the narratives about the development of PS* – a political meta-epistemology (see in particular Chapter 3).

the basic epistemological *and* political insight mobilized by this thesis.<sup>171</sup> That is the deep meaning of PPS' conception of knowledge and power. I will close this thesis with a reflection on this subject.

There is a suggestive contrast between Chapter 1 and the one that follows. Indeed **Chapter 2** explored what I called Authoritarian Political Science (APS) in Chile and embodies an empirical, dry, and *cold* moment of the dissertation. However, the contrast is mostly apparent: theory was also 'there,' in each line of the text, in the ways the story was told and in how the analytical 'artifacts' were constructed. I conceive of this – “qualitative” and “quantitative” – exercise as *critical research*: critical-theory-in-action, or research based on critical theory in the sense of Horkheimer (1978). The study documented a specific and interesting phenomenon (APS) which did not exist in Uruguay and carries theoretical implications for PPS – in particular, the problematization of the relationship between liberalism, democracy and PS. The piece thus mobilized an empirical idiom that took us to an ignored chapter of the discipline's history that radically denaturalizes PS and questions the democratic *nature* of liberalism.<sup>172</sup>

**Chapter 3** globally reframed the history of PS in Uruguay. It problematized PS' trajectory as well as the ways in which the discipline's history and development have been told and written. While keeping the comparative view and extensively providing data, the chapter expanded the problematization towards the role of lived experience and subjectivity in general, and trauma in particular, within epistemological and political transformations (Edkins, 2003; LaCapra, 2009; Scarry, 1987; Sneh & Cosaka, 2000). To keep using the temperature metaphor, this was a *warmer* moment of the dissertation that took further steps towards radical introspection. Concretely, the chapter unfolded its disciplinary self-reflection by navigating the narratives of political scientists about PS' history and identity,

---

<sup>171</sup> This insight, too, is shared, explicitly or implicitly, by many critical theories and projects. Just to name a recent few that make this point the core of their argument: Alexander (2005); de Sousa Santos, Arriscado Nunes, & Meneses (2008); Buck-Morss (2009); Butler, Laclau, & Žižek (2003); Escobar, (2004); Leiva (2008); Smith (1999). Gad Horowitz (1977) argues that any scientific analyst that is not committed to the possibility of emancipation is pledged, not to reason, but to reason of established domination. I would add that, by an analogous logic, self-reflection is especially important for progressives in order to examine the consequences/implications of our own thinking, *which certainly go beyond the academic's "progressive intentions" as I will argue later in this chapter*. Self-reflection *is a strategy to avoid abuse*. For Marcuse “epistemology is in itself ethics, and ethics is epistemology” (Marcuse, 1991, p. 125). The power of this thesis lies in locating this insight within PS.

<sup>172</sup> This thesis shares with Losurdo (2011) the obsession with critically confronting liberalism and its self-representation as the champion of freedom.



linking in this way discourse analysis to the exploration of subjectivity. Thus, with Uruguay, another register of PPS was opened and engaged with. I could have paid attention to these aspects in the case of Chile – there were many progressive academics “traumatized” by the dictatorship there too – but I opted to focus on what I thought was the most intriguing and singular thing in that case (APS).

To some extent, this piece resembles Butalia (2000) and her research on the voices (and silences) of the victims of the “Partition” of India. It is a resemblance that includes limitations: both studies focus on the voice (i.e., discourse and subjectivity) ‘of others’ and keep the researcher relatively ‘safe’. There were more steps yet to be taken towards radical critique – those of *self*-critique.

Indeed. How could I critically situate the discipline and ask political scientists to think about their own position *vis-à-vis* power relations (Alexander, 2005; Grewal & Kaplan, 2001; Ghosh, 1994; Hall, 1990; Hasan, 2012; Mohanty, 1991; Said, 2003b; Schafer, Haslam, & Beaudet, 2012; Spivak, 1988; Smith, 1999) without also investing a significant amount of time and energy into carefully situating myself within ‘the problem’? Inspired by the new literature on narrative and auto-ethnography (Brigg & Bleiker, 2010; Dauphinee, 2013a; Dauphinee, 2013b; Inayatullah, 2013; Hamati-Ataya, 2014; Löwenheim, 2010) – and providing my own Marxist twist to it – **Chapter 4** started by delineating the intimate architecture of this research and concluded by digging deeper into the very *autobiographical* foundations of it. This was a *hot*, and risky, exercise. Certainly, it may cause many misunderstandings and put me in a difficult and vulnerable position: I might either burn myself with the obscene fire of personal over-exposure or be burned by others’ anger for having broken the golden rules of science.

In this regard, even though Chapter 2 and 4 are intellectual ‘siblings,’ born from the exact same theoretical questions and passion for knowing, I foresee different destinies for them. I cannot imagine the latter comfortably navigating the sea of the mainstream PS readership as the former has already been doing (Ravecca, 2015). However, both ‘cold’ and ‘warm’ were also risky in their own ways – the former may freeze you while the latter is too comfortable a temperature to complete the important task at hand. But more significantly, I am convinced of this auto-ethnography’s analytical pertinence and relevance. The piece is not *just* about me. It is about theory and politics: It is for better

grasping PPS that I engaged with my own subjectivity, materiality, and lived experience. By rigorously engaging with subjectivity, knowledge potentiates itself (Brigg and Bleiker, 2010).

This reflective exercise showed important things and opened up different and subtle questions for the reader to keep exploring if she chooses to do so: from the role of personal experience in scholarship to the multiple sites where knowledge, power and trauma operate and meet; from how to account for the integrity of the socially concrete (Bannerji, 2005) to the liberating powers of self-reflection. Such registers remain open for those who want to think with, through, and *vis-à-vis* them. There are texts that invite us to keep writing them, and I hope this is one of those. This kind of analysis is terminable *and* interminable (Freud, 1937). The risk of burn is worth it.

This thesis dug into experience and time, opening up PS' multiplicity of meaning and temporality. By challenging common sense, "objectivity," and "politically-neutral" knowledge and its reifications, it belongs to the saga of critical theory (see Chapter 1). Marxism, in particular *Capital Volume I*, and Freud's psychoanalysis have a similar structure. The former looks at the surface of "exchange" first, but in the process discovers capitalist production and its hidden violent origin of 'primitive' accumulation, located in a past that still is happening (Harvey, 2003; Harvey, 2010, pp. 304-313).<sup>173</sup> The latter unpacks symptoms that, like "exchange," are always representing *something else* and *another time* (Castoriadis, 1990; Fleming, 2005; Freud, 1929; Freud, 1986a; Horowitz, 1977; Marcuse, 1974; Robert, 2006).<sup>174</sup> These two theories denaturalize power relations by dismantling both immediate experience and time. Similarly, Nietzsche and his genealogical efforts complicated the 'obvious' division between good and evil, and showed the profound meshed roots of self-evident morals and power (Nietzsche, 1989; Nietzsche, 1999a; Nietzsche, 1999b).<sup>175</sup> For all of them thinking is profoundly political which means that it either reproduces or confronts reification (domination).

Meanwhile, this thesis went from 'cold' to 'hot'. Temperature – or more accurately, the experience of temperature – translates intensity levels in the engagement with the

---

<sup>173</sup> "(...) capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt" (Marx, 1990, p. 926).

<sup>174</sup> And both, of course, are theories against oppression and for emancipation.

<sup>175</sup> This operation can also be seen as emancipatory – I do. Marquis de Sade performed a similar operation of unmasking the "dark" side of self-evident morals in a literary fashion (1975; 1977; 1977b; 1996; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c).

interplay between the knowing subject (and, of course, her subjectivity), the study of politics (more concretely, PS) and power as such.<sup>176</sup> The awareness of the subject as a social being whose thinking is part of life and power is where emancipation starts. This has been an exercise of dismantling exteriorities by finding connections between the apparently disconnected arenas of subjectivity, knowledge, and power, where *the subject itself became a tool for the analytical objectivizing of PS' involvement(s) in power* (Chapter 4).<sup>177</sup>

Indeed, the temperature metaphor will succeed as the conceptual infrastructure for (self)reflection as long as it does *not* reinsert linearity into the project. In the same way that in capitalist societies, original accumulation, production and exchange are all *always* synchronically happening (Barlow, 2007; De Angelis, 2004; Harvey, 2003; Harvey 2010; McNally & Ferguson, 2015), the kind of ideological and 'structural' analysis offered by Chapter 2 (cold) is as relevant as the other moments of this thesis (warm and hot). "Subjectivity" can operate as a weapon of mass simplification if we do not pay attention to the *objective* determinations that affect it: The personal is political, but the personal can also depoliticize the public.<sup>178</sup> Subjectivity needs to be objectified if we want to really unpack its role within power dynamics (in other words, 'subjectivity' should not fall into subjectivism in the sense of Hamati-Ataya, 2014). Similarly, 'language' itself – devoid of the materiality of bodies – cannot grasp power entirely; in fact, it may conceal injustice (McNally, 2002).<sup>179</sup> Reification (and, therefore, oppression) comes from unexpected places. Every theory has its own economy of conceptual violence (simplification). That is why we

---

<sup>176</sup> I keep in mind the risks implied in mobilizing metaphors taken from the 'natural' world to understand social reality. In this case, however, I chose to work with the ideas of cold, warm and hot only *after* doing the research and the theoretical reflection. They serve the analytical process without limiting it in unwanted ways.

<sup>177</sup> In this way my narrative does what Hamati-Ataya (2014) argues it cannot do.

<sup>178</sup> We cannot grasp the political while ignoring the subjective and the emotional (Greco & Stenner, 2008). Conversely, we cannot apprehend the subjective, the emotional, culture, sexuality or identity without political economy (Floyd, 2001; Ahmad, 1992; Hennessy, 2000; Brown, 2002). Not everyone deserves to be loved, as Freud says somewhere, and I do not assume that the other has to care about my emotions. If this is a text of social science, it is because its goal is exploring power and knowledge dynamics, which is the basic background of PPS. Our biographies are personal and social at the same time and thus the personal may shed light on the social. *Introspective narrative is, or it may be, personally "healthy", socially productive and politically relevant.* From a social science perspective, it helps us to unpack the social dynamics of oppression in which our lives are embedded and in which we participate.

<sup>179</sup> Following McNally, those theories that forget the genitals, the labouring body and the pain of real people, have undesirable political implications. If the textual world has no exteriority, there is no exteriority of the commodity form and capitalism cannot have an end (a factual exteriority, a concrete limit): the linguistic turn in political philosophy can be seen, as McNally does, as the revival of the original idealism, but with even worse ideological effects. Thus, I basically agree with McNally on his ideological critique of (some forms of) 'post-structuralism': reality is not a bunch of texts.

need dialogue (and ‘friction’) between them (Ravecca & Upadhyay, 2013). *The PPS room needs all the temperatures of epistemology and theory*. Therefore, we (also) need ‘detached’ analysis. To use a sinecdoque: *we (also) need ‘quantification’* (Chapter 2).

This has precisely been the point of ‘complex relationality.’ Voices, registers, and methods are important and in mutual constitution which goes beyond the notion of intersectionality (see Chapter 1).<sup>180</sup> The past ‘is’ in the present and there is an underground below the surface, but *the surface ‘is’ also in the underground* and the present is in the past too. The different temperatures *do not* displace each other. Indeed, *the very notion of cold requires the other thermal stages to be intelligible and vice versa*, which means that there is a conceptual and experiential dialectical relationship between them. In other words, they are already happening in each other as in Hegel falsity is part of Truth (Hegel, 1977). The principle circulating through every thermic moment is always the same: the attempt to know, which needs such circulation and diversity to be fully unlocked. Cold, warm and hot are not ‘things’ but fluid states of a journey that tries to capture a complex reality. Meanings are flexible and therefore they require a *theoretically guided flexibility* of thinking. In aphoristic terms: *statistics and narrative go together*, which means: Chapter 2 and 4 belong to the same architecture and to the same impulse of trying to understand PPS. There is porosity (Buck-Morss, 2009) or fluidity between cold, warm and hot: the complexity of PS as a socially concrete phenomenon makes traditional epistemic thermostats collapse. Collapse of temperatures, collapse of simplification.

Power and knowledge are about the ensemble of the social relations (Marx, 1978b) of subjectivity, discourse and political economy. *PS is relations* – indeed, there is nothing more Marxist than thinking about things as “relations” (Ollman, 1971); Marx, in this way, along with Freud and Nietzsche,<sup>181</sup> is one of the masters of de-reification and therefore ‘he’ is queer. Queering in this way conceptual boundaries (Ravecca and Upadhyay, 2013; Puar,

---

<sup>180</sup> The term “intersectionality” does not capture the complexity of the register I am here talking about, which includes the psychoanalytical and temporal dimension of social experience. In this regard, I agree with Puar (2007, p. 212) in that the “intersectional model of identity (...) presumes that components – race, class, gender, sexuality, nation, age, religion – are separable analytics and can thus [be] disassembled”. My analysis is close to Puar’s notion of “assemblage” in terms of looking at “interwoven forces that merge and dissipate time, space, and body against linearity, coherency, and permanency.” However, complex relationality acknowledges durabilities and ‘structures’ because it is profoundly Marxist.

<sup>181</sup> In exactly the opposite direction of analytical philosophy, Nietzsche states that “only that which has no history is definable.” (Nietzsche, 1989, p. 80). This means that we can only understand things (including concepts) *in* history and, therefore, in relationship to other things.

2007) between subjectivity, discourse, culture and political economy opens up the possibility of a *political economy of the subject* – be that ‘self’ an individual or a collective identity like PS. This thesis took some meaningful steps in such a direction.

Indeed, this discontinuous and multiple reflection unfolded a unitary exercise which we may rename as a *problematizing re-inscription* of PS: through a re-interpretation (Geertz, 1997) and “problematizing re-description” (Shapiro, 2005) of PS’ trajectory in two concrete cases and by showing the complex relationality of factors and registers that shape this discipline, I *re-inscribed* PS into social reality and *as social reality* (which is, of course, also ‘personal’). In other words, I explored PS as a *human activity* (Marx, 1978a) from the point of view of critical theory, (neo)marxism and post-structuralist approaches (queer theory in particular). Human activities are political because they are social (Leftwich, 1986; Menéndez Carrión, 2015), because they involve people and power, and because they affect – and are affected by – other human activities. Knowledge is political because it is about power on many levels, some of which were explored by this research. That means this thesis on PPS has been a study *on politics as such*.

If we are going to confront the critical task of deeply understanding the political ‘nature’ of our times in Latin America and beyond, we need to interrogate the mechanisms through which “liberal democracy,” and implicitly, capitalism became uncontested and somehow ‘unthinkable’ (a process that at moments seems to go ‘beyond’ a Gramscian hegemony). The market economy and electoral democracy have become a dogma imposed by economic and political elites of left and right, and sanctioned by scientists, sometimes in the name of science, including PS (Alexander, 2005; Marcuse, 1991). This is something new, historically speaking. The task for critical theorists and social scientists now is to denaturalize such a narrative and to show how radically ‘historical’ and arbitrary are the categories with which we think of the world (Butler, Laclau & Zizek, 2003; Buck-Morss, 2009; Said, 2003b). Locally, the discursive shift towards the fetishization of liberal democracy (Borón, 2007; Rico, 2005) is only graspable in light of the tragic times of the dictatorship and how they were processed by society and academia. In this context, I have unpacked PS as a nodal point in the set of complex, multidimensional, and interrelated political dynamics that shaped the reality of the region and beyond.

All of this means that by identifying the conditions that shaped PS' trajectory and by showing the arbitrary foundations of *the political framework* taken for granted by the discipline in Latin America, I have contributed to an exercise of de-reification and critical confrontation of domination and dominant powers. The next section summarizes some of the main findings of PPS on a more concrete level.

## **5.1 Liberal Unthinking and the Epistemological *Desaparecidos* of 1990s Latin America**

Today, most Chilean political scientists dismiss APS. In their view, “that was not science: that was academic crap” (CH17). Their Uruguayan colleagues do not have the chance to say the same for the simple historical reason that PS did not experience a process of institutionalization during the authoritarian regime in their country. Instead, Uruguayans reject those “radical theories” – Marxism in particular – which polarized politics and contributed to the breakdown of democracy. This view is shared by most Chilean scholars too.<sup>182</sup> Thus, current mainstream PS dismisses *both* left-wing radicalism and ‘authoritarian’ scholarship, representing them – with a sort of epistemological and moral disgust – as regrettable chapters of a past that should be overcome. This operation mimics the narrative of “the two demons” (Rico, 2005; Rossal, 2005), held by mainstream political elites, where radical left and far right are equated as regressive antidemocratic forces that belong to the past and do not have a role to play in the bright future of the country.<sup>183</sup>

After the democratic transition, order, stability, moderation, and reasonability became uncontested values (the acceptance of liberal capitalism being part of the package of ‘Reason’).<sup>184</sup> Neo-positivist and liberal PS took part in this process and came to occupy the doubly privileged space of the *centre*, getting political credit for being democratic as well as epistemological credit for being objective – a rare mix of conveniences! This thesis

---

<sup>182</sup> This statement is supported by 35 interviews done with Chilean colleagues from more than 10 PS institutions. In Argentina, mainstream political scientists also hold such a perspective, but there seems to be more resistance to it (A1).

<sup>183</sup> Indeed, radicals of both sides of the spectrum have some relevant things in common, i.e. they talk about power and share an adversarial conception of politics.

<sup>184</sup> The label “transitología” (the study of transitions) refers to PS fixation with the transition from authoritarianism to democracy. This literature is a good example of the ideological stance that privileges “stability” and tends to identify conflict as a “problem” (not only of enquiry but also in political terms). (Przeworski, 1991; O’Donnell & Schmitter, 1986). Lesgart (2003) is an extensive study of such a literature.

tried to unpack such an (ideological) operation.<sup>185</sup> To understand these transformations, PPS interpretatively assembled ‘external’ factors (i.e., the dictatorship and its effects, the transition to democracy and the hegemony of the US) and ‘internal’ aspects (i.e., the separation from sociology and the need for affirmation) of the discipline. My notion of complex relationality and the (non-linear) journey through different temperatures of politics and theories attempted to capture these multiple interlocking registers of change.

There is an issue of time, memory and power here that I want to address. Marxism and APS have been actively forgotten by mainstream academia. For that reason, I call them the epistemological *desaparecidos* (the “missing”) of democracy.<sup>186</sup> These two *missings*, however, have different roles in contemporary power relations. Indeed, the legacy of APS is invisible but powerful. Mainstream PS takes advantage of APS’ absence in today’s most prestigious Chilean PS departments by avoiding talking about the historical significance of such a neoconservative discursive formation at both policy and intellectual levels (see Chapter 2). What gets conveniently *erased* is that APS participated in a broader project that reshaped Chile, its power structures and its social sciences.

Gramsci taught us that where there is hegemony, there is knowledge (Gramsci, 2008). Pinochet’s regime<sup>187</sup> operated through the production of infrastructures for knowledge production, gaining legitimacy – in Weberian terms – and becoming hegemonic

---

<sup>185</sup> Its effects are experienced today when a supposedly progressive Uruguayan government rhetorically equates dissident left-wing groups with fascism because they are “anti-democratic” – both in Chile and Uruguay the left arrived to office only after being ideologically defeated (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015). While I write this conclusion, the ‘leftist’ government of the Broad Front, in the voice of the Head of Interior, Eduardo Bonomi, claims that groups such as the Plenary Memory and Justice wear “Taliban scarfs.”

<sup>186</sup> The right-wing dictatorships of the 1970s systematically tortured and killed their political adversaries and people potentially affiliated with groups considered ‘suspicious’ by the authorities, partisan or not. In many cases of murder performed by State forces, the crime was perpetuated by hiding the victims’ bodies which, repetitively, have not yet been found. These are *los desaparecidos*, “the missing”, a powerful and hurtful notion and reality that remain in the Southern Cone’s politics today. By talking about Marxism and APS as the “missing” of democracy (a move that can understandably be shocking for many) I am saying that without these two pieces, the historical intellectual puzzle will remain incomplete. I also think that the “disappearance” of authoritarian knowledges from the conversation produces a nice feeling of difference and contrast between “these” and “those” times, erasing the multiple *academic and political continuities* between the democratic and the authoritarian period. If the tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living as Karl Marx says, APS domesticated the spirit of mainstream PS.

<sup>187</sup> I use the expression Pinochet’s regime for descriptive purposes only. It is not a statement about the centrality of the person of Augusto Pinochet in Chile’s recent history. I am aware that the ‘nature’ of this dictatorship is the product of the accumulation and interaction of many historical and sociological factors. This research does not pretend to account for the contrasts between Chile and Uruguay’s authoritarian experiences. It just describes their different interactions with knowledge and knowing as well as their implications.

– in Gramscian ones. That is why not so long ago, one could encounter youth in some random supermarket in Santiago proudly wearing pins with the dictator’s face, while any analogous situation in Uruguay would be almost unthinkable. This smart regime, at least in relative terms, was successful in moderating the transition to a governable democracy in which the dictatorship’s legacy would be secured (Lechner 1990; Moulián 2002; Mayol 2012). PS’ development (i.e., APS) was a relevant component of this political process. PS was one of the devices that transformed power relations in the country and conditioned future scholarship, including the mainstream PS that today ignores APS’ existence!<sup>188</sup>

While the story of the “Chicago Boys” in economics has already been told (Biglasier 2002; Camou 1997; Markoff & Montecinos 1994; McNally, 2011; Munck, 2005), the story of APS is as relevant but less well-known.<sup>189</sup> Several of my Chilean interviewees seemed to be unaware that some of the most important elements of the infrastructure of the discipline were put in place during the authoritarian period and by educational authorities complicit with the regime. There is resistance – both in plain and psychoanalytic terms – to face this reality in the PS community. This discourse of negation erases what current mainstream PS has in fact in common with APS and other right-wing discourses of the 70s. I refer to the logic of “stability and order first; democracy afterwards.” The imposition of such a framework is an intellectual victory of the dictatorships that has been reinforced by post-transition liberalism in general, and mainstream PS in particular. The political nature of liberalism and academic knowledge in the region – their obsession with order and stability in particular – has been crafted by the defeat of the left.

This experience is of theoretical interest for the history of PS’ subfield and beyond. APS demonstrates that PS is *not* necessarily the knowledge of freedom and democracy,

---

<sup>188</sup> The hegemony of liberalism was crafted by *neoconservative* liberalism which reshaped the terrain of ideology, also for leftists. Later, the modernization of the discipline and its “objective” nature would naturalize the status-quo.

<sup>189</sup> Interestingly enough, even though the discipline of economics was heavily involved in the dictatorship’s policies, few question its democratic nature (McNally, 2011), perhaps because of the clear continuities between Pinochet’s hardcore neoliberalism and the adjusted one of the democratic governments that followed (Leiva, 2008). Also, it is strange that the knowledge of the dictatorship, neoclassical economics, is actually the methodological model for mainstream political science today in Latin America and beyond (Sartori, 2004; Monroe, 2005). The fate of Marxism and mainstream economics, even though both were involved in the ‘anti-democratic’ politics in the 1970s, has been very different, especially within the dominant narratives of the 1990s.



which has decisive theoretical and political implications. The case study of Chapter 2 shows a modern social science that, amidst the search for methodological advance, the assertion of the scientific model of research, the obsession with ‘institutions’, and the establishment of international connections – with the United States in particular but also with apartheid South Africa and others – supports, passively or actively, an authoritarian regime. To put it simply, a PS that can be classified as liberal in relevant accounts was instrumental to an authoritarian power and this has consequences for the political interpretation of liberalism. In line with other critical projects such as Losurdo (2011) this case took us very far from “liberal hagiographies”. According to my interpretation, in the Southern Cone, liberalism has operated as a philosophy of *capitalist* order and stability. And it still does: in Chile, but also in Uruguay as we will see below, current mainstream PS reinforces the naturalization of capitalism. The final consequence of this line of thought is that the democratic discourses of today are not actually so far away from the authoritarian right wing discourses of the 1970s.

At first sight, the power-knowledge regime in Uruguay contrasts with the one observed in Chile. To begin with, that Uruguayan PS was institutionalized *after* the democratic transition “fits” quite well with the mainstream narrative on the development of PS (Altman, 2005; Garcé 2005; Filgueira, 1974; Pérez Antón, 1986; Pérez Antón, 1992). This is related to the contrasting engagement of the two dictatorships with knowledge production. As was well documented in Chapter 3, the Uruguayan dictatorship censored and persecuted the social sciences. At most, the military only tolerated the sociology practiced by the Private Research Centers. Such repressive proclivity was reflected in the differential engagement with Marxism: while in Chile it was obsessively talked about, in Uruguay it was *just* “buried” (U10; see Chapters 2 and 3). The brutality and anti-intellectualism of this dictatorship might have paradoxically protected the country from a more articulate advancement of neoliberalism – which proved to be devastating for Latin America and beyond (Akram-Lodhi, 2013; Bello, 2008; Borón, 2007; Leiva: 2008; McNally, 2008; Morelli, 2008; Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005; Panitch & Gindin, 2003-2004; Patroni & Felder, 2011; Patroni & Poitras, 2002; Rothstein, 2007; Sears, 2014) – as well as other regressive transformations.

In the cultural legacy of the Uruguayan dictatorship, a ‘negative’ moment seems to

predominate. Even though the dynamics of trauma and resistance gave birth to cultural changes and in this sense it is clear that the Uruguayan dictatorship did reshape the country, the Chilean dictatorship's articulation of policy-knowledge-discourse was more solid and effective. Again, Pinochet's regime proved that "positive" power is superior to repression. Its institutional innovations in the terrain of the economy and politics are related to its positive articulation with knowledge(s).

I am not saying that the Chilean dictatorship was not traumatic and that repression and oppression did not have a role there. Nor am I saying that in Uruguay the dictatorship did not have policy plans. What I mean is that in Uruguay the lack of APS corresponded with a 'negative engagement' with the academic community that traumatized scholarship. As a consequence, Uruguayan PS as a whole was forged *against* authoritarianism and *as* a democratic discourse. Thus, in this particular area we can summarize the analysis with the following headline: *two contrasting dictatorships, two knowledge regimes*. Yet, not quite. Even though the paths were divergent, some outputs seem to be similar.

Besides these significant disparities, there are some crucial commonalities between the two countries. At the end of the day, both "buried" Marxism, which is not a minor detail. There are a set of factors at play, including the international context, in particular the collapse of the USSR and US hegemony in the region. Certainly, the experience of both dictatorships changed how *any* form of left 'radicalism' is perceived – by right *and* left. The tense triad capitalism-socialism-democracy was completely re-arranged with the *disappearance* of the term in the middle. Capitalism became the new unquestionable basis of democracy for mainstream politicians and academics (even though one of the fathers of mainstream PS, Robert Dahl, argued the opposite: in his account, private property is *not* a necessary condition for polyarchy). Although neoliberalism has not been popular among political scientists in Uruguay (see Chapter 3), since the 90s both academic communities have shared the rejection of anti-capitalist politics, the embracement of elitism along with a fear for 'the many' (Rancière, 2005),<sup>190</sup> which more recently is expressed by the rejection of "populism" and grass-roots movements (Castañeda, 2006; Lazarte, 2008; Ramírez

---

<sup>190</sup> The French philosopher Jacques Rancière has said in this regard that "La démocratie n'est ni la forme du gouvernement représentatif ni le type de société fondé sur le libre marché capitaliste. Il faut rendre à ce mot sa puissance de scandale. Il a d'abord été une insulte: la démocratie, pour ceux qui ne la supportent pas, est le gouvernement de la canaille, de la multitude, de ceux qui n'ont pas de titres à gouverner." <http://www.multitudes.net/La-Haine-de-la-democratie/>

Gallegos, 2006; Varnoux Garay, 2005; Varnoux Garay, 2008; Traversa, 2008).<sup>191</sup> Democracy was recuperated and remained viable *because* it has been delinked from (socialist) political economy. Democracy has been reduced to a Schumpeterian game of compromises between elites (Schumpeter, 1984).

In very simple terms, *the right-wing dictatorships along with the imperial and capitalist global project that they represented, have won the battle.* (Again, this is a story about power) (McNally, 2011; Munck, 2005). They indeed reshaped power relations in these societies, re-delineating the politically thinkable. (This is a story about knowledge). Stability as a desirable object displaced other values, including democracy itself. Or, in other words, there are radically different ways of talking about democracy (something that mainstream PS usually forgets). In this sense, for US foreign policy in 1973, Pinochet's and by extension the other dictatorships of the region were in "*transition to democracy.*" The Southern Cone was a battlefield for (capitalist) "freedom" in the world. Democracy would become possible only after the left had disappeared and politics disciplined. And this is what actually happened. Today, Chile and Uruguay are both stable and orderly liberal democracies where socialism is no more than a name with some social and anti-poverty policies attached. The discussions about "formal" and "substantive" democracy, so important in the 1960s, sound *prehistoric* or "mad" (Rico, 2005).<sup>192</sup> The ways democracy, ideology, time and reason are talked about and interrelated in the mainstream imagination show how context and power shape academia.

In Uruguay the dictatorship may have been less successful, but brutal force and the minimal thinking that might have characterized the military also showed their power. A clear sign is that, already in democratic times, Uruguayans 'accepted' not to judge human rights violations and to in fact protect their perpetrators. The Expiry Law or *Ley de*

---

<sup>191</sup>The closing round-table of the First Uruguayan Congress of Political Science (October 30 and 31, 2006) was titled Leftist governments in Latin America: Populism vs. Social-democracy (Gobiernos de Izquierda en América Latina: Populismo vs. Socialdemocracia"). Note that the sentence is *not* formulated in interrogative terms: the dichotomy in question functioned as a premise that shaped what was thinkable and arguable in this event. With the exception of Constanza Moreira's intervention that problematized this assumption, the self-reflection around the political effects of rubrics such as populism – so obviously ideologically charged – was totally absent. It is evident that in the opposition between "social democracy" and "populism", it is implied that the latter is "worse" than the former – what a "scientific" fact! Also note that in many analyses Chile, a clearly neoliberalized country, is included among the social democracies (Lanzaro, 2007).

<sup>192</sup> In an informal conversation (May 1<sup>st</sup> 2012), Viviana Patroni compellingly elaborated on how the ideas debated by the left in the 60s and 70s have been constructed as "mad theories," being ultimately erased by mainstream academic and political narratives

*Caducidad* violated the liberal principle of the division of powers, severely distorting the rule of law: *liberalism, once again, raping itself* (see Chapters 3 and 4). Liberal democracy internalized (classed) power dynamics into its institutions, legitimizing the interests of both the ruling class and the military, which operated as the arm of the former. PS did not problematize this and in fact contributed to this process. Indeed, up to 2012 not one single critical article was published by the *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* – the main PS journal in Uruguay – questioning the quality of democracy in the country. Political scientists were too busy celebrating political parties (the authors of this shameful law) and diminishing Marxism as dated and “anti-political”, giving to their students the most pathetic and simplistic versions of this school of thought. To harshly critique the leftist narrative about liberal democracy as “fake” was perceived as the sophisticated and “critical” thing to do.<sup>193</sup> As the innovating literature on auto-ethnography in PS shows, knowledge is also biographical and experiential: some of the admirers of political parties were ex-communists trying to escape “the Marxist Church.” In order to cross the ideological border, the new converters needed to show democratic credentials. Conversion meant new forms of dogmatism and reification that put capitalism and other fundamental structures of power far away from democratic scrutiny and critical analysis.

## **5.2 Complex Relationality at Work: A Radical Alternative to Mainstream Tales.**

“The language of the conquerors soon came to supplant the other languages”

Amitav Ghosh

The mainstream narrative about the development of PS is illustrated by Figure 15. In the next few lines I provide a condensed version of this tale:

*Latin America has traditionally been intellectually influenced by continental Europe, France in particular. The French style of writing and thinking resulted in an anti-methodological and anti-scientific form of thinking, called “ensayismo.” Thus, a kind of useless over-theorizing characterized the intellectuals in the region. The*

---

<sup>193</sup> Paradoxically, at this time liberal democracy proved to be as fake as it could be. The Expiry Law shows that elections mean little for human rights and real equality.

60s was the era of the Cold War and political polarization took over the continent. Sociology, the most developed social science then, was dominated by Marxism and radicalism infected academia. Ideological radicalization among scholars not only obliterated objectivity and neutrality – essential features of science – but also contributed to the escalation of political tensions. In those years, democracy and the rule of law were not priorities for leftist activists and scholars. They were searching for a new world, which in their (wrong) view, would only be achievable through a social revolution. Instead of socialism, what their messianic adventure brought about were coups d'état all over the Southern Cone.

The combination of all these factors prevented the emergence of Political Science. First, Marxism, along with the other socio-centric approaches in vogue in the 60s and 70s, conceptualized politics as an epiphenomenon in addition to being ideological and sometimes even partisan.<sup>194</sup> Second, the right-wing dictatorships that followed were hostile towards academia. Where PS did emerge was against, or in spite of, the authoritarian governments. The brutality of state terror, repression and censorship pushed the left and scholars to rethink their positions. Paradoxically, the dictatorships implied a positive reevaluation of democracy. Those were years of democratic learning. The Private Research Centers, in the meantime, professionalized research and the academic career, making both institutional and methodological progress.

During and after the democratic transition, society and academia changed for the better. Both embraced liberal democracy while the latter (slowly) started to abandon *ensayismo*. Objectivity and liberalism were markers of the new times. With democracy, PS flourished and became an established profession, while improving political analysis with methods and theories imported from the best universities in the world (i.e, the top ranked American schools). The fight is not over, however. In Latin America social sciences, even PS, are still too much influenced by dated theories and over-theoretical approaches imported from continental Europe. There still are shadows of radicalism within academia and beyond. *Ensayismo* has not

---

<sup>194</sup> When asked about the role of Marxist approaches within academia, my 58 interviewees from both countries tended to link the approach to “political theory,” “philosophy” or even “*ensayismo*.” The exclusion of Marxism from empirical research is in itself revealing.

been completely eradicated. The very much needed methodological improvement requires PS to strictly emulate the natural sciences. Within the social sciences, economics is the model to follow.<sup>195</sup> Luckily, the younger generations are fully committed to modernizing and improving PS' methods and theory. The United States of America is the home of the best universities and the best PS in the world and therefore we, in Latin America, have everything to learn from them. The irrational resistance against an imaginary "academic American imperialism" must disappear.

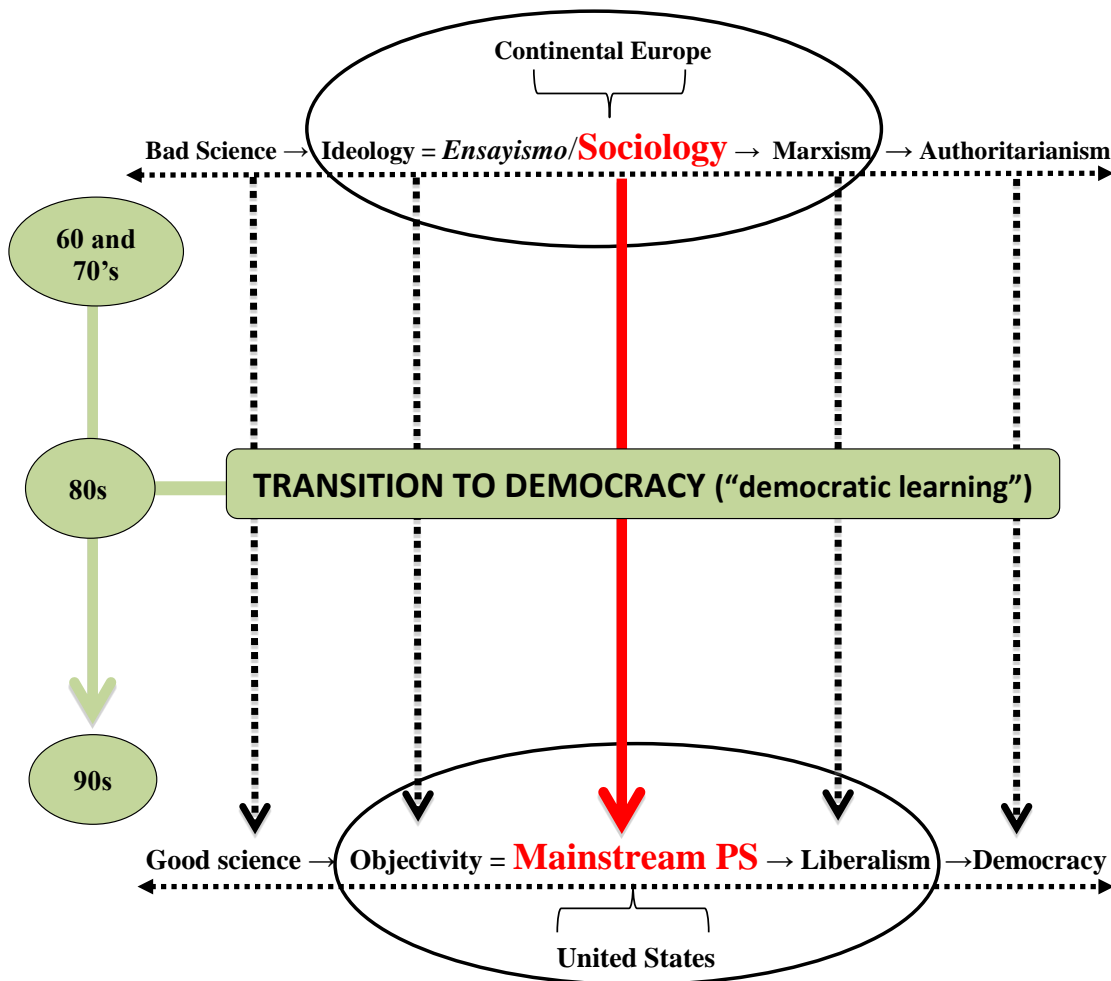


Figure 15: The mainstream narrative: Ideological timelines, geographies and knowledge

Interestingly enough, even though modernization theory (Harrison, 2008; Ibister, 2006;

<sup>195</sup> Latin American follows a "global" pattern in this regard (Andrews, 2010; Bennett, Aharon Barth, & Rutherford, 2003; McGovern, 2012; Monroe, 2005; Luke & McGovern, 2010; Sartori, 2004; Trent, 2014)

Lipset, 1959; Rostow, 1956) has been discarded by mainstream political scientists as being ‘socio-centric’, it is precisely the logic of this perspective that structures their narrative on academic development. We, in Latin America, are academically underdeveloped and in order to escape such a condition, we need to move in the direction of the United States of America both politically and epistemologically. In other words, we need to adopt liberalism (capitalism goes without saying) and positivism. Good institutions and “rules of the game” need to be put in place for politics as well as for science.<sup>196</sup> According to this self-evident mantra, Latin American academia is already too far behind to allow dissidence regarding such obvious truths: Democracy, Objectivity and Liberalism are meshed and imposed as uncontestable. This operation has had enormous consequences for academia and for politics. Let’s turn into PPS’ critique now.

According to the mainstream narrative, one period of time (the 60s) was “more ideological” than others (the 90s in particular). Whereas one ideology is “political”, even if it does not acknowledge the autonomy of politics (Marxism), another one is “objective” (Liberalism) though it embraces the independence of politics. Furthermore, there are countries (the United States and England) that are better homes for science than other regions (Continental Europe and, clearly, Latin America). These fictions, timelines, and cartographies of places and theories are absurd and, on some level, there is not much need for counter-argument. It is logically and conceptually evident that the 60s were no more or less ideological than the 90s and that Marxism is not more or less ideological than liberalism. It is also quite bizarre to link science to a country for many reasons, be it the transnational dimension of change, diversity within regions, or the complexity of so-called globalization (Akram-Lodhi, 2013; Beudet, 2012; Grewal & Kaplan, 2001; Rothstein, 2007; Shilliam, 2009). Indeed, these kinds of political beliefs and narratives about periods of times, ideologies and events are supposed to be the *objects* of scholarly inquiry. In this case, they *are* scholarship, and therefore, academia itself becomes the object of study for PPS. How did such bizarre ideas become dominant among a community of smart people? The answer, I have argued in this thesis, can be found in transformations of context and

---

<sup>196</sup> This case was strongly made in most of the conferences, seminars and meetings about the discipline’s development that I attended during these years. The last time was at the 2015 Latin American Political Science Conference of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP) in Lima, Perú. This argument was also present in the 58 interviews with Chilean and Uruguayan colleagues, especially those who belong to the mainstream of the discipline.

power relations.

In Chapter 1, I stated that this project understands power relations as a complex relationality between knowledge, identity, subjectivity, political economy, conventional politics, and the transnational dimension of the political. All these aspects dynamically affect (or mutually constitute) each other. Knowledge production is a key component of the broader social relations in which it occurs. Therefore, knowing is itself an embedded social process that has no exteriority from the multiple manifestations of power. Figures 16 and 17 summarize the output of such a theoretical perspective when applied to PS in Chile and Uruguay, shedding light onto the Latin American experience more generally.

Latin America has been marked by a strong tradition of “critical” thought. During the 1960s, regional academia was dominated by Marxism, structuralism, dependency theory and other “radical” perspectives (Garcé, 2005). Those were also times of political polarization. Indeed in this period the region experienced intense clashes between different political projects. Even though the Cold War does not explain everything, it is clear that international politics and imperialism(s) did play a huge role in this period. Indeed, the United States backed most of the right-wing dictatorships of the 70s and 80s. These regimes brutally repressed the opposition, including the intellectual one. Some of them mobilized knowledge for policy making and cultural change (as in the case of Chile’s APS) (see Chapter 2). The dictatorships secured capitalism. Chile in particular became the first neoliberal experiment (Leiva, 2008; MacEwan, 2005; Munck, 2005; Saad-Filho, 2005; Sears, 2014). The cost of the transition to democracy was the complete abandonment of socialism. Such democratic disciplining imposed American-style democracy as uncontested.

Not only did political economy and politics play central roles in this plot, but also subjectivity, trauma in particular (see Chapter 3 and 4). The dictatorships imprinted extraordinary amounts of suffering into these societies, especially the left. Scholars “learned” what the absence of democracy meant – torture, disappearances, censorship, and continuous surveillance. Authoritarianism had dramatically affected their lives, sometimes leaving indelible marks on their loved ones, careers and bodies. Indeed, torture can be conceptualized as a site of political theory. The loss of democracy fueled an ‘ideological feeling’ of guilt. The dominant narrative identified conflict and radical politics as the main



causes of these tragic episodes. The notion of having contributed as a collective to the conditions that harmed the country (i.e., the fall of democracy) haunts several of my interviewees. Additionally, the late 80s saw the collapse of the Soviet Union and the consolidation of US hegemony in the region. The bankruptcy of Marxism added to the experiential and political defeats an intellectual one. In this context, the – genuine – desire for democracy was historically marshalled towards the victory of liberal capitalism as well as to a discourse of moderation, order and stability.

The internal dynamics of academia also played their part (see Chapters 2 and 3). In Latin America, PS has traditionally been subsumed within Law and Sociology. The democratic transition created a precious opportunity for independence. In order to gain legitimacy, an institutional and theoretical crusade was fought. The shift from European to American influence and the international decay of Marxism, were internalized into the development of PS. This was also an opportunity to push sociology away from political analysis. Indeed, the emergent PS narrative merged sociology with Marxism and other socio-centric theories and dismissed the “old type” of intellectuals. *It is important to note that such a fight/shift sometimes happened within the same person* (see Chapter 3).<sup>197</sup> Scholars embraced institutions and institutionalisms (as a new *ism*, precisely)<sup>198</sup> while PS took advantage of the transitional effervescence to jump into the public space as a relevant – and safe – knowledge. PS became the knowledge of democracy.

American positivism was a-critically imported. The US is usually imagined as a homogeneous space where mainstream theories and methods are not contested. Through participatory observation (see Chapter 3), I registered how this is frequently part of the strategies to dominate PS’ scientific field (Bourdieu, 1984) by groups of scholars heavily identified with *the mainstream of the mainstream* – i.e., rational choice institutionalism (Monroe, 2005) – and with (sometimes rhetorically exaggerated) ties to the US.<sup>199</sup> The US

---

<sup>197</sup> The complexity of discursive and cultural transformations is, precisely, that they challenge the way we represent change.

<sup>198</sup> Political scientists seem to love institutionalisms. The repertoire of new institutionalisms – historical, sociological and rational choice (Immergut, 1998; March & Olsen, 1983; Evans, Rueschemeyer, & Skocpol, 1985; Hall & Taylor, 1996) – has been recently expanded by the “discovery” that ideas and discourse matter (Schmidt, 2008).

<sup>199</sup> See this thesis’ Introduction for an explanation of what I mean by “the mainstream”. As a reminder, I simply mean the dominant version of the discipline. I follow Sartori (2004) in his description of conventional PS, but we need to recognize that in Latin America the obsession with methods and quantitativism is less

is thus instrumentalized for academic differentiation and to narrate relationships of superiority and inferiority. Less resistance, however, has faced the equivalence between positivism, objectivity and good science. Paradoxically, this apparent epistemological neutrality is radically attached to liberalism and democracy. In the mainstream narrative, an ideology becomes non-ideological. In the background, capitalism disappears as a topic of conversation: if liberalism is objective, capitalism becomes nature.

Moreover, the 90s was when the neoliberal discourse expanded with more (Chile) or less (Uruguay) intensity. PS focuses on questions detached from political economy. At most, it looks at public policy from a procedural perspective. Such a form of knowledge is very pro-systemic, and to say the least, “elite friendly.” This requires some theorization. Marxism and structuralism(s) conceptually articulate “society”, “politics” and “economy,” while liberalism segments social reality (Bannerji, 2005). Thus, for the current liberal logic, the most important object of study for political science, (liberal) *democracy*, belongs to “politics” and the institutional realm. The deep implication of this development is, finally, the imposition of a conception of democracy that does not imply material equality. The dictatorships of the 1970s had prepared the terrain for the acceptance of this ‘truth’. “Force” and “violence” were the necessary condition for the neoliberal hegemony in Latin America (Leiva, 2008).

The conceptual disconnect between the political and the socio-economic helps to produce the (illusory) compatibility between neo-liberalism and democracy and, furthermore, the domestication of democratic politics, which must respect the “natural order of things”: the market economy. In general, PS did not analyze neo-liberalism in critical terms: political scientists criticized specific policies and programs, but not *neoliberalism as such*.

The academic depoliticization of the economy and the artificial isolation of the political realm (“politics” = “elections”), in other words, *the theoretical obliteration of (the notion of) “political economy” within the democratic discourse*, with its huge political

---

prominent than in the US. I would map out the mainstream landscape in this way: the older generation embraces liberalism, political parties and liberal democracy; the younger generation follows them on those patterns but claims that there should be a methodological improvement. I would like to add something else: the issue requires more exploration but I have the impression that American political scientists whose focus is on Latin America tend to be very conventional in Sartori’s terms. Thus, they study “democracies” and elections from an institutionalism “on steroids” which has an impact on their Latin American students who, by the way, tend to be a perfect example of the colonized mind.

implications, have been done in the name of “scientific objectivity.” This is the neo-positivist epistemological dimension which was referred to above: political science “is” objective. Therefore, neo-positivism sanctions capitalism as the realm of neutrality which is, of course, a great ideological operation.

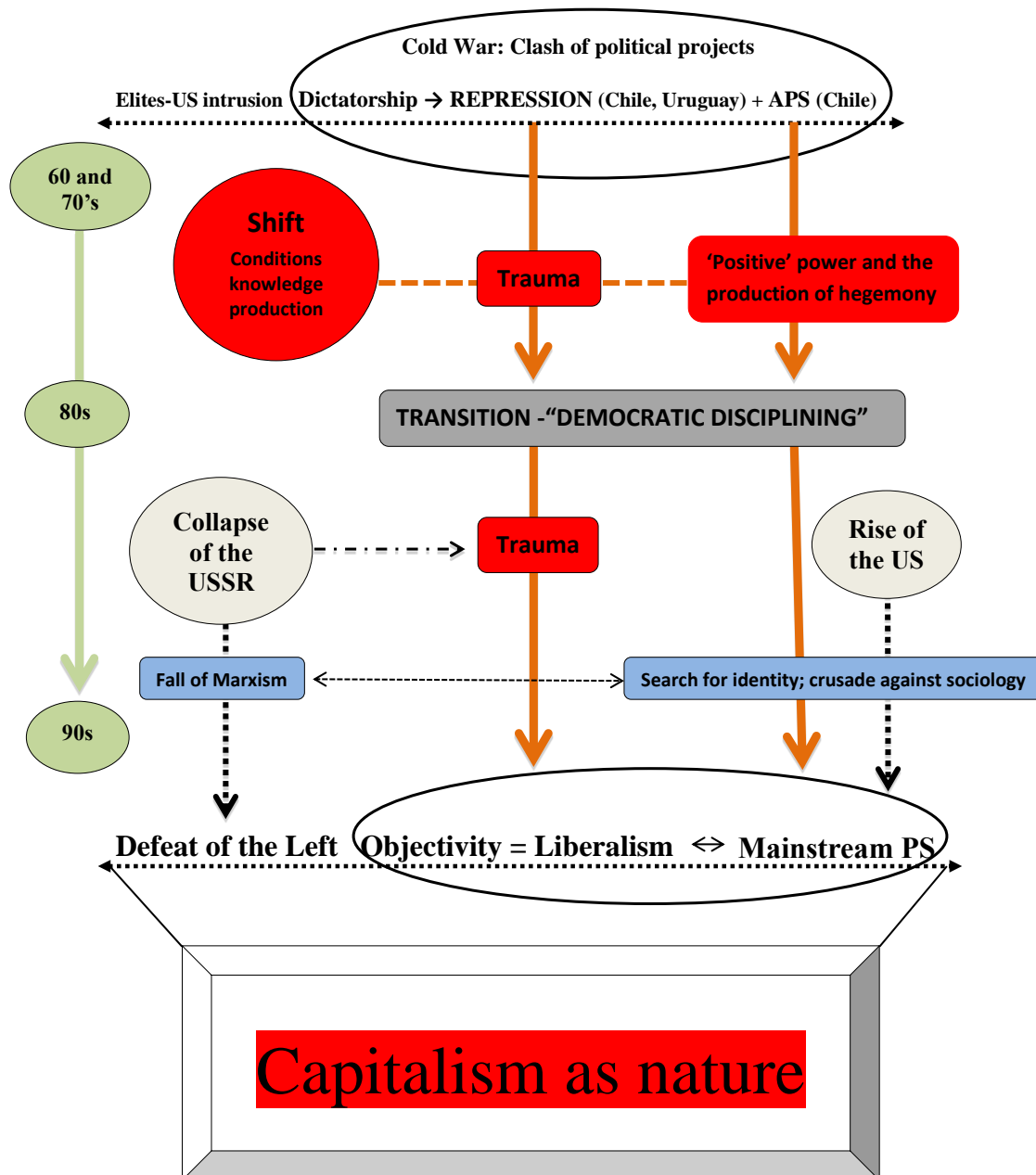


Figure 16: PPS critique, complex relationality at work

<b>The mainstream narrative</b>	<b>PPS critique</b>
Liberalism – Democracy	Liberalism – Order and stability
Political Science – Democracy	Political Science – Order and stability
United States’ foreign policy – Democracy	United States’ foreign policy – Order and stability

**Figure 17: The theoretical intervention of PPS**

Liberalism, PS and the US intervention have had something in common: all of them claim to speak in the name of democracy. However, order and stability have been their priority. Order and stability first – once democracy has been cleansed of its ungovernable intensity and energy, then this regime becomes a treasure in custody. Anyone who dares to question it shall be put into the symbolic bonfire, will be persecuted by “social-democratic” governments, will not be published, will not be heard: because they are “mad”. By unpacking this narrative it becomes clear that power does not go away after democracy arrives. Indeed, politics and power dynamics still affect us, political scientists. In the future, I will explore how PPS operates in current “democracies.” How can we think of the relationship between PS and power within liberal democracies, when market-based governmentality (Foucault, 2006) adopts ‘invisible’ forms of power?

The epigram above refers to the seventh century when Judæo-Arabic was transformed by the conquest of the Middle East by Muslim armies (Ghosh 1992, p. 101). If isolated, however, the statement could have been written by Nietzsche or Foucault. The quote is about language and power, or more accurately, discourse. Discourse transcends language and it refers to the regulation of truth that is embedded within extra-discursive mechanisms (Foucault, 1992). In present day academia, English displaces other tongues while the Marxist “language” – also imperial in the past – has been displaced by liberal positivism, the epistemological idiom of the new conquerors. This language is discourse too, because it is embedded within the materiality of imperialism and power. As shown above, trauma and the defeat of the left shaped the new democracies in the Southern Cone. These traumatized democracies prioritized order and stability over the dreams for justice. In other words, order and stability have been considered as “objective” values, and “justice” a risky aim that may threaten the former. In the process, capitalism has become

naturalized.<sup>200</sup> PS did not critically analyze this process and indeed it has been an integral part of this political and intellectual transformation. Consequently, we simply cannot ignore power when we write the history of PS.

History, language, ideology, epistemology, and power: When historians of PS ignore political history (i.e., context) they erase the political history of PS, naturalizing its current language and therefore exercising power in an oppressive way.<sup>201</sup> Writing the history of a discipline is a way of framing such knowledge: it is in itself a political act. The lack of self-reflection has political implications as Hannah Arendt shows us through Eichman's story (Arendt, 1999). Indeed, only *political self-reflection* may stop us from automatically reproducing the dominant languages and power relations of our times. In this context, I wonder if the liberal narrative about the development of PS — and liberalism in general — may be totalitarian in the way Eichman was (Guilhot, 2001). What kind of violence and power is being deployed through objectivity, institutionalization and quantification? What are the workings of “democracy” in this context? I think that I have unpacked the discourse of PS to a point where its final implication becomes clear: Capitalism, along with other social relations of oppression, has become the hidden and uncontested structure that disciplines democracy. If we are going to deeply reflect about both PS and the political reality in which the discipline is located, we need to seriously engage with this.

Challenging neo-positivism implies challenging objectivity. Therefore, if we want to talk about ourselves in non-positivistic terms, we need to *politicize* our understanding of the history and development of PS. In this way, epistemology becomes a subversive knowledge, especially when informed by critical theory (i.e., PPS).

---

<sup>200</sup>The displacement, destruction or appropriation of “native” knowledges has been named as “epistemicide” (De Sousa Santos, 2008). Similarly, neoliberalism has produced its own knowledge dynamics: Economics is the most prestigious social discipline in many environments, even after the incredibly dire consequences of this scientific dogma's implementation (Bello, 2008; McNally, 2012; Morelli, 2008).

<sup>201</sup> The short but substantial summary of Stein (2012) on the discussions around the development of PS shows that political scientists tend to avoid talking about power. I agree with Kayak (2001) and his critique of the Perestroika movement that the invigoration of the “qualitative” side of the methodological spectrum does nothing to the epistemology informing PS and that “conformity” should be interrogated in more nuanced ways. It is not just about opening new theoretical horizons to graduate students but also about questioning with what kind of tools we explore ourselves. The Perestroika Movement lacked politics (Rudolph, 2005) and it is indeed quite “colonial”: they did not confront unbalances at the transnational level.

The emphasis on institutions and ‘institutionalization’ – other words for order and stability – has permeated the way political scientists think about both democracy and their own discipline’s development. This formalistic logic resembles the priority that exchange value has over use value in capitalist societies (McNally, 2011; Nicolaus, 1968; Pilling, 1980; Stallybrass, 1998). What matters is that certain (formal) institutions are in place: ‘free’ elections for democracies; indexations and clear rules for PS; but what is lost is the *reality* that those institutions cannot grasp. The *lived experience* of both democracy and our discipline relates respectively to the concrete fabric of public life (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015) and the kind of knowledge that is created (validated or not through indexations and other market mechanisms). In terms of the development of PS *we*, the Latin American PS community, have a lot to gain from moving away from the obsession with “institutionalization” and opening up the question of power. If we explore how power is both constituted and institutionalized as part of the consolidation of the discipline of political science, we will better understand politics. By exploring our own ideological convictions and how our own constitution as a science is linked to technologies of social and political regulation, history and epistemology may become powerful self-reflective tools.

On a more ‘self-centered’ note, introspection and the widening of PS’ use value (in the sense of Stallybrass, 1998) will improve the texture and quality (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015) of our discipline’s fabric, making it a more welcoming home for both scholars and general public. More attention to PS’ concrete reality and power dynamics may improve the lived experience of the discipline on many fronts. This observation goes in the same direction as the Perestroika Movement (Monroe, 2005) and other more recent calls for ending different forms of discrimination and exclusion within our community (Breuning & Sanders, 2007; Trent, 2009, 2011, 2012; Brettschneider, 2011; Smith, 2011). A note *en passant*: the inclusion of pleasure, intellectual joy and imagination (Trent, 2012) into the conversation about PS development is very much needed. In contradiction to the dominant common sense and its celebration of the “sovereignty of competition” (Nicolaus, 1968, p. 45) so well-represented by Kelsky (2012), for many of us scholarship is more than just a job. Additionally, political introspection will add another dimension to important conversations such as the debate around the usefulness of the discipline (Trent, 2009).

The implications of PPS are disruptive: PS' object of inquiry shapes, at least to some extent, PS's analytical discourse. Analysis does not just 'study' the object but in fact reproduces it at the academic level. Knowledge and power are just inseparable. By locating such insight – developed by many authors before – not only in the science of politics but also in the meta-reflections about the development of such knowledge, this thesis took self-reflection to a high level of complexity, developing a sort of critical meta-epistemology.

Critical theory is right: 'objective' knowledges are not actually objective.<sup>202</sup> *We are political* because, as Nietzsche taught Foucault, power is not exterior from knowledge. This has implications for the role of epistemology and self-reflection in knowledge production. In this particular case, through the critical analysis of PS we can better understand the politics of the time. *Knowing the ways of knowing is a powerful way of knowing the object known*. By this meta-navigation through the mediations performed by official knowledges – by dismantling their positivities and unpacking their silences – one can better understand power itself. This has been, in fact, the point of departure for critical theories – Marxism, psychoanalysis, the Frankfurt School, queer theory and postcolonial studies, among others. *All of them* critically engage with established forms of knowledge that reproduce oppression in its varied forms (capitalism, neurosis, homonormativity, colonialism and imperialism). Relations of oppression *are* knowledge and therefore there is no emancipation without the critique of knowledge. PPS belongs to the saga of emancipatory self-reflection.

Does all of this mean that PS is not 'scientific'? Or – even worse – that there is no science at all? No, but it does mean that there is no science untouched by the life that it studies and within which it unfolds (again, science is a human activity). I am not persuaded by the idea, common in some 'critical' circles of scholars and activists in North America that collapses the distinction between social science, activism and other ('alternative') forms of knowledge (Alexander, 2005; Corntassel, 2012; Smith, 1999).<sup>203</sup> Science is, in a

---

<sup>202</sup> In PS language: "value-free politics is an oxymoron" (Trent, 2012, p. 170).

<sup>203</sup> The postcolonial critique of science as a "Western" construct misses the point that "Europe" does not actually have the monopoly on "Reason." In fact, Dussel (2000) shows the fluidity of the notion of Europe itself (which implies of course to recognize the fluidity of the notion of the West as a whole) and how even Aristotle was considered during the Middle Ages closer to the Orient than to the West. Hobson (2004) also shows how "Eastern" technological advances were incorporated into "Western" societies and vice versa while Pomeranz (2000) strongly criticizes Eurocentrism because it assumes "Western superiority" from the outset (a non-empirical assumption) and because in this framework the West, as the Nietzschean Master, can be talked

very particular sense, not political by definition. In a Weberian tone, the scientist and the politician – or the activist – are incompatible identities, spaces, moments, and logics. At the same time, given that my work comes from a critical theory perspective, it pretends to go far beyond the mere empirical accuracy of neopositivism. My main interest is shared by critical intellectuals of different stripes: (re)thinking the connection between modes of (historical) analysis and forms of mapping the possible. What is ‘(the) possible’ for political science is an open question.

How can we account for the role of thinking in politics, then? My project is in this regard profoundly Nietzschean. By that I mean that the awareness that oppression can come from unexpected places is at the basis of my thinking (See Chapter 4).<sup>204</sup> The critical thinker does not obliterate complexity in the name of ‘justice’ or *any* other political aim. ‘Suspicion’ and critique should not be suspended for *any* good cause, including ‘socialism.’ In other words, from my perspective, the resistance against simplification is the main contribution of critical thinking to politics (see Chapter 4; Read de Azúa, 1973). Furthermore, thinking implies risks: I am not interested in concealing the violence that critique may convey. Critical thinking is disruptive and divisive – crashing common sense (Bourdieu, 1973) is indeed ‘cruel.’ We have to cope with that. Additionally, there is something in the very nature of knowledge that expels the naiveté of “good intentions” (Nietzsche, 1990). There is no completely “just” knowledge: “Pity,” says Nietzsche, “has an almost ludicrous effect on a man of knowledge, like tender hands on a Cyclops” (Nietzsche, 1990, p. 105). We do not need to go as far to get the point.

There is another, perhaps darker, misery regarding the art of critique: even if under attack by neoliberal policies (Borón, 2006; Borón, 2007; Giroux, 1999; McNally, 2011), it is still an industry sustained by power structures. If (as this thesis has shown) PS’ discourses and practices are part of politics, it would be absurd to claim that a critical analysis of PS is not political and is not somehow embedded in ongoing inequalities. It is in

---

about as a totally independent agent/space. Paradoxically, Said, as Ahmad (1992) argues, falls in the same (to use Hobson’s formulation) “Eurocentric iron logic of immanence”. The West is a fetish (Lazarus, 2002) that prevents a materialist and profound exploration of the orientalist logics. What kind of analytical *and political* work the term “Western” does, remains an open question: *the antimodern discourses seem to reproduce the idea that modernity is the monopoly of Europe, instead of showing the complexity and multiple locations of the making of modernity and science*. In this sense, academic practices that take for granted “Europe” as a reified subject or space are ideological. Science is not European. Complex relationality attempts to neutralize the pitfalls of the different critical theories that it mobilizes.

<sup>204</sup> Nietzsche’s entire work deals with the dark side of moral reification.



fact both. Somehow the ‘winners’ in politics always speak through ‘us’, academics. We are involved in the process that justifies inequality. We are moments of its reproduction. Let me be very concrete.

PPS has, among its conditions of possibility, the fact that it is written *by* a Latin American based in an Anglo-Saxon institution, and *in* the English language – not a minor irony. PPS, therefore, is a project that belongs to the problematic dynamics of knowledge and power that it tries to unpack. This text is part of the global political economy of knowledge in which language, geography and fictions of prestige are the markers of hierarchy. Nietzsche and Foucault showed us that innocence in knowledge *is a tragedy and a farce (even the first time it shows up)*.

We (“progressive” scholars) are critical illusions in (neo)liberal structures. Postmodern and Marxist books are commodities too. *Our writing is on sale*. We, (“critical” scholars) also know about hierarchies and seniorities, dubious quotation practices, social capital reproduction, “interest group” dynamics and so on (not to speak about narcissism and the conflation between the center of the world and our arm chair). The brown scholar with an American-Canadian-UK passport and impeccable English profits from the communities that she claims to represent – *no doubt, postcolonial studies also lack innocence*. Critical scholars and progressives also have their “star system” of gods (and goddesses) that only travel in first class to deliver a talk about the revolution and who come, mostly, from American universities. *All* of this is ‘knowledge and power’ too.

Yet, mine and other critiques of mainstream knowledges and the contemporary society that they justify *remain valid*. Mainstream PS is indeed functional to “democracy” – i.e., we keep the house clean and in working order while repeating again and again that it is okay that the majority does the cleaning and the cooking while only a few own the property. The apolitical account of the history of PS, and the idealization of our discipline as a pristine neutral entity that was ruined by evils such as radical politics or dictatorships, erases a simple fact: being political is not a matter of choice.

To sum up, during the 1990s and early 2000s, mainstream PS was normatively focused on order and stability. Such a concern was introduced into the discipline by political reality and its power relations; other values (equality, justice, and even to some extent liberal “rule of law”) were sent to the waiting room of history. PS became the

knowledge of the status quo, which meant to be on the side of the elites and the powerful. Liberalism made democracy possible at the cost of weakening the “democratic experience” to the edge of its own (in)existence. This is about history and theory at the same time. With self-critique and more theory we can resist becoming servants of the dominant powers of the day, left or right.

### **5.3 Whose Theory? Sustaining Thinking, Protecting (Self-) Reflection**

A few months ago, I was pleasantly walking in downtown Toronto and listening (once again) to my interviewees talk about dictatorship, democracy and the discipline. While looking around, I felt the incommensurable distance between peoples, circumstances and sceneries: time, geography, even what most likely was in the heads of the people around me... every single thing spoke of apparent disconnection between my research and my immediate reality. I wondered once more about the relevance of this study: not only is PS a minor fragment of human experience, but moreover, neither Uruguay nor Chile constitutes a “big player” in world politics. Even Latin America as a whole is not at the center of the stage anymore. These days, the so-called Islamic State seems to have become the new favourite evil-other of the racist and imperialist forces that shape the global arena. These thoughts remind me of a night of wine and intellectual dialogue when Constanza Moreira, one of the most well-known political scientists in Uruguay,<sup>205</sup> told me that there is no point in studying the politics of academia. After all, our job is to study reality, not ourselves. I will close with a reflection on this question of relevance, periphery and self-reflection – *is the practice of introspection from the margins relevant at all?* In the end, a thesis on self-reflection has to ‘genealogize’ itself (Nietzsche, 1988).

In multiple scenarios, situations and ways, this thesis has consistently mobilized a fundamental insight of canonic philosophy, from Socrates to Kant: *there is no freedom without introspection*. Sustaining thinking, sustaining *the very possibility of thinking* and self-reflection against all the reifications that power structures, within and beyond

---

<sup>205</sup> Moreira is both a leading voice of the alternative left and one of the most well-known political scientists in Uruguay. Currently, she is a MP and leader of *Casa Grande (Big House)*, a new political organization within the *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front), which is the political party in office today. She ran for the presidential candidacy in 2013 and might do so again.

academia, push on us is a fundamental task of theory. Domination and abuse undermine thinking; therefore, critical theory can be seen as the most genuine extension of philosophy as such. Critical *self*-reflection is about sensing our own positionality and investments *vis-à-vis* such reifications (i.e., oppressions); it is about becoming less oppressive. Reflection and self-reflection may safeguard critical thinking, thus preventing us from destroying in the name of democracy, socialism or... critical theory...

This thesis unveiled the regressive political ‘nature’ of mainstream PS’ narratives about democracy and about itself. ‘Objectivity’ reproduces domination (Horowitz, 1977; Marcuse, 1991). Indeed, self-reflection may challenge the banality of academic ‘evil’, in the sense of Hannah Arendt (1999). However, this also includes leftists. As Nietzsche showed us, the interrelations between knowledge and power are uneven and more intricate than moralist views can handle. Ideologies, ‘isms’ and good intentions do not account for the complexity of life and politics. As a matter of fact they sometimes become excuses for obliterating reflection. Democracy or social justice can be the locus of harm. Constanza Moreira had a point – our task is to understand reality – but she also missed an important one: that *we also are (part of) reality* and that the worst thing that we may do to politics is to (re)present ourselves as “transparent” (Spivak, 1988). Let me finish this first part of the reflection by coming back to the economy of conceptual and material violence of academia. I will focus on what appears to be the most innocent side of it: graduate students.

Neither power nor capitalism is (just) about bad people. As this thesis has shown on several occasions, the *mechanics* of academia are shaped by dynamics out of our control. Graduate research displays violence in mundane ways such that the United States and Europe – even Canada – export thousands of students and experts to explore and “assist” the so-called Global South while not many Uruguayans or Bolivians come *here* to study Canadian rituals and sexualities, the “backwardness” of monarchic loyalties of the country, the “roughness” of hockey or the “barbaric” experience of the residential schools. Furthermore, while Canadian mining companies are involved in very questionable practices in countries like Colombia and Guatemala among others (Keenan, 2012; Gómez-Rojas & Velásquez Ruiz, 2012; Bradley, 2012; Sreeniva, 2012)<sup>206</sup> Canadian progressive students

---

<sup>206</sup> In 2012, York University’s Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) and Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS) hosted the “Workshop on Trade and Investment-Induced Population

travel to those same places to critically study “Canadian imperialism.” In both cases, even if in different ways, Latin America becomes – mistakenly – transparent to Canada, but Canada remains unreachable for Latin America. Taking for granted two rather naïve categories for a second, we can state that the “oppressors” and the “critical scholars” (white *or not* –it does not matter *at all*) share the same passport and we should at least acknowledge the irony of this situation. Can “imperialism” be also “critical”? What does this mean for critical political thinking? Self-reflection *may* open mainstream as well as critical eyes to the violence that scholarship unfolds.

It may be also an opportunity to recognize that academic prestige seems sometimes to be more related to some form of power than to quality (Gramsci, 2008; Kristof, 2014; Holt, 2003; Monroe, 2005).<sup>207</sup> It is not by chance that *all* the big philosophers of our (critical) political theory core course at York University are European men while PS’ big names and prestigious departments are mostly American (Hix, 2004; King, Lehman, & Nie, 2009). It seems that, according to North American academia, the rest of the world does not think. At this point some words on “political theory” *vis-à-vis* “Latin America” are convenient. I did not want this thesis to reproduce widespread problematic assumptions (sadly shared by many progressive colleagues) around “who can study whom” (Hasan, 2012),<sup>208</sup> I neither wanted to be a native informant reporting about Latin America nor a “recycled” scholar from the South who, once re-educated in North America, is now able to “theorize”. I did not want to, but I am not entirely sure about my abilities to navigate these dynamics. Such forces are, after all, far beyond my control.

What is the identity of this PhD dissertation then, theoretical or empirical? Does this research belong to Latin American studies, epistemology, comparative politics or political

---

Displacement in Latin America,” which brought together more than 30 academics, researchers, NGO practitioners and graduate students from Colombia and Canada to systematize, and critically engage with, current knowledge on the ways trade and investment are connected to forcible migration in the region. A summary of the activity is available at <http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/Payne&Ravecca.pdf> The Extractive Industries Research Group (EIRG) at York University has also extensively researched Canadian mining initiatives as well as other extractive industries and their questionable implications.

<sup>207</sup> The Uruguayan scholar Federico Traversa recently uploaded to academia.edu a playful but bitter essay about the peer review process which it is worth reading. Available at [https://www.academia.edu/10735317/Maquiavelo\\_y\\_el\\_arbitraje\\_doble\\_ciego\\_especulaci%C3%B3n\\_in%C3%A9dita](https://www.academia.edu/10735317/Maquiavelo_y_el_arbitraje_doble_ciego_especulaci%C3%B3n_in%C3%A9dita)

<sup>208</sup> In February 16<sup>th</sup> 2012 at York University I organized a seminar on “Problematizing fieldwork: A seminar on Power, Knowledge and Self-reflection”. The notion of “field-work” was critically explored and interrogated from the point of view of power relations: <http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/events11-12.htm#field>

theory? My hope is to have problematized such divides. My purpose here has been to engage with some human experiences that I am passionate about and are usually underestimated or addressed in highly problematic ways by mainstream social science (i.e. power and knowledge relations within PS). The location of the analysis is multiple in terms of geography as well as other registers: it is precisely the instances of “porosity” (Buck-Morss, 2009) and encounters between different knowledges, spaces and experiences that I find fascinating. While looking at “Latin America,” I engaged its “outside” (in particular, the United States and its academic and political role in the region and beyond);<sup>209</sup> while looking at “political science”, I examined broader political processes – again, critical scrutiny of knowledge production is a way of engaging with the object that it is being “known”, produced and enacted through that knowledge.

PS has been an unexpected but productive site to examine the “assemblages” (Puar, 2007) between political economy, subjectivity, geopolitics and academia/epistemology. In order to avoid, and confront, liberal reifications, this thesis has pushed for a conversation between Marxism and cultural (de)constructivisms.<sup>210</sup> In other words, I did not study “countries” but power relations taking place at different, yet interconnected, levels. This thesis, however, did not deny the need for sites of observation as well as for the delineation of specific spaces where we can see these dynamics in operation. Places matter because the local has its own density (Menéndez-Carrión, 2015). We saw, for instance, Chile and Uruguay’s different experiences *vis-à-vis* neoliberalism. Furthermore, note that the places I have talked about here do not represent for me three months of *fieldwork* during the

---

<sup>209</sup> The academic hegemony of the US affects political analysis. In fact the globally dominant analytical perspectives tend to idealize the liberal democracies of the “Global North” and to depict political regimes of the “Global South” in ways that are functional to the dominance of the former. In particular, my overall perception is that the literature on democratization is largely dominated by a narrative that tends to enact and reproduce international asymmetries, essentializing political regimes, cultures and countries. As a consequence, “southern” institutions are often seen as late and defective copies of the corresponding structures that are argued to be observed in Western Europe and North America. These “others” are then conceptualized as imperfect democracies, some ruled by failed states and often characterized by low-intensity citizenship. This is a form of “orientalization” (Said, 2003b) of the “South” in the realm of politics—exercised from different spaces, *including of course Latin America itself*—and therefore a manifestation of power relations within knowledge production (Torres-Ruiz & Ravecca, 2014).

<sup>210</sup> Marxism or cultural (de)constructivism when isolated from other critical perspectives may not be liberal ‘as such’ but may become part of a liberal academic mechanic of territorialisation of different fields/perspectives/ canons which, critical or not, do not speak to each other. This lack of dialogue is very ‘productive’: it produces the radical obscurity of power relations (at times, ‘doing liberalism’ in the name of its opposite). Himani Bannerji (2005, p. 18) explains that “the epistemology which ruptures the integrity of the socially concrete at a conceptual level and posits this as a property of the social is identified by Marx in the *German ideology* as ‘ideology’” To fully unfold this insight, Marxism needs to go beyond Marxism.

Canadian summer in an exotic place. No: they have been sites of my political commitments, my affects and my life. I did not appropriate others' emotions or struggles while writing these pages.

In terms of theory and the universal, power makes some voices and experiences more important than others (Manalansan, 2003; Mohanty, 1991; Smith, 1999). Marginalized locations (Global South academia(s) in this case) may assist us in challenging naturalized conceptions of both the origins and the very definition of “the universal” (de Sousa Santos, Arriscado Nunes, & Meneses, 2008; Laclau & Mouffe, 2004; Butler, Laclau, & Žižek, 2003; Buck-Morss, 2009). Localizing marginal experiences in mainstream and critical academic markets — where some cases are sexier than others, where scholars project their desires for ‘revolution’ or look for exoticism and redemption — is about, precisely, disputing the universal. My multiple references to the “ungraspable” thinker (Mallo, 2011) Carlos Real de Azúa, who happened to be Uruguayan, speaks of this desire. Latin America, for me, is not only “fieldwork” but also “theory”. There, like in *any* other place, people not *only* organize themselves in “communities;” they also happen to think and write (and *luckily* read “dead white men” *too*).<sup>211</sup>

I agree with Himani Bannerji in the need for “challenging the reification of subjects and society” and “reforming the structures of feeling” (Bannerji, York University Talk, November 21 2011).<sup>212</sup> Both require a *boundless* and radical introspection. Epistemology, political economy and subjectivity need to meet for such de-reification (which in this context means emancipation) to start happening. This insight is *to some extent* present in the critical theorists and theories that guided this exercise — from Marx and Nietzsche to post-colonial and queer studies. The destiny of such an encounter is, however, *always demanding to be fully unfolded*.<sup>213</sup> In order to participate in this political task, knowledge

---

<sup>211</sup> This is an expression that I heard many times in graduate courses and other ‘critical’ spaces. I consider the refusal to acknowledge the importance of reading and learning from “the canon,” the most unproductive and anti-intellectual way possible of dealing with global inequality within academia. Furthermore, in Latin America scholars and activists actually do engage with such a canon.

<sup>212</sup> That is precisely why Bannerji’s essentialization and impoverishing reduction of “postmodernism” has to be questioned: reifying bodies of theory is as problematic as freezing subjects. It *is actually another way of reifying society* (see Chapter 4)

<sup>213</sup> Finally, “it is not a question of achieving the perfect all-inclusive theory once and forever but rather of an ongoing commitment to understanding the partiality of each of our own frames of reference and seeking to extend them through listening, learning and taking responsibility to ensure that oppressions and erasures are addressed” (Sears, 2014, p. 110). In my view, the “infrastructures of dissent” of such “integrative liberation politics” (Ibid) include, or may include, academia.

needs to be reformed. Not only ‘science’ but also ‘epistemology’ (i.e., how knowledge is thought about) requires careful scrutiny. For this reason, this thesis critically studied PS as well as the narratives about its history and identity. This exercise of introspection problematized the ways in which PS’ introspection has been practiced in Chile, Uruguay and, more generally, in the Americas, in the hope that reframing how we think and talk *about* knowledge may lead to broadening analytical and political possibilities within academia and beyond. Certainly, this meta-epistemological reflection needs to encounter political projects of emancipation to be completed and materialized.

In the end, however, there is complexity. I cannot give up the engagement with complexity in the name of any “political rationale” or self-celebratory social justice rhetoric (Real de Azúa, 1973; see Chapter 3 and 4). Power dynamics do not respect the comfortable left-right continuum or the East-West dichotomy. Critical thinking is the opposition to (any) slavery. Domination is unpredictable because, among other things, the hypothetical oppressed (“women”, “gays”, “indigenous peoples”, “workers” and so on) are not *inherently* “better” than their hypothetical oppressors. In contrast with many Marxists and anti-racist scholars, I simply cannot believe in the purity of *any* space of enunciation or political view, including mine. Complex relationality as a theoretical perspective means the abandonment of the illusion of pure exteriorities and discrete uncontaminated identities. There is no unpolluted space. If we were going to talk about “geography” again, I would say: there is no academic hero coming from the North; there is no magic illumination coming from the South.

The politics of knowledge as have been unpacked by this thesis pose a challenge for both Marxism and Post-structuralism. In the case of Marxism, the dilemma refers to the political status of thinking and theory. Marx showed that interpretation alone cannot change history. Theory indeed *needs* to reach the masses and be realized through their action to actually have historical significance (Marx, 1978b, p. 145). To remain itself, however, critical thinking *needs* independence from the “partial liberations” (i.e., activism and politics) (Real de Azúa, 1973). PPS demonstrated that democracy may oppress while communism and communists may rape (see Chapter 4). Reflection needs protection from *any* political project (collective action) that restrains its conditions of possibility. This

means that the two basic components of emancipation (collective action and reflection) oppose each other. This seems, to me, an unsolvable and painful contradiction.

In the case of post-structuralism, and in particular the *oeuvre* of Michel Foucault, the conundrum refers to the meaning of knowledge. Knowledge-and-power goes beyond Foucault because reflection overcomes canons and authors: knowledge production is a social activity and therefore it will always be somehow related to power, *but* it does not have to be on the side of abuse and domination. Abuse reproduces itself at the level of thinking. I refuse to abuse others through my writing and I assume that most people – including political scientists – share such a commitment. Only by confronting powers within thinking and knowledge (political introspection) we will liberate the powers of *reflection*. Reflection is much more complex than mere “resistance.” Reflection is at the core of the political project of forging autonomous, fulfilled and emancipated human beings. Is it the start of historical change? “Knowledge is a battlefield” was the very first statement of this thesis. The last sentence is going to be slightly different: *knowledge is not just a battlefield*, it is also a shelter that does not want to collapse – and going back to our first conundrum, reflection has always been changing history.



## References

- Abend, G. (2006). Styles of sociological thought: Sociologies, epistemologies, and the Mexican and US quests for truth. *Sociological Theory*, 24(1), 11–41.
- Abrevaya Dios, M., & Arcomano, R. (2010). Jaime García Covarrubias, ex jefe represor de la DINA, es hoy profesor en Colegio del Pentágono. *El correo de la diáspora latinoamericana*. Retrieved from: <http://www.elcorreo.eu.org/Jaime-Garcia-Covarrubias-ex-jefe-torturador-de-la-DINA-es-hoy?lang=fr>
- Adorno, T. W. (2005). *Negative Dialectics*. New York: Continuum.
- Agathangelou, A. (2004). *The global political economy of sex: Desire, violence, and insecurity in Mediterranean nation states*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Agathangelou, A. (2006). Colonising desires: Bodies for sale, exploitation and (in) security in desire industries. *The Cyprus Review*, 18(2), 37-73.
- Agathangelou, A. (2009). Economies of blackness circuit: Ecologies and bodies of disaster and accumulation. In S. Bishas & S. Nair (Eds.), *International relations and states of exception: Margins, peripheries and excluded bodies* (pp. 186-209). London: Routledge Press.
- Agathangelou, A., & Killian, K. (2009). The discourse of refugee trauma: epistemologies of the displaced, the state, and mental health practitioners. *The Cyprus Review*, 21(1), 19-58.
- Agüero, F., Tironi E., Valenzuela, E., & Sunkel, G. (1998). Votantes, partidos e información política: la frágil intermediación política en el Chile post-autoritario. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 19(2), 159-193.
- Aguíar, C. (1984). Notas sobre Real de Azúa y la ciencia política en el Uruguay. *Jaque*. Retrieved from [http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos\\_Real\\_De\\_Azua/doku.php?id=sobre](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos_Real_De_Azua/doku.php?id=sobre)
- Ahmad, A. (1992). Orientalism and after. In A. Ahmad (Ed.), *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (pp. 159-220). London: Verso.

- Ahmed, L. (1992). *Women and gender in Islam: Historical roots of a modern debate*. Yale University Press.
- Ake, C. (1979). *Social science as imperialism: A theory of political development*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Akram-Lodhi, A. (2013). *Hungry for change. Farmers, food justice and the agrarian question*. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Alexander, J. M. (2005). *Pedagogies of crossing: Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Almond, G. (1990). *A discipline divided*. California CA: Sage Publications.
- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Altamiranda, J. (2012). Veinte años de la creación de la licenciatura de ciencia política (1989-2009). Retrieved from:  
<http://www.aucip.org.uy/index.php/institucional/publicaciones/14-veinte-anos-de-la-creacion-de-la-licenciatura-de-ciencia-politica-1989-2009.pdf>
- Altman, D. (2005). La institucionalización de la ciencia política en Chile y América Latina: Una mirada desde el sur. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 3–15.
- Altman, D. (2006). From Fukuoka to Santiago: Institutionalization of political science in Latin America. *PS-Political Science & Politics*, 39(1), 196–203.
- Altman, D., & Policzer, P. (2013). Comparative politics of Chile and Uruguay. In R. Valelly (Ed.), *Oxford bibliographies in political science*. Oxford University Press.
- Álvarez Vallejos, R. (2011). Gran empresariado, poderes fácticos e imaginarios políticos. El caso de la transición democrática chilena (1990-2000). In M. Mella (Ed.), *Extraños en la noche. Intelectuales y usos políticos del conocimiento durante la transición chilena* (pp. 97-149). Santiago de Chile: RIL editores.
- Álvarez Díaz, Á., & Dahdah Antar, S. (2005). La ciencia política en Venezuela: fortalezas pasadas y vulnerabilidades presentes. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 245–260.

- Alzugaray Treto, C. (2005). La ciencia política en Cuba: del estancamiento a la renovación (1980-2005). *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 136–146.
- Amorim Neto, O., & Santos F. (2005). La ciencia política en Brasil: el desafío de la expansión. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 101–110.
- Anderson, K. (2010). *Marx at the margins. On nationalism, ethnicity, and non-Western societies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Andrews, C. W. (2010). Esboço de uma disciplina em crise: a disputa metodológica na ciência política norte-americana. *Perspectivas: Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 38, 171-194.
- Antúñez Aldunate, J. (1987). Estado, política y cultura. *Política*, 11, 55–63.
- Arendt, H. (1993). *La condición humana*. Barcelona: Editorial Paidós.
- Arendt, H. (1999). *Eichmann en Jerusalén. Un estudio sobre la banalidad del mal*. Barcelona: Lumen.
- Arias, C. (2012). Los conceptos de transición y democracia en el pensamiento de las Ciencias Sociales. Uruguay 1985-1989. *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho*, 32, 23-38.
- Aron, R. (1984). La alternancia de los gobiernos en los países industrializados. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 18-32.
- Azpuru, D. (2005). La ciencia política en Guatemala: el reto de la consolidación como disciplina independiente. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 171–181.
- Baer, M. A, Malcolm, E. J., & Sigelman, L. (1991). *Political science in America. Oral histories of a discipline*. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Bannerji H. (2005). Building from Marx: Reflections on “race”, gender and class. Retrieved from: <http://davidmcnally.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/bannerji.buildingfrommarx.pdf>
- Barlow, M. (2007). *Blue covenant. The global water crisis and the coming battle for the right to water*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

- Barría, P. (1989). Aprendizaje político: la experiencia de Venezuela en perspectiva comparada. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 30-57.
- Barrientos Del Monte, F. (2012). La institucionalización de la ciencia política en América Latina. In F. Reveles Vázquez (Ed.), *La ciencia política en México hoy: ¿qué sabemos?* (pp. 21-48). México: Plaza y Valdés editores.
- Bejarano, A. M., & Wills, M. E. (2005). La ciencia política en Colombia: de vocación a disciplina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 111-123.
- Bello, W. (2008). How to manufacture a global food crisis: Lessons from the World Bank, IMF and WTO. Retrieved from [http://www.tni.org/detail\\_page.phtml?act\\_id=18285](http://www.tni.org/detail_page.phtml?act_id=18285)
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1985). La transición política: aproximaciones a una clasificación teórica a partir del estudio de casos. *Política*, 7, 43-79.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1987). Movimiento de izquierda revolucionaria: trayectoria y presente. *Política*, 12, 121-155.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1989). La estabilidad política en los procesos de transición. *Política*, 20, 57-84.
- Benjamin, W. (1969). *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Bennett, A., Barth, A., & Rutherford, K. R. (2003). Do we preach what we practice? A survey of methods in political science journals and curricula. *Political Science and Politics*, 36(03), 373-378.
- Bentancur, N. (2003). *La Ciencia Política en Uruguay: creación e institucionalización de un campo disciplinario*. Unpublished manuscript, PhD program in social sciences, FLACSO, Buenos Aires.
- Bentancur, N. & Mancebo, M. E. (2013). Pensando 'lo público': los desarrollos de la ciencia política sobre estado y políticas públicas en Uruguay (1987- 2012), *Revista Debates* 7(3), 9-30.
- Bentué, A. (1986). Libertad y proceso de liberación. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 172-179.

- Berndtson, Erkki (1997, August). Behaviouralism: Origins of the concept. Paper presented at the World Conference of Political Science, Seoul, Korea. Retrieved from <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/berndtso/behavior.htm>
- Bevir, M. (2003). Interpretivism: Family resemblances and quarrels. *Qualitative Methods. Newsletter of the American Political Science Association*, 1(2), 18-20. Retrieved from: <http://www1.maxwell.syr.edu/uploadedFiles/moynihan/cqrm/Newsletter1.2.pdf>
- Biglasier, G. (2001). The internationalization of Chicago's economics in Latin America. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 50, 269-286.
- Black, M. (2002). *The no-nonsense guide to international development*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Bogliaccini, J. A. (2012). *Small latecomers into the global market: Power conflict and institutional change in Chile and Uruguay* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/indexablecontent/uuid:617a0663-6b00-4469-b798-410f5794141a>
- Bogliaccini, J. A., & Filgueira, F. (2011). Capitalismo en el Cono Sur de América Latina luego del final del consenso de Washington: ¿Notas sin partitura? *Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia*, 51, 1-23.
- Bohoslavsky, J. P. (2012). El eslabón financiero en la justicia transicional uruguaya. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 153–179.
- Borón, A. (2006). Las ciencias sociales en la era neoliberal: entre la academia y el pensamiento crítico. *Tareas*, 122. Retrieved from: <http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/panama/cela/tareas/tar122/03boron.pdf>
- Borón, A. (2007). Aristóteles en Macondo: notas sobre el fetichismo democrático en América Latina. In G. Hoyos Vázquez (Ed.), *Filosofía y teorías políticas entre la crítica y la utopía* (pp. 49-67). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Bottinelli, O. A. (2011). ¿Voto amarillo = voto por miedo? Retrieved from: <http://www.factum.edu.uy/node/31>
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). *El oficio del sociólogo*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Homo Academicus*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bradley, M. (2012). Resolving “investment-induced” displacement in Latin America: Rethinking durable solutions. In W. Payne, & P. Ravecca (Eds.), *Trade and investment-induced population displacement in Latin America. A workshop organized by The Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) and the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS)* (pp. 33–34). Toronto: York University. Retrieved from: <http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/Payne&Ravecca.pdf>
- Bravo Lira, B. (1987-1988). Crisis institucional en Chile: precedentes y perspectivas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 71-79.
- Brettschneider, M. (1997). *The family flamboyant: Race politics, queer families, Jewish lives*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Brettschneider, M. (2011). Heterosexual political science. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(01), 23-26.
- Breuning, M., & Sanders, K. (2007). Gender and journal authorship in eight prestigious political science journals. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40(02), 347-351.
- Brigg, M., & Bleiker, R. (2010). Autoethnographic international relations: Exploring the self as a source of knowledge. *Review of International Studies*, 36, 779-798.
- Brown, W. (2002). At the edge. *Political Theory*, 30(4), 556-576.
- Brown, W. (2011). La teoría política no es un lujo: Una respuesta a “La teoría política como profesión” de Timothy Kaufman-Osborn. *Crítica Contemporánea. Revista de Teoría Política*, 1. Retrieved from: <http://www.fcs.edu.uy/archivos/wendy.pdf>
- Bruna Contreras, G. (1987). La libertad económica: elemento de un nuevo orden político económico. *Política*, 13, 59–76.
- Bruna Contreras, G., & Cumplido Cereceda, F. (1987). Intervenciones sobre comunicación social, totalitarismo y terrorismo. *Política*, 13, 135-160.
- Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti and universal history*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Bulcourf, P. (2012). El desarrollo de la ciencia política en Argentina. *Política*, 50(1), 59-92.

- Bulcourn, P., & Vázquez, J. C. (2003). La ciencia política en la Argentina. [VI Congreso Argentino de Ciencia Política]. Retrieved from: <http://www.saap.org.ar/esp/docs-congresos/congresos-saap/VI/areas/01/bulcourn.pdf>
- Buquet, D. (2012). El desarrollo de la ciencia política en Uruguay. *Política*, 50(1), 5-29.
- Buquet, D., Chasquetti D., & Moraes, J. A. (1998). *Fragmentación política y gobierno en Uruguay: ¿Un enfermo imaginario?* Montevideo: Taller de impresiones de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales.
- Butalia, U. (2000). *The other side of silence: Voices from the partition of India*. New York, NY: Duke University Press.
- Buttigieg, J. A. (1990). Gramsci's method. *Boundary*, 17(2), 60–81.
- Butler, J., & Spivak, G. Ch. (2010). *Who sings the nation-state?: Language, politics, belonging*. New York: Seagull books.
- Butler, J., Laclau, E., & Žizek, S. (2003). *Contingencia, hegemonía, universalidad. Diálogos contemporáneos en la izquierda*. Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Byrd, J. A., & Rothberg, M. (2011) Between subalternity and indigeneity. *Interventions*, 13(1), 1-12.
- Caetano, G., Pérez Antón, R., & Rilla, J. (1987). La partidocracia uruguaya. *Cuadernos del CLAEH*, 12(44), 37-61.
- Caetano, G., & Rilla, J. (1998). Breve historia de la dictadura. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.
- Campbell, C., & Horowitz, G. (2015). On intellectual life, politics and psychoanalysis: A conversation with Gad Horowitz. *CTheory*, a135. Retrieved from <http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=397>
- Camargo, R. (2008). El carácter traumático del consenso en torno al “Modelo Chileno”: una investigación sobre la elite política democrática post-Pinochet. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Coloquios*. Retrieved from: <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/11502>

- Camou, A. (1997). Los consejeros del príncipe. Saber técnico y política en los procesos de reforma económica en América Latina. *Nueva Sociedad*, 152, 54-67.
- Cansino, C. (1996). La ciencia política de fin de siglo. *Realidad. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 49, 105-117. Retrieved from: <http://www.uca.edu.sv/revistarealidad/archivo/4e133edf702bdlacienciapolitica.pdf>
- Cansino, C. (2007). Adiós a la ciencia política. Crónica de una muerte anunciada. *Revista Temas y Debates*, 14, 13-31. Retrieved from: [http://rephip.unr.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/2133/1461/Adi%C3%B3s%20a%20la%20ciencia%20pol%C3%ADtica\\_CansinoTyD14.pdf?sequence=1](http://rephip.unr.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/2133/1461/Adi%C3%B3s%20a%20la%20ciencia%20pol%C3%ADtica_CansinoTyD14.pdf?sequence=1)
- Cardoso, F. H., & Faletto, E. (1979). *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cansino, C. (2008). *La muerte de la Ciencia Política*. Rosario: Espacios políticos.
- Carmona, J. D. (1983). Transición a la democracia: problemas y perspectivas. *Política*, 4, 217–231.
- Carpio Benalcázar, P. (2009). El Buen Vivir, más allá del desarrollo, La nueva perspectiva constitucional en Ecuador. In A. Acosta y E. Martínez (Eds.), *El Buen Vivir, Una vía para el Desarrollo* (pp. 115–148). Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Casen, C. & Ravecca, P. (2008). Gobierno ‘progresista’ y movimientos sociales en Bolivia y Uruguay hoy. *Tinkazos*, 11(23-24), 197–211.
- Casen, C. & Ravecca, P. (2009). Las ciencias sociales en el debate político boliviano: el ejemplo del «estado plurinacional». Retrieved from: [http://www.cebem.org/cmsfiles/publicaciones/Las ciencias sociales en el debate político boliviano.pdf](http://www.cebem.org/cmsfiles/publicaciones/Las%20ciencias%20sociales%20en%20el%20debate%20pol%C3%ADtico%20boliviano.pdf)
- Casen, C. & Ravecca, P. (2010). Le confit égalitaire: Un impensé de la science politique en Amérique Latine. *Contretemps Revue Critique*. Retrieved from: <http://www.contretemps.eu/interventions/conflit-egalitaire-impense-science-politique-en-amerique-latine>
- Castañeda, J. G. (2006). Latin America’s left turn. *Foreign Affairs*, 85(3), 28–43.



- Castoriadis, C. (1990). *El mundo fragmentado*. Montevideo, Uruguay: Editorial Nordam-Comunidad.
- Caterino, B. (2010). Perestroika's last stand. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 43(04), 753-754.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1982a). Cinco paradigmas políticos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 29-57.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1982b). Representación política y social en la nueva constitución. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 5-49.
- Ceceña, A. E. (2010). Pensar la vida y el futuro de otra manera. In I. León (Ed.), *Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir y cambios civilizatorios* (pp. 73–88). Quito: Fedaeaps.
- Chasquetti, D. (2013). Construyendo instituciones: Examen de las asociaciones de ciencia política en el Cono Sur. In S. Leyva Botero (Ed.), *La ciencia política en Colombia: ¿Una disciplina en institucionalización?* (pp. 287-308). Colombia: Universidad Eafit-Biblioteca Luis Echevarría Villegas.
- Child, J. (1979). Geopolitical thinking in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 14(2), 89-111.
- Child, J. (1981). Pensamiento geopolítico y cuatro conflictos en Sudamérica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 71-104.
- Collados Núñez, M. (1987). El rol del Estado en la economía. *Política*, 13, 77–85.
- Cornthassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society*, 1(1), 86–101.
- Cosse, I., & Markarián, V. (1996). *1975: Año de la orientalidad. Identidad, memoria e historia en una dictadura*. Montevideo: Trilce.
- Cottier, G. (1985). El verdadero sentido del progreso. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 100-116.
- Cox, R. (1987). *Production, power and the world order*. New York: Columbia.

- Cuevas Farren, G. (1979a). Perspectiva del proceso institucional en Chile. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 3-21.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1979b). Editorial. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 1.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1987). El principio de subsidiariedad en el régimen político chileno. *Política*, 13, 9-17.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1989a). Procesos de transición a la democracia: una visión personal. *Política*, 20, 47-56.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1989b). Chile 1989: Las coyunturas de un proceso político. *Política*, 21, 11-27
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1990). Las Fuerzas Armadas y transición a la democracia en América Latina. *Política*, 22-23, 83-100
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1991). Discurso de Don Gustavo Cuevas Farren con ocasión del inicio de su nuevo periodo como director del Instituto de Ciencia Política de la Universidad de Chile (1990-1994). *Política*, 26, 113-119.
- Cuevas Farren, G., Mac Hale, T., & Trucco, M. (1988). Homenaje a James Theberge. *Política*, 17, 139-152.
- Cumplido Cereceda, F. (1985). Evangelio y organización político-jurídica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 163-165
- Dahl, R. (1957). The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, 2(3), 201-215.
- Dahl, R. (1985). Las armas nucleares: democracia y protección. Por qué fracasan los guardianes. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 83-99.
- Dahl, R. (1991). *La democracia y sus críticos*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Dauphinee, E. (2013a). *The politics of exile*. New York: Routledge.
- Dauphinee, E. (2013b). Writing as hope: Reflections on The Politics of Exile. *Security Dialogue* 44(4), 347-361.
- De Angelis, M. (2004). Separating the doing and the deed: Capital and the continuous character of enclosures. *Historical Materialism*, 12(2), 57-87.

- De Azúa, C. (1973). *La teoría política latinoamericana: Una actividad cuestionada*. Retrieved from:  
[http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos\\_Real\\_De\\_Azua/doku.php?id=bibliografia](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos_Real_De_Azua/doku.php?id=bibliografia)
- De Azúa, C. (1983). *El clivaje mundial eurocentro - periferia y las áreas exceptuadas 1500-1900*. Montevideo: Ciesu, Acali Editorial.
- Real de Azúa, C. (1984). *Uruguay, ¿una sociedad amortiguadora?* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, CIESU.
- De Sade, M. (1986). *Juliette 3*. Madrid: Espiral.
- De Sade, M. (1987). *Juliette 1*. Madrid: Espiral.
- De Sade, M. (1996). *Las 120 jornadas de Sodoma*. Madrid: Espiral.
- De Sade, M. (1999a). *Cuentos, historias y fábulas*. Madrid: Edimat Libros.
- De Sade, M. (1999b). *La filosofía del tocador*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación.
- De Sade, M. (1999c). *Los infortunios de la virtud*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación.
- De Sierra, G. (2005). Social sciences in Uruguay. *Social Science Information*, 44(2-3), 473-520.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2008). *Another knowledge is possible: beyond northern epistemologies*. London: Verso.
- De Sousa Santos, B., Arriscado Nunes, J., & Meneses, M. P. (2008). Introduction: Opening up the canon of knowledge and recognition of difference. In B. de Sousa Santos (Ed.), *Another knowledge is possible. Beyond northern epistemologies*. London, New York NY: Verso.
- Díaz Gronow, R. (1987). Comentario a las intervenciones de Guillermo Bruna Contreras y Francisco Cumplido. *Política*, 13, 161-166.
- Domic, J. (1987). Campaña comunista de desinformación internacional. *Política*, 13, 205-215.

- Dos Santos, T. (1970). The Structure of Dependence. *The American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231-236.
- Durán, R. (1980). La corriente funcionalista en la teoría de relaciones internacionales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 20-32.
- Durán, R. (1981). Apuntes para un proyecto de investigación en relaciones internacionales y geopolítica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 17-25.
- Durán, R. (1984). Las relaciones internacionales en la concepción de Raymond Aron. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 12-17
- Dussel, E. (1995). *The invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the other" and the myth of modernity*. New York: Continuum Intl Pub Group.
- Dussel, E. (2000). Europe, modernity and eurocentrism. *Nepantia: Views from the South*, 1(3), 465-478.
- Easton, D., Gunnell, J. G., & Stein, M. B. (1995). *Regime and discipline: democracy and the development of political science*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Edkins, J. (2003). *Trauma and the memory of politics*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Eley, G. (2002). *Forging democracy: The history of left in Europe, 1850-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Ellis, C., & Bochner, C. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 733-768). New York: Sage.
- Enloe, C. (1989). *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. London: Pandora Press
- Eribon, D. (2001). *Reflexiones sobre la cuestión gay*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- Eribon, D. (1997). La homosexualidad en el pensamiento y en la vida de Michel Foucault. *Zona Erógena*, 35.

- Escobar, A. (2004). Beyond the third world: Imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(1), 207-230.
- Evans, H. K., & Moulder, A. (2011). Reflecting on a decade of women's publications in four top political science journals. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(04), 793-798.
- Evans, P., Skocpol, T., & Rueschemeyer, D. (1985). *Bringing the state back in*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Fanon, F. (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Weidenfeld.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Farr, J., Dryzek, J. S., & Stephen, L. T. (1999). *La ciencia política en la historia*. Madrid: Istmo.
- Felder, R., & Patroni, V. (2011). Austerity and its aftermath. Neoliberalism and labour in Argentina. *Socialist Studies / Études socialistes*, 7(1-2), 259–281.
- Ferguson, S., & McNally, D. (2015). Precarious migrants: Gender, race and the social reproduction of a global working class. *Socialist Register*, 51(51), 1-23.
- Fernández, A., & Guardamagna, M. (2002). El desarrollo de la ciencia política en Argentina.
- Fernández de la Mora, G. (1987). El método y el ideario conservadores. *Política*, 11, 13–21.
- Fernández Ramil, M. A., & Grebe, C. (2010). Ciencia política e historia disciplinar: Modelo para armar. *Revista Politeia*, 44(33), 1–30.
- Filgueira, C. H. (1974). *25 años de sociología uruguaya*. Montevideo: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociales del Uruguay (CIESU).
- Filgueira, C. H. (1986). Sociología. In *Ciencia y tecnología en el Uruguay* (pp. 163-191). Montevideo: Centro de Investigaciones Económicas (CINVE)
- Filgueira, F., Ramos, C., Garcé, A., & Yaffé, J. (2003). Los dos ciclos del estado uruguayo en el siglo XX. In B. Nahum & G. Caetano (Eds.), *El Uruguay del Siglo XX. Tomo II. La Política* (pp. 173-205). Montevideo: ICP-Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.

- Fleming, P. (2005). Marcuse, memory and the psychoanalysis of workplace resistance. [Psychoanalytic thought and the critical management project stream, critical management studies conference]. Retrieved from: <http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2005/proceedings/psychoanalytic/Fleming.pdf>
- Flisfisch, Á. (1985). Ética del evangelio y convivencia política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 130-146.
- Floyd, K. (2009). *The reification of desire. Toward a queer marxism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fontaine, R. (1980). Perspectivas de las relaciones Estados Unidos-Latinoamérica: problemas que confrontará la administración Reagan y sus proyecciones hacia el 2000. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 86-100.
- Fortou, J. A., Leyva Botero, S., Preciado, A. F., & Ramírez, M. F. (2013). Ciencia política en Colombia: Una revisión de la literatura sobre el estado e historia de la disciplina en el país. In S. Botero Leyva (Ed.), *La ciencia política en Colombia: ¿Una disciplina en institucionalización?* (pp. 27-56). Medellín: Colciencias, Asociación Colombiana de Ciencia Política, Centro de Análisis Político - Universidad Eafit.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Two lectures. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (pp. 78-109). New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1984). What is an author. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader*. (pp. 101-120). New York NY: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1988). L'anti-oedipe: une introduction a la vie non fasciste. *Magazine Littéraire*, 257.
- Foucault, M. (1989). *Vigilar y castigar*. Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Foucault, M. (1991a). *Historia de la sexualidad. Vol. 1, La voluntad de saber*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno.
- Foucault, M. (1991b). *Saber y verdad*. Madrid: Las ediciones de la piqueta.
- Foucault, M. (1992). *Microfísica del poder*. Madrid: La Piqueta.

- Foucault, M. (1993). *Genealogía del racismo*. Montevideo: Nordam.
- Foucault, M. (1998). *Historia de la sexualidad, 2-el uso de los placeres*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno.
- Foucault, M. (2006). *Seguridad, territorio, población: Curso en el Collège de France (1977-1978)*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Fowler, J. H., Grofman, B., & Masuoka, N. (2007). Social networks in political science: Hiring and placement of PhDs, 1960–2002. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40(04), 729-739.
- Francou, F. (1986). La segunda instrucción vaticana. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 165-171.
- Frank, A. G. (1966). *The development of underdevelopment*. Boston, MA: New England Free Press.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Freud, S. (1937) Analysis Terminable and Interminable. In J. Strachey (Ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud vol. 23* (pp. 209-53). London: Hogarth.
- Freud, S. (1951). Letter to an American mother. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 107, 786–787.
- Freud, S. (1980). Moisés y la religión monoteísta. In S. Freud. *Obras Completas*, 23. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Freud, S. (1986a). *El malestar en la cultura*. In S. Freud. *Obras completas, volumen XXI*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Freud, S. (1986b). El porvenir de una ilusión. In S. Freud. *Obras completas, volumen XXI*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Freud, S. (1993). “¿Por qué la guerra?”, *Obras Completas*, 22. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.

- Gaete, A. (1985). Evangelio, ética y política: Algunas implicancias filosóficas y teológicas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 119-129.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1989a). La transición política en México y la crisis del Partido Revolucionario Institucional. *Política*, 20, 85-100.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1989b). La transición a la democracia en Chile: desafíos y perspectivas a partir de un análisis teórico. *Política*, 21, 53-62.
- Gallardo, J. (2002, October). Intervention. Carlos Real de Azúa, political science pioneer in Uruguay (1916-1977). Evocation after 25 years of his death. Montevideo: Presidency of the Republic.
- Galeano, E. (1973). *Open Veins of Latin America. Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Garcé, A. (2005). La ciencia política en Uruguay: un desarrollo tardío, intenso y asimétrico. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 232-244.
- Garcé, A., Gallardo J., & Ravecca, P. (2010). Think tanks and experts in the broad Front government (Uruguay 2005 - 2008). In A. Garcé y G. Uña (Eds.) *Think tanks and public policies in Latin America* (pp. 290-317). Buenos Aires: CIPPEC-IDRC.
- Garcé A., & Rocha C. (2015). La ciencia política en Uruguay: entre la profesionalización, la partidización y el fantasma del “movimiento perestroika”. *Revista Ciencia Política*, 35(1), 121-144.
- Garcé, A., & Yaffé, J. (2004). *La era progresista*. Montevideo: Fin de Siglo.
- Garcés, M. (2004). Los movimientos sociales populares en el siglo XX. Balance y perspectivas. *Política*, 43, 13-33.
- García Covarrubias, J. (1987). El partido radical y su relación de intereses con la clase media en Chile en el período 1888-1938. *Política*, 12, 49-119.
- García Covarrubias, J. (1988). Una perspectiva del origen y presencia de la clase media en Chile (1810-1940). *Política*, 18, 57-78.
- García Covarrubias, J. (1989). Reflexiones en torno a la política y lo político. *Política*, 21, 135-149.



- García Márquez, G. (1967). *Cien años de soledad*. Colombia: Editorial Sudamericana.
- García Rodríguez, R. (1987). El rol del Estado en materia empresarial. *Política*, 13, 19–27.
- Garretón, M. A. (1993). La redemocratización política en Chile: transición, inauguración y evolución. *Estudios Públicos*, 4(1). Retrieved from: [http://www.tau.ac.il/eial/IV\\_1/garreton.htm](http://www.tau.ac.il/eial/IV_1/garreton.htm)
- Garretón, M. A. (2005). Social Science and society in Chile: institutionalization, breakdown and rebirth. *Social Science Information*, 44(2-3), 359-409
- Gaulejac, V. (2012). *La recherche malade du management*. Versailles: Quae.
- Geertz, C. (1997). *La interpretación de las culturas*. España: Gedisa.
- Gershman, C. (1985). Nuevas perspectivas en las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 199-204.
- Gerring, J. (2003). Interview with Clifford Geertz. *Qualitative Methods. Newsletter of the American Political Science Association*, 1(2), 24-28. Retrieved from: <http://www1.maxwell.syr.edu/uploadedFiles/moynihan/cqrm/Newsletter1.2.pdf>
- Ghosh, A. (1992). *In an Antique Land*. New York: Vintage books.
- Gil, D., & Viñar, M. (1998). La dictadura militar: una intrusión en la intimidad. In T. Porzecansky. *Historias de la vida privada en el Uruguay. Individuo y soledades 1920-1990*. Uruguay: Taurus.
- Giorgi, V. (1995). Represión y olvido. El terrorismo de estado dos décadas después. In V. Giorgi (Ed.), *Represión y olvido. Efectos psicológicos y sociales de la violencia política dos décadas después*. Montevideo: Roca Viva Editorial.
- Giroux, H. A. (1999). Rethinking cultural politics and radical pedagogy in the work of Antonio Gramsci. *Educational Theory*, 49(1), 1-19.
- Godoy Arcaya, Ó. (1983). Tocqueville y la democracia de las libertades. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 30-47
- Godoy Arcaya, Ó. (1984). Aron y la democracia pluralista. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 6-11.

- Godoy Arcaya, Ó. (1987-1988). Naturaleza y razón constructiva en Hobbes. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 7-27.
- Godoy, Ó. (1999). La transición chilena a la democracia: pactada. *Estudios Públicos*, 74, 79-106.
- Gómez-Rojas, J. F., & Velazco Ruiz, M. A. (2012). The relation between economic globalization and human rights in the context of the Canada-Colombia free trade agreement: Some notes on balance and responsibility. In W. Payne, & P. Ravecca (Eds.), *Trade and investment-induced population displacement in Latin America. A workshop organized by The Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) and the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS)* (pp. 30–31). Toronto: York University. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.yorku.ca/erlac/Payne&Ravecca.pdf>
- González, L. E. (1993). *Estructuras políticas y democracia en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: ICP-FCU.
- González, L. E. (2002, October). Intervention. Carlos Real de Azúa, political science pioneer in Uruguay (1916-1977). Evocation after 25 years of his death. Montevideo: Presidency of the Republic.
- González, L. E. (2007). Carlos Real de Azúa. Retrieved from  
<http://www.aucip.org.uy/index.php/institucional/publicaciones.html>
- Gottfried, P. (1987). Conservantismo y neo-conservantismo norteamericano. *Política*, 11, 95-107.
- Gramsci, A. (2008). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. In Q. Hoare, & G. Nowell (Eds.). New York NY: International Publishers.
- Greco, M., & Stenner, P. (2013). *Emotions and social theory: A social science reader*. Routledge.
- Green, D., & Shapiro, I. (1994) *Pathologies of rational choice theory: a critique of applications in political science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Green, D., & Shapiro, I. (1996). Pathologies revisited: reflections on our critics. In Friedman, J. (Ed.), *The rational choice controversy* (pp. 235–276). Yale University Press.
- Green, M., & Ives, P. (2009). Subalternity and language: Overcoming the fragmentation of common sense. *Historical Materialism* 17, 3-30.
- Grewal, I., & Kaplan, C. (2001). Global identities: Theorizing transnational studies of sexuality. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 7(4), 663-679.
- Gros Espiell, H. (1983). Control político de la constitución: el caso de Uruguay. *Política*, 2, 9-50.
- Groth, T. (1998, September). Conceptual understandings of state reform. Paper prepared for the annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association.
- Grotjahn, M. (1951). Historical notes: A letter from Freud. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 107(10), 786-787.
- Guilhot, N. (2001). Les professionnels de la démocratie. Logiques militantes et logiques savants. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 139, 53-65.
- Gunnell, J. (1995). Can political science be neutral? In D. Easton (Ed.), *Regime and discipline: democracy and the development of political science*. United States: The University of Michigan.
- Gunnell, J. (2003). La ciencia política estadounidense y el discurso de la democracia: de la teoría del estado al pluralismo. *Revista de Derecho de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso*, 24, 321–331.
- Gunnell, J. (2004). *Imagining the American polity: political science and the discourse of democracy*. Pennsylvania: Penn State Press.
- Hall, P., & Taylor, R. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44(5), 936-957.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: community, culture, difference* (pp. 2-27). London, England: Lawrence & Wishart.

- Hamati-Ataya, I. (2014). Transcending objectivism, subjectivism, and the knowledge in-between: the subject in/of 'strong reflexivity'. *Review of International Studies*, 40(01), 153-175.
- Hamilton, J., & Eluchans, E. (1987). Intervenciones sobre televisión y cultura política. *Política*, 13, 97-122.
- Harrison, L. (2008). Underdevelopment is a state of mind. In M. Seligson, & J. Passe-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment. The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 227–235). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2010). *A companion to Marx's Capital*. London, New York, NY: Verso.
- Hasan, N. Z. (2012, February). Containing fieldwork: Locating the 'field' in academic knowledge production. Paper presented at CERLAC seminar Problematizing 'field-work': Seminar on knowledge, power and self-reflection, Toronto.
- Hasbun, R. (1987). Dictadores y comunicadores. *Política*, 13, 223-225.
- Hayek, F. A. (1982). Liberalismo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 122-151.
- Heine, J. (2006). Democracy, dictatorship and the making of modern political science: Huntington's thesis and Pinochet's Chile. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 39(02), 273-280.
- Hennessey, R. (2000). *Profit and pleasure: Sexual identities in late capitalism*. London: Routledge.
- Hepple, L. W. (2011). Lewis Tambs, Latin American geopolitics and the American new right. *School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol*. Retrieved from <http://www.ggy.bris.ac.uk/personal/LesHepple/lewis.pdf>
- Higuera, J. V. (December 2012). Emilio Meneses: "las acusaciones de Agüero y la FACH fueron instrumentos para silenciarme y sacarme del camino". *El Periodista*. Retrieved from: <http://elperiodistaonline.cl/locales/2012/12/emilio-meneses-las-acusaciones-de-aguero-y-la-fach-fueron-instrumentos-para-silenciarme-y-sacarme-del-camino/>

- Hix, S. (2004). A global ranking of political science departments. *American Political Studies Review*, 2(3), 293-313.
- Hobson, M. J. (2004). *The Eastern origins of Western civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holt, N. L. (2003). Representation, legitimation, and autoethnography: An autoethnographic writing story. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(1), 18-58.
- Horkheimer, M. (1978). *Théorie critique*. Paris: Payot.
- Horowitz, G. (1977). *Basic and surplus repression in psychoanalytic theory: Freud, Reich and Marcuse*. Toronto, Canada: Toronto University Press.
- Hegel, G. W. F. (1977). *Hegel's. Phenomenology of Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Huneus, C. (2006). El lento y tardío desarrollo de la ciencia política en América Latina, 1966-2006. *Estudios Internacionales*, 155, 137-156.
- Huntington, S. (1997). *El choque de civilizaciones y la reconfiguración del orden mundial*. Barcelona: Editorial Paidós.
- Ibáñez, G. (1985). Evangelio, ética y política: comentario a un documento episcopal de trabajo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 150-162.
- Ibister, J. (2006). *Promises not kept*. United States: Kumarian Press.
- Immergut, E. (1998). The theoretical core of the new institutionalism. *Politics and Society*, 26, 5-34.
- Inayatullah, N. (2013). Pulling threads: Intimate systematicity in the Politics of Exile. *Security Dialogue*, 44(4), 331-345.
- Infante, M. T. (1980). Nota sobre la conferencia de Naciones Unidas sobre el derecho del mar. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 55-66.

- Jackman, M. C., & Upadhyay, N. (2014). Pinkwatching Israel, whitewashing Canada: Queer (settler) politics and indigenous colonization in Canada. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, 42(3), 195-210.
- Kasza, G. J. (2005). Methodological Bias in the American Journal of Political Science. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), *Perestroika! The raucus rebellion in political science* (pp. 343-353). United States: Yale University Press.
- Kaufman, S.J. (2005). Rational choice, symbolic politics, and pluralism in the study of violent conflict. In K. R. Monroe, *Perestroika! The raucus rebellion in political science* (pp. 87–102). United States: Yale University Press.
- Kellerman, N. P. F. (2001). Transmission of holocaust trauma. Retrieved from Yad Vashem Web site:  
<http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/languages/dutch/pdf/kellermann.pdf>
- Kelsky, K. (2012). Graduate school is a means to a job. Retrieved from:  
<http://chronicle.com/article/Graduate-School-Is-a-Means-to/131316/>
- Keenan, K. (2012). Partners in crime? Extractive companies and the Canadian government. In W. Payne, & P. Ravecca (Eds.), *Trade and investment-induced population displacement in Latin America. A workshop organized by The Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) and the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS)* (pp. 37-40). Toronto: York University. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/Payne&Ravecca.pdf>
- Khan, S. (2006). *Noor*. Wilmington: University of North Carolina Press
- King, G., Lehman Schlozman, K., & Nie, N. (2009). *The future of political science: 100 perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Kristof, N. (15th February 2014). Professors, we need you! *The New York Times*. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/16/opinion/sunday/kristof-professors-we-need-you.html?nytmobile=0>
- Kinnvall, C. (2005). Not here, not now! The absence of a European Perestroika movement. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), *Perestroika! The raucus rebellion in political science* (pp. 21-40). United States: Yale University Press.

- Kunert, D. (1979). Una contienda desigual: Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética en África. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 56-93.
- Labin, S. (1983). Intentos de descifrar una esfinge: François Mitterrand. *Política*, 2, 139–152.
- LaCapra, D. (2009). *Historia y memoria después de Auschwitz*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, Ch. (2004). *Hegemonía y estrategia socialista. Hacia una radicalización de la democracia*. Argentina: Fondo de cultura económica.
- Laitin, D. (2004). ¿Adónde va la ciencia política? Reflexiones sobre la afirmación del profesor Sartori de que "la ciencia política estadounidense no va a ningún lado". *Política y gobierno*, 11(2), pp. 361-367.
- Lander, E. (2010). Crisis Civilizatoria: el tiempo se agota. In I. León (Ed.), *Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir y cambios civilizatorios* (pp. 27–40). Quito: Fedaeaps.
- Lanzaro, J. (2000). *La "segunda" transición en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Fundación de cultura universitaria-ICP.
- Lanzaro, J. (2007). La "tercera ola" de las izquierdas latinoamericanas: entre el populismo y la social-democracia. *Encuentros Latinoamericanos*, 1(1), 20-57.
- Lapouge, G. (1988). Raymond Aron: imperialismo, lo que queda del marxismo leninismo. *Política*, 16, 29-39.
- Lazarte, J. (2008). ¿Multiculturalismo o multinacionalismo? Crítica a la propuesta del Movimiento al Socialismo. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.aportescriticos.com.ar/es/invites.php>
- Lazarus, N. (2002). The fetish of 'The West' in postcolonial theory. In C. Bartolovich. & N. Lazarus. (Eds.), *Marxism, modernity and postcolonial studies* (pp. 43–64). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lechner, N. (1990). Las condiciones políticas de la ciencia política en Chile. (Working Paper No. 453). Retrieved from:  
<http://flacsochile.org/biblioteca/pub/memoria/1990/000219.pdf>
- Leftwich, A. (1986). *¿Qué es la política?* México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

- Leiras, M., & D'Alessandro M. (2005). La ciencia política en Argentina: el camino de la institucionalización dentro y fuera de las aulas universitarias. *Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago)*, 25(1), 76–91.
- Leiva, F. I. (2008). *Latin American neostructuralism: the contradictions of post-neoliberal development*. Minnesota, MN: U of Minnesota Press.
- León, M. (2009). Cambiar la economía para cambiar la vida, Desafíos de una economía para la vida. In A. Acosta & E. Martínez (Eds.), *El Buen Vivir, Una vía para el desarrollo* (pp. 63-74). Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Lesgart, C. (2003). *Usos de la transición a la democracia. Ensayo, ciencia y política en la década del '80*. Rosario: HomoSapiens.
- Lesgart, C. (2007). Pasado y presente de la ciencia política producida en Argentina. Apuntes para un debate de su porvenir. *Temas y Debates*, 14, 119–157.
- Levi, M. (2002). Modeling complex historical processes with analytic narratives. In R. Mayntz (Ed.), *Akteure, mechanismen, modelle: Zur theoriefähigkeit makrosozialer analicen* (pp. 108-127). Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag.
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative politics and the comparative method. *American Political Science Review*, 65(3), 682-693.
- Lipset, M. S. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *The American Political Science Review*, 53(1), 69–105.
- Loeza, S. (2005). La ciencia política: el pulso del cambio mexicano. *Revista de ciencia política*, 25(1), 192-203.
- Losurdo, D. (2011). *Liberalism. Counter-history*. London, New York NY: Verso Books.
- Löwenheim, O. (2010). The "I" in IR: An autoethnographic account. *Review of International Studies*, 36(4), 1023-1045.
- Lowi, T. J. (2005). Every poet his own Aristotle. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), *Perestroika! The raucus rebellion in political science* (pp. 45-52). United States: Yale University Press.
- Luke, T. W., & McGovern, P. J. (2010). The Rebels' Yell: Mr. Perestroika and the Causes of This Rebellion in Context. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 43(04), 729-731.



- MacEwan, A. (2005). Neoliberalism and democracy: Market power versus democratic power. In A. Saad-Filho, & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Neoliberalism: A critical reader* (pp. 170–176). Ann Arbor and London: Pluto Press.
- Machado, A. (1969). *Poesías completas*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe S.A.
- Mac Hale, T. (1987). Desinformación de la visita papal. *Política*, 13, 225-228.
- Mallo, S. (2011). *Carlos Real de Azúa. Un intelectual inasible. El papel de los intelectuales, la política y los vaivenes del Uruguay y la región en la segunda mitad del Siglo XX*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.
- Manalansan, M. F. (1995). In the shadows of Stonewall: Examining gay transnational politics and the diasporic dilemma. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 2(4), 425-438.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1983). The new institutionalism: organizational factors in political life. *American Political Science Review*, 78(03), 734-749.
- Marcuse, H. (1974). *Eros and civilization. A philosophical inquiry into Freud*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Marcuse, H. (1991). *One-dimensional man: Studies in the ideology of advanced industrial society*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Marcuse, H. (1993). *El hombre unidimensional. Ensayo sobre la ideología de la sociedad industrial avanzada*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta.
- Mariátegui, J. C. (1979). *Siete ensayos de la realidad peruana*. Lima: Editorial Aumauta.
- Marín Vicuña, A. (1986). El sistema electoral binominal como una opción para el centro político. *Política*, 9, 139–145.
- Markarián, V. (2015). La Universidad intervenida. Cambios y permanencias de la educación superior uruguaya durante la última dictadura (1973-1984). *Cuadernos Chilenos de Historia de la Educación*, 3(4), 121–153.
- Markoff, J. & Montecinos, V. (1994). El irresistible ascenso de los economistas. *Desarrollo Económico*, 133(34), 3–29.

- Marx, K. (1978a). Economic and philosophic manuscripts of 1844. In R. C. Tucker (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels reader* (pp. 66-125). New York-London: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Marx, K. (1978b). Theses on Feuerbach. In R. C. Tucker (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader* (pp. 143-145). New York-London: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Marx, K. (1990). *Capital Volume I*. London: Penguin Books.
- Massini-Correas, C. (1988). Socialdemocracia y liberación sexual. *Política*, 15, 35–47.
- Mayol, A. (2012). *El derrumbe del modelo: la crisis de la economía de mercado en el Chile contemporáneo*. Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- McGovern, P. J. (2010). Perestroika in Political Science: Past, Present, and Future. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 43(04), 725-727.
- McNally, D. (2002). *Bodies of meaning. Studies on language, labor, and liberation*. New York NY: State University of New York Press.
- McNally, D. (2006). *Another World Is Possible. Globalization and Anti-Capitalism*. Monmouth: The Merlin Press.
- McNally, D. (2011). *Global slump: The economics and politics of crisis and resistance*. Oakland: PM Press.
- Mead, L. M. (2010). Scholasticism in Political Science. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(02), 453-464.
- Mejía Acosta, A., Freidenberg, F., & Pachano, S. (2005). La ciencia política en Ecuador: un reflejo de su fragilidad democrática (1978-2005). *Revista de ciencia política*, 25(1), 147-161.
- Mella, M. (2011a). Los intelectuales de los centros independientes y el surgimiento del concertacionismo. In M. Mella (Ed.), *Extraños en la noche. Intelectuales y usos políticos del conocimiento durante la transición chilena* (pp. 153-194). Santiago de Chile: RIL editores.
- Mella, M. (2011b). *Extraños en la noche. Intelectuales y usos políticos del conocimiento durante la transición chilena*. Santiago de Chile: RIL editores.

- Menéndez-Carrión, A. (2001). The transformation of political culture. In M. A. Garretón, & E. Newman. *Democracy in Latin America. (Re) constructing political society*. Estados Unidos: United Nations University Press.
- Menéndez-Carrión, A. (2002a). El lugar de la ciudadanía en los entornos de hoy. Una mirada desde América Latina. *Ecuador Debate*, 58.
- Menéndez-Carrión, A. (2002b). Pero dónde y para qué hay cabida. El lugar de la ciudadanía en América Latina, algunas consideraciones para situar el problema. *Ecuador Debate*, 57.
- Menéndez-Carrión, A. (2015). *Memorias de ciudadanía. Los avatares de una polis golpeada. La experiencia uruguaya*. Fin de Siglo: Montevideo.
- Meneses, E. (1979). El sistema internacional multipolar de equilibrio de poder. Una revisión histórica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 67-79.
- Meneses, E. (1981a). Política exterior, los fondos marinos y diversos intereses. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 7-16.
- Meneses, E. (1981b). Estructura geopolítica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 105-161.
- Meneses, E. (1983). Futuras opciones nucleares de Francia. *Política*, 2, 51-72.
- Meneses, E. (1992). La crisis fronteriza chilena: primera parte, 1954-1973. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 14(1-2), 129-147.
- Meneses, E. (1998). La disuasión aérea chilena: implicancias político-estratégicas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 19(2), 63-88.
- Meneses, E., Tagle, J., & Guevara, T. (1982). La política exterior chilena del siglo XX a través de los mensajes presidenciales y las conferencias panamericanas hasta la segunda guerra mundial. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 50-61.
- Meneses, E., & Navarro Meza, M. (1995). Política de defensa: el caso de la adquisición de sistemas de arma. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 17(1-2), 121-157
- Mertz, Ó. (1982). La cultura adversaria en la sociedad contemporánea. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 7-27.

- Mertz, Ó. (1984). Adam Smith: los conceptos de naturaleza humana y gobierno en la teoría de los sentimientos morales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 55-75.
- Mifsud, A. (1985). El texto evangelio, ética y política y su status epistemológico. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 115-119.
- Miranda, C. (1984). Hobbes y la anarquía internacional. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 71-84
- Miranda, C. (1986). Realismo e idealismo en el estudio de las relaciones internacionales: la influencia de Hobbes y de Kant. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 88-100.
- Miranda, M. T. (1982). El sistema electoral y el multipartidismo en Chile 1949-1969. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 59-69.
- Mohanty, Ch. T. (1991). Introduction: Cartographies of struggle. Third world women and the politics of feminism. In Ch. Mohanty, A. Russo, & L. Torres (Eds.), *Third world women and the politics of feminism* (pp. 1-41). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mohanty, Ch. T., Russo, A. & Torres, L. (1991). *Third world women and the politics of feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Monroe, K. R (2005). *Perestroika! The raucous rebellion in political science*. United States: Yale University Press.
- Morelli, C. (2008). Behind the world food crisis. *International Socialism*, 119. Retrieved from <http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=455&issue=119>
- Moreno Valencia, F. (1985). Reflexión a propósito de un documento episcopal chileno: Evangelio, ética y política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 147-149.
- Moreno Valencia, F. (1987). El mensaje de Juan Pablo II en Chile. Primera parte. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 17-26.
- Morgensen, S. L. (2010). Settler homonationalism. Theorizing settler colonialism within queer modernities. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 16(1-2), 105-131.
- Morris-Jones, W. H. (1983). The politics of political science: The case of comparative studies. *Political Studies*, 31, 1-24.

- Moulián, T. (2002). *Chile actual. Anatomía de un mito*. Santiago de Chile: LOM editores.
- Moulián, T. (2009). *Contradicciones del desarrollo político chileno 1920-1990*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Arcis.
- Mujal-León, E. (1982). En torno a la consolidación de la democracia en España. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 62-72.
- Munck, G. L., & Snyder, R. (2007). Who publishes in comparative politics? Studying the world from the United States. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40(02), 339-346.
- Munck, R. (2005). Neoliberalism and politics, and the politics of neoliberalism. In A. Saad-Filho, & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Neoliberalism: A critical reader* (pp. 60–69). Ann Arbor. London: Pluto Press.
- Myers, J. (1989). Argentina: una visión crítica de su historia política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 20-29.
- Neruda, P. (1960). *Canción de gesta*. La Habana: Imprenta Nacional de Cuba.
- Newman, S. (2007). Anarchism, poststructuralism and the future of radical politics. *SubStance* 36(2), 3–19.
- Nicholson, P. (1986). La política y la fuerza. In A. Leftwich. *¿Qué es la política?* México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Nicolaus, M. (1968). *The unknown Marx*. Retrieved from:  
[http://www.platypus1917.org/wpcontent/uploads/readings/nicolausmartin\\_unknownmarx\\_nlr48.pdf](http://www.platypus1917.org/wpcontent/uploads/readings/nicolausmartin_unknownmarx_nlr48.pdf)
- Nietzsche, F. (1989). *Genealogy of morals*. New York, NY: Vintage books.
- Nietzsche, F. (1990). *Beyond good and evil*. England: Penguin Books.
- Nietzsche, F. (1992). *Así habló Zarathustra*. Barcelona: Planeta-Agostini.
- Nietzsche, F. (1999a). *Ecce Homo*. Madrid, Spain: Edimat Libros.
- Nietzsche, F. (1999b). *El caminante y su sombra*. Madrid, Spain: Edimat Libros.
- Nietzsche, F. (1999c). *El ocaso de los ídolos*. Madrid: Edimat Libros.

- Nietzsche, F. (1999d). *La génesis de la moral*. Buenos Aires: Bureau Editor.
- Nietzsche, F. (n.d.). Beyond good and evil. Retrieved from: <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/nietzsche/1886/beyond-good-evil/ch04.htm>
- Nishiyama, Ch. (1982). Capitalismo humano. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 152-181.
- Novak, M. (1983). Democracia y desarrollo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 83-94.
- Núñez Tome, L. M. (1988). El plebiscito presidencial de 1988. *Política*, 16, 75–81.
- O'Donnell, G. & Schmitter, P. (1986). *Transiciones desde un gobierno autoritario. Conclusiones tentativas sobre las democracias inciertas*. Barcelona-Buenos Aires-México: Ediciones Paidós.
- Ollman, B. (1971). *Alienation: Marx's conception of man in capitalist society*. Retrieved from [www.dialecticalmaxism.com](http://www.dialecticalmaxism.com)
- Otero, R. (1987). Comentario a las intervenciones de Roberto Pulido y Abraham Santibáñez. *Política*, 13, 191-200.
- Panero, L. M. (1999). *Sade o la imposibilidad*. In M. de Sade, *Cuentos, historietas y fábulas*. Madrid: Edimat Libros.
- Panitch, L., & Gindin, S. (2004). Global capitalism and American empire. *Socialist register*, 40(40).
- Paternain, R., Ravecca, P., & Somma N. (2005). El golpe de Estado en Uruguay tres miradas desde la teoría social. (Working paper N°74). Departamento de sociología, Facultad de ciencias sociales, Universidad de la República.
- Patroni, V., & Poitras, M. (2002). Labour in Neoliberal Latin America: An Introduction. *Labour, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société*, 35(2), 207–220.
- Pazos, L. (1987). Relaciones entre pobreza y sobrepoblación. *Política*, 12, 183–193.
- Pérez Antón, R. (1986). Ciencia política. In *Ciencia y tecnología en el Uruguay* (pp. 223-233) Montevideo: Centro de Investigaciones Económicas (CINVE)

- Pérez Antón, R. (1992). Ciencia política. In G. Caetano, P. Mieres, R. Pérez, & J. Rilla (Eds.), *Partidos y electores: centralidad y cambios* (pp. 41-62). Montevideo: Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (CLAEH).
- Petrus Putter, A. (1983). La política marítima de Sudáfrica. *Política*, 3, 159–168.
- Pezoa Bissieres, Á. (1989). El nuevo autoritarismo en América Latina. Un análisis bibliográfico. *Política*, 21, 151-158.
- Pilling, G. (1980). *Marx's Capital, Philosophy and Political Economy*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/pilling/works/capital/>
- Pinochet de la Barra, Ó. (1985). El tratado de paz y amistad entre Chile y Argentina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 188-198.
- Pion-Berlin, D., & Clearly, D. (2005). Methodological bias in the APSR. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), *Perestroika! The raucus rebellion in political science* (pp. 305-329). United States: Yale University Press.
- Pittman, H. T. (1981). Algunas tendencias geopolíticas específicas en los países del ABC. Nuevas aplicaciones de la ley de las áreas valiosas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 27-70.
- Pomeranz, K. (2000). *The great divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Poradowski, M. (1984). La “teología de la liberación” de Karl Marx. *Política*, 5, 69–107.
- Poradowski, M. (1986). Teología de la liberación de Karl Marx (II). *Política*, 9, 147–171.
- Prates, S. (1987). *Los centros autónomos en ciencias sociales en el Uruguay. Trayectoria y perspectivas*. Montevideo: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociales del Uruguay (CIESU).
- Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Proyecto internacional de derechos humanos. (s/f) Julio Jaime García Covarrubias. Ejército. *Memoria viva*. Retrieved from:

[http://www.memoriaviva.com/criminales/criminales\\_g/garcia\\_covarrubias\\_julio\\_jaime.htm](http://www.memoriaviva.com/criminales/criminales_g/garcia_covarrubias_julio_jaime.htm)

- Puar, J. (2007). *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times*. Duke University Press.
- Puello-Socarrás, J. F. (2010). La miseria de la politología: Trayectoria histórica, perspectivas políticas y proyecciones sociales. *AMERICA LATINA*, 9, 211-265.
- Puig, S. (1968). Al comandante Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. In A. Paternain (Ed.), *La nueva poesía (antología)*. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina.
- Pulido, R., & Santibáñez, A. (1987). Intervención sobre política, comunicación social y vida privada. *Política*, 13, 167-190.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Quiroga, M. F., & Guerrero, N. (2013). Democracia y discursos de jóvenes secundarios en Chile: Ejes de inclusión y exclusión en la década del 2000. *Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios Sociales*, 6, w/p.
- Quiroga, F., & Ravecca, P. (2013). Análisis de las Tesis de Maestría de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile 1982-2000: Lógicas Académicas y Contexto Político. [7mo Congreso Latinoamericano de Ciencia Política 25, 26 y 27 de setiembre. Uniandes – Bogotá].
- Rama, A. (1977). Carlos Real de Azúa. *Escritura. Teoría y crítica literaria*, 2(3). Retrieved from:  
[http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos\\_Real\\_De\\_Azua/doku.php?id=sobre](http://www.autoresdeluruguay.uy/biblioteca/Carlos_Real_De_Azua/doku.php?id=sobre)
- Ramírez Gallegos, F. (2006). Mucho más que dos izquierdas. *Nueva Sociedad*, 205, 30-44.
- Ramírez, R. (2010) La transición ecuatoriana hacia el Buen Vivir. In I. León (Ed.), *Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir y cambios civilizatorios* (pp. 125–142). Quito: Fedaeaps.
- Rancière, J. (2005). *La haine de la démocratie*. Paris: La Fabrique éditions.



- Ratzinger, J. (1984). Instrucción sobre algunos aspectos de la “teología de la liberación”. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 138-162.
- Ratzinger, J. (1986). Economía y responsabilidad moral. *Política*, 10, 243–249.
- Ratzinger, J. (1987). Libertad y liberación. *Política*, 12, 159–182.
- Ravecca, P. (24th September 2004a). Reflexiones sobre la homofobia. De la injuria a la palabra propia. *Semanario Brecha*, pp. 30-31.
- Ravecca, P. (16th July 2004b). ¿Qué hacer? Hacia una respuesta radical después de Lenin. *Semanario Brecha*, pp. 31-32.
- Ravecca, P. (11th June 2004c). Repensar la izquierda. Ni centrismo ni ortodoxia: hegemonía. *Semanario Brecha*, p. 29.
- Ravecca, P. (2006). El ensayo. Una escritura (ni siquiera) fuera de lugar. *Semanario Brecha*.
- Ravecca, P. (2007). *Política “flota” si “cultura” irrumpe: un ejercicio de interpretación*. Montevideo: Mimeo.
- Ravecca, P. (2010a). La política de la ciencia política: ensayo de introspección disciplinar desde América Latina hoy. *América Latina*, 9, 173-210.
- Ravecca, P. (2010b). Marxism, postcolonial studies and queer theory today: Economies of conceptual violence and horizons beyond the apartheid. An epistemological and political reflections. Buenos Aires: Fysip Publications.
- Ravecca, P. (2010c). ‘Progressive’ government (2005-2009) and the lgttbq agenda: On the (recent) queering of Uruguay and its limits. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/5306346/ Progressive government 2005-2009 and the lgttbq agenda on the recent queering of Uruguay and its limits](https://www.academia.edu/5306346/Progressive_government_2005-2009_and_the_lgttbq_agenda_on_the_recent_queering_of_Uruguay_and_its_limits)
- Ravecca, P. (2014). La política de la ciencia política en Chile y Uruguay: Ciencia, poder, contexto. Primeros hallazgos de una agenda de investigación. (Working paper, 01/14). Instituto de Ciencia Política, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de la República.

- Ravecca, P. (2015). Our discipline and its politics. Authoritarian political science: Chile 1979-1989. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 35(1), 145-178.
- Ravecca, P., & Sempol, D. (2013). Triángulos rosas y negros en Uruguay. Un memorial del «genocidio gay» ante la tolerancia integracionista uruguaya. In J. A. Bresciano (Ed.), *La memoria histórica y sus configuraciones temáticas. Una aproximación interdisciplinaria* (pp. 385-407) Montevideo: Ediciones Cruz del Sur.
- Ravecca, P., & Upadhyay, N. (2013). Queering conceptual boundaries: Assembling indigenous, Marxist, postcolonial and queer perspectives. *Jindal Global Law Review*, 4(2), 357-378.
- Rehren, A., & Fernández, M. (2005). La evolución de la ciencia política en Chile: un análisis exploratorio (1980-2000). *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 40–55.
- Reichley, J. A. (1982). Las raíces conservadoras en las administraciones de Nixon, Ford y Reagan. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 71-86.
- Retamozo, M. (2009). La ciencia política contemporánea: ¿constricción de la ciencia y aniquilamiento de lo político? Apuntes críticos para los estudios políticos en América Latina. *Andamios*, 6(11), 71-100.
- Ribera Neumann, T. (1986). Más allá de una inconstitucionalidad. *Política*, 10, 29-70.
- Rico, A. (2005). *Cómo nos domina la clase gobernante. Orden político y obediencia social en la democracia posdictadura, 1985-2005*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce.
- Riesco, R. (1985). Valoración geoestratégica del hemisferio austral. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 168-187.
- Robert, J. (2006). Herbert Marcuse: Sexualidad y psicoanálisis. *Revista de Filosofía de la Universidad de Costa Rica*, 44(111-112), 153–163.
- Rocha Carpiuc, C. (2012a). La ciencia política en Uruguay (1989-2009): Temas, teorías y metodologías. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 97–127.
- Rocha Carpiuc, C. (2012b). El desarrollo de la ciencia política en Uruguay (1987-2009): Temas, teorías y metodologías (Unpublished Ba thesis). ICP-FCS-UdelaR, Uruguay.

- Rocha Carpiuc, C. (2013, September). La ciencia política en América Latina: temas, teorías y metodologías (2000-2010). Paper presented at the Latin America Conference of Political Science, ALACIP, Lima, Perú.
- Rocha Carpiuc, C. (2014). ¿Hacia una hegemonía del "modelo mainstream norteamericano"? Enfoques de la ciencia política en América Latina (2000-2012). *Revista Latinoamericana de Investigación Crítica (I+C)*, 1(1), 131–166.
- Rodríguez Grez, P. (1986). Restauración de la democracia en Chile. *Política*, 9, 127–137.
- Rojas Sánchez, G. (1980). Elementos de una concepción totalitaria. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 33-54.
- Rojas Sánchez, G., Ribera Neumann, T., & Cumplido Cereceda, F. (1987). Defensa de la democracia. *Revista Política Edición especial*, tomo I, 97-153.
- Rossal, M. (2005). *Ritos y mitos políticos. Una mirada antropológica del campo político uruguayo*. Montevideo: Lapzus.
- Rostow, W. W. (1956). The take-off into self-sustained growth. *The Economic Journal*, 66(261), 25-48.
- Rothstein, F. A. (2007). *Globalization in rural Mexico: Three decades of change*. Austin TX: University of Texas Press.
- Rubio Apiolaza, P. (2011). Jaime Guzmán y la Unión Demócrata Independiente durante la transición. Una revisión de su aporte intelectual en los años ochenta. In M. Mella (Ed.), *Extraños en la noche. Intelectuales y usos políticos del conocimiento Durante la transición chilena* (pp. 73-96). Chile: RIL editores.
- Rudolph, S. H. (2005). Perestroika and its other. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), *Perestroika! The raucous rebellion in political science* (pp. 12-20). United States: Yale University Press.
- Saad-Filho, A. & Johnston, D. (2005). *Neoliberalism: A critical reader*. Ann Arbor. London: Pluto Press.
- Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Said, E. (2003a). Nuevas crónicas palestinas. El fin del proceso de paz. España: Debolsillo.

- Said, E. (2003b). *Orientalismo*. España: Debolsillo.
- Said, E. (2003c). The nation is not united. The other America. Retrieved from: <http://www.counterpunch.org/said03222003.html>
- Sánchez González, S. (2005). La ciencia política en Panamá: Un nuevo punto de partida, *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), pp. 204–221.
- Sandoz, E. (1983). Reflexiones sobre naturaleza humana, política y democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 95-116.
- Sartori, G. (1984). La política, lógica y método en las ciencias sociales. In A. Leftwich *¿Qué es política?* México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Sartori, G. (2004). Where is political science going? *PS- Political Science and Politics*, 34(4), 785-789.
- Sasse, G. (1980). La guerra subversiva como método en relaciones internacionales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 67-77.
- Sassoon, A. S. (1987). *Gramsci's Politics*. London: Hutchinson Education.
- Scarry, E. (1987). *The body in pain: The making and unmaking of the world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schafer, J., Haslam, P. A., & Beaudet, P. (2012). Meaning, measurement, and morality in international development. In J. Schafer, P. A. Haslam, & P. Beaudet, *Introduction to international development: Approaches, actors and issues* (pp. 3-27). Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2008). Discursive institutionalism: The explanatory power of ideas and discourse”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 303–326.
- Schram, S., & Caterino, B. (2006). *Making political science matter: Debating knowledge, research and method*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Schumpeter, J. (1984). *Capitalismo, socialismo y democracia*. Barcelona: Folio.
- Sears, A. (2005). Queer anti-capitalism: What's left of lesbian and gay liberation. *Science & Society*, 69(1), 92-112.

- Sears, A. (2014). *The next new left. A history of the future*. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Sempol, D. (2008). La historia de la sexualidad. (Informe Uruguay) *Red Académica LGTB MERCOSUR*.
- Sempol, D. (2010). Homosexualidad y cárceles políticas uruguayas. La homofobia como política de resistencia. *Revista Latinoamericana Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad*, 4, 53-79. Retrieved from: <http://www.sexualidadsaludysociedad.org>
- Sempol, D. (2013). *De los baños a la calle. Historia del movimiento lésbico, gay, trans uruguayo (1984-2013)*. Montevideo: Random House Mondadori.
- Sepúlveda, A. (1996). El desarrollo de la ciencia política en Chile. *Política*, 34, 135–147.
- Servicio Paz, & Justicia (Uruguay). (1989). *Uruguay nunca más: informe sobre la violación a los derechos humanos (1972-1985)*. Montevideo: Servicio Paz y Justicia Uruguay.
- Shapiro, I. (2005). Problems, methods, and theories in the study of politics or what's wrong with political science and what to do about it. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), *Perestroika! The raucous rebellion in political science* (pp. 66-86). United States: Yale University Press.
- Silva Bascuñán, A. (1987). Democracia: Nuevo conservantismo. *Política*, 11, 109-112.
- Singer, D. (1984). Estabilidad e inestabilidad en el sistema internacional del futuro. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 33-54.
- Shilliam, R. (2009). *German thought and international relations. The rise and fall of a liberal project*. Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan.
- Skocpol, T., & Pierson, P. (2002). Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science. In I. Katznelson & H. V. Milner (Eds.), *Political Science: State of the Discipline* (pp. 693-721). New York: W.W. Norton.
- Smith, C. A. (2011). Gay, straight, or questioning? Sexuality and political science. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(01), 35-38.

- Smith, P. H. (1995). The changing agenda for social science research on Latin America. In P. H. Smith (Ed.), *Latin America in comparative perspective: New approaches to methods and analysis*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Smith, T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Press.
- Sneh, P., & Cosaka, J. C. (2000). *La shoah en el siglo. Del lenguaje del exterminio al exterminio del discurso*. Argentina: Xavier Bóveda Ediciones.
- Solari, A. E. (1959). *Las ciencias sociales en el Uruguay*. Río de Janeiro: Centro Latinoamericano de investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales.
- Spina Forjaz, M. C. (1997). A emergência da ciência política no Brasil: aspectos institucionais. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 12(25). Retrieved from [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0102-69091997000300007&script=sci\\_arttext&tlng=es](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0102-69091997000300007&script=sci_arttext&tlng=es)
- Spivak, G. Ch. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson, & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretations of culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.
- Sreeniva, G. (2012). Managing multiple accountabilities: State obligations, trade regimes and human rights. In W. Payne, & P. Ravecca (Eds.), *Trade and investment-induced population displacement in Latin America. A workshop organized by The Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) and the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS)* (pp. 34-35). Toronto: York University. Retrieved from: <http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/Payne&Ravecca.pdf>
- Stallybrass, P. (1998). Marx's coat. In P. Speyer (Ed.), *Border fetishism: Material objects in unstable spaces* (pp. 183-207). New York: Routledge.
- Stein, M. B. (2012). Is there a genuinely international political science discipline? An overview and assessment of recent views on disciplinary historical trends. In J. Trent, & M. Stein (Eds.), *The world of political science. A critical overview of the development of political studies around the globe: 1990-2012* (pp. 67-89). Berlin & Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

- Szasz, T. (2004). Thomas Szasz quotes. Retrieved from <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/t/thomasszas165823.html>
- Taagepera, R. (2007). Why political science is not scientific enough: A symposium. *European Political Science*, 6(2), 111-113.
- Tambs, L., & Aker, F. (1982). Cómo acabar con el síndrome de Vietnam en El Salvador. *Política*, 1, 117-131.
- Tedeschi, R. G. and Calhoun, L. G. (2004). Posttraumatic growth: Conceptual foundations and empirical evidence. *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(1), 1-18.
- Theberge, J. D. (1979). Tendencias actuales en la política de América Latina y de Estados Unidos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 52-66.
- Theberge, J. D. (1983). La política de los Estados Unidos en América Central. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 75-82.
- Theberge, J. D. (1984). El sistema político de los Estados Unidos de América. *Política*, 6, 189-201.
- Theberge, J. D. (1988). Cuatro alocuciones. *Política*, 17, 129-138.
- Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 369-404.
- Tolstoi, N. (1988). Las víctimas de Yalta y su vinculación con los derechos humanos. *Política*, 18, 139-150.
- Torres-Ruiz, A. & Ravecca, P. (2014). The Politics of political science and toxic democracies: A hemispheric perspective. *Crítica Contemporánea. Revista de Teoría Política*, 4, 107-136.
- Traversa, F. (n.d.). Nicolás Maquiavelo y el arbitraje 'doble ciego' (especulación inédita). Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/10735317/Maquiavelo\\_y\\_el\\_arbitraje\\_doble\\_ciego\\_especulaci%C3%B3n\\_in%C3%A9dita](https://www.academia.edu/10735317/Maquiavelo_y_el_arbitraje_doble_ciego_especulaci%C3%B3n_in%C3%A9dita)

- Traversa, F. (2008). Democracia y redistribución en América Latina. *Stockholm Review of Latin American Studies*, 3, 65–79.
- Trent, J. E. (2009). Political Science 2010: Out of Step with the World? Empirical evidence and commentary.” [21st International Political Science World Congress, Santiago, Chile, July 2009]. Retrieved fom: <http://www.johntrent.ca/published-writings/IPSAIsPolSci-0709.html>
- Trent, J. (2010). Should political science be more relevant? An empirical and critical analysis of the discipline. *European Political Science*, 10(2), 191–209.
- Trent, J. (2012). Issues and trends in political science at the beginning of the 21st century. Perspectives from the World of Political Science Book Series. In J. Trent, & M. Stein (Eds.), *The world of political science. A critical overview of the development of political studies around the globe: 1990-2012* (pp. 91-153). Berlin & Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- Trent, J. (2014, July). The state of political studies in the world: Thinking about new paradigms. Paper presented at the World Congress of the International Political Science Association.
- Tuteleers, S. (1982). Sobre la separación de los poderes del Estado. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 73-97.
- Urenda Zegers, C. & Eyzaguirre de la Huerta, J. (1987). El derecho de la propiedad: bases de la estabilidad democrática. *Revista Política Edición especial*, tomo II, 15-43.
- Varnoux Garay, M. (2005). La ciencia política en Bolivia: Entre la reforma política y la crisis de la democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), 92-100.
- Varnoux Garay, M. (2008). Dignidad. Retrieved from <http://www.diariocritico.com/bolivia/2008/Noviembre/opinion/marcelo-varnoux/112177/marcelo-varnoux.html>
- Valdivieso Ariztía, R. (1987). Al servicio de la mentira. *Política*, 13, 217–221.
- Verdugo, P. (Ed.). (2004). *De la tortura NO se habla: Agüero vs Meneses*. Chile: Editorial Catalonia.



- Vernazza, F. (1989). Minoristas, mayoristas y generalistas en el sistema electoral uruguayo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 35–71.
- Viacava, J. (2012). La ciencia política en Chile: una carrera en expansión y transformación. *Política*, 50(1), 93–110.
- Weber, M. (1991). *Escritos políticos*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Wekker, G. (2006). *The politics of passion: Women's sexual culture in the afro-surinamese diaspora*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wiarda, H. J. (1985). ¿Se puede exportar la democracia? La búsqueda de la democracia en la política norteamericana para América Latina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 85-111.
- Widow, J. A. (1979). Filosofía y lenguaje político. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 30-40.
- Wilde, O. (1999a). *Ensayos y artículos*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación.
- Wilde, O. (1999b). Impresiones sobre Yanquilandia. In O. Wilde. *Ensayos y artículos*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación.
- Wilde, O. (1999c). Marruecos a caballo. In O. Wilde. *Ensayos y artículos*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación.
- Wilde, O. (1999d). Pluma, lápiz y veneno. In O. Wilde. *Ensayos y artículos*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación.
- Wilhelmy, M. (1982). Programas, ideologías y preferencias partidistas: El modelo de Anthony Downs. *Política*, 1, 89–114.
- Wood, E. (1996). Interview with Ellen Meiksins Wood. Democracy & capitalism: friends or foes? *New Socialist Magazine*. Retrieved from: <http://www.newsocialist.org/magazine/01/article08.html>
- Yaffé, J. (2010). Economía y dictadura en Uruguay, una visión panorámica de su evolución y de sus relaciones con la economía internacional (1973–1984). *Revista de Historia*, 61-62, 13–35.

Yrarrázaval, J. (1979). Reflexiones sobre ideología, conflicto y consenso. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 4-10.

Yrarrázaval, J. (1982). La participación en la sociedad libre. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 98-121.

Zepeda Hernández, C. (1985). Límites al pluralismo: ¿Un caso de coincidencia inadvertido? *Política*, 7, 161–182.

Zipper, R. I. (1982). Reseña bibliográfica de Orientalismo de Edward Said. *Política*, 1, 147-151.

### **Analyzed documents**

Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile. (1982). Memoria de Actividades. Santiago de Chile.

Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile. (1983). Memoria de Actividades. Santiago de Chile.

Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile. (1988). Memoria de Actividades. Santiago de Chile.

Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile. (1989). Memoria de Actividades. Santiago de Chile.

Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile. (1990). Memoria de Actividades. Santiago de Chile

Revista de Ciencia Política. (1979). Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Santiago de Chile. Volumen 1, Número 1.

Revista Política. (1983). *Chile 1973-1983. Enfoques para un Decenio*. Instituto de Ciencia Política de la Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.

# List of Analyzed Articles

## *Revista de Ciencia Política (Chile) 1979-1989*

- Agüero, P. F. (1986). La constitución y las fuerzas armadas en algunos países de América del Sur y España. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 101-122.
- Almond, G. (1988). El estudio de la cultura política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 10(2), 77-89.
- Aron, R. (1984). La alternancia de los gobiernos en los países industrializados. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 18-32.
- Aubá Asvisio, M. (1979). Ideología y partidos políticos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 22-33.
- Barría, P. (1989). Aprendizaje político: la experiencia de Venezuela en perspectiva comparada. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 30-57.
- Bentué, A. (1986). Libertad y proceso de liberación. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 172-179.
- Bingham Powell, G. (1983). Sistema de partidos y funcionamiento del sistema político: participación electoral, estabilidad gubernamental y violencia de las masas en las democracias contemporáneas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 41-74.
- Bobbio, N. (1986). Democracia y pluralismo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 101-122.
- Bowman, J. R. & Wallerstein, M. (1983). La caída de Balmaceda y las finanzas públicas en Chile. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 99-133.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1980) La constitución de 1980 y la crisis del Estado Constitucional en los países de habla castellana y portuguesa (1920-1980). *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 5-19.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1988). Crisis institucional en Chile: precedentes y perspectivas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 71-79.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1979). Fiscalización parlamentaria de los actos del gobierno, 1925-1973. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 34-45.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1982a). Cinco paradigmas políticos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 29-57.

- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1982b). Representación política y social en la nueva constitución. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 5-49.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1985). Notas sobre la presidencia y el parlamento. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 156-167.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1988). Marco jurídico-político del plebiscito de 1988. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 81-104.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1989). Poder y autoridad. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 89-102.
- Child, J. (1981). Pensamiento geopolítico y cuatro conflictos en Sudamérica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 71-104.
- Cottier, G. (1985). El verdadero sentido del progreso. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 100-116.
- Correa, S. (1989). La derecha en Chile contemporáneo: la pérdida del control estatal. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 5-19.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1979). Perspectiva del proceso institucional en Chile. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 3-21.
- Cumplido Cereceda, F. (1985). Evangelio y organización político-jurídica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 163-165.
- Crick, B. (1988). La tradición clásica y la democracia parlamentaria moderna. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 10(2), 7-22.
- Criscenti, J. T. (1985). Historia constitucional argentina 1810-1852, un Nuevo estudio. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 23-51.
- Dahl, R. (1985). Las armas nucleares: democracia y protección. Por qué fracasan los guardianes. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 83-99.
- Dahl, R. (1988). Justificación de la democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 105-129.
- Drake, P. W. (1985). El renacimiento de la democracia en Chile: perspectivas históricas y comparativas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 117-128.
- Durán, R. (1980). La corriente funcionalista en la teoría de relaciones internacionales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 20-32.
- Durán, R. (1981). Apuntes para un proyecto de investigación en relaciones internacionales y geopolítica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 17-25.

- Durán, R. (1983a). El conflicto Anglo-Argentino en el Atlántico Sur: breves comentarios sobre una bibliografía seleccionada. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 19-29.
- Durán, R. (1983b). La política multilateral de Chile entre 1945 y 1970: análisis de algunas variables significativas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 22-40.
- Durán, R. (1984). Las relaciones internacionales en la concepción de Raymond Aron. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 12-17.
- Durán, R. (1985). Lo constante y lo variable de la política exterior chilena durante los años 1974-1984: un análisis introductorio. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 179-188.
- Falcoff, M. (1986). Chile: el dilema de la política exterior norteamericana. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 7-21.
- Fariña, C. (1987). Notas sobre el pensamiento corporativo de la juventud conservadora a través del periódico "Lircay" (1934-1940). *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 27-45.
- Fernandois, J. (1985). Ideología y pragmatismo en la política exterior chilena durante la crisis del sistema político 1970-1975. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 169-178.
- Flisfisch, A. (1985). Ética del evangelio y convivencia política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 130-146.
- Fontaine, R. (1980). Perspectivas de las relaciones Estados Unidos-Latinoamérica: problemas que confrontará la administración Reagan y sus proyecciones hacia el 2000. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 86-100.
- Francou, F. (1986). La segunda instrucción vaticana. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8 (1-2), 165-171.
- Gaete, A. (1985). Evangelio, ética y política: algunas implicancias filosóficas y teológicas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 119-129.
- Gershman, C. (1985). Nuevas perspectivas en las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 199-204.
- Godoy, O. (1983a). Tocqueville y la democracia de las libertades. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 30-47.
- Godoy, O. (1983b). La previsión del futuro en Maquiavelo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 5-21.
- Godoy, O. (1984a). Aron y la democracia pluralista. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 6-11.

- Godoy, O. (1984b). Aristóteles y la teoría democrática. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 7-46.
- Godoy, O. (1985). Aristóteles y la teoría democrática. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 7-24.
- Godoy, O. (1988). Naturaleza y razón constructiva en Hobbes. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 7-27.
- Góngora, M. (1986). Romanticismo y tradicionalismo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 138-147.
- Hayek, F. A. (1982). Liberalismo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 122-151.
- Huneus, C. (1985). La política de la apertura y sus implicancias para la inauguración de la democracia en Chile. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 25-84.
- Huneus, C. (1986). La inauguración de la democracia en Chile. ¿Reforma en el procedimiento y ruptura en el contenido democrático? *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 22-87.
- Ibáñez, G. (1985). Evangelio, ética y política: comentario a un documento episcopal de trabajo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 150-162.
- Infante, M. T. (1979). Orden jurídico y orden internacional: alcances teóricos actuales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 46-55.
- Infante, M. T. (1980). Nota sobre la conferencia de Naciones Unidas sobre el derecho del mar. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 55-66.
- Inkeles, A. (1984). Puntos de convergencia y divergencia en las sociedades contemporáneas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 109-137.
- King, A. (1982). Cambios recientes en el sistema británico de partidos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 87-98.
- Kunert, D. (1979). Una contienda desigual: Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética en África. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(2), 56-93.
- LASA. (1989). Plebiscito: un primer paso hacia la redemocratización. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11 (1), 73-87.
- Mac Hale, T. P. (1979). Poder político y libertad de expresión en Chile (1976-1978). *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 41-51.

- Meneses, E. (1979). El sistema internacional multipolar de equilibrio de poder. Una revisión histórica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 67-79.
- Meneses, E. (1981a). Política exterior, los fondos marinos y diversos intereses. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 7-16.
- Meneses, E. (1981b). Estructura geopolítica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 105-161.
- Meneses, E., Tagle, J., & Guevara, T. (1982) La política exterior chilena del siglo XX a través de los mensajes presidenciales y las conferencias panamericanas hasta la segunda guerra mundial. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 50-61.
- Merino Medina, A. (1979). Hacia un enfoque del problema de la democracia estable. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 11-29.
- Mertz, O. (1982). La cultura adversaria en la sociedad contemporánea. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 7-27.
- Mertz, O. (1984a). Adam Smith: los conceptos de naturaleza humana y gobierno en la teoría de los sentimientos morales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 55-75.
- Mertz, O. (1984b). Epistemología y ciencia política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 44-70.
- Mifsud, A. (1985). El texto evangelio, ética y política y su status epistemológico. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 115-119.
- Miranda, C. E. (1984). Hobbes y la anarquía internacional. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 71-84.
- Miranda, C. E. (1985). Un comentario sobre la imagen internacional de Chile. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 189-193.
- Miranda, C. E. (1986). Realismo e idealismo en el estudio de las relaciones internacionales: la influencia de Hobbes y de Kant. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 88-100.
- Miranda, C. E. (1988). Terrorismo internacional: una aproximación teórica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 10(2), 65-75.
- Miranda, M. T. (1982). El sistema electoral y el multipartidismo en Chile 1949-1969. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 59-69.
- Miranda, M. T. (1983). Magnitud de las circunscripciones electorales y fraccionamiento de los sistemas de partidos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 117-125.

- Moreno Valencia, F. (1985). Reflexión a propósito de un documento episcopal chileno: Evangelio, ética y política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 147-149.
- Moreno, F. (1986). Apuntes sobre la democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 148-162.
- Moreno, F. (1987). El mensaje de Juan Pablo II en Chile. Primera parte. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 17-26.
- Moreno, F. (1988). Iglesia y democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 29-50.
- Mujal-León, E. (1982). En torno a la consolidación de la democracia en España. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 62-72.
- Myers, J. (1989). Argentina: una visión crítica de su historia política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 20-29.
- Nioche, J. P. (1982). De la evaluación al análisis de las políticas públicas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 99-125.
- Nishiyama, Ch. (1982). Capitalismo humano. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 152-181.
- Nohlen, D. (1987). El parlamentarismo español en una perspectiva sistémico-constitucional. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 7-16.
- Nohlen, D. (1988). Sistemas electorales, redemocratización y consolidación de la democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 10(2), 23-43.
- Novak, M. (1983a). Democracia y desarrollo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 5-18.
- Novak, M. (1983b). Democracia y desarrollo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 83-94.
- Ortiz, E. (1989). Cambio y conservación en la Unión Soviética. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 11(1), 58-71.
- Pinochet de la Barra, O. (1985). El tratado de paz y amistad entre Chile y Argentina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 188-198.
- Pittman, H. T. (1981). Algunas tendencias geopolíticas específicas en los países del ABC. Nuevas aplicaciones de la ley de las áreas valiosas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 3(1-2), 27-70.
- Puhle, J. H. (1987). Populismo en América Latina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 87-101.
- Quezada Álvarez, G. (1983). Política exterior chilena 1958-1973: un análisis comparativo de flujos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 48-76.



- Quezada Álvarez, G. (1984). Las percepciones territoriales en las relaciones chileno-argentinas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 94-108.
- Quezada Álvarez, G. (1985). Hacia un esquema de los estudios en política exterior chilena. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 52-66.
- Quezada Álvarez, G. (1987). Juegos, simulaciones y el modelo Cono-Sur: una aproximación teórica. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 47-60.
- Ratzinger, J. (1984). Instrucción sobre algunos aspectos de la “teología de la liberación”. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 138-162.
- Reichley, J. A. (1982). Las raíces conservadoras en las administraciones de Nixon, Ford y Reagan. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(1), 71-86.
- Ricker, W. (1983). El sistema bipartidista y la ley de Duverger: un ensayo sobre la historia de la ciencia política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 134-159.
- Riesco J., R. (1985). Valoración geoestratégica del hemisferio austral. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 168-187.
- Rivas, E. (1986). Algunos aspectos de la instrucción. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 8(1-2), 180-188.
- Rojas Sánchez, G. (1980). Elementos de una concepción totalitaria. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 33-54.
- Sabine, G. H. (1984). Las dos tradiciones democráticas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(1), 77-95.
- Sandoz, E. (1983). Reflexiones sobre naturaleza humana, política y democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 95-116.
- Sasse E., G. (1980). La Guerra subversiva como método en relaciones internacionales. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2(3), 67-77.
- Singer, C. (1983). La evolución de la negociación estratégica entre las superpotencias, 1945-1982. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(1), 77-98.
- Singer, D. (1984). Estabilidad e inestabilidad en el sistema internacional del futuro. *Revista de Ciencia Político*, 6(1), 33-54.
- Solari, A. (1988). Proceso de democratización en el Uruguay. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 10(2), 45-64.

- Stuven, A. M. (1987). La generación de 1842 y la conciencia nacional chilena. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 61-80.
- Theberge, J. D. (1979). Tendencias actuales en la política de América Latina y de Estados Unidos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 52-66.
- Theberge, J. D. (1983). La política de los Estados Unidos en América Central. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 5(2), 75-82.
- Tomassini, T. (1985). Relaciones internacionales: teorías y realidades. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 7-22.
- Tuteleers, S. (1982). Sobre la separación de los poderes del Estado. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 73-97.
- Valenzuela, A. (1985). Hacia una democracia estable: la opción parlamentaria para Chile. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 129-140.
- Vargas, F. (1987). Ideologías y enseñanza social de la iglesia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 103-118.
- Vial, A. (1987). Consenso y sustancia en Locke. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9(1), 81-86.
- Vial, J. D. (1985). Ética y política. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 146-155.
- Walker, I. (1985). Algunos antecedentes históricos sobre la militarización del sistema político soviético. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(2), 67-82.
- Wiarda, H. J. (1985). ¿Se puede exportar la democracia? La búsqueda de la democracia en la política norteamericana para América Latina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7(1), 85-111.
- Widow, J. A. (1979). Filosofía y lenguaje político. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 30-40.
- Wilhelmy von Wolff, M. (1988). Estados Unidos: constitución y política exterior. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 9-10(2-1), 51-70.
- Yrarrázabal, J. (1979). Reflexiones sobre ideología, conflicto y consenso. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1(1), 4-10.
- Yrarrázabal, J. (1982). La participación en la sociedad libre. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 4(2), 98-121.
- Yrarrázabal, J. (1984). Iglesia y opinión política por la sociedad libre. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 6(2), 85-93.

## ***Revista Política (Chile) 1982-1989***

- Antúnez Aldunate, J. (1987a). Estado, política y cultura. *Política*, 11, 55–63.
- Antúnez Aldunate, J. (1987b). Para una lectura del mensaje de S.S. Juan Pablo II a la CEPAL. *Política*, 12, 219–230.
- Antúnez Aldunate, J. (1988). Proyecto histórico de la democracia cristiana. *Política*, 15, 77–85.
- Arce Eberhard, A. (1983). Factores externos que afectan la seguridad nacional. *Política*, 4, 177–196.
- Bambach, M. V. (1986). Sistemas electorales. *Política*, 9, 79–124.
- Barrientos Vidaurre, J. A. (1988). La democracia y los gobiernos regionales y locales. *Política*, 16, 105–117.
- Barros van Buren, M. (1983). El nacionalismo histórico. *Política*, 4, 197–213.
- Barros van Buren, M. (1988). La crisis de la bipolaridad. *Política*, 15, 51–75.
- Bauer, P. (1988). La última inquietud demográfica: ideas, políticas y repercusiones. *Política*, 17, 119–128.
- Bauer, P. T., & Basil, Y. (1989). La crisis de la deuda externa en el tercer mundo: ¿real o imaginario? *Política*, 19, 79–93.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1983). La renovación socialista: un mito contemporáneo. *Política*, 4, 49–89.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1984). Partidos políticos chilenos bajo la constitución de 1925: evolución histórica. *Política*, 6, 63–128.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1985a). La transición política: aproximaciones a una clasificación teórica a partir del estudio de casos. *Política*, 7, 43–79.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1985b). El Partido Comunista chileno: su estrategia política entre 1973 y 1985. *Política*, 8, 41–117.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1987a). Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria: trayectoria y presente. *Política*, 12, 121–155.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1987b). Perfil del Partido Humanista. *Política*, 14, 89–113.
- Benavente Urbina, A. (1988). Partidos políticos y procesos de transición en América Latina. La fase de crisis democrática y la fase autoritaria. *Política*, 17, 83–106.

- Benavente Urbina, A. (1989). La estabilidad política en los procesos de transición. *Política*, 20, 57–84.
- Benavente Urbina, A., & Jaraquemada Roblero, J. (1988). La Glasnot de Gorbachev y su lectura en los partidos comunistas locales: premisas de un doble estándar. *Política*, 16, 83–103.
- Benavente Urbina, A., & Jaraquemada Roblero, J. (1989a). Argentina: el retorno de la insurrección. *Política*, 19, 61–78.
- Benavente Urbina, A., & Jaraquemada Roblero, J. (1989b). Concertación social y consolidación democrática: ¿un replanteamiento del corporativismo socialista? *Política*, 21, 63–93.
- Bertelsen Repetto, R. (1983). Participación y representación en la nueva institucionalidad. *Política*, 3, 169–179.
- Bertelsen Repetto, R. (1987). Cultura y universidad. *Política*, 12, 197–207.
- Besançon, A. (1989). Rusia frente a la Revolución Francesa. *Política*, 20, 11–21.
- B. M. B. (1988). Crónica del Movimiento Obrero Independiente en Rusia. (1918). *Política*, 18, 151–168.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1982). El movimiento asociativo en Chile. 1924-1973. *Política*, 1, 31–57.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1984). La crisis de la idea de Estado en Chile durante el siglo XX. *Política*, 5, 9–42.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1985a). Orígenes, apogeo y ocaso de los partidos políticos en Chile. 1857-1973. *Política*, 7, 9–42.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1985b). Formación del Estado moderno: estado absoluto y leyes fundamentales en Francia. *Política*, 8, 9–39.
- Bravo Lira, B. (1985c). Mito y realidad de la democracia en Chile. *Política*, 8, 219–236.
- Bruna Contreras, G. (1987). La libertad económica: elemento de un nuevo orden político económico. *Política*, 13, 59–76.
- Bruno Contreras, G. & Cumplido, F. (1987). Intervenciones sobre comunicación social, totalitarismo y terrorismo. *Política*, 13, 135-160.
- Buitrago Camelo, L. (1987). La Guerra de las Galaxias: desafíos tecnológicos y estratégicos. *Política*, 14, 59–85.

- Bukovski, V. (1984). Las ilusiones de Occidente: pacifistas en contra de la paz. *Política*, 5, 155–171.
- Bulnes Sanfuentes, F. (1984). Disertación del Consejero de Estado Don Francisco Bulnes Sanfuentes acerca del anteproyecto de ley orgánica constitucional sobre partidos políticos. *Política*, 5, 173–200.
- Cáceres Contreras, C. (1988). Reflexiones sobre el futuro económico de Chile. *Política*, 17, 109–118.
- Cáceres Contreras, C. (1989). Constitución y consenso. *Política*, 20, 127–135.
- Campi, A. (1987). Las “transformaciones” del Estado electivo-representativo. *Política*, 11, 41–53.
- Campos Harriet, F. (1984). El sufragio en Chile: 1810-1980. *Política*, 6, 10–61.
- Carmona, J. D. (1983). Transición a la democracia: problemas y perspectivas. *Política*, 4, 217–231.
- Carmona, J. D. (1987). Análisis del proyecto elaborado por la Comisión de Estudios de Leyes Orgánicas Constitucionales. *Política*, 13, 29–46.
- Carvajal Prado, P., & Huerta Díaz, I. (1983). El pronunciamiento militar de 1973: fundamentos y antecedentes. *Política*, 4, 93–122.
- Cea Egaña, J. L. (1982). Saber y comportamiento político. *Política*, 1, 59–87.
- Claro Valdes, R. (1989). Fundamentos para el progreso económico de Chile. *Política*, 19, 23–35.
- Collados Núñez, M. (1987). El rol del Estado en la economía. *Política*, 13, 77–85.
- Concha, M. F. (1989). ¿Qué aportó Lenin al marxismo? *Política*, 19, 37–42.
- Cousiño, J. A. (1987). Comentario a las intervenciones de Juan Hamilton y Edmundo Eluchans M. *Política*, 13, 123-134.
- Cruz-Coke Ossa, C. (1984). Análisis del futuro sistema electoral. *Política*, 6, 131–162.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1983). Objetivos nacionales. Una reflexión analítica. *Política*, 3, 9–26.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1984). Algunas consideraciones sobre la importancia estratégica de la Antártica y mares adyacentes. *Política*, 5, 111–124.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1986). La estrategia comunista en Occidente y en Chile: algunas notas y comentarios. *Política*, 9, 51–78.

- Cuevas Farren, G. (1987a). "La nueva democracia y el neo-conservantismo." *Política*, 11, 11-12.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1987b). El principio de subsidiariedad en el régimen político chileno. *Política*, 13, 9-17.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1987c). Introducción al seminario: política y comunicación social. *Política*, 13, 89-96.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1988a). El proyecto histórico de la Unidad Popular. *Política*, 15, 87-125.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1988b). Algunas reflexiones sobre las FF.AA. y el actual proceso institucional. *Política*, 16, 63-74.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1989a). Procesos de transición a la democracia: una visión personal. *Política*, 20, 47-56.
- Cuevas Farren, G. (1989b). Chile 1989: Las coyunturas de un proceso político. *Política*, 21, 11-27.
- Cuevas Farren, G., Mac Hale, T., & Trucco, M. (1988). Homenaje a James Theberge. *Política*, 17, 139-152.
- Daza Valenzuela, P. (1983). Visión de América Latina. *Política*, 3, 147-158.
- Del Noce, A. (1988). El rasgo que une a Stalin con Togliatti. *Política*, 16, 53-55.
- Desantes-Guanter, J. M. (1988). La manipulación de la opinión pública. *Política*, 17, 43-54.
- Díaz Gronow, R. (1987). Comentario a las intervenciones de Guillermo Bruna Contreras y Francisco Cumplido. *Política*, 13, 161-166.
- Domic, J. (1983). La sucesión del poder en la URSS. *Política*, 2, 165-171.
- Domic, J. (1987). Campaña comunista de desinformación internacional. *Política*, 13, 205-215.
- Etchepare Jensen, A. (1989). Los partidos regionalistas bajo la constitución de 1925. ¿Mito o realidad? *Política*, 21, 125-132.
- Etchepare Jensen, A., García Valenzuela, V. H., Valdes Urrutia, M., & Manquilef Quezada, I. (1987). Decadencia y eclipse de la organización política conservadora en Chile (1938-1966). *Política*, 14, 115-86.

- Etchepare Jensen, J., & Valdés Urrutia, M. (1985). El “naranjazo” y sus repercusiones en la elección presidencial de 1964. *Política*, 7, 117–153.
- Feliú Justiniano, M. (1987). El Estado y la empresa privada. *Política*, 13, 47–58.
- Fernández de la Mora, G. (1985). Condicionamientos para la democracia. *Política*, 8, 199–205.
- Fernández de la Mora, G. (1986). Neocorporativismo y representación. *Política*, 9, 9–49.
- Fernández de la Mora, G. (1987). El método y el ideario conservadores. *Política*, 11, 13–21.
- Fernández de la Mora, G. (1988). Spengler y la democracia. *Política*, 18, 31–41.
- Fontaine Aldunate, A. (1983). Evolución política de Chile (1964-1980) 2da parte. *Política*, 4, 269-272.
- Freund, J. (1982). La crisis del Estado. *Política*, 1, 9–29.
- Fuentes Lazo, O. (1983). Percepciones japonesas sobre la Unión Soviética. *Política*, 4, 125–150.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1985). Elementos para la comprensión del movimiento estudiantil de mayo de 1968 en Francia. *Política*, 8, 119–143.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1988a). La naturaleza de las crisis políticas y los procesos de transición en Argentina. *Política*, 15, 127–148.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1988b). Una dimensión teórica sobre los procesos de transición a la democracia. *Política*, 17, 71–82.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1989a). La transición política en México y la crisis del Partido Revolucionario Institucional. *Política*, 20, 85–100.
- Gajardo Lagomarsino, P. (1989b). La transición a la democracia en Chile: desafíos y perspectivas a partir de un análisis teórico. *Política*, 21, 53–62.
- Garay Vera, C. (1986). Doctrina Schneider-Prats: la crisis del sistema político y la participación militar (1969-1973). *Política*, 10, 71–177.
- García Covarrubias, J. (1987). El partido radical y su relación de intereses con la clase media en Chile en el período 1888-1938. *Política*, 12, 49–119.
- García Covarrubias, J. (1988). Una perspectiva del origen y presencia de la clase media en Chile (1810-1940). *Política*, 18, 57–78.

- García Covarrubias, J. (1989). Reflexiones en torno a la política y lo político. *Política*, 21, 135–149.
- García-Huidobro C., J. (1986). Una utopía desconcertante. *Política*, 9, 183–192.
- García Rodríguez, R. (1987). El rol del Estado en materia empresarial. *Política*, 13, 19–27.
- Ghisolfo Araya, F. (1983). El poder naval al servicio de la sociedad en tiempos de paz. *Política*, 4, 31-47.
- Gottfried, P. (1987). Conservantismo y neo-conservantismo norteamericano. *Política*, 11, 95–107.
- Gros Espiell, H. (1983). Control político de la constitución: el caso de Uruguay. *Política*, 2, 9–50.
- Guerra Campos, J. L. (1988). Sentido cristiano del ejército. *Política*, 15, 151–176.
- Hamilton, J., & Eluchans, E. (1987). Intervenciones sobre televisión y cultura política. *Política*, 13, 97-122.
- Hasbun, R. (1987). Dictadores y comunicadores. *Política*, 13, 223-225.
- Henrikson, A. K. (1985). La rivalidad Este-Oeste en América Latina: entre el águila y el oso. *Política*, 8, 145–195.
- Hickman, J. K. (1983). La crisis de las Islas Falkland: un año después. *Política*, 3, 139–144.
- Holzmann P., G. (1989a). América Latina frente al conflicto Este-Oeste. *Política*, 19, 45–60.
- Holzmann P., G. (1989b). De la propaganda a la publicidad política. *Política*, 21, 107–111.
- Horia, V. (1988). Vuelta metapolítica al Cono Sur. *Política*, 17, 11–27.
- Ibáñez Ojeda, P. (1989). El destino de Chile. *Política*, 19, 11–21.
- Imatz-Couartou, A. (1987). Las familias ideológicas de la derecha francesa: esbozo histórico y doctrinal. *Política*, 11, 133–165.
- Jaraquemada R., J. (1988). Iglesia Católica y crisis del Estado en América Latina: tensiones entre estatismo y libertad. *Política*, 18, 105–136.
- Jaraquemada R., J. (1989). Raíces trascendentes en la redefinición del pensamiento liberal. *Política*, 20, 101–124.
- Johnson, P. (1987). El cristianismo y las armas nucleares. *Política*, 14, 13–32.
- Johnson, P. (1988). El futuro de Sudáfrica. *Política*, 17, 29–41.
- Johnson, P. (1989). Las primeras utopías despóticas. *Política*, 19, 97–147.



- Juan Pablo II. (1987). Las comunicaciones sociales al servicio de la justicia y de la paz. *Política*, 13, 231–236.
- Krenn, K. (1987). No al pacifismo angustiado. La libertad del hombre, medida de la paz. *Política*, 14, 33–57.
- Labin, S. (1983). Intentos de descifrar una esfinge: François Mitterrand. *Política*, 2, 139–152.
- Lapouge, G. (1988). Raymond Aron. Imperialismo, lo que queda del marxismo-leninismo. *Política*, 16, 29–37.
- Linke, D. (1986). Las relaciones de Alemania con América Latina, especialmente con Chile. *Política*, 10, 251–260.
- Llano, A. (1988). El hombre y el trabajo: una reflexión en torno al desempleo. *Política*, 15, 23–33.
- Mac Hale, T. (1987a). Neo-Conservantismo y libertad de expresión. *Política*, 11, 33–39.
- Mac Hale, T. (1987b). Conclusiones del seminario. *Política*, 13, 201–203
- Mac Hale, T. (1987c). Desinformación de la visita papal. *Política*, 13, 225–228.
- Maier, H. (1987d). El verdadero origen de la Democracia Cristiana. *Política*, 14, 189–226.
- Marín Vicuña, A. (1986). El sistema electoral binominal como una opción para el centro político. *Política*, 9, 139–145.
- Massini-Correas, C. I. (1988). Socialdemocracia y liberación sexual. *Política*, 15, 35–47.
- Meneses, E. (1983). Futuras opciones nucleares de Francia. *Política*, 2, 51–72.
- Merino Medina, A. (1987). El milenarismo visto desde la politología. *Política*, 12, 25–45.
- Meza Villalobos, N. (1983). Los orígenes de la cultura política de los chilenos. *Política*, 3, 81–123.
- Millán Puelles, A. (1987). Maeztu y la libertad. *Política*, 12, 9–24.
- Montes, J. (1983). Las islas Malvinas. *Política*, 3, 127–138.
- Moreno Valencia, F. (1985). La tolerancia. *Política*, 8, 209–217.
- Nahavandi, H. (1988). El juego de las potencias en Irán. *Política*, 16, 121–133.
- Nogueira Pinto, J. (1987). Renacimiento conservador. *Política*, 11, 23–32.
- Novak, M. (1986). En defensa del capitalismo democrático. *Política*, 10, 229–240.
- Núñez Tome, L. M. (1988). El plebiscito presidencial de 1988. *Política*, 16, 75–81.
- Ocariz Braña, F. (1988). La concepción marxista de la sociedad. *Política*, 16, 11–27.

- Otero, R. (1987). Comentario a las intervenciones de Roberto Pulido y Abraham Santibáñez. *Política*, 13, 191-200.
- Pardo Vásquez, L. (1985). El impacto socio-económico de la labor de la mujer. *Política*, 7, 81-114.
- Paz, O. (1988). El peregrino en su patria. *Política*, 15, 11-22.
- Pazos, L. (1987). Relaciones entre pobreza y sobrepoblación. *Política*, 12, 183-193.
- Peña Torres, M. (1983). Leyes orgánicas constitucionales: Algunas precisiones. *Política*, 3, 181-197.
- Petrus Putter, A. (1983). La política marítima de Sudáfrica. *Política*, 3, 159-168.
- Pezoa Bissieres, A. (1989). El nuevo autoritarismo en América Latina. Un análisis bibliográfico. *Política*, 21, 151-158.
- Poduje Sapiaín, M. Á. (1989). Autoritarismo y democracia. *Política*, 21, 113-124.
- Popper, K. (1988). Un repaso de mi teoría de la democracia. *Política*, 18, 43-53.
- Poradowski, M. (1984). La “teología de la liberación” de Karl Marx. *Política*, 5, 69-107.
- Poradowski, M. (1986). Teología de la liberación de Karl Marx (II). *Política*, 9, 147-171.
- Possony, S., & Bouchey, F. (1983). Panorama terrorista. *Política*, 2, 111-135.
- Pulido, R. & Santibáñez, A. (1987). Intervención sobre política, comunicación social y vida privada. *Política*, 13, 167-190.
- Ratzinger, J. (1986). Economía y responsabilidad moral. *Política*, 10, 243-249.
- Ratzinger, J. (1987). Libertad y liberación. *Política*, 12, 159-182.
- Rehren, A. (1988). Poder y comportamiento presidencial en los Estados Unidos. *Política*, 17, 57-69.
- Rehren, A. (1989). Personalidad presidencial y liderazgo ejecutivo en el Chile contemporáneo: Análisis preliminar de las administraciones de Alessandri, Frei y Allende. *Política*, 21, 29-52.
- Revel, J. F. (1989). ¿Es reversible el comunismo? *Política*, 20, 31-43.
- Ribera Neumann, T. (1986). Más allá de una inconstitucionalidad. *Política*, 10, 29-70.
- Riding, D. (1986). Presidenta de la Liga de Mujeres Votantes de los Estados Unidos. *Política*, 9, 173-182.
- Rodríguez Fisse, H. (1984). Brasil: Dos décadas de gobiernos militares. *Política*, 5, 125-152.

- Rodríguez Grez, P. (1986). Restauración de la democracia en Chile. *Política*, 9, 127–137.
- Rojas Sánchez, G. (1987a). Lo temporal: Animación y autonomía. *Política*, 12, 209–217.
- Rojas Sánchez, G. (1987b). Gazmuri y su “gremialismo”. *Política*, 14, 229–240.
- Santa Cruz Sutíl, L. (1987). Neo-conservantismo y democracia. *Política*, 11, 87–94.
- Santis Arenas, H. (1983a). Los pasos australes en el desarrollo territorial chileno. *Política*, 2, 73–109.
- Santis Arenas, H. (1983b). La zona económica exclusiva. Última frontera territorial. *Política*, 3, 27–79.
- Santis Arenas, H. (1984). El Estrecho de Magallanes y el desarrollo territorial austral. *Política*, 5, 42–68.
- Sherman, A. (1987). Conservantismo y neo-conservantismo a la sombra del marxismo. *Política*, 11, 65–85.
- Silva, F. (1986). La transición en España. *Política*, 10, 213–227.
- Silva Bascuñán, A. (1983). Cinematografía y actividades artísticas en la constitución de 1980. *Política*, 4, 151–161.
- Silva Bascuñán, A. (1987). Democracia: Nuevo conservantismo. *Política*, 11, 109–112.
- Silva Bascuñán, A., & Cuevas Farren, G. (1984). Partidos políticos y su regulación constitucional. *Política*, 6, 163–188.
- Spaemann, R. (1988). Responsabilidad. *Política*, 18, 11–29.
- Spieker, M. (1988). ¿Existe un marxismo humanista? *Política*, 16, 39–51.
- Suárez, L. (1986). Franco y las perspectivas de la libertad. *Política*, 10, 205–212.
- Suárez, A. (1988). Psicología del terrorismo. *Política*, 16, 135–154.
- Suárez, F. (1986). El carácter de la guerra en España. *Política*, 10, 183–203.
- Tambs, L., & Aker F. (1982). Cómo acabar con el síndrome de Vietnam en El Salvador. *Política*, 1, 117–131.
- Thayer Arteaga, W. (1983) Cultura nacional y democracia occidental. *Política*, 3, 199–214.
- Thayer Arteaga, W. (1986) El Socialcristianismo ante la transición y el pluralismo. *Política*, 10, 9–28.
- Theberge, J. D. (1984). El sistema político de los Estados Unidos de América. *Política*, 6, 189–201.
- Theberge, J. D. (1988). Cuatro alocuciones. *Política*, 17, 129-138.

- Toro Dávila, A. (1988). El Sudeste Asiático. *Política*, 18, 79–103.
- Tolstoi, N. (1988). Las víctimas de Yalta y su vinculación con los derechos humanos. *Política*, 18, 139-150.
- Valdivieso Ariztía, R. (1987). Al servicio de la mentira. *Política*, 13, 217–221.
- Velarde Fuentes, J. (1987). Cien años de política española conservadora. *Política*, 11, 113–132.
- Vidal Flores, G. (1985). Teoría de las élites, democracia y participación. *Política*, 7, 157–160.
- Von Huyn, H. (1988). América Latina en el conflicto Este-Oeste. *Política*, 15, 177–194.
- Voslensky, M. (1982). ¿Finlandización de los satélites soviéticos? *Política*, 1, 133–137.
- Waggaman, C. (1983). Reagan y el sueño norteamericano. *Política*, 2, 173–179.
- Walker Errázuriz, F. (1983). La participación de los trabajadores en las empresas chilenas: ciertos elementos de reflexión. *Política*, 4, 163–175.
- Wilhelmy, M. (1982). Programas, ideologías y preferencias partidistas: el modelo de Anthony Downs. *Política*, 1, 89–114.
- Zepeda Hernández, C. (1985). Límites al pluralismo: ¿Un caso de coincidencia inadvertido? *Política*, 7, 161–182.
- Zinoviev, A. (1988). A un nivel superior. *Política*, 16, 57–59.
- Zinoviev, A. (1989). La frustrada tercera guerra mundial, la crisis del comunismo y la ofensiva de la democracia. *Política*, 20, 23–30.
- Zipper, R. I. (1983a). Grupos de interés público: Notas metodológicas acerca de una investigación. *Política*, 2, 153–164.
- Zipper, R. I. (1983b). Un mundo distinto: Los efectos sociales de una revolución tecnológica. *Política*, 4, 9–29.
- Zipper, R. I. (1989). La ‘Perestroika’ de Occidente. *Política*, 21, 95–105.

## ***Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política (Uruguay) 1987-2012***

- Alcántara Sáez, M. (1991). Sobre el concepto de países en vías de consolidación democrática en América Latina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 4, 83-95.
- Alcántara Sáez, M. (1994). Cuando hablamos de ciencia política, ¿de qué hablamos? *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 9-33.
- Alegre, P. (2008). Democracia y reformas en el Uruguay: un caso de gradualismo perverso. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 137-158.
- Altman, D., & Pérez-Liñán, A. (1999). Más allá de la poliarquía: una aproximación a la calidad de las democracias. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 83-105.
- Altman, D., & Castiglioni, R. (2009). Gabinetes ministeriales y reformas estructurales en América Latina, 1985-2000. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 15-39.
- Armellini, M., & Garcé, A. (2008). Democracia y desarrollo: un enfoque "partidista". *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 71-86.
- Bentancur, N. (1997). El estado evaluador como nueva forma de relacionamiento Estado-Universidad. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 117-131.
- Bentancur, N. (2004). Cinco dilemas universitarios de comienzos de siglo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 85-101.
- Bentancur, N. (2007). ¿Hacia un nuevo paradigma en las políticas educativas? Las reformas de las reformas en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay (2005-2007). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 159-179.
- Bentancur, N. (2012). Aporte para una topografía de las políticas educativas en Uruguay: instituciones, ideas y actores. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 65-92.
- Bentancur, N., & Mancebo, M. E. (2012). Políticas educativas en tiempos de cambio: actores, programas e instituciones en Uruguay y la región. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 7-12
- Bizzozero, L. (1992). El proceso de integración en América Latina y la agenda gubernamental en el Mercado Común del Cono Sur. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 123-137.
- Bohoslavsky, J. P. (2012). El eslabón financiero en la justicia transicional uruguaya. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 153-179.

- Boidi, M. F., & Queirolo, R. (2009). La piedra en el zapato (de las encuestadoras): encuestas de opinión y elecciones internas 2009. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 65–83.
- Bonilla Saus, J. (2004). Política e historia en la obra de Isaiáh Berlin. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 173-190
- Bonilla Saus, J. (2011). La ley natural en Locke. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 147–164
- Borsani, H. (2002). Elecciones y resultados macroeconómicos en América Latina (1979-1998). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 9–34.
- Bottinelli, Ó., & Buquet, D. (1993). Escenarios parlamentarios resultantes de cuatro reformas al sistema electoral. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 99–137.
- Buquet, D. (1997). Reforma política y gobernabilidad democrática en Uruguay: la reforma constitucional de 1996. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 9–24.
- Buquet, D. (2007). Entre la legitimidad y la eficacia: reformas en los sistemas de elección presidencial en América Latina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 35–49.
- Buquet, D., & Castellano Christy, E. (1995). Representación proporcional y democracia en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 8, 107–123.
- Busquets, J. M. (1992). La reforma de la política social alimentaria uruguaya un nuevo modelo: ¿focalización, selectividad y eficiencia? (1985-1989). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 95–121.
- Caetano, G., & Rilla, J. (1995). Relaciones interpartidarias y gobierno en el Uruguay (1942-1973). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 8, 15–34.
- Canzani, A. (1989). Restauración democrática y opinión pública en el Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 9–18.
- Cardarello, A. (2011). Muchas dudas, algunas certezas y escaso entusiasmo. Las elecciones municipales 2010 en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 63–94.
- Carneiro, F. (2009). Patronazgo y estrategias de movilización partidaria: evidencia desde los gobiernos subnacionales de Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 139–161.
- Castellano Christy, E. (1996). Uruguay: un caso de bienestar de partidos. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 107–126.

- Castro, G. (2010). El ascenso de China y las teorías verticales de relaciones internacionales: contrastando las lecciones de las teorías de la transición de poder y de los ciclos de poder. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 185–206.
- Chasquetti, D. (1997). Compartiendo el gobierno: multipartidismo y coaliciones en el Uruguay (1971-1997). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 25–45.
- Chasquetti, D. (2000). Balotaje y coaliciones en América Latina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 9–33.
- Chasquetti, D. (2011). El secreto del éxito: presidentes y cárteles legislativos en Uruguay (1995-2010). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 9–31.
- Clemente, I. (2010). La región de frontera Uruguay-Brasil y la relación binacional: pasado y perspectivas. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 165-184
- Close, D. (2012). Las reelecciones de Óscar Arias, Alan García y Daniel Ortega (2006): tres comebacks políticos excepcionales. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 55–76.
- Collier, D. (1992). Método comparativo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 21–46.
- Corvalán, J., & Román, M. (2012). La permanencia de escuelas de bajo rendimiento crónico en el cuasi mercado educativo Chileno. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 43–64.
- Cosse, G. (2000). El sistema de voucher educativo: ¿una nueva "panacea" para América Latina? *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 157–178.
- Cox, C. (2012). Política y políticas educacionales en Chile 1990-2010. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 13–42.
- De Armas, G. (2009). Debilitamiento del efecto demográfico y consolidación de un nuevo sistema de partidos: evidencia de las elecciones 2009 en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 41–63.
- De Armas, G., & Garcé, A. (2004). Política y conocimiento especializado: la reforma educativa en Uruguay (1995-1999). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 67–83.
- De Padua, M. (1987). El defensor de la paz. Circa 1324. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 1, 105–113.
- De Torres, M. I. (2000). Discursos nacionales en la era integradora: Uruguay y el MERCOSUR. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 145–156.

- Drake, P. W. (2012). Difusión histórica, desarrollo y durabilidad de las instituciones democráticas en América Latina en los siglos XIX y XX. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 7–30.
- Dutrenit Bielous, S. (1994). Dictaduras y partidos políticos en Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 51–63.
- Estrades, C. (2006). Opinión pública y MERCOSUR: conocimiento y apoyo de los uruguayos al proceso de integración regional. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 107–127.
- Farenzena, N. (2012). Relações intergovernamentais nas políticas de educação básica no Brasil: a assistência da uniao aos governos subnacionais. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 183–202.
- Fernández Aguerre, T. (2010). El peso del origen institucional: una hipótesis sobre las políticas de inclusión en la educación media de Uruguay (2005-2009). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 143–163.
- Fernández, T., & Alonso, C. (2012). Dos modelos de inclusión educativa: programa de aulas comunitarias y formación profesional básica en Uruguay (2007-2011). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 161–182.
- Ferro Clérico, L., Fernández Luzuriaga, W., & Hernández Nilson, D. (2006). La estrategia de inserción internacional de Uruguay en el gobierno del Frente Amplio. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 129–150.
- Filgueira, F. (1991). El movimiento sindical en la encrucijada: de la restauración a la transformación democrática. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 4, 67–82.
- Filgueira, F. (1996). Más allá de las políticas públicas: una interpretación política del comportamiento económico-social de las naciones latinoamericanas en el nuevo orden global. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 81–106.
- Filgueira, F., & Moraes, J. A. (2000). Contexto y estrategias de las reformas institucionales en la seguridad social, la educación y la salud en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 97–122.
- Flores, M., & Selios, L. (2011). Perfiles generacionales en las preferencias políticas de los uruguayos. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 33–62.



- Frick, M. (2006). La ciencia política electrónica. Introducción a un nuevo campo de investigación. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 175–184.
- Fuentes, G. (2010). El sistema de salud uruguayo en la post-dictadura: análisis de la reforma del Frente Amplio y las condiciones que la hicieron posible. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 119–142.
- Gallardo, J. (1997). Democracia, instituciones políticas y vida pública. Una discusión desde Alexis de Tocqueville. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 133–153.
- Gallardo, J. (2009). Elogio modesto a la deliberación política. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 85–115.
- Gallardo, J. (2011). Deliberación democrática: respuesta a Cristian Pérez Muñoz. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 165-177
- Garcé, A. (1999). Ideas y competencia política: revisando el "fracaso" de la CIDE. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 59–81.
- Gioscia, L., & Longo, P. (1996). Repensando la ciudadanía. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 127-142
- González, L. E. (1991). Legislación electoral y sistemas de partidos: el caso Uruguayo". *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 4, 9–27.
- González, L. E., & Rius, A. (1988). La opinión pública montevideana a cuatro años de la restauración democrática. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 2, 61–80.
- Gorostiaga, J. M. (2012). Las políticas para el nivel secundario en Argentina: ¿hacia una educación más igualitaria?" *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 141–159.
- Graziano, L. (1987). El desarrollo e institucionalización de la ciencia política en Italia. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 1, 11–26.
- Guerrini, A. (1993). Dos lógicas distintas en política. El debate en torno a la refinanciación del endeudamiento interno (1991-1992). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 81–97.
- Guerrini, A., & Larnaga M. E. (1994). Del "buen vecino" al "intendente emprendedor": el rol de los intendentes departamentales en la reforma del Estado. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 83–97
- Hermet, G. (1992). El desafío democrático. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 47–58.

- Hobsbawm, E. (1991). La invención de tradiciones. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 4, 97–107.
- Huneus, C. (2012). El presidencialismo semi-soberano. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 31-54
- Johnson, N. (2000). ¿Democracia a medias? La representación de la mujer en cargos políticos electivos en Uruguay, 1984-1994. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 69–96.
- Landinelli, J. (1989). La universidad como problema político (1968-1973). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 73–86.
- Landinelli, J. (1994). Elementos del debate sobre la función pública de la universidad. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 65–82.
- Landoni, P. (2008). Isomorfismo y calidad: redefiniendo los espacios públicos y privados en la educación superior uruguaya. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 183–202.
- Lanzaro, J. (1992). Los relevos del corporativismo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 79–86.
- Lanzaro, J. (2000). El Frente Amplio: un partido de coalición entre la lógica de oposición y la lógica de gobierno. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 35–67.
- Lanzaro, J. (2004). Fundamentos de la democracia pluralista y estructura política del Estado en el Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 103–135.
- Lanzaro, J. (2010). Uruguay: un gobierno socialdemocrático en América Latina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 45–68.
- Lauraga, M. E. (1993). Fraccionamiento partidario y disciplina política en el gobierno del Partido Nacional. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 57–80.
- Levi, M. (2006). Modelando procesos históricos complejos con narrativas analíticas. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 11–29.
- López, S. (2007). ¿Cuán "locales" son las elecciones municipales en Uruguay? Estimando independencia de resultados y comportamientos electorales. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 73–101.
- Luján, C. A. (1992). Una propuesta para la política internacional del Uruguay democrático. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 139–148.

- Luján, C. A. (2002). La reforma de la seguridad social en Uruguay: actores y procesos de negociación. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 95–122.
- Luján, C. A. (2007). La negociación de la deuda uruguaya con el FMI en el 2005. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 181–200.
- Luna, J. P. (2002). ¿Pesimismo estructural o voto económico? Macropolitics en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 123–151.
- Magar, E., & Moraes, J. A. (2008). Coalición y resultados: aprobación y duración del trámite parlamentario en Uruguay (1985-2000). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 39–70.
- Mainwaring, S., & Shugart, M. (1996). Presidencialismo y sistema de partidos en América Latina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 9–40.
- Malamud, A. (2004). El bipartidismo argentino: evidencias y razones de una persistencia (1983-2003). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 137–154.
- Mancebo, M. E. (1991). De la "entonación" a la "coincidencia nacional": los problemas del presidencialismo en el caso uruguayo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 4, 29–45.
- Mancebo, M. E. (1993). Tiempos políticos y ciclo institucional en la consolidación democrática uruguaya. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 33–55.
- Mancebo, M. E. (1998). Las políticas educativas de Uruguay en el contexto latinoamericano (1985-1994). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 101–115.
- Mancebo, M. E. (2012). Descentralización, financiamiento y gobernanza educativa en Chile y Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 93–118.
- Marchesi, A., & Yaffé J. (2010). La violencia bajo la lupa: una revisión de la literatura sobre violencia y política en los sesenta. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 95–118.
- Margheritis, A. (1999). Reformas económicas y liderazgo presidencial Argentina en perspectiva comparada. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 161–178.
- Marti i Puig, S., & Mabel Villalba, S. (2012). ¿Pocos pero guerreros?: Multiculturalismo constitucional en cinco países con población indígena minoritaria. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 77-96
- Martínez, P. (2006). Subordinación vs. autonomía: selección de candidatos en Canelones. 1999-2004. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 83–105.

- Martínez, J. (2000). Poder y alternativas: la disponibilidad de agendas internacionales en las reformas de la salud en Costa Rica (1988-1998). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 12, 123–144.
- Martorelli, H. (1988). Los partidos políticos, la legitimidad y la participación. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 2, 81–91.
- Midaglia, C. (1997-1998). El rendimiento de los ‘by-pass’ como instrumento de reforma social: el caso PRIS. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 79–99.
- Midaglia, C., & Antía, F. (2007). La izquierda en el gobierno: ¿Cambio o continuidad en las políticas de bienestar social? *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 131–157.
- Mieres, P. (1996). Elecciones 1994: Una nueva fase de la transformación electoral en el Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 41–60.
- Molas, I. (1995). Alexis de Tocqueville: Las raíces tradicionalistas de la democracia. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 8, 85–105.
- Montero, J. R., & Torcal, M. (1992). Perfiles de la cultura política en una nueva democracia: España, 1975-1990. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 59–78.
- Moraes, J. A. (1997-1998). Mayoría automática en el Uruguay: la experiencia de los gobiernos departamentales (1984-1994) *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 10, 47–78.
- Moreira, C. (1994). Participación de la mujer en el sistema de toma de decisiones: el caso uruguayo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 99–121.
- Moreira, C. (2006). Sistemas de partidos, alternancia política e ideología en el Cono Sur. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 31–56.
- Moreira, C., & Veneziano, A. (1991). La cohabitación y los límites del conflicto: Las relaciones entre el gobierno de Montevideo y el gobierno nacional (1990-1991). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 4, 47–65.
- Morlino, L. (1989). Consolidación democrática. Definición, modelos, hipótesis. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 87–124.
- Narbondó, P. (1995). Formación de las creencias colectivas a través de la acción comunicativa y relaciones de poder. Una discusión del planteo de J. Habermas. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 8, 51–68.

- Narbondo, P. (2006). Reflexiones críticas sobre el universalismo básico. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 151–172.
- Narbondo, P. (2011). Contratos gerencialistas, estado neoliberal y autonomía enraizada. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 95–129.
- Narbondo, P., & Ramos, C. (1999). La reforma de la administración central en el Uruguay y el paradigma de la nueva gerencia pública (1995-1999). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 35–58.
- O'Donnell, G. (1987). Retirada, voz y lealtad. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 1, 27–45.
- Oroño, A. (2009). La izquierda gestionando el gobierno, gasto social departamental en Montevideo (1988-2004). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 163–191.
- Palermo, V. (1993). El menemismo ¿perdurará? *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 139–166.
- Palermo, V. (1999). Mares agitados: Brasil y Argentina en el contexto latinoamericano. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 129–160.
- Panizza, F. (1988). La ciudadanía y sus límites en el Uruguay post-autoritario: La credencial, el pasaporte y el prontuario. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 2, 13–27.
- Panizza, F. (1989). Estado y sociedad civil en el Uruguay de post-guerra: unidades imaginarias, fragmentaciones excluyentes e inclusiones precarias. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 125–132.
- Panizza, F. (2002). Discurso e instituciones en la reforma de la administración pública uruguaya. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 59–93.
- Pareja, C. (1994). Las empresas morales y cívicas enfrentadas a sus desertores. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 35–50.
- Pareja, C. (1996). Las instituciones políticas uruguayas al final del siglo XX. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 61–80.
- Perelli, C. (1988). Matrices ideológicas y discurso político: el problema de la hegemonía. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 2, 29–40.
- Pérez Antón, R. (1988). Cuatro antagonismos sucesivos: la concreta instauración de la democracia uruguaya. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 2, 41–59.

- Pérez Antón, R. (1989). Vacilación ante los umbrales: apunta una política exterior. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 19–34.
- Pérez Antón, R. (1993). Perspectivas del cargo presidencial estadounidense. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 167–183.
- Pérez Antón, R. (1995). Contribución a la analítica de los sujetos gobernantes. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 8, 35–50.
- Pérez Muñóz, C. (2007). Impuestos y justicia distributiva: una evaluación de la propuesta de justicia impositiva de Murphy y Nagel. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 201–221.
- Pérez, V. (2006). 52% del electorado, 11% del parlamento: factores culturales y representación política femenina en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 15, 57–81.
- Pierson, P., & Skocpol, T. (2008). El institucionalismo histórico en la ciencia política contemporánea. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 7–38.
- Piñeiro, R. (2004). Elección de diputados y fraccionalización partidaria en Uruguay. 1942-1999. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 15–42.
- Piñeiro, R. (2007). El sueño de la lista propia: los dilemas de coordinación electoral post-reforma de 1997. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 51–71.
- Ponce, M. (2008). Instituciones y consensos: cooperación intertemporal en política fiscal en Chile y Uruguay (1990-2005). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 87–110.
- Rabotnikof, N. (1996). Memoria y política: compromiso ético y pluralismo de interpretaciones. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 9, 143–150.
- Ramos, C., & Parrado, E. (1992). La centralidad del Estado en la crisis de las democracias liberales. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 87–94.
- Rial, J. (1987). Estado y sociedad civil en la formulación de las políticas de ingreso en Uruguay. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 1, 47–72.
- Rico, Á. (1989). La reforma de la democracia como reestructura del Estado en el Uruguay (1985-1990). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 133–153.
- Rilla, J. (1999). Cambiar la historia. Historia política y élite política en el Uruguay contemporáneo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 107–127.

- Rilla, J. (2010). Revisionismos e izquierdas en Uruguay y Argentina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 69–93.
- Rocha, C. (2012). La ciencia política en Uruguay (1989-2009): temas, teorías y metodologías. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 97–127.
- Romero, M. J. (2009). Plebiscitos y reglas de juego en la transición a la democracia: Chile y Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 117–136.
- Ross, M. H. (2010). Cultura y política comparada. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 19, 7–44.
- Rossel, C. (2002). "Tipos democráticos" y opinión pública en Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 153–186.
- Rótulo, D. (1994). Pensamiento geopolítico y política exterior brasileña durante el régimen militar: una relación compleja. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 7, 123–134.
- Rumeau, D. (2012). El control civil de las políticas públicas de defensa: un modelo de análisis basado en la teoría del principal agente. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(2), 129–151.
- Sacchi, M. (1999). Partidos, fracciones y gobierno en el segundo colegiado (1952–1966). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 11, 9–34.
- Salvat, R. (2009). Carreras políticas en la Junta Departamental de Florida: inestabilidad y amateurismo 1985-2005. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 18, 193–215.
- Santos, F. (2002). Partidos políticos e comissões permanentes na camara dos deputados do Brasil: 1995 a 1998. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 187–209.
- Sartori, G. (1992). Ni presidencialismo ni parlamentarismo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 5, 9–20.
- Scrollini, F., & Landoni, P. (2011). Educación e información pública: perspectivas para incrementar la transparencia del sistema. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 20, 131–146.
- Shepsle, K. A. (2007). Estudiando las instituciones: algunas lecciones del enfoque de la elección racional. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 15–34.
- Smulovitz, C. (1995). Reforma y constitución en la Argentina: del consenso negativo al acuerdo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 8, 69–83.

- Tejera, R. (2008). Incorporando la estructura tributaria a la teoría: análisis de las reformas fiscales en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay (1990-2008). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 111–135.
- Thibaut, B. (1993). Presidencialismo, parlamentarismo y el problema de la consolidación democrática en América Latina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 6, 9–32.
- Traversa, F. (2004). El papel del Estado en los policy networks: la gestión del ministerio de vivienda en el Uruguay (1990-2000). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 43–65.
- Traversa, F. (2007). Nuevo análisis de las precondiciones económicas de la democracia. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 16, 103–129.
- Vaillant, D. (2012). La gobernanza educativa y los incentivos docentes: los casos de Chile y Uruguay. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 119–139.
- Vaillant, M., & Patrón, R. (2012). Presupuesto y logros educativos: claves para entender una relación compleja. El caso Uruguayo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 21(1), 203–228.
- Vairo, D. (2008). Juntos pero no casados: los efectos de la reforma constitucional al interior de los partidos. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 159–181.
- Valencia Sáiz, Á. (2004). El centro izquierda en Europa: luces y sombras de la nueva socialdemocracia. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 14, 155–171.
- Veneziano, A. (2008). La participación ciudadana en la descentralización de Montevideo: aprendizajes y reflexiones desde los noventa. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 17, 203–227.
- Vernazza, F. (1989). Minoristas, mayoristas y generalistas en el sistema electoral Uruguayo. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 3, 35–71.
- Walker, I. (1987). Socialismo y democracia: algunas experiencias europeas. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 1, 73–104.
- Yaffé, J. (2002). Crecimiento y renovación de la izquierda uruguaya (1971-2001). *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 13, 35–57



## List of Analyzed MA Theses

- Araneda Espinoza, S. (1991). La idea de democracia en el pensamiento político de Salvador Allende Gossens. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile. .
- Aránguiz Solovera, A. (1987). La configuración del conocimiento político. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Aravena Ricardi, N. (1987). Un corredor territorial para Bolivia: Ventajas y desventajas geopolíticas. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- De Prado Alcalde, N. (1986). Un mercado común latinoamericano: proyecto-deficiencias-perspectivas. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Ferrer Ducaud, P. (1986). La inestabilidad política en Argentina, generada durante los últimos gobiernos militares de 1976-1983. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Fuentes de Ochagavía, R. (1987). Algunas reflexiones sobre el papel político de la iglesia. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- García Covarrubias, J. (1987). El Partido Radical y su relación de intereses con la clase media en Chile, 1888-1938. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- González Figueroa, M. (1989). Consideraciones teóricas para el desarrollo de una estabilidad democrática. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Idiaquez Crignola, R. (1987). El Presidente de la República como actor político y su proyecto de modelo societario en el período 1973-1983. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Jaraquemada Roblero, J. (1991). Identificación de factores de gobernabilidad y estabilidad en los sistemas democráticos latinoamericanos. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Latorre Adolfo, P. (1985). La frontera marítima: Perspectivas de conflicto. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.

- Le Dantec Gallardo, F. (1985). El Estado y los intereses marítimos: El caso chileno. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Maffei Fuenzalida, J. L. (1992). La población de Chile como factor preponderante o primario del poder nacional. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Molina Johnson, C. (1987). Partido Radical y Partido Comunista en Chile: convergencias y divergencias entre los años 1930-1973. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Opazo Larraín, F. (1988). La insurrección en América Latina y Chile 1973-1983. Un enfoque de la teoría y la práctica. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Orellana Vásquez, J. (1985). Las Fuerzas Armadas en la historia constitucional de Chile: década del 70. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Osorio Lagreze, M. C. (1988). Teología de la liberación: una nueva manera de hacer ¿teología o política? (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Pesoa Bissieres, Á. (1989). El concepto de propiedad en el segundo ensayo sobre gobierno civil de John Locke como antecedente del proceso de subordinación de la política a la economía. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Ponce Durán, P. (1991). Oscar Schnake Vergara, fundador y dirigente del Partido Socialista de Chile entre los años 1933-1942. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Riveaux Correa, J. F. (1987). El neoliberalismo en el discurso ideológico del gobierno militar chileno 1974-1980. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Suau Baquedano, F. (1988). Conceptos de democracia en el proyecto histórico y la acción política del Partido Demócrata Cristiano. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Villalobos Chaparro, E. (1985). El Estado de Chile y los intereses aéreos. (Unpublished master's thesis). Universidad de Chile. Santiago de Chile.

## APPENDIX A: The Articles' Database

This document lists and explains the most relevant among the 89 variables used in the articles SPSS data-base as well as their assigned values. It neither addresses basic descriptive variables (such as article's title, keywords and so on) nor those that provide information about the authors (such as nationality, institutional adscription, etc.); concretely, the focus is on the categories that require some conceptual justification. Basic methodological information is also available in the Methods section of Chapter 1 as well as in chapters 2 and 3; additionally, a similar exercise has been done before by Ravecca (2014).<sup>214</sup>

The data-base went through multiple tests and revisions. I was lucky enough to count with generous colleagues – experts on the so-called “quantitative” methods – who engaged with me in a fruitful conversation about PPS in general and its data-base in particular. From the *Instituto de Ciencia Política* I should mention Daniel Buquet, Verónica Pérez, Federico Traversa and Lucía Selios. The dialogue with Mariana Mosteiro, Diego Hernández and York University Professor Eduardo Canel was also important during both conceptual crafting and data analysis.

Let me make a personal and conceptual comment: this research has been a very complex journey in which each conceptual and field-work component became a self-contained (but also interconnected) task that was challenging, endless and fascinating. I cannot account for those complexities in here. This is a (maybe “intrinsic”?) frustrating limit for PPS, given that this research is in itself an archaeological exercise – at the end we are never able to fully account for ourselves. I thus took the (hard) decision of only showing the definitive final version of the data-base categories and values. The lengthy crafting process which was accounted for in a “Methodological Memory,” is ignored in the following pages.

---

<sup>214</sup> Available at:

[https://www.academia.edu/7832767/La\\_pol%C3%ADtica\\_de\\_la\\_ciencia\\_pol%C3%ADtica.\\_Ciencia\\_poder\\_contexto\\_versi%C3%B3n\\_completa\\_y\\_oficial\\_incluye\\_el\\_cap%C3%ADtulo\\_te%C3%B3rico](https://www.academia.edu/7832767/La_pol%C3%ADtica_de_la_ciencia_pol%C3%ADtica._Ciencia_poder_contexto_versi%C3%B3n_completa_y_oficial_incluye_el_cap%C3%ADtulo_te%C3%B3rico)

## **“Academic” Variables: Theory and Methods (Selection)**

### Predominant Area of Research I and II (of the article)

*State, Public Policy and Public Administration*  
*Political Parties, Elections and Electoral Behavior*  
*Government Regime*  
*Political Theory*  
*Comparative Politics*  
*Sub-national and Urban Politics*  
*Foreign Policy, International Relations and Processes of Integration*  
*Legislative Studies*  
*Direct Democracy and citizens' participation*  
*Public Opinion and Public Communication*  
*Geopolitics, Security and Terrorism*  
*Public and Constitutional Law*  
*Political History*  
*Women and Politics*  
*Sexual Diversity*  
*Development of Political Science*  
*Epistemology*  
*New Technologies and Politics*  
*Politics and Development*  
*Political Economy*  
*Political Regimes and Transitions*  
*None*  
*Others*

### Quantitative Component (see Appendix C)

*None*  
*Minimum (reproduces graphs or tables from other sources)*  
*Graphs and tables with one or more variables*  
*Correlation(s)/regression(s)*

*Others*

This variable is complemented with the following measures:

*Number of graphs and tables from other sources*

*Number of graphs and tables*

*Number of models of regression/correlation*

### Instrument for information gathering I and II

*Survey*

*Interview*

*Group discussion*

*Participatory observation*

*Archives and Document collection*

*Other*

*None*

Note: During a pre-test U20, an expert on quantitative methods, mentioned how difficult is to do “real quantitative research” from the Global South. Given the lack of resources it is unviable for a research to develop its own original survey and, thus, there is a strong dependency on data-bases produced by international institutions.

## **The PPS Variables**

The following are the variables that perform the political or ideological analysis of the discipline.

Spatial conception of the political attempts to classify the articles in terms of how much “ground” is covered by their conception of the political. A “Narrow” perspective on politics will follow Sartori (1986) and look at the objects located inside the “political system” (political parties and the State in particular); an “Intermediate” perspective will include objects located in the borders between the social and the political (interest groups, corporations, trade-unions, social movements, etcetera); finally, an article under the category “Expansive” addresses issues that conventionally are considered non-political

(cultural production, the family, the arts, everyday life dynamics, subjectivity, etc.). This variable reproduces the contrast between Leftwich (1986) and Nicholson (1986) to which I was exposed in the first PS course I took (Ravecca, 2014).

*Narrow* (political parties and the state). Clear examples are the following:

"(...) the effects of Presidentialism on the creation of coalitions in the recent periods of democratic transition and consolidation in Uruguay" (Mancebo, 1991, p. 45; translation mine).

"(...) which demonstrates the maturity of parties around the best way of conducting the democratic regime" (Chasquetti, 1997-1998, p. 41; translation mine).

*Intermediate* (trade-unions, social movements, corporations and other organized groups). Clear examples are the following:

"(...) the interest groups (...) in only a couple of decades became relatively permanent political actors" (Zipper, 1983, p. 153; translation mine).

"(...) the role of trade unions and other social actors may sustain or erode the reforms" (Fuentes, 2010, p. 124; translation mine).

*Expansive* (everyday life, subjectivity, discourse, knowledge and power). Clear examples are the following:

"The family thus emerges as the community that sustains man in society, but more importantly as the mechanism of effective development of vocation of service in individuals... it is also a guarantee of stability for society" (Pardo Vásquez, 1985, p. 85; translation mine).<sup>215</sup>

*Unclear*.

Type of democracy promoted or assumed: this variable was not among the original set. It is assumed by the literature and the academic community that political science promotes polyarchy. The experience of the Chilean Authoritarian Political Science (APS) shows that the relationship between democracy and the discipline is complex. This category measures the type of democracy that articles either promote or assume in their analysis. Its values are

---

<sup>215</sup> This is the complete quote in Spanish: "La familia surge entonces como la comunidad que sustenta al hombre en sociedad, pero más que nada es el mecanismo de desarrollo efectivo de la vocación de servicio de las personas, como son los servicios entregados entre padres e hijos, está garantizado claramente por una verdadera relación de amor entre sus miembros donde ninguno se sienta poseedor efectivo del otro, esto a su vez, es también una garantía de estabilidad para la sociedad en su conjunto (...)."

the following:

*Polyarchy.* This is the naturalized realm inhabited by the political scientist. Thus, if there are no signs in the opposite direction we assume (and I assumed in this research) that the author holds polyarchic beliefs. This is a reasonable proceeding given that APS (and its “protected democracy”) was the unexpected discovery of the research and therefore the “polyarchic assumption” guarantees that when other values are assigned there is strong evidence supporting such a decision. Examples are the following:

“(…) it adopts the double simultaneous vote – for the party and for different candidates within the party – with a mechanism where the primaries of each collective are publically at stake in the national elections (…)” (Lanzaro, 2004, p. 110-111; translation mine).<sup>216</sup>

“The one-list of candidates system is incompatible with democratic elections” (Bambach, 1986, p. 86; translation mine)

*Protected.* Chapter 2 has an entire section on this notion. The key conceptual point is that democracy without limits to popular will and mechanisms of protection from its enemies tends to collapse. Thus, democracy should be “protected” by the military. Clear examples of this value are the following:

“It is necessary to reflect about the needed foundations to have a governable democracy (….) if a well-organized and rational democracy is wanted, pluralism should be moderated and not extreme (….) We think that the dated ideologies, the hate and materialism did not definitely destroy our spiritual foundations as a community (….)” (Yrarrázaval, 1979, pp. 9-10; translation mine).<sup>217</sup>

---

<sup>216</sup> This is the complete quote in Spanish: “(…) adopta el doble voto simultáneo, —por partido y por distintas candidaturas dentro del partido— con un mecanismo en el que las internas de cada colectividad se juegan públicamente en las elecciones nacionales, lo que permite que las fracciones de un lema midan sus fuerzas abiertamente, pero a la vez acumulen votos, compitiendo entre sí y con los adversarios, en el mismo acto y con intervención en pleno del cuerpo ciudadano”.

<sup>217</sup> This is the full quote in Spanish: “Es necesario reflexionar sobre las bases necesarias para tener una democracia gobernable (….) si se quiere una democracia organizada y racional, es preciso que el pluralismo sea moderado y no extremado (….) Pensamos que las ideologías pretéritas, la violencia, el odio y el materialismo no lograron destruir definitivamente nuestros cimientos espirituales en cuanto comunidad, y que es posible que luego del eclipse de años pasados surja la fuerza ética de la fe, del humanismo verdadero y la chilenidad, como base unificadora para un consenso fundamental.”

“The participation of the Armed Forces and of order with the highest civilian authorities in an organism such as the Security Commission, that would be a space for collaboration between the fundamental institutions of the country, has its reason to be in the prevention of excesses of extreme cases (...) conducive to the fall of democracy (Cáceres Contreras, 1989, p. 131; translation mine).

*Expansive.* Clear examples of this value are the following:

“We are interested in the meaning of the democratic citizenship. The conventional view on citizenship as abstract and without gender operates to put men at the center (...) Citizenship has been frequently used, politically, to integrate instead to diversity. If any personal event is also political, there will not be a precise and natural line separating private from public affairs (...)” (Gioscia & Longo, 1986, pp. 127-139; translation mine).

*Unclear.*

Presence of Marxism as topic and as analytical perspective: A distinction was made between the presence of Marxism as issue or topic, on the one hand, and as the theoretical perspective of the article on the other.<sup>218</sup>

Presence of Marxism as topic (or view of Marxism)

*None.*

*Negative.* Clear examples of this value are the following:

“The State, influenced by utopian doctrines, acts wrongly when with the pretext of offering economic security, it undermines freedom” (Feliú Justiniano, 1987, p. 49; translation mine).

“The mistake of Marx and Marxists has been to believe that the weakening of the State would automatically lead to the weakening of politics” (Freund, 1982, p. 10; translation mine).

“Communists – from whom the renewed left pretend to put distance – are not totalitarian for being Muscovites, but for being Marxists” (Benavente Urbina, 1983, p. 66; translation mine).

---

<sup>218</sup> This distinction was made through a productive conversation with Mariana Mancebo, Belén Villegas and Camila Zeballos.



“The revolutionary wanting to conquer power through violence may find ample justification in the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and other prominent communist authors” (Possony y Bouchey, 1983, p. 115; translation mine).

“In Marxist-Leninist thought, class struggle has a historical inexorability that makes it something more mechanic than volunteer, more predetermined than reflexive. In contrast, social corporatism is independent, diverse and spontaneous” (Fernández, 1986, p. 42; translation mine).

“Marxism is an ideological model that simulates the real” (Yrarrázaval, 1979, p. 8; translation mine).

*Positive.*

*Unclear.*

#### Marxism and Neo-Marxism as analytical perspective

*Yes.*

*No.*

A similar exercise was done for other critical theories (variables 78 and 79 in the SPSS data-base) such as feminism, postmodernism and post-structuralism.

View of Communism (as historical reality): this variable measures the presence – and the articles’ view – of the communist regimes and movements. These are the values of this concept:

*Anti-communist.* The following are clear examples of this value:

"The civil associations played an unexpected role in the resistance of the people against Marxist parties’ attempt of using the law to impose a totalitarian state” (Bravo Lira, 1982, p. 50; translation mine).

"(...) there exists a significant level of coordination between terrorist activities; communists facilitate such a coordination" (Possony & Bouchey, 1983, p. 111; translation mine).

“In contrast with what one could believe at first sight, the enemy is not the neighboring states of our Republic but the Soviet empire, its regional servants and the subversive elements that they send from these nations to achieve their

expansionist goals” (Petrus Putter, 1983, p. 166; translation mine)

*Pro-communist.*

*Neutral.*

*None.*

Theoretical perspective: This variable allows examining theoretical variation over time. An interesting finding (absent in the thesis’ analytical corpus) is that in the first issues of the journals is extremely hard to identify the articles’ theoretical perspective. Today seems to be easier to perform the classification. This is a sign of the institutionalization of the discipline given that the adoption of a clear theoretical framework is one of the marks of ‘professionalism’ expected from an academic article today.

The following are the values of this category:

*Neo-institutionalism*

*Political culture and social capital*

*Pluralism and neo-pluralism*

*Rational choice and game theory*

*Marxism or neo-Marxism*

*Post-structuralism, post-Marxism and Postmodernism*

*Geopolitical approach*

*Law-centered approach*

*Governance and networks*

*Unclear*

*Other*

In a 2013 panel on the development of PS in Uruguay, colleagues doing a similar type of typology of articles (by theoretical framework) reported similar difficulties in assigning concrete values.<sup>219</sup>

Alternative Topics: In Chapter 3 I argued that Uruguayan PS has not addressed human rights violations by the authoritarian rule (1973-1985). This is the variable that allowed me

---

<sup>219</sup> Panel on “The Study of Public Policy in Uruguay: Evolution, Assessment and Perspectives”, XII Research Conference of the School of Social Sciences (*Universidad de la República*), September 2013.

to measure this. The category gathers a series of “alternative” topics – “new”, in some cases– *vis-à-vis* mainstream PS, human rights among them. Those topics are listed below:

*Human rights*

*Gender and sexual diversity*

*Social movements*

*Sustainable development*

*Intellectuals and power*

*The environment*

*Art and politics*

*Race and racism*

*Other*

*None*

There is a series of variables that situates the article’s international positioning:

View of Globalization: this category was a suggestion of Eduardo Canel in a meeting that we had in Uruguay in 2012.

View of the United States

View of the Soviet Union

View of *Tercerismo*: the notion of “*tercerismo*” refers to a third position that challenges both super-powers during the Cold War. It was a third-wordlist as well as leftist perspective.

View of MERCOSUR and Latin American integration

View of Multiple Bilateralism

The values that these variables may adopt are the following:

*Aligned*

*Opposed*

*Neutral or unclear*

## *Unaddressed*

View of neoliberal reforms: It was particularly surprising to find numerous articles that support neoliberalism in *Política* and *RCP*. Values of this variable are the following:

*Positive.* These are examples of textual indicators of this category:

“The democratic system should allow and foment individual economic progress, not only for economic reasons but also, as Samuel Huntington has shown, for political ones: a market economy always demands the dispersion of economic power. This dispersion creates alternatives to the power of the State. [...] In this regard, an interesting phenomenon took place in a country like Chile where political and economic thinking used to have the aim of pointing out how wrong those with a different ideology were. Today, perspectives have changed and this allows having hope about the future”. (Gajardo Lagomarsino, 1989b, p. 58; translation mine).

“Fortunately, knowledge about the relationship between personal freedom and private property has recently spread [...] In the new scheme that has emerged after 1973, freedom has become the symbol and aim of the country’s new institutional arrangements. Freedom is guaranteed by private property, free economic initiative and by the full adoption of the concept of the subsidiary state. An abundance of social market economy and neoconservative thinkers nurture the government officials who are creating a new Constitution in order to put the State into man’s service” (Bruna Contreras, 1987, p. 59, p. 68; translation mine).

*Negative.*

*Neutral/unaddressed.*

The West and Christianity: variable 87 was added because the findings during my field-work in Chile imposed to do so (see Chapter 2, “Saving the West: Culture, Christianity and Internationalization”). Coming from a highly secularized society such as the Uruguayan one, it was shocking for me to discover that Chilean political scientists writing in both *Política* and *RCP* frequently referred to The West as a cultural or civilizational entity as well as a spiritual space marked by Christianity which should be protected from its others/enemies (Communism, other cultures, etc.).

The values adopted by this variable are the following:

*Defense/celebration.* The following passages are clear indicators of these values:

“(…) The emancipatory scheme proposed by Marx, Nietzsche’s instinctual vitalism and Freud’s sexualism, have successfully merged in a common front to attack the traditional-Christian culture, without carrying the dead weight of soviet style bureaucratic collectivism and taking advantage of the political and economic structures of Western culture (Massini-Correas, 1988, p. 46; translation mine).

“This is the moment when Pope Juan Pablo II offers his good offices, becoming a Mediator in the process of delineation of the Austral Sea spaces” (Santis Arenas, 1983, p. 70)

“(…) The difference between the individual and the national soul is that the individual soul can make progress only in a secondary and accidental way, updating the possibilities that, initially and once for all, God created for it when He gave it existence” (Cuevas Farren, 1983, p. 11).<sup>220</sup>

*Critical.*

*Neutral.*

*Unaddressed.*

It is interesting to note the assemblage between the defense of Christian values and anti-Marxist views. Sometimes Marx is seen as “evil or satanic.”<sup>221</sup>

Perspective of the elites: This variable attempts to measure “conformism” of academic articles. Even though the variable worked relatively well, I decided not to include it on this thesis. The values are the following:

*Explicit Support*

---

<sup>220</sup> This is another example of extreme religiosity within PS: “(…) no encontramos diferencias en el hombre, en cuanto a varón y mujer. Es más, bajo una concepción religiosa sobre el origen de la vida diremos que son creaturas de Dios, como todos los seres y las cosas naturales, en que sólo el hombre (varón y mujer) ha sido hechos a imagen y semejanza y en comunión con su Creador, esto significa que tiene conciencia de sus limitaciones y su destino” (Pardo Vásquez, 1985: 84).

<sup>221</sup> These are examples of such a discourse: "Cuando un satanista se dedica a escribir una "teología", de algo tiene que disfrazarse adecuadamente para no espantar a sus lectores (...) Porque lo que en realidad quiere Marx es la esclavización total del hombre, entregándole, para siempre, en las manos de Satanás..." (Poradowski, 1984, p. 80). "(...) el pensamiento de Marx (...) plenamente justifica la opinión de que su revolución comunista es una de las bestias anunciadas por el "Apocalipsis"." (Poradowski, 1986, p. 171)

*Implicit Support*

*Explicit Critique*

*Implicit Critique*

Concern about Order and Stability: similar to the previous case, this variable that explores the concern of scholars about maintaining social order and stability has not been included into the analysis. The values are simply: *Yes* and *No*.

Relevant Quotes: The SPSS data-base includes quotes from the articles that for some conceptual reason needed to be highlighted.

Note: The PPS variables are abstract and conceptually dense and, therefore, difficult to operationalize. This was done through an intense and careful process of specifying concepts, values and indicators. The original aim was to create a typology of contrasting models of Political Science: Liberal/Conventional PS and Alternative PS. The discovery of Authoritarian Political Science (APS) changed this plan which I may still tackle in future research projects.

## Complete View of the Data-Base (Variables; Spanish)

	Nombre	Tipo	Anchura	Decimales	Etiqueta	Valores	Perdidos	Columnas	Alineación	Medida
1	Número_de_caso	Numérico	4	0	Número de ca	Ninguno	Ninguno	13	Izquierda	Escala
2	Título	Cadena	200	0	Título del artíc	Ninguno	Ninguno	58	Izquierda	Nominal
3	Idioma	Numérico	2	0	Idioma	{1, Español}...	Ninguno	7	Izquierda	Nominal
4	Idioma_otro_especificar	Cadena	50	0	Idioma - Otro (	Ninguno	Ninguno	18	Derecha	Nominal
5	Revista	Numérico	4	0	Revista	{1, Revista Pol	Ninguno	21	Derecha	Nominal
6	Año	Cadena	50	0	Año	Ninguno	Ninguno	8	Izquierda	Nominal
7	Volumen	Cadena	8	0	Volumen	Ninguno	Ninguno	8	Izquierda	Nominal
8	Número	Cadena	8	0	Número	Ninguno	Ninguno	8	Izquierda	Nominal
9	Palabra_clave_1	Cadena	50	0	Palabra clave	Ninguno	Ninguno	13	Centrado	Nominal
10	Palabra_clave_2	Cadena	50	0	Palabra clave	Ninguno	Ninguno	13	Izquierda	Nominal
11	Palabra_clave_3	Cadena	50	0	Palabra clave	Ninguno	Ninguno	14	Izquierda	Nominal
12	Palabra_clave_4	Cadena	50	0	Palabra clave	Ninguno	Ninguno	13	Izquierda	Nominal
13	Palabra_clave_5	Cadena	50	0	Palabra clave	Ninguno	Ninguno	13	Derecha	Nominal
14	Nombre_del_autor_1	Cadena	90	0	Nombre del au	Ninguno	Ninguno	18	Derecha	Nominal
15	Nombre_del_autor_2	Cadena	90	0	Nombre del au	Ninguno	Ninguno	18	Derecha	Nominal
16	Sexo_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Sexo del autor	{1, Hombre}...	Ninguno	14	Derecha	Nominal
17	Sexo_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Sexo del autor	{1, Hombre}...	Ninguno	13	Derecha	Nominal
18	Nacionalidad_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Nacionalidad	{1, Chilena}...	Ninguno	15	Derecha	Nominal
19	Nacionalidad_autor_1_otra_especificar	Cadena	25	0	Nacionalidad	Ninguno	Ninguno	26	Izquierda	Nominal
20	Nacionalidad_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Nacionalidad	{1, Chilena}...	Ninguno	17	Derecha	Nominal
21	Nacionalidad_autor_2_otra_especificar	Cadena	25	0	Nacionalidad	Ninguno	Ninguno	28	Izquierda	Nominal
22	Adscripcióninst_1_aut_1	Numérico	3	0	Adscripción in	{1, Pontificia	Ninguno	18	Izquierda	Nominal
23	Adscripcióninst_1_aut_1_otraesp	Cadena	90	0	Adscripción in	Ninguno	Ninguno	23	Izquierda	Nominal
24	Adscripcióninst_2_aut_1	Numérico	3	0	Adscripción in	{1, Pontificia	Ninguno	17	Izquierda	Nominal
25	Adscripcióninst_2_aut_1_otraesp	Cadena	90	0	Adscripción in	Ninguno	Ninguno	22	Izquierda	Nominal
26	Adscripcióninst_1_aut_2	Numérico	2	0	Adscripción in	{1, Pontificia	Ninguno	17	Izquierda	Nominal
27	Adscripcióninst_1_aut_2_otraesp	Cadena	90	0	Adscripción in	Ninguno	Ninguno	22	Izquierda	Nominal
28	Adscripcióninst_2_aut_2	Numérico	2	0	Adscripción in	{1, Pontificia	Ninguno	18	Izquierda	Nominal
29	Adscripcióninst_2_aut_2_otraesp	Cadena	90	0	Adscripción in	Ninguno	Ninguno	22	Izquierda	Nominal
30	Cargo_1_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Cargo 1 deL a	{1, Docente}...	Ninguno	14	Derecha	Nominal
31	Cargo_1_autor_1_otro_especificar	Cadena	100	0	Cargo 1 del au	Ninguno	Ninguno	23	Derecha	Nominal

◀ ▶ \ Vista de datos \ Vista de variables /

32	Cargo_2_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Cargo 2 del au	{1, Docente}...	Ninguno	17	Derecha	Nominal
33	Cargo_2_autor_1_otro_especificar	Cadena	100	0	Cargo 2 del au	Ninguno	Ninguno	26	Derecha	Nominal
34	Cargo_1_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Cargo 1 del au	{1, Docente}...	Ninguno	17	Derecha	Nominal
35	Cargo_1_autor_2_otro_especificar	Cadena	100	0	Cargo 1 del au	Ninguno	Ninguno	26	Derecha	Nominal
36	Cargo_2_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Cargo 2 del au	{1, Docente}...	Ninguno	17	Derecha	Nominal
37	Cargo_2_autor_2_otro_especificar	Cadena	100	0	Cargo 2 del au	Ninguno	Ninguno	28	Derecha	Nominal
38	Formación_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Formación del	{1, Doctor/a e	Ninguno	27	Derecha	Nominal
39	Formación_autor_1_otra_especificar	Cadena	50	0	Formación del	Ninguno	Ninguno	25	Izquierda	Nominal
40	Formación_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Formación del	{1, Doctor/a e	Ninguno	16	Derecha	Nominal
41	Formación_autor_2_otra_especificar	Cadena	50	0	Formación del	Ninguno	Ninguno	26	Izquierda	Nominal
42	Formación_Área_geográfica_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Formación: Ár	{1, América L	Ninguno	31	Izquierda	Nominal
43	Formación_Áreageográfica_autor1_otra_especificar	Cadena	25	0	Formación: Ár	Ninguno	Ninguno	35	Izquierda	Nominal
44	Formación_Área_geográfica_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Formación: Ár	{1, América L	Ninguno	29	Izquierda	Nominal
45	Formación_Áreageográfica_autor2_otra_especificar	Cadena	25	0	Formación: Ár	Ninguno	Ninguno	35	Izquierda	Nominal
46	Formación_País_autor_1	Numérico	2	0	Formación: P	{1, Chile}...	Ninguno	18	Izquierda	Nominal
47	Formación_País_autor_1_otro_especificar	Cadena	30	0	Formación: P	Ninguno	Ninguno	34	Derecha	Nominal
48	Formación_País_autor_2	Numérico	2	0	Formación: P	{1, Chile}...	Ninguno	18	Izquierda	Nominal
49	Formación_País_autor_2_otro_especificar	Cadena	30	0	Formación: P	Ninguno	Ninguno	35	Derecha	Nominal
50	Área_de_investigación_1	Numérico	8	0	Área de invest	{1, Estado, po	Ninguno	50	Derecha	Nominal
51	Área_de_investigación_1_otroesp	Cadena	70	0	Área de invest	Ninguno	Ninguno	30	Izquierda	Nominal
52	Área_de_investigación_2	Numérico	8	0	Área de invest	{1, Estado, po	Ninguno	20	Derecha	Nominal
53	Área_de_investigación_2_otroesp	Cadena	70	0	Área de invest	Ninguno	Ninguno	30	Izquierda	Nominal
54	Financiador_del_proyecto	Cadena	100	0	Financiador d	Ninguno	Ninguno	30	Centrado	Nominal
55	Componente_cuantitativo	Numérico	8	0	Componente c	{1, Ninguno}...	Ninguno	20	Centrado	Nominal
56	Componente_cuantitativo_otro_especificar	Cadena	40	0	Otro compone	Ninguno	Ninguno	29	Centrado	Nominal
57	Cantidad_de_tablas_y_gráficos_ajenos	Numérico	8	2	Nº de tablas y	Ninguno	Ninguno	27	Izquierda	Escala
58	Cantidad_de_tablas_y_gráficos_uni_o_bivariados	Numérico	8	2	Nº de tablas y	Ninguno	Ninguno	44	Izquierda	Escala
59	Cantidad_de_modelos_de_correlación_y_regresión	Numérico	8	2	Nº de modelo	Ninguno	Ninguno	39	Izquierda	Escala
60	Herramientas_de_recolección_de_información_1	Numérico	8	2	Herramientas	{1,00, Encues	Ninguno	36	Derecha	Nominal
61	Herramientas_otro_especificar_1	Cadena	50	0	Otra herramie	Ninguno	Ninguno	23	Derecha	Nominal
62	Herramientas_de_recolección_de_información_2	Numérico	8	2	Herramientas	{1,00, Encues	Ninguno	36	Derecha	Nominal



63	Herramientas_otro_especificar_2	Cadena	50	0	Otra herramie	Ninguno	Ninguno	28	Izquierda	Nominal
64	Bibliografía actualizada	Numérico	8	2	Bibliografía ac	Ninguno	Ninguno	20	Izquierda	Escala
65	PCP_Concepción_espacial_de_lo_político	Numérico	8	2	Concepción d	{1,00, Estrech	Ninguno	36	Izquierda	Ordinal
66	PCP_Democraciaelectoral_comoúnico_régimenpolític	Numérico	8	2	Democracia el	{1,00, Sí, defin	Ninguno	45	Izquierda	Nominal
67	PCP_Modelo_de_democracia	Numérico	8	2	Modelo de de	{1,00, Poliarqu	Ninguno	21	Centrado	Nominal
68	PCP_Posición_frentealasreformas_neoliberales	Numérico	8	2	Posición frent	{1,00, De apo	Ninguno	32	Centrado	Nominal
69	PCP_Posiciónfrente_alaséлитes_políticasyeconómic	Numérico	15	2	Posición frent	{1,00, De apo	Ninguno	34	Centrado	Nominal
70	PCP_Posicionamiento_globalización	Numérico	8	2	Posicionamie	{1,00, Positivo	Ninguno	29	Derecha	Nominal
71	PCP_Posicionamientoint_USA	Numérico	8	2	Posicionamie	{1,00, Alinead	Ninguno	23	Derecha	Nominal
72	PCP_Posicionamientoint_URSS	Numérico	8	2	Posicionamie	{1,00, Alinead	Ninguno	28	Derecha	Nominal
73	PCP_Posicionamientoint_Tercerismo	Numérico	8	2	Posicionamie	{1,00, Apoyo}	Ninguno	27	Derecha	Nominal
74	PCP_Posicionamientoint_MERCOSUR	Numérico	8	2	Posicionamie	{1,00, Apoyo}	Ninguno	31	Izquierda	Nominal
75	PCP_Posicionamientoint_BilatMúltiple	Numérico	8	2	Posicionamie	{1,00, Apoyo}	Ninguno	28	Izquierda	Nominal
76	PCP_Presencia_de_marxismo_o_neomarxismo	Numérico	8	2	Presencia de	{1,00, No}...	Ninguno	33	Izquierda	Nominal
77	PCP_Marxismo_neom_perspanalítica	Numérico	8	2	Presencia de	{1,00, No}...	Ninguno	31	Centrado	Nominal
78	PCP_Presenciade_teoríafeminista_y_teoríaspost	Numérico	8	2	Presencia de t	{1,00, No}...	Ninguno	35	Centrado	Nominal
79	PCP_Teoríafeminista_teoríaspost_perspanalítica	Numérico	8	2	Presencia de t	{1,00, No}...	Ninguno	35	Centrado	Nominal
80	PCP_Enfoque_teórico_1	Numérico	8	2	Enfoque teóric	{1,00, Neoinsti	Ninguno	21	Derecha	Nominal
81	PCP_Enfoque_teórico_1_otro_esp	Cadena	70	0	Otro enfoque t	Ninguno	Ninguno	33	Derecha	Nominal
82	PCP_Enfoque_teórico_2	Numérico	8	2	Enfoque teóric	{1,00, Neoinsti	Ninguno	21	Derecha	Nominal
83	PCP_Enfoque_teórico_2_otro_esp	Cadena	70	0	Otro enfoque t	Ninguno	Ninguno	30	Derecha	Nominal
84	PCP_Presencia_de_temáticas_alternativas	Numérico	8	2	Presencia de t	{1,00, DDHH}	Ninguno	30	Derecha	Nominal
85	PCP_Presencia_detemáticasalt_otra_especificar	Cadena	50	0	Otra temática	Ninguno	Ninguno	34	Izquierda	Nominal
86	PCP_Preocupación_por_ordenyestabilidad	Numérico	8	2	Preocupación	{1,00, S}...	Ninguno	37	Centrado	Nominal
87	PCP_Occidenteyvalorescristianos	Numérico	8	2	Visión de "Oc	{1,00, Celebra	Ninguno	33	Derecha	Nominal
88	PCP_Comunismo_como_realidadhistórica	Numérico	8	2	Posición frent	{1,00, Antico	Ninguno	32	Centrado	Nominal
89	Citas_relevantes	Cadena	700	0	Citas relevant	Ninguno	Ninguno	255	Centrado	Nominal

## View of the Data-Base (Sample of Cases from RCP)<sup>222</sup>

1 : Número_de_caso		701				Visible: 90 de 90 variables	
	Número de caso	Título	Idioma	Idioma otro especificar	Revista	Año	
487	1230	Ecuador 2011: revolución ciudadana estabilidad presidencial y perso	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
488	1231	El Salvador: entre el continuismo y la desilusión	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
489	1232	Escenarios de fragilidad política, balance político. Guatemala 2010	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
490	1233	México 2010-2011. Los últimos años de una gestión cuestionada	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
491	1234	Nicaragua: democracia electoral sin consenso social	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
492	1235	Paraguay: crecimiento económico, conflicto social e incertidumbre p	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
493	1236	Perú 2011: continuidades y cambios en la política sin partidos	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
494	1237	Uruguay: ¿Dónde está el piloto? A dos años de gobierno del presiden	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
495	1238	Venezuela 2010-2011: polarización y radicalización del proyecto soc	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
496	1239	Cuotas de género, leyes electorales y elección de legisladoras en A	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
497	1240	Participación política en América Latina: un análisis desde la pers	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
498	1241	¿Mujeres en los márgenes?: sistema de comisiones y poder de asignac	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
499	1242	Las invasiones de tierras y la izquierda en la ciudad . Montevideo,	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
500	1243	Hacia una teoría liberal del castigo: Locke, propiedad e individual	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
501	1244	The politics of legitimacy and force in international relations: Vi	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
502	1245	Confianza, influencia política e intercambio de recursos en arenas	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
503	1247	Introducción: el Estado latinoamericano en su laberinto	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
504	1248	Legitimidad, autonomía y capacidad: conceptualizando (una vez más)	Español	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
505	1249	The transformation of the Latin American state-as-law: state capac	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
506	1250	Measuring State Capacity in contemporary Latin America	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
507	1251	Conceptualizing state strength: moving beyond strong and weak state	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
508	1252	Capturing state strength: experimental and econometric approaches	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
509	1253	Territorial politics and the reach of the state: unevenness by desi	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
510	1254	The state of the state in Latin America: challenges, challengers, r	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
511	1255	The making of hybrid stateness: sources of police performance in th	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
512	1256	A complex adaptive state system: networks, arms races and moral h	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
513	1257	Beyond the minimal state: sketching an alternative agenda	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
514	1258	Advancing the study of stateness in Central America: methodology an	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
515	1259	Contested statehood and state-building in Haití	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	
516	1260	Measuring the colombian "success" story	Inglés	NC	Revista de Ciencia Política	2012	

Vista de datos / Vista de variables / SPSS El procesador está preparado

<sup>222</sup> Variables on screen: Title, Language, Journal and Year.

## APPENDIX B: The Interviews

### List of Interviewees in Alphabetic Order (by Name):

Adolfo Garcé	Jaime Baeza	Óscar Landerretche
Alberto Mayol	Jaime Yaffé	Pablo Bulcourf
Alfonso Donoso	Javier Gallardo	Patricio Navia
Alfredo Joignant	Jorge Landinelli	Pedro Narbono
Alfredo Rehren	Jorge Lanzaro	Roberto Durán
Álvaro Rico	José Miguel Busquets	Rodrigo Egaña
Andreas Feldmann	José Viacava	Romeo Pérez Antón
Anthony Pezzola	Juan Andrés Moraes	Rossana Castiglioni
Carlos Durán	Juan Carlos Gómez Leyton	Stéphanie Alenda
Carlos Fortín	Julián González	Tomás Chuaqui
Carlos Huneeus	Julieta Suárez	Umut Aydin
Carmen Midaglia	Laura Gioscia	
Claudia Heiss	Leonardo Letelier	
Claudio Fuentes	Lorena Oyarzún	
Daniel Buquet	Lucía Selios	
Daniel Chasquetti	Luis Senatore	
David Altman	Marcelo Mella	
Diego Rossello	Ma. de los Ángeles Fernández Ramil	
Eugenio Guzmán	María Ester Mancebo	
Francisca Quiroga	Marisa von Bülow	
Francisco Díaz	Mónica Tagle	
Gerardo Caetano	Nicolás Bentancur	
Hugo Frühling	Niki Johnson	
Jacques Ginesta		

## Interview Questions

1. Could you tell me about your beginnings in political science? Why did you choose this discipline?

(¿Podría/s contarme sobre t/sus comienzos en la ciencia política? ¿Por qué eligió/elegiste esta disciplina?)

2. What kind of changes (institutional, theoretical, and methodological) has political science gone through since its inception in the region? How has been the relationship of Latin American academia with European and American social sciences during the past decades?

(De acuerdo a su experiencia, ¿qué tipo de cambios institucionales, teóricos y metodológicos ha experimentado la ciencia política desde su surgimiento hasta hoy en la región? ¿Cómo ha sido la evolución de la relación entre la academia latinoamericana y las academias europeas y estadounidense en el terreno de las ciencias sociales? ¿Cuál es su vínculo con el exterior en general?)

3. How your perspectives on theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues have changed over the past years? And have these changes been informed by concrete political events? For instance, did the dictatorship of the 1970s make you to reconsider your views on themes such as democracy, rule of law, socialism and others? How?

(¿Cómo han cambiado t/sus perspectivas a nivel teórico, conceptual y metodológico con el pasar del tiempo? Y estos cambios, ¿han tenido alguna relación con eventos políticos concretos? Por ejemplo, ¿hizo la última dictadura que tu/usted reconsideraras/reconsiderada sus/tus posturas en torno a la democracia, el estado de derecho, el socialismo u otros temas importantes? ¿De qué forma?)

4. How the 1960s and 1970s affected social sciences academia in the region?

(¿De qué formas, todo lo ocurrido a nivel político, social y económico durante los años 60s y 70s afectó a las ciencias sociales en la región y su propia experiencia profesional?)

5. How social sciences in the region have changed, institutionally, in the last couple of decades?

(¿Qué tipo de transformaciones institucionales han experimentado las ciencias sociales, especialmente la ciencia política, en la región durante los últimos años? ¿Cómo ha afectado su carrera?)

6. Chile is seen by many colleagues as a country that has been successful in going through a process of modernization in many areas. Do you think that this is the case also for social sciences? Are Chilean social sciences particularly advanced within the context of Latin American academia?

(Chile es visto por muchos colegas como un país que ha logrado modernizarse y profesionalizarse en muy diversas áreas. ¿Piensa/s (usted) que esta observación aplica también a las ciencias sociales? ¿Son las ciencias sociales chilenas particularmente avanzadas en el contexto de la academia latinoamericana?)

7. What has been the trajectory of the regional debate about socialism from the 1950s to the 2000s, and how can these changes be explained? What is the place of Marxism within political science today?

(¿Cuál ha sido la trayectoria del debate regional sobre el socialismo desde los 1950s a la fecha y cómo pueden explicarse estos cambios? ¿Cuál es el lugar o el rol del marxismo en la ciencia política latinoamericana en la actualidad?)

8. Do you think that the generalized rejection of Marxism has represented a progress for Latin American political science?

(¿Cree/s (usted) que el abandono generalizado del marxismo por los científicos sociales ha representado un progreso para la ciencia política latinoamericana?)

9. Do you think that the cleavage between substantive and formal democracy has been overcome in Latin America? Could you please elaborate on this?

(¿Cree/s (usted) que el debate “democracia formal-democracia sustantiva” ha sido superado en la región? ¿Podría explayarse un poco sobre esto?)

10. Some colleagues think that political science has not been critical enough with the neoliberal policies and the neoliberal discourse in general? What do you think about this?

(Algunos colegas han señalado que la comunidad politológica no ha sido lo suficientemente crítica con los aspectos (supuestamente) antidemocráticos de las políticas y el discurso neoliberal? ¿Qué piensa de esto?)

11. There is a debate around the concept of objectivity in social sciences. Can and should research be neutral? What is the predominant view among political scientists today?

(Desde siempre los científicos sociales hemos debatido la cuestión de la objetividad en nuestras disciplinas. ¿Puede y debe la investigación politológica ser objetiva? ¿Cuál estima es la mirada predominante hoy entre nuestros colegas sobre este punto?)

12. Should political science address the issue of colonialism somehow?

(¿Debe la ciencia política encarar el problema del colonialismo de algún modo? ¿En qué sentido?)

13. Are you familiar with the debate opened by the Perestroika movement at the American Political Science Association? Do you think that the hegemony of rational choice and quantitative approaches is good or bad for the discipline?

(¿Está/s al tanto del debate planteado por el movimiento de la Perestroika en el seno de la Asociación Americana de Ciencia Política? ¿Cree/s (usted) que la (asumida) hegemonía de enfoques asociados a la elección racional y la extendida aplicación de técnicas cuantitativas es positivo para la disciplina?)

14. Some colleagues believe that countries such as Ecuador and Venezuela present today a political regime that can be called “competitive authoritarianism”? Do you think that these leftist populist governments represent a threat to democracy in the region today? How?

(En el último congreso de LASA (2012) se debatieron los casos de Ecuador y Venezuela, entre otros, a la luz de la categoría de “autoritarismo competitivo”. ¿Piensa/s (usted) que los gobiernos de izquierda populista representan una amenaza o un retroceso para la democracia en América Latina? ¿En qué sentido?)

15. Has been political science successful in affirming its identity among the social sciences? How are we different from sociologists?

(¿Ha sido la ciencia política exitosa en afirmar una identidad propia en el marco de las ciencias sociales? ¿Hay acuerdo hoy entre los colegas en que existe una distinción clara entre ciencia política y sociología política?)

16. How do you envision the future of political science in the region?

(¿Cómo ve/s el futuro de nuestra disciplina en la región?)

**Which is the best category for describing your academic work:**

Government and political parties

Public policy and the state

Political theory

Gender and Politics

International Relations

Other:

**(¿Cuál de las siguientes categorías mejor describe tu/su trabajo académico?)**

Partidos políticos y gobierno

Estado y políticas publicas

Teoría política

Política y género

Relaciones Internacionales

Otro:)



## Descriptive Tables

**Table 2: Interviews by country\***

Country	Interviews
Argentina	1
Chile	35
Uruguay	22
Total	58

\* **Important note:** as shown by Table 6, nine (9) colleagues that, during the field-work, belonged to Chilean institutions have academic histories in the United States, Europe, Argentina, Brazil and other locations. Thus, the research covers several other Latin American countries and beyond.

**Table 3: Interviews' average length by country**

Country	Minutes
Argentina	105
Chile	79 (2770/35)
Uruguay	106 (2324/22)
General average	96.81

**Table 4: Interviews' maximum length by country**

Country	Minutes
Argentina	105 (A1)
Chile	166 (Ch10)
Uruguay	271 (U10)

**Table 5: Interviews' minimum length by country**

Country	Minutes
Argentina	105 (A1)
Chile	37 (Ch26)
Uruguay	42 (U9)

**Table 6: Number of foreign interviewees by country**

Country	Foreigners
Argentina	0
Chile	9
Uruguay	1

## Analytical Tables

Table 7: Past and present academic institutional adscription of interviewees by country

Country	Code of interview	Institution
Argentina	A1	Universidad de Buenos Aires
	A1	Universidad Nacional de Quilmes
Chile	Ch4	Academia Nacional de Estudios Políticos y Estratégicos (Ministerio de Defensa)
	Ch30	Austin-National American University
	Ch30	Brown University
	Ch4	Departamento de Ciencia Política (Universidad Católica de Temuco)
	Ch18	Departamento de Salud Pública (Universidad de Chile)
	Ch5	Departamento de Sociología (UdelaR)
	Ch9	Escuela de historia (Universidad Diego Portales)
	Ch18	Facultad de Economía (Universidad Católica)
	Ch14-Ch15-Ch16-Ch30	FLACSO (Chile)
	Ch30	Georgetown University
	Ch1-Ch4-Ch11-Ch15-Ch22-Ch23-Ch24-Ch25-Ch27-Ch29-Ch33-Ch34	INAP (Universidad de Chile)
	Ch30- Ch33	Instituto de Ciencia Política (Universidad de Chile)
	Ch2-3-Ch6-Ch8-Ch10-Ch12-Ch20-Ch27-Ch28-Ch30-Ch31-Ch32-Ch35	Instituto de Ciencia Política (Universidad Católica de Chile)
	Ch2	Instituto de Ciencia Política (Uruguay)
	Ch20	Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (Universidad de Chile)
	Ch26	New York University
	Ch30	Ottawa University
	Ch11-Ch15-Ch20	Universidad Académica de Humanismo Cristiano
	Ch18	Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez
	Ch1-Ch5	Universidad Andrés Bello
Ch9	Universidad ARCIS	
Ch17	Universidad ARCIS (Escuela de Ciencia Política y Escuela de Historia)	
Ch9-Ch25	Universidad Central (Escuela de Ciencia Política)	
Ch35	Universidad de Brasilia (Instituto de Ciencia Política)	
Ch32	Universidad de Buenos Aires	
Ch9-Ch21-Ch24-Ch25	Universidad de Chile	
Ch9-Ch25	Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH)	

	<b>Ch18</b> <b>Ch5-Ch21-Ch24-Ch26</b> <b>Ch30</b> <b>Ch8</b> <b>Ch10</b>	<b>Universidad del Desarrollo</b> <b>Universidad Diego Portales</b> <b>University of Connecticut</b> <b>York University (Inglaterra)</b> <b>York University (Toronto)</b>
<b>Uruguay</b>	<b>U19</b>  <b>U4-U18</b> <b>U15</b> <b>U7</b> <b>U3-U8-U12-U13-U17-</b> <b>U19-U21</b> <b>U9</b> <b>U2</b> <b>U1-U2-U3-U4-U5-U6-U7-</b> <b>U9-U10-U11-U12-U13-</b> <b>U14-U15-U16-U17-U18-</b> <b>U20-U21-U22</b> <b>U3-U9</b> <b>U11</b>	<b>Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios</b> <b>Uruguayos (Facultad de Humanidades)</b> <b>CLAEH</b> <b>Departamento de Trabajo Social-UdelaR</b> <b>Facultad de Ciencias Económicas</b> <b>Facultad de Derecho</b>  <b>Facultad de Humanidades</b> <b>Facultad de Ingeniería</b> <b>Instituto de Ciencia Política-UdelaR</b>  <b>Universidad Católica del Uruguay</b> <b>Universidad de la República</b>

Table 8: Academic institutions mentioned by the interviewees

Country	Code of interview	Institution
Argentina	A1	Universidad Arcis Universidad Católica de Chile Universidad de San Andrés Universidad de San Pablo (USPI) Universidad Di Tella (UTDT) Universidad Diego Portales Universidad Jesuita de Lovaina Universidad de la República Universidad Nacional de Rosario
Chile	Ch17 Ch9  Ch3 Ch20 Ch15  Ch10  Ch14  Ch14  Ch15  Ch2-Ch27-Ch34  Ch6-Ch9-Ch16-Ch17-Ch34 Ch20 Ch17-Ch22  Ch17  Ch10-Ch29-Ch30  Ch11-Ch29  Ch28-Ch31-Ch34  Ch14 Ch14  Ch6  Ch10 Ch4-Ch19	Academia Diplomática Academia Nacional de Estudios Políticos y Estratégicos (Ministerio de Defensa) Boğaziçi University British Council Centro de Estudios de Educación Ciudadana (INAP) Centro de Estudios de la Sociedad (Universidad de Chile) Centro de Estudios Socio-Económicos (CESO) Centro de Investigación Económica y Planificación (Universidad de Chile) Centro de Seguridad (Escuela de Ingeniería-Universidad de Chile) CIDE (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica-México) CLACSO  Ecole Nationale d'administration Escuela de Administración Pública (Universidad de Chile) Escuela de Ciencia Política (Universidad Diego Portales) Escuela de Ciencias Políticas y Administrativas (Universidad de Chile) Escuela de Gobierno y Gestión Pública (Universidad de Chile) Escuela de métodos mixtos (Universidad Católica de Chile) Escuela de Sociología (FLACSO Chile) Escuela Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política y Administración Pública (FLACSO Chile) Facultad de Administración Pública (Universidad de Chile) Facultad de Arquitectura (Uruguay) Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO-Universidad de Chile)

<b>Ch10</b>	<b>Facultad de Derecho (Universidad Autónoma)</b>
<b>Ch6-Ch10-Ch11-Ch17-Ch31</b>	<b>Facultad de Derecho (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch5-Ch22-Ch30</b>	<b>Facultad de Derecho (Universidad de Chile)</b>
<b>Ch5</b>	<b>Facultad de Derecho (Universidad Diego Portales)</b>
<b>Ch11-Ch14-Ch22</b>	<b>Facultad de Economía (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch22</b>	<b>Facultad de Filosofía (Uruguay)</b>
<b>Ch17</b>	<b>Facultad de historia (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch10</b>	<b>Facultad de Medicina (Uruguay)</b>
<b>Ch11-Ch16-Ch17</b>	<b>Facultad de Sociología (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch1-Ch2-Ch4-Ch10-Ch11-Ch13-Ch14-Ch18-Ch19-Ch20-Ch21-Ch24-Ch25-Ch33</b>	<b>FLACSO Chile</b>
<b>Ch9-Ch17-Ch35</b>	<b>FLACSO México</b>
<b>Ch32</b>	<b>IDAES (Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales)</b>
<b>Ch13-Ch17</b>	<b>ILADES (Instituto Latinoamericano de Doctrina y Estudios Sociales, Universidad Alberto Hurtado)</b>
<b>Ch7-Ch9-Ch10-Ch13-Ch18-Ch26-Ch28</b>	<b>INAP (Universidad de Chile)</b>
<b>Ch1-Ch7-Ch11-Ch14-Ch16-Ch17-Ch22-Ch23-Ch33-Ch34</b>	<b>Instituto de Ciencia Política (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch14-Ch23</b>	<b>Instituto de Ciencia Política (Universidad de Chile)</b>
<b>Ch10-Ch13</b>	<b>Instituto de Economía (Universidad de Chile)</b>
<b>Ch12</b>	<b>Instituto de Economía (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch10</b>	<b>Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (Universidad de Chile)</b>
<b>Ch14</b>	<b>Instituto de Estudios Políticos (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch8</b>	<b>Instituto de Filosofía (Universidad Católica)</b>
<b>Ch8</b>	<b>Instituto de Humanidades (Universidad Diego Portales)</b>
<b>Ch4-Ch6-Ch7-Ch11</b>	<b>Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (Universidad de Chile)</b>
<b>Ch2-Ch35</b>	<b>Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ)</b>
<b>Ch1</b>	<b>L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences</b>

Ch35	<b>Sociales</b>
Ch1-Ch21-Ch30-Ch31	<b>Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro</b>
Ch19	<b>SciencePo (Instituto de Estudios Políticos de París)</b>
Ch13-Ch29-Ch34	<b>Taller de Análisis de Políticas Públicas (TAPP-INAP)</b>
Ch1-Ch7-Ch8-Ch11-Ch13-Ch24-Ch29-Ch31	<b>Universidad Académica de Humanismo Cristiano</b>
Ch7-Ch11-Ch13-Ch17-Ch30	<b>Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez</b>
Ch13-Ch19-Ch33	<b>Universidad Alberto Hurtado</b>
Ch1-Ch5-Ch8-Ch10-Ch13-Ch18-Ch19-Ch24-Ch25-Ch29-Ch30-Ch34	<b>Universidad Andrés Bello</b>
Ch27	<b>Universidad ARCIS</b>
Ch7-Ch9-Ch13-Ch16-Ch17-Ch19-Ch21-Ch22-Ch23-Ch24-Ch25-Ch26-Ch27-Ch29-Ch33-Ch34	<b>Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona</b>
Ch11	<b>Universidad Católica</b>
Ch11-Ch17	<b>Universidad Católica de Lovaina</b>
Ch11-Ch17-Ch25	<b>Universidad Católica de Santiago</b>
Ch4-Ch11-Ch13-Ch17-Ch18-Ch34	<b>Universidad Católica de Valparaíso</b>
Ch13	<b>Universidad Central</b>
Ch24	<b>Universidad Central (Venezuela)</b>
Ch11	<b>Universidad Complutense de Madrid</b>
Ch11	<b>Universidad de Antofagasta</b>
Ch31-Ch34	<b>Universidad de Biobío</b>
Ch35	<b>Universidad de Buenos Aires</b>
Ch7-Ch8-Ch13-Ch14-Ch17-Ch18	<b>Universidad de Campinas (UNICAMP)</b>
Ch4-Ch24	<b>Universidad de Chile</b>
Ch22	<b>Universidad de Concepción</b>
Ch22	<b>Universidad de Florencia</b>
Ch11	<b>Universidad de Humboldt</b>
Ch5-Ch10-Ch13-Ch34	<b>Universidad de la Frontera</b>
Ch1	<b>Universidad de la República (Uruguay)</b>
Ch22-Ch29-Ch31	<b>Universidad de Lille 1</b>
Ch11-Ch17	<b>Universidad de los Andes</b>
Ch34	<b>Universidad de Los Lagos</b>
Ch35	<b>Universidad de Mainz</b>
Ch35	<b>Universidad de Pernambuco</b>
Ch15	<b>Universidad de Río Grande do Sul</b>
Ch34	<b>Universidad de Salamanca</b>
	<b>Universidad de San Marcos</b>

	<p>Ch31-Ch32-Ch35 Ch7-Ch11-Ch12-Ch13- Ch17-Ch27-Ch30 Ch11 Ch17 Ch22 Ch1-Ch7-Ch9-Ch11- Ch13-Ch24-Ch25 Ch10 Ch2-Ch31-Ch32 Ch1-Ch2-Ch4-Ch5- Ch6-Ch7-Ch8-Ch11- Ch13-Ch15-Ch16- Ch17-Ch19-Ch20- Ch27-Ch28-Ch29- Ch31-Ch32-Ch34 Ch10</p> <p>Ch2 Ch34 Ch17 Ch15 Ch11 Ch1 Ch32</p>	<p>Universidad de San Pablo Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH) Universidad de Talca Universidad de Valparaíso Universidad de Waseda Universidad del Desarrollo</p> <p>Universidad del Trabajo (Uruguay) Universidad Di Tella Universidad Diego Portales</p> <p>Universidad Francisco Marroquín de Guatemala Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén Universidad Javeriana Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica Universidad Nacional de México (UNAM) Universidad Técnica del Estado (Chile) Université Paris I UNSAM (Universidad de San Martín)</p>
Uruguay	<p>U12</p> <p>U13 U13 U7</p> <p>U12-U19-U20</p> <p>U1-U3-U5-U7-U9-U12- U13-U14-U15-U22 U12 U13</p> <p>U13 U12</p> <p>U5-U13</p> <p>U17 U5 U7-U14</p> <p>U13 U12</p>	<p>AUCIP (Asociación Uruguaya de Ciencia Política) CEIPOS Centro de Estudiantes de Derecho CIDE-México (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica) CLACSO (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales) CLAEH (Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana) Colegio de México Colegio de Politólogos y Administradores Públicos (España) Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires Departamento de Ciencias de la Educación (Facultad de Humanidades) Departamento de Sociología (Facultad de Ciencias Sociales) Ecole nationale d'administration (ENA) Escuela de Komsomol Escuela de Métodos Mixtos (Universidad Católica de Chile) Escuela de Servicios Sociales Escuela Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política (ELAC-FLACSO México-)</p>

U12	Escuela Latinoamericana de Sociología
U10	Facultad de Agronomía
U5	Facultad de Arquitectura
U12-U13-U18	Facultad de Ciencias Económicas
U12	Facultad de ciencias Exactas y Naturales
U13	Facultad de Ciencias Políticas (UNAM)
U12-U19	Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (UdelaR)
U4-U7-U13-U15-U18-U22	Facultad de Humanidades
U13-U18	Facultad de Ingeniería
U1-U2-U5-U14-U15-U18-U19	Facultad de Derecho (UdelaR)
U10-U13	Facultad de Medicina
U10	Facultad de Odontología
U15	Facultad de Psicología
U18	Facultad de Química
U9	Federal University of Río de Janeiro
U14	FLACSO (Argentina)
U19	FLACSO (Chile)
U2-U12-U13-U15	FLACSO (México)
U8	Fundación Universitaria
U15	Hospital de Clínicas
U19	Instituto de Ciencia Política (Facultad de Ciencias Sociales)
U21	Instituto de Economía (Facultad de Ciencias Económicas)
U13	Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Sociales
U8	IEPI (Instituto de Estudios Políticos Internacionales)
U1-U13-U21	Instituto de Ciencias Sociales (Facultad de Derecho)
U2-U13	Instituto de Ciencia Política (Universidad Católica de Chile)
U7-U12-U13-U15-U18-U21-U22	Instituto de Profesores Artigas (IPA)
U15	Instituto de Sociología
U11	Instituto Nacional de la Familia y la Mujer
U10	Instituto Universitario de Altos Estudios Internacionales
U10	Instituto Universitario de Estudios de Desarrollo (Universidad de Ginebra)
U3-U13-U15-U18	IUPERJ (Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas de Río de Janeiro)
U13	Magisterio
U10	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Río de Janeiro
U8-U17	SciencePo
U13	Secundaria
U18	Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona



<b>U7-U10-U12-U14-U15-U20</b> <b>U12</b> <b>U5-U7-U15-U16-U22</b> <b>U5-U13-U15</b> <b>U1-U7-U9-U12</b> <b>U12</b> <b>U18</b> <b>U1-U2-U3-U4-U5-U7-U8-U10-U11-U12-U13-U14-U15-U18-U19</b> <b>U13</b> <b>U7</b> <b>U12</b> <b>U10</b> <b>U10</b> <b>U20</b> <b>U5</b> <b>U10</b> <b>U10</b> <b>U12</b> <b>U17</b> <b>U5-U20</b> <b>U12</b> <b>U19</b> <b>U2-U12-U19</b>  <b>U12</b> <b>U13</b> <b>U10</b>	<b>Universidad Católica de Chile</b>  <b>Universidad Católica de Valparaíso</b> <b>Universidad Católica del Uruguay</b> <b>Universidad de Buenos Aires</b> <b>Universidad de Chile</b> <b>Universidad de la Frontera (Chile)</b> <b>Universidad de La Plata</b> <b>Universidad de la República</b>  <b>Universidad de Lovaina</b> <b>Universidad de Montevideo</b> <b>Universidad de Naciones Unidas</b> <b>Universidad de Porto Alegre</b> <b>Universidad de Río de Janeiro</b> <b>Universidad de Salamanca</b> <b>Universidad de San Andrés</b> <b>Universidad de San Pablo</b> <b>Universidad de Sergipe (Brasil)</b> <b>Universidad del Mar (Chile)</b> <b>Universidad del Salvador</b> <b>Universidad Diego Portales</b> <b>Universidad Iberoamericana (México)</b> <b>Universidad Lomonosov</b> <b>Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)</b> <b>Universidad Técnica del Estado (Chile)</b> <b>Universidad Torcuato Di Tella</b> <b>Universidad UNIPAMPA (Brasil)</b>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Table 9: Past and present ‘non-university’ institutional adscription of the interviewees**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of interview</b>	<b>Institution</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	<b>A1</b>	<b>Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político (SAAP)</b>
<b>Chile</b>	<b>Ch11 Ch31  Ch4- Ch7- Ch18- Ch22 Ch6-Ch13-Ch19 Ch5 Ch24 Ch14 Ch16-Ch20  Ch20 Ch13 Ch7  Ch11 Ch11 Ch21  Ch22  Ch20 Ch11 Ch21 Ch11 Ch19 Ch4 Ch18 Ch18  Ch15 Ch22 Ch30  Ch34 Ch5</b>	<b>Agencia de cooperación internacional Alianza por el trabajo, la justicia y la educación (Partido Político Argentino) Asesoría presidencial  Asociación Chilena de Ciencia Política Asociación Cristiana de jóvenes Banco del Estado Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID) Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporánea (CERC) Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP) Chile 21 CIEPLAN (Corporación de Estudios para Latinoamérica) Comisión Nacional de Medio Ambiente Consejo de Alta Dirección Pública CONICYT (Comisión Nacional de Investigación científica y Tecnológica) Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (CORFO) Embajada de Chile en Alemania Encargado de Políticas Indígenas Expansiva Gobierno de Allende Jefe de Gabinete de senador Juventud Demócratacristiana Libertad y Desarrollo MIDEPLAN (Ministerio de Planificación Nacional y Política Económica) Ministerio de Justicia Ministro de Estado (Frei) ODEPLAN (Oficina de Planificación Nacional) Parlamento chileno PNUD (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo)</b>
<b>Uruguay</b>	<b>U7 U11 U5 U20 U10 U2-U7-U19-U21-U5 U19  U10</b>	<b>Banco Hipotecario Cotidiano mujer Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo Instituto Nacional de Estadística Movimiento “26 de marzo”, Seispuntismo Partido Comunista Presidencia de la república (grupo de investigación sobre detenidos desaparecidos) Semanario “La Juventud”</b>

	<b>U4</b>	<b>Sistema Nacional de Investigadores</b>
--	-----------	-------------------------------------------

Table 10: Other institutions mentioned by the interviewees

Country	Code of interview	Institution
Argentina	A1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ALACIP</li> <li>APSA (American Political Science Association)</li> <li>Brazilian Political Science Association (ABCP)</li> <li>CEDES (Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad)</li> <li>CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas)</li> <li>Wodrow Wilson Center</li> </ul>
Chile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ch13-Ch32</li> <li>Ch25</li> <li>Ch9-Ch11-Ch24</li> <li>Ch30</li> <li>Ch15</li> <li>Ch17-Ch26-Ch34</li> <li>Ch24</li> <li>Ch2-Ch13</li> <li>Ch2</li> <li>Ch21</li> <li>Ch27</li> <li>Ch2-Ch6-Ch10-Ch17-Ch19-Ch30-Ch32-Ch34</li> <li>Ch35</li> <li>Ch13-Ch14-Ch16-Ch20-Ch25-Ch26-Ch27-Ch29</li> <li>Ch15</li> <li>Ch35</li> <li>Ch12-Ch18-Ch22</li> <li>Ch22</li> <li>Ch22</li> <li>Ch22</li> <li>Ch1-Ch20</li> <li>Ch5-Ch12-Ch24</li> <li>Ch21</li> <li>Ch18-Ch26</li> <li>Ch2-Ch7-Ch27-Ch9-Ch12-Ch13-Ch14-Ch16-Ch22-Ch27</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>AD (Accion Democrática-Partido Político Venezuela)</li> <li>AD (Alianza Democrática-Chile)</li> <li>AFP (Administradoras de Fondos de Pensiones)</li> <li>Agencia de cooperación Internacional (gobierno chileno)</li> <li>AID (Agencia de Cooperación, EEUU)</li> <li>ALACIP (Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política)</li> <li>Alianza (Coalición política chilena)</li> <li>Amnesty International</li> <li>ANII (Agencia Nacional de Investigación e Innovación-Uruguay)</li> <li>ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche)</li> <li>ACHEI (Asociación Chilena de Especialistas Internacionales)</li> <li>APSA (American Political Science Association)</li> <li>Asociación brasileña de Ciencia Política</li> <li>Asociación chilena de Ciencia Política</li> <li>Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología</li> <li>Asociación Nacional de Investigaciones y Posgrado en Ciencias Sociales</li> <li>Banco Central</li> <li>Banco Estado de Chile en New York</li> <li>Banco Santander (Chile)</li> <li>BBVA Chile</li> <li>BID (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo)</li> <li>BM (Banco Mundial)</li> <li>Cámara de Diputados chilena</li> <li>Centro de Estudios de Desarrollo</li> <li>CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe)</li> </ul>

Ch24	CERC (Centro de Estudios de la realidad contemporánea)
Ch14	CEREN (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional-Universidad Católica de Chile)
Ch12	CIA (Centro de Inteligencia Americana)
Ch11-Ch20	Club Deportivo Universidad de Chile
Ch5-Ch7-Ch17	CNI (Central Nacional de Informaciones Chile)
Ch1-Ch9-Ch19	CNN (Cadena de Televisión)
Ch1-Ch21	CNRS (Centre National de la recherche scientifique)
Ch1-Ch4-Ch5-Ch6-Ch8-Ch9-Ch11-Ch12-Ch13-Ch15-Ch17-Ch18-Ch20-Ch21-Ch22-Ch23-Ch24-Ch25-Ch26-Ch29-Ch34	Concertación (Partido Político)
Ch1	Conciencia de Patria (Partido Político)
Ch30-Ch32	CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas - Argentina)
Ch5-Ch6-Ch13-Ch15-Ch17-Ch20-Ch23-Ch32	CONICYT (Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica - Chile)
Ch13	Consejo minero
Ch25	Consejo Nacional de Televisión
Ch34	Consortio Europeo de Investigación
Ch13	Consortio para la Reforma del Estado
Ch10-Ch13-Ch32	COPEI (Partido Social Cristiano-Venezuela)
Ch16	Corporación Educacional Tecnológica de Chile (CET)
Ch22	Corporación Nacional del Cobre
Ch7	Corte suprema de justicia (Chile)
Ch7-Ch11-Ch17-Ch18-Ch20-Ch27-Ch29-Ch30	Democracia Cristiana (DC-Partido Político)
Ch10-Ch16-Ch17-Ch18	Democracia cristiana (Uruguay)
Ch15-Ch14	Departamento del Estado (EEUU)
Ch5-Ch24-Ch33	DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional Chile)
Ch30	ECOS-CONICYT (Financiadores de proyectos de investigación)
Ch22	Ejército de Liberación Nacional (Chile)
Ch33	Embajada norteamericana en Chile
Ch10	Embajada de Chile en Uruguay
Ch35	Embajada de Brasil en Chile
Ch13-Ch24	ENDESA (Empresa eléctrica española)
Ch11	Escuela Naval (Chile)
Ch20- Ch33	FECH (Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile)

<b>Ch10</b>	<b>FIDEL (Frente Izquierda de Liberación-movimiento político uruguayo)</b>
<b>Ch2-Ch4-Ch5-Ch9-Ch10-Ch13-Ch17-Ch19-Ch20-Ch23-Ch24-Ch25-Ch30-Ch32-Ch35</b>	<b>FONDECYT (Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Científico y tecnológico)</b>
<b>Ch4</b>	<b>Frente Amplio (Uruguay)</b>
<b>Ch33</b>	<b>Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez</b>
<b>Ch11-Ch22-Ch23</b>	<b>Fuerza Aérea</b>
<b>Ch5-Ch22-Ch29-Ch33</b>	<b>Fuerzas Armadas (Chile)</b>
<b>Ch2-Ch7-Ch10-Ch19-Ch33</b>	<b>Fullbright</b>
<b>Ch4-Ch10-Ch15-Ch16-Ch20</b>	<b>Fundación Ford</b>
<b>Ch25</b>	<b>Fundación Friedrich Ebert</b>
<b>Ch19</b>	<b>Homeland Security</b>
<b>Ch2</b>	<b>Human Rights Watch</b>
<b>Ch15</b>	<b>IAF (Apoyo financiero a la investigación)</b>
<b>Ch34</b>	<b>IBERPOL (Asociaciones Iberoamericanas de Ciencia Política)</b>
<b>Ch15-Ch20-Ch24-Ch28</b>	<b>Iglesia Católica</b>
<b>Ch16</b>	<b>Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET)</b>
<b>Ch10-Ch24</b>	<b>Iniciativa Científica Milenio (ICM)</b>
<b>Ch21-Ch24</b>	<b>Instituciones de Salud Previsional (ISAPRES)</b>
<b>Ch5</b>	<b>Instituto de Estudios Políticos (IDEP)</b>
<b>Ch24</b>	<b>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (Chile)</b>
<b>Ch4</b>	<b>Instituto Nacional Electoral Mexicano</b>
<b>Ch10</b>	<b>Instituto Nacional de la Juventud</b>
<b>Ch30</b>	<b>Inter-American Dialogue</b>
<b>Ch19</b>	<b>Instituto de Tecnología de los Alimentos</b>
<b>Ch19</b>	<b>INTEC (Instituto de Desarrollo Tecnológico)</b>
<b>Ch10-Ch17-Ch27-Ch34</b>	<b>IPSA (International Political Science Association)</b>
<b>Ch25</b>	<b>Kellogg institute</b>
<b>Ch4-Ch10-Ch16-Ch26-Ch34</b>	<b>LASA (Latin American Science Association)</b>
<b>Ch26</b>	<b>Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)</b>
<b>Ch15</b>	<b>MacArthur Foundation</b>
<b>Ch10-Ch11-Ch19-Ch20-Ch22-Ch26</b>	<b>MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria-Partido político chileno)</b>
<b>Ch23</b>	<b>MIDEPLAN (Ministerio de Planificación Nacional y Política Económica)</b>
<b>Ch20</b>	<b>Ministerio de Defensa</b>
<b>Ch4</b>	<b>Ministerio de Desarrollo Social</b>
<b>Ch23</b>	<b>Ministerio de Economía</b>
<b>Ch12-Ch25</b>	<b>Ministerio de Educación</b>
<b>Ch24-Ch30</b>	

Ch11-Ch22-Ch23	Ministerio de Hacienda
Ch23	Ministerio de Obras Públicas
Ch1	Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Francia
Ch23	Ministerio de Salud
Ch11-Ch15	MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario)
Ch10-Ch22	Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (Tupamaros)
Ch22	Movimiento montonero (Argentina)
Ch28	OCDE (Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económicos)
Ch33	OEA (Organización de Estados Americanos)
Ch22	OIT (Organización Internacional del Trabajo)
Ch9-Ch11-Ch19-Ch22-Ch24-Ch30	ONU (Organización de las Naciones Unidas)
Ch11-Ch16-Ch22	Organización Panamericana de la Salud
Ch11	Partido Radical (Chile)
Ch7-Ch15-Ch18-Ch22-Ch25	Partido Socialista de Chile (PS)
Ch11-Ch22	Patria y Libertad (sector político chileno de extrema derecha)
Ch13-Ch16-Ch20	PNUD (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo)
Ch11-Ch13-Ch25-Ch33	PPD (Partido por la Democracia-Chile)
Ch22	PREALC (Programa Regional de Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe)
Ch10	PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español)
Ch4	Red de Seguridad Latinoamericana (RESDAL)
Ch10-Ch22-Ch27-Ch33	Renovación Nacional (RN-Partido político)
Ch22	Reserva Federal de Estados Unidos
Ch13	Secretaría General de la Presidencia
Ch10	Servicio de identificación
Ch24	SIMCE (Agencia de Calidad de Educación-Chile)
Ch23	Sistema Nacional de Inversiones (Chile)
Ch4-Ch17	Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político (SAAP)
Ch6-Ch9-Ch13-Ch16-Ch17-Ch18-Ch19-Ch22-Ch23-Ch5-Ch28-Ch29-Ch32	Sociedad Chilena de Políticas Públicas
Ch20	Sociedad de Fomento fabril
Ch24	Televisión Nacional de Chile
Ch17	Tribunal Constitucional

	<p><b>Ch32</b></p> <p><b>Ch9-Ch10-Ch13-Ch14-Ch16-Ch17-Ch33</b></p> <p><b>Ch30</b></p> <p><b>Ch7-Ch9-Ch10-Ch11-Ch18-Ch19-Ch22-Ch30</b></p> <p><b>Ch25</b></p> <p><b>Ch11-Ch15</b></p>	<p><b>UBACIT (Programa de financiación de investigaciones UBA)</b></p> <p><b>UDI (Unión Demócrata Independiente)</b></p> <p><b>UNESCO (Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la educación, la ciencia y la cultura)</b></p> <p><b>Unidad Popular (Partido Político)</b></p> <p><b>Wilson Center</b></p> <p><b>Vaticano</b></p>
<b>Uruguay</b>	<p><b>U5</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U19</b></p> <p><b>U2</b></p> <p><b>U20</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U8-U17-U18</b></p> <p><b>U1-U14-U15-U21</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U4-U7</b></p> <p><b>U2-U7-U10-U12-U13-U20</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U14</b></p> <p><b>U7</b></p> <p><b>U7</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U13</b></p> <p><b>U10-U15</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p> <p><b>U15</b></p> <p><b>U18</b></p> <p><b>U3-U7-U14</b></p> <p><b>U10</b></p>	<p><b>Acción Sindical del Uruguay (ASU)</b></p> <p><b>AD (Partido Político-Venezuela)</b></p> <p><b>ADM (Asociación de Dirigentes de Marketing)</b></p> <p><b>AFFUR (Agremiación Federal de Funcionarios de la Universidad de la República)</b></p> <p><b>ALACIP (Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política)</b></p> <p><b>Amnistía Internacional</b></p> <p><b>ANCAP (Administración Nacional de Combustibles Alcohol y Portland)</b></p> <p><b>ANII (Agencia Nacional de Investigación e Innovación)</b></p> <p><b>ANTEL (Administración Nacional de Telecomunicaciones)</b></p> <p><b>Asamblea Uruguay</b></p> <p><b>FEUU (Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios)</b></p> <p><b>Asociación Mutual Israelita</b></p> <p><b>Asociación Rural del Uruguay</b></p> <p><b>AUCIP (Asociación Uruguaya de Ciencia Política)</b></p> <p><b>Banco Central</b></p> <p><b>Banco de Previsión Social</b></p> <p><b>Banco Mundial</b></p> <p><b>Biblioteca Nacional</b></p> <p><b>BID (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo)</b></p> <p><b>British College</b></p> <p><b>Buquebus</b></p> <p><b>Cámara de Comercio del Uruguay</b></p> <p><b>CAPES (beca de estudios brasileña)</b></p> <p><b>CECA (Comunidad Europea del carbón y el Acero)</b></p> <p><b>CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe)</b></p> <p><b>CERES (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social)</b></p>



U7-U13	CIDE (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica -México-)
U3-U10-U15-U18	CIESU (Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay)
U15	CINVE (Centro de Investigaciones Económicas)
U13	CODICEN
U10	Colegio Alemán
U10-U13-U17	Colegio Seminario
U10	Comisión de Defensa
U10	Comisión de Presupuesto
U18	Comunidad Económica Europea
U1-U18-U19	Concertación (Partido político chileno)
U14	CONICYT (Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica – Chile)
U15	CONICYT (Consejo Nacional de Investigación, Ciencia y Tecnología – Uruguay)
U10	Consejo de Seguridad Nacional (EEUU)
U10	COPEI (Partido Político-Venezuela)
U1-U5-U11-U21-U22	CSIC (Comisión Sectorial de Investigación Científica)
U15	Democracia Cristiana
U10	Departamento de Estado (EEUU)
U10	Departamento de Defensa (EEUU)
U13	Elbio Fernández
U15	Equipos Mori
U4	Escuela de Komsomol
U1	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)
U13-U15	FESUR (Federación Friedrich Ebert del Uruguay)
U13	FIDEL (Frente Izquierda de Liberación)
U1-U3-U4-U5-U7-U10-U13-U14-U17-U18-U19-U20-U22	Frente Amplio
U11	Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación
U10	Fondo Monetario Internacional
U12	Fundación de Cultura Universitaria
U20	FUCVAM (Federación Uruguaya de Cooperativas de Vivienda por Ayuda Mutua)
U13-U15	Fundación Ford
U13	Fundacion Rockefeller
U10	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
U14	Global Development Network (GDN)
U11	GRECMU (Grupo de Estudios sobre la Condición de la Mujer en el Uruguay)

U10	Homeland Security Department
U1	Hospital Filtro
U11-U15	IDRC (International Development Research Centre)
U13	ILPES (Instituto Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Planificación Económica y Social)
U13	Instituto Método
U3	Instituto Nacional de la Juventud
U3-U10-U11-U19	IPRU (Instituto de Promoción Económico y Social del Uruguay)
U15	IPSA (International Political Science Association)
U13-U20	Latin American Political Institutions Section (LAPIS)
U5	LASA (Latin American Science Association)
U4-U5-U19-U20	Leadgate
U10	Liceo Bauzá
U10	Liceo Francés
U13	Liceo IAVA
U10	Liceo Miranda
U10	Management of Social Transformation (MOST-Unesco)
U12	MERCOSUR (Mercado Común del Sur)
U18-U19	MIDES
U7	Ministerio de Defensa
U10-U13	Ministerio de Educación (Chile)
U1	Ministerio de Educación y Cultura
U10-U13	Ministerio de Ganadería
U10	Ministerio de Justicia
U21	Ministerio de Trabajo
U12	Movimiento “26 de marzo”
U17	Movimiento de Liberación Nacional
U7-U10-U17-U19	Movimiento Uruguayo Socialista Popular (MUSP)
U10	MPP (Movimiento de Participación Popular)
U10	National Security Strategy
U3-U5-U18	Nuevo Espacio
U11	Observatorio de Cooperación Descentralizada
U10	OCLADE
U10	Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC)
U10-U11-U17	ONU (Organización de las Naciones Unidas)
U13	OPIPA (Oficina de Planeamiento de Ganadería)
U7	OPP (Oficina de Planeamiento y

		<b>Presupuesto)</b>
	<b>U13</b>	<b>Organización Iberoamericana de Ciencia Política (OICP).</b>
	<b>U10</b>	<b>OTAN (Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Norte)</b>
	<b>U3-U4-U5-U7-U17-U18</b>	<b>Partido Colorado</b>
	<b>U1-U2-U3-U5-U10-U12-U13-U17-U19</b>	<b>Partido Comunista</b>
	<b>U12</b>	<b>Partido Comunista Italiano</b>
	<b>U7-U13-U18</b>	<b>Partido Demócrata Cristiano</b>
	<b>U5-U10</b>	<b>Partido Independiente</b>
	<b>U5-U7-U17-U18</b>	<b>Partido Nacional</b>
	<b>U10-U13-U19</b>	<b>Partido por la Victoria del Pueblo (PVP)</b>
	<b>U1-U3-U7-U10-U13</b>	<b>Partido Socialista</b>
	<b>U3</b>	<b>Partido Trabalhista (PT)</b>
	<b>U7</b>	<b>PEDECIBA (Programa de Desarrollo de las Ciencias Básicas)</b>
	<b>U7-U10</b>	<b>Pluna</b>
	<b>U12-U19</b>	<b>PNUD (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo)</b>
	<b>U10</b>	<b>Poder Ejecutivo</b>
	<b>U1</b>	<b>Poder Judicial</b>
	<b>U7</b>	<b>PRI (México)</b>
	<b>U14</b>	<b>SIMCE (Sistema de evaluación de resultados de aprendizaje)</b>
	<b>U1-U5-U9-U10-U13-U16</b>	<b>Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI)</b>
	<b>U7</b>	<b>Subsistencias</b>
	<b>U17</b>	<b>Tendencia Proletaria (MLN)</b>
	<b>U12</b>	<b>UNESCO (Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura)</b>
	<b>U18</b>	<b>Unión Cívica</b>
	<b>U2-U5-U7-U19</b>	<b>Unión de Juventudes Comunistas (UJC)</b>
	<b>U11</b>	<b>Unión Europea</b>
	<b>U10</b>	<b>Unión Industrial</b>
	<b>U13</b>	<b>Unión Popular</b>

**Table 11: Think tanks named by country**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of interview</b>	<b>Think tank</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	<b>A1</b>	<b>CEDES (Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad)</b>
<b>Chile</b>	Ch18-Ch26 Ch13-Ch17-Ch18-Ch21- Ch23-Ch24-Ch30 Ch13-Ch25-Ch26 Ch7-Ch13-Ch14-Ch16- Ch23 Ch7-Ch22-Ch24-Ch27- Ch30-Ch32 Ch11-Ch13-Ch21 Ch13-Ch25 Ch13-Ch14-Ch25 Ch13 Ch4	CED (Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo) CEP (Centro de Estudios Públicos)  Chile 21 CIEPLAN (Corporación de Estudios para Latinoamérica) ENADE (Foro de la Comunidad Empresarial Chilena)  Expansiva Fundación Jaime Guzmán Libertad y Desarrollo Proyecta Médica RESDAL (Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina)
<b>Uruguay</b>	<b>U10</b>	<b>CERES (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social)</b>

**Table 12: Anglo-Saxon universities named by the interviewees**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of interview</b>	<b>Anglo-Saxon Universities</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	<b>A1</b>	
<b>Chile</b>	<b>Ch29</b> <b>Ch13-Ch30</b> <b>Ch13-Ch14-Ch19</b> <b>Ch15</b> <b>Ch4</b> <b>Ch4-Ch10-Ch13-</b> <b>Ch25-Ch30-Ch34</b> <b>Ch2-Ch15-Ch21-</b> <b>Ch22-Ch29-Ch34-</b> <b>Ch35</b> <b>Ch35</b> <b>Ch10</b> <b>Ch21</b> <b>Ch4-Ch13-Ch17</b> <b>Ch21-Ch26-Ch29</b> <b>Ch19-Ch26</b> <b>Ch6-Ch31-Ch32</b> <b>Ch15</b> <b>Ch6-Ch10-Ch23-</b> <b>Ch31-Ch34-Ch35</b> <b>Ch32</b> <b>Ch16-Ch21-Ch23</b> <b>Ch30-Ch31</b> <b>Ch8-Ch19</b> <b>Ch11-Ch12-Ch14-</b> <b>Ch17-Ch21-Ch22</b> <b>Ch16</b> <b>Ch30-Ch34</b> <b>Ch2-Ch6-Ch14-</b> <b>Ch28</b> <b>Ch4</b> <b>Ch6-Ch13-Ch15-</b> <b>Ch21-Ch23-Ch34</b> <b>Ch30</b> <b>Ch4-Ch15-Ch20</b> <b>Ch26</b> <b>Ch2-Ch4-Ch15-</b> <b>Ch17-Ch35</b> <b>Ch4-Ch5-Ch12-</b> <b>Ch16-Ch17-Ch32</b> <b>Ch30</b> <b>Ch4-Ch15-Ch21-</b> <b>Ch22</b> <b>Ch13</b> <b>Ch7</b> <b>Ch10</b> <b>Ch31-Ch10</b>	<b>American University</b> <b>Brown University</b> <b>Columbia University</b> <b>Duke University</b> <b>Florida International University</b> <b>Georgetown University</b>  <b>Harvard University</b>  <b>John Hopkins University</b> <b>King’s College London</b> <b>Lancaster University</b> <b>London School of Economics</b>  <b>New York University</b> <b>Northwestern University</b> <b>Ohio University</b> <b>Princeton University</b>  <b>Queen’s University</b> <b>Stanford University</b> <b>Syracuse University</b> <b>The New School for Social Research</b> <b>The University of Chicago</b>  <b>The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</b> <b>The University of Texas</b> <b>University of California, Berkeley</b>  <b>University of California, Riverside</b> <b>University of Cambridge</b>  <b>University of Connecticut</b> <b>University of Essex</b> <b>University of Illinois</b> <b>University of Michigan</b>  <b>University of Notre Dame</b>  <b>University of Ottawa</b> <b>University of Oxford</b>  <b>University of Pennsylvania</b> <b>University of Pittsburgh</b> <b>University of Prince Edward Island</b> <b>University of St. Andrews</b>

	<b>Ch23</b> <b>Ch28</b> <b>Ch32</b> <b>Ch14</b> <b>Ch10-Ch31</b> <b>Ch6-Ch8-Ch15-</b> <b>Ch30</b>	<b>University of Sussex</b> <b>University of Washington</b> <b>University of Wisconsin</b> <b>Yale University</b> <b>York University (Canada)</b> <b>University of York (England)</b>
<b>Uruguay</b>	<b>U7-U9</b> <b>U9</b> <b>U13</b> <b>U7</b> <b>U10</b> <b>U7-U8</b> <b>U7-U18</b> <b>U5</b> <b>U11</b> <b>U11</b> <b>U1-U5-U16</b> <b>U15</b>	<b>Columbia University</b> <b>Rutgers University</b> <b>Stanford University</b> <b>Syracuse University</b> <b>The University of Iowa</b> <b>The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</b> <b>University of Minnesota</b> <b>University of California, San Diego</b> <b>University of Cambridge</b> <b>University of London</b> <b>University of Notre Dame</b> <b>University of Pittsburgh</b>

**Table 13: View of the dictatorship(s)**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of interview</b>	<b>Quotation</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	A1	“agujero negro que produce cada dictadura” (6)
<b>Chile</b>	Ch4	“Arrasó con todo la dictadura” (19)
	Ch5	“me acuerdo de mi vieja quemando los papeles y tirándolos por el wáter” (5)
	Ch6	“todo el mundo que estaba a mi alrededor era partidario del régimen militar” (3)
	Ch7	“Pinochet lo que hizo fue destruir a la ciencia política, usarla, matar a la gente que la cultivaba a la mala, fomentar un Instituto de papel como era el Instituto de la Universidad de Chile” (16)
	Ch9	“la dictadura comienza a mostrar que no es una pura cuestión reaccionaria” (15)
	Ch10	“Las ciencias sociales empiezan a hacerse cargo de lo que habían hecho y de lo que no habían hecho en un proceso de dolorosa reflexión que yo creo que empieza por el año 75 a mediados, más o menos” (8)
	Ch11	“En el gobierno militar lo que pasa a mandar es la lógica económica” (18)
	Ch14	“el esfuerzo de la dictadura chilena por refundar el proceso político, en la forma de democracia protegida” (7)
	Ch15	“¿qué sentido tiene defender los derechos humanos de un régimen que en definitiva puede cambiar las leyes y los jueces cuando quiere?” (8)
	Ch16	“creo que el primer hito podría ser la dictadura, porque la ciencia política se empieza a desarrollar a fines de los 60 en Chile” (3)
	Ch17	“nunca ha sido una universidad democrática, fue una universidad que avaló durante 17 años la dictadura militar” (7)
	Ch18	“la fragilidad de los sistemas y de que (una hipótesis) que no hay dictadura posible sin soporte popular, algún tipo de soporte popular y que cuando ese soporte popular se debilita tú tienes que recurrir a mecanismos de fuerza, de mucha fuerza y de mucho control” (7)
	Ch19	“la academia en Chile se desarrolló, por lo menos en la ciencia política, bastante en dictadura y a contrapelo, o sea, era una cosa muy de mucho esfuerzo, con plata desde afuera, de cooperación contra la dictadura” (40)
	Ch20	“vino la dictadura que produjo un daño feroz” (20)
	Ch21	“También hay que entender que la ciencia política antes del Golpe, en la práctica no existía” (7)
	Ch22	“nos tocó el golpe, nos tocó el proceso tortuoso de la época de violencia extrema” (1)
	Ch23	“el gobierno de Pinochet fue muy fundacional en

	Ch24	todo sentido” “la ciencia política, de alguna manera hereda una perspectiva un poco más neutra para poder meterse en los temas políticos” (20)
	Ch25	“el país que fundó Pinochet es el país que tú ves acá, un país que está” (18)
	Ch26	“el Chile de hoy se parece mucho más al modelo de Pinochet que al modelo de la Concertación” (4)
	Ch27	“Yo creo que se purgó mucho más en sociología y en periodismo que fueron absolutamente intervenidos” (32)
	Ch28	“fue una decisión de no generar olas con la dictadura militar” (15)
	Ch29	“este Instituto de Ciencia Política tenía fines políticos muy claros para estudiar el gobierno, la defensa, el Estado, una mirada desde esa lógica” (7)
	Ch30	“¿Durante la dictadura?... yo hablo de régimen autoritario, hay una diferencia clara ahí de orientación.” (10)
	Ch33	“ellos se autodenominaban como los salvadores de un régimen podrido que había antes” (18)
	Ch34	“en general lo que uno detecta es que la ciencia política en Chile desde muy temprano (en pleno período de dictadura) asumió una posición bien activa y después durante la transición política, la ciencia política chilena fue también bien crítica” (27)
<b>Uruguay</b>	U1	“mi generación que sufrió la dictadura sin saber por qué pero que la vivió profundamente más que otros porque no se fue a ningún lado, porque la vivió acá, porque tuvo que bancar escuelas, liceos y hasta el propio grado en la universidad, en el clima represivo de la dictadura” (22) “Yo tenía una novia, en Facultad de Derecho y no le podías pasar el brazo por encima del hombro a la chiquilina porque venía uno y te tocaba el brazo y te lo hacía bajar” (22) “yo viví esa cultura de la dictadura. El haber vivido los años de la dictadura te marcan una diferencia muy fuerte entre eso y todo lo demás y te hace, si querés más sistémico con la democracia en cierta medida, es cierto” (22) “en definitiva, siempre dijimos que eso era una dictadura y no por ser muy sabios, sino que no nos comprábamos aquello de que los tanques soviéticos entraron a Hungría a liberarlo.” (23)
	U2	“Yo soy un exiliado, yo soy un comunista pero yo luché muy poco tiempo por el comunismo y mayormente luché (...) en contra de la dictadura y



	U3	<p>por la democracia” (15)</p> <p>“el contexto de aquel momento era la dictadura y tenía años de militancia estudiantil, de hecho fui dirigente estudiantil en la época de la dictadura, primero en diálogo universitario después en la ASCEEP y bueno eso me marcó mucho.” (1)</p> <p>“Para mí la dictadura era un monstruo y yo de alguna manera tenía que sacarle un brazo, un ojo y yo era un dirigente estudiantil muy involucrado” (2)</p>
	U4	<p>“La contradicción principal, decía Quijano, no estaba entre la oligarquía y el pueblo, sino entre la dictadura y la democracia” (16)</p> <p>“durante la dictadura los centros privados de investigación en ciencias sociales y particularmente el CLAEH eran viveros de interdisciplinaridad” (4)</p> <p>“Yo estaba en la dictadura, tenía menos de veinte años, para mí estudiar la política y estudiar la democracia era una manera de resistir la dictadura y yo me formé en ese contexto” (4)</p> <p>“La dictadura, nos quitó muchas cosas, a mí me quitó muchas cosas” (5)</p> <p>“yo participaba en un centro de investigación en ciencias sociales y para mí formarme y trabajar en ese centro, muchas veces en las fronteras de lo permitido y de lo no permitido. Porque bueno, la dictadura uruguaya, que fue muy represiva de la vida cotidiana, hacía un seguimiento, que luego con el tiempo pude confirmar en la documentación del período, hacía un seguimiento muy pormenorizado de lo que hacían los centros de ciencias sociales, nosotros siempre trabajábamos ahí, en una frontera.” (5-6)</p>
	U5	<p>“Claro, la dictadura era para mí... es como estar, imagínate, en una carretera y que la niebla baja, baja y que vos no ves más de un metro” (11)</p>
	U6	<p>“lo que tu decís es: “en Chile había una ciencia política en pleno autoritarismo”. O sea, la misma ciencia política te van a decir, que la que estamos pensando los que reafirmamos esa idea de que hay ciencia política en caso de democracia liberal porque si no estás hablando de otra cosa. Sino que tú vas a decir que hay especificidades” (1)</p> <p>“tenés que hacer un giro fundamental y es revisar la teoría clásica de la democracia para decir que la democracia actual sigue siendo democrática y eso lo hace muy bien Schumpeter” (11-12)</p>
	U7	<p>“Pero en los 80 se llevó mucha gente el torbellino de la política” (4)</p>

	<p>U8</p> <p>U9</p> <p>U10</p> <p>U12</p>	<p>“me pongo a militar en la Juventud Comunista. En parte para recuperar la democracia, en parte para hacer la revolución” (4)</p> <p>“respecto a la ciencia política no, porque no existía, se dirá que Real de Azua. Pero en realidad yo creo que se puede hablar de la ciencia política después de la dictadura. De lo que estoy seguro es que en toda la sociedad uruguaya la dictadura fue un golpe fuertísimo y recoló, (para usar una palabra espantosa), recoló el valor de la democracia burguesa, liberal, formal, etcétera. La miramos todos de otra manera a esa democracia, que todos, yo me incluyo aunque tenía muy pocos años...” (43)</p> <p>“hubo mucho más que dos demonios” (44)</p> <p>“gracias a la dictadura nos modernizamos mucho y salimos de Uruguay, la dictadura nos expulsó, nos hizo andar por el mundo, nos hizo estudiar” (44)</p> <p>“La censura era censura más bien a las personas que a lo que decían las personas.” (5)</p> <p>“Eso no es censura es estupidez, censura estúpida, represión estúpida” (13)</p> <p>“No se quería establecer un régimen permanente, sino que se consideraba que era un régimen de excepción, los militares había venido a salvar la democracia preexistente, conservadora o cómo le quiera llamar. Entonces no había un interés tan grande, ellos pensaron que su actividad debía dirigirse fundamentalmente a liquidar al marxismo y a sus variantes tupamaras y castristas, etcétera, etcétera” (15)</p> <p>“casi me obligaron a afiliarme al Partido Comunista durante la dictadura, me dio tanta bronca que me salí de ahí” (13)</p> <p>“en abril del 72 se vino la estantería abajo” (3)</p> <p>“Consideraron que con lo que yo tenía, los tres años de estudios universitarios más la experiencia de la cárcel y de la militancia, tenía un grado” (7)</p> <p>“Antropología no lo tuve que hacer, en el ciclo básico porque me la dieron por salvado por la experiencia en la cárcel” (8)</p> <p>“la experiencia vivida pesa y pesó” (38)</p> <p>“yo no tengo un rencor personal con mi torturador, no siento nada en particular respecto a mis torturadores, porque en última instancia yo sé que más allá de que pudo haber habido sádicos y grandes hijos de puta torturando, para ellos fue una cuestión (política)...” (38)</p> <p>“Mi vida política estuvo muy vinculada a estos problemas de desencuentro” (6)</p>
--	-------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

U13		<p>“Yo nací pensando que los partidos tradicionales estaban terminados y que había que acabar con ellos (...) tenía 16 años y tenía esa idea y después fue totalmente al revés” (20)</p>
U15		<p>“Lo borré, es como que no me acuerdo de nada era tal el rechazo que tenía de ir. Porque aparte, estabas todo el tiempo con policías. Era una escuela de trabajo social, no era una licenciatura, era como un Instituto de Trabajo Social, todo el tiempo intervenido” (4-5)</p> <p>“Estuvimos durante dos noches en el Prado calcando formularios, para no perder la información, en papel de estraza, calcando formularios” (5)</p> <p>“no me puedo acordar qué aprendí (para que veas la negación) de entrar en un lugar que estaba todo el tiempo intervenido, todo el tiempo te vigilaban, no te dejaban hablar de a dos, te separaban, una represión brutal, todo el tiempo, la policía o pasaban los chanchitos y te decían: “¿te portaste bien?”, era una época de mucha represión, 77, imaginate” (5)</p> <p>“Frente a un espacio híper cerrado empezaron a surgir cuestiones muy alternativas” (6)</p> <p>“Eso fue lo que me dio la universidad y trabajo social, la militancia clandestina, que era una pavada. A ver, estábamos todos aterrados y era en espacios de intersticio porque el control que había sobre la sociedad era brutal. Vos caminabas por 18 de julio, salías a la universidad y estaba lleno de policías, de canas. Todo el tiempo pasaban, yo me socialicé con la policía al lado. Nunca dejo de llevar la cédula, por ejemplo, pero no es por usar la tarjeta de crédito, porque me va a pedir. O sea, es una marca que tengo” (13-14)</p>
U17		<p>“Dos años después yo termino en el exilio, precisamente los militares me van a buscar a mi casa, incluso se quedan 24 horas haciéndome una ratonera pero como un compañero mío había caído previamente yo no estaba yendo a mi casa y llamaba todos los días y con mamá teníamos una contraseña y con los milicos delante ella me dio la contraseña telefónicamente y ahí yo desaparecí; un mes después me exilié en Buenos Aires” (2-3)</p>
U18		<p>“Cuando se cierra la puerta de un aula hay un margen de libertad siempre”, esto lo leí en Gadamer respecto del nazismo, siempre hay espacios de libertad; ahora el problema es que la dictadura barrió los cuadros docentes” (8)</p> <p>“Después en la dictadura fue una cátedra. Yo creo</p>

	U22	<p>que la docencia universitaria se empobreció pero por la barrida de profesores” (11)</p> <p>“Nada es un bloque, nada es un bloque, hubo alguna fisura en el bloque, también de la dictadura uruguaya” (14)</p> <p>“En el 77 yo no pensaba así pero fui cambiando. Claro, la dictadura nos puso en contacto práctico, vital con (lo que yo interpreto, obviamente el tema es discutible) la sustancia formal de la democracia, la democracia es una forma y no hay que tener miedo. Porque yo participé de una lucha por recuperar formas políticas, no cambios socioeconómicos. Ahora que ocurre y yo vi luchar por eso” (18)</p> <p>“ahí hay algo muy raro porque tuvimos una dictadura que marcó tremendamente la historia contemporánea del Uruguay y que, bueno la forma en que se dio la dictadura todavía es señalada siempre como un condicionante de nuestra democracia actual y sin embargo no hay interés...” (24)</p>
--	-----	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Table 14: View of the democratic transition**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of interview</b>	<b>Quotation</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	A1	“en los primeros diez años de la ciencia política, el tema predominante es la democracia, la transición democrática, el sistema de partidos” (11)
<b>Chile</b>	Ch2	“Mi entrada en la ciencia política yo no la puedo explicar si no es con el plebiscito de 1980, a mí me impactó” (6)
	Ch6	“realmente yo creo que cuando viene la transformación de la ciencia política y de este Instituto en particular, es a mediados de los años 80” (7)
	Ch9	“Ciertas perspectivas críticas respecto a la transición que en ese tiempo eran el lenguaje oficial de un proceso ordenado, de traspaso desde el pueblo militar al pueblo civil” (2)
	Ch14	“yo diría que la crítica al proceso de transición en cierta forma la lideran los cientistas sociales” (15)
	Ch15	“a 22 años de la transición, ¿ha cambiado esa estructura militar corporativa?” (4)
	Ch16	“viene la democracia y yo creo que hubo una obnubilación con el modelo de transición que nadie la cuestionó, nadie cuestionó las premisas sobre las cuales se fundaba esta transición” (22)
	Ch18	“Chile hace una transición pacífica y razonable y con un dictador siguiendo en el poder, lo cual es un lugar muy raro” (29)
	Ch19	“Yo para el plebiscito del 89 compuse una canción” (10)
	Ch20	“se respiraba el cambio de régimen” (6)
	Ch22	“ésta es una transición bien fregada” (27)
	Ch24	“Chile no es un país en el que los militares han perdido todo el poder...pero sí se les quitó bastante durante la transición” (8)
	Ch25	“Sobre adaptación” (2)
	Ch26	“yo siempre digo que la transición en Chile se acaba el día que muera Manuel Antonio Garretón, es la única condición que todavía nos mantiene en transición” (5)
	Ch29	“la transición chilena como modelo exitoso en su momento era también un modelo a replicar” (31)
	Ch30	“cuando llega, asume acá la dirección Óscar Godoy se abre una línea bastante crítica a la transición, de su momento. Y ahí el Instituto se posiciona un poco más fuertemente en una línea opositora, por decirlo así, (no opositora al régimen en general) pero empieza a ser más crítico, ésa es la tendencia.” (16)

	Ch34	“tú revisas la literatura transitológica en Chile y vas a observar que es toda crítica” (27)
	Ch35	“como modelo de transición para la democracia no” (15)
<b>Uruguay</b>	U4	“Yo lo puedo testimoniar, para quienes vivimos la dictadura y también vivimos el retorno a la democracia, la construcción de la democracia, el tema de la valoración de la democracia, es una cuestión fundante de nuestra visión de la política y por cierto también de la ciencia política, no cabe la menor duda.” (18)
	U5	“Yo, por ejemplo, nunca acepté la transición y siempre, aún en los momentos donde no se hablaba, seguía hablando de derechos humanos y seguí discutiendo la impunidad, y eso me ayudó a profundizar en torno a la idea de radicalización de la democracia” (21)
	U6	“Si hago memoria me acordaría hasta mes a mes todo esos cinco años, porque estuvo todo muy jalonado por cosas: la democratización, el primer año, lo complicado que fue lo de la Ley de Caducidad, lo de la junta de firmas y al estar tan metido en eso, después estudiar ciencia política era un goce, porque era la posibilidad de verlo desde otro lado.” (4)
	U7	“Porque el Instituto se enamoró de los partidos a la salida de la dictadura, de la democracia y de los partidos y ahí hay un punto valorativo, hay una defensa de la democracia y una defensa de los partidos” (28)
		“la Ley de Caducidad, sirvió entre otras cosas para que el Uruguay se confrontara con sus propios abismos en cuanto a sus tradiciones democráticas y a sus prácticas democráticas; porque lo que hizo la Ley de Caducidad no fue más que repetir lo que el Uruguay siempre hizo que fue: los legisladores, o los representantes, o la ciudadanía puede decidir cualquier cosa, porque es una voluntad que es casi divina y la voluntad popular, sea representada, sea directa, es soberana” (25)
		“Yo estoy en plena adolescencia buscando mi identidad, todo ese asunto, al mismo tiempo que el país se va democratizando y yo me voy politizando en un país que se va politizando. Yo voy creciendo en un país que se va politizando. En otra circunstancia, capaz que yo hubiera sido anatómo patólogo, los 15 años me agarraron en ese momento, en la transición” (3)
		“El voto verde fue una piña brutal para mi

	<p>U12</p> <p>U13</p> <p>U14</p>	<p>generación, para mí y para muchos jóvenes comunistas, una piña brutal que nos dejó sin aliento y nos mandó para nuestras casas. Yo dejé de militar antes de la Caída del Muro, a mi me sacó de la escena el voto verde” (4)</p> <p>“Es así tal cual lo decís. El año 89, la debacle; el año 90 la súper debacle; el año 91 la reverenda recontra debacle que es que se disgrega la URSS y desaparece el PCUS. Es la izquierda golpeada, es Tabaré Vázquez, diciendo en un seminario, siendo intendente: “no tenemos alternativa al neoliberalismo”. Es el clima de época, no tenemos alternativa. La crisis de la identidad, no solo de la identidad comunista, de la identidad de la izquierda, fue muy profunda” (12-13)</p> <p>“había una ambiente de mucha discusión y ese ambiente se perdió totalmente después de la dictadura” (20-21)</p> <p>“la salida del golpe la idea de la construcción democrática, el comprometerte en ese difícil esfuerzo por pasar de una concepción instrumentalista de la democracia a una concepción sustantiva en la cual los actores sociales son hacedores de democracia, son titulares de la democracia, superar toda la idea de democracia formal y pasar a una idea diferente, eso fue un esfuerzo intelectual, no un esfuerzo de gabinete de investigación, ni de clase...” (31)</p> <p>“estaban todos los de la ciencia política democrática” (10)</p> <p>“Después yo creo que había un tema de revalorización de la democracia, en la transición democrática de la dictadura muy fuerte que tiene, si querés episodios. A mí, por ejemplo, los dos desvelos fueron la reivindicación de la autonomía de la política, la democracia y los partidos. Bueno, después mi obsesión por el presidencialismo pero el cogollo era ese, y eso fue un elemento que tuvo consecuencias efectivas en la construcción disciplinaria.” (18)</p> <p>“No te olvides que varios de los politólogos defendieron la Ley de Caducidad. Ojo, públicamente, o en charlas, o sea defendieron el voto amarillo, no es sólo esto, había una posición política ahí” (28)</p> <p>“era un momento en dónde el fenómeno político era la transición a la democracia en todos nuestros países y el fenómeno político tenía una presencia en nuestras vidas que era muy importante y en particular la reflexión sobre la</p>
--	----------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	<p>U16</p> <p>U19</p>	<p>democracia, las modalidades de democracia, las complejidades de las transiciones, de alguna forma lo que a vos te interesa, el contexto, te llevaba a una focalización hacia el hecho político, incluso el fenómeno político en esa versión, la versión de régimen político, la versión autoritarismo, las cuestiones de autoritarismo-democracia...” (3)</p> <p>“yo creo que ahí la cuestión de la transición a la democracia fue fundamental porque realmente ahora lo vemos con perspectiva histórica y nos parecía que teníamos una democracia consolidada, pero en ese momento no era tan claro. Entonces, de alguna manera, éramos muchos los que, no sólo en Uruguay sino en toda la región indagaban cuáles son las claves, cuáles fueron las claves de la ruptura de la democracia, cuáles son las claves para mantenerla, e incluso cuando vos pensás toda esta línea del régimen de gobierno y coaliciones, en definitiva era la pregunta respecto a cuán funcionales al mantenimiento del régimen democrático puede ser una combinación entre presidencialismo y sistema de partido o de pluralismo moderado. En definitiva sistemas de partido, régimen de gobierno” (5)</p> <p>“mi padre y mi madre se fueron de algún modo en alguna forma de exilio en el 73. Mi padre trabajaba en el Parlamento, se quedó obviamente sin trabajo y mi madre tenía un contexto personal y familiar también complejo (<i>pausa</i>) y decidieron irse, en el año 73. Y me fui a una transición que era la transición española que me marcó, muchísimo. Después volví a una transición que fue la transición uruguaya que me marcó muchísimo y ese combo siempre me mantuvo durante años muy importantes en la vida de un individuo, me mantuvo bastante politizado, bastante interesado en cuestiones vinculadas a la política, al poder, las instituciones, los partidos, la competencia política. Esas dos transiciones fueron muy importantes para mí, sí.” (1-2)</p> <p>“lo del voto verde, todo el tema de la impunidad y lo del voto verde nos afectó en el sentido de hacernos perder definitivamente la ingenuidad política, el pensar que una época tan trágica como fue la dictadura, recuperada la democracia iba a reponer la verdad y reponer ciertos ángulos reflexivos, críticos al capitalismo, al Estado, y cierto cuestionamiento a la narrativa de la</p>
--	-----------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------



	<p>U21</p>	<p>excepcionalidad de la sociedad uruguaya, cuando el Estado había sido un Estado terrorista lo menos que podés pensar es que se restablecería la imagen de un Estado virtuoso sin ningún margen crítico a las conductas y a los comportamientos estatales en su pasado reciente” (10)</p> <p>“me parece, que después como que esos temas cayeron en desuso, es decir, ya está. Ya tuvimos dictadura, tuvimos transición, que vamos a seguir preguntando... cómo era, el artículo de Bobbio, los temas (no me acuerdo) un articulillo ahí: “Las deudas pendientes de la democracia”, que estaban, nosotros lo manejábamos. Me da la impresión de que hubo como un viraje, decir, bueno, ya está. Acá se zanjó hubo el plebiscito verde amarillo y ya está. Como que: vayamos a ver lo que tenemos, cómo funciona y tratemos de mejorar su funcionamiento. A mí brutalmente, me dijo Juan Rial un día: “loco dejate de joder ahora lo que se precisa son ingenieros para ajustar las tuercas, nada más”, te estoy hablando del año 90 más o menos, después del primer Sanguinetti. Esa idea de decir: “vamos a concentrarnos, dejémonos de discutir, sobre el futuro de la democracia y yo que sé, tenemos lo que tenemos, es esto, punto, vamos a ver cómo hacemos para...” (14)</p>
	<p>U22</p>	<p>“si buscaron o no a los desaparecidos, que tuvo un efecto mucho mayor demostrando que acá están fijadas ciertas reglas y no podés pasarlas y tenés que jugar. Como un efecto domesticador muy fuerte” (18)</p> <p>“Creo que ahí imperaba la idea de que bueno, después del plebiscito del 89 eso era cosa juzgada, resuelta, y que era así y que bueno no afectaba la calidad democrática” (20)</p> <p>“Yo creo que la realidad fue como una lápida que tapó un velo que hizo que un ambiente social que condicionó fuertísimamente, para mí, después de la ratificación de la Ley en el plebiscito de abril en el año 89, a nivel social y político dejó de hablarse del tema, yo creo que a nivel académico eso hizo que también, eso generó como la despreocupación total por plantearse el problema” (21)</p> <p>“Sí, muy pequeño. Para mí, el proceso es así: del 89 al 96, no pasa nada, en el 96 primero la Marcha del Silencio por los 20 años ahí recién vuelven las movilizaciones pero pasaron siete años, vuelven las movilizaciones por el tema y</p>

	<p>cada marcha era más grande hasta que en el 2000 se crea la Comisión para la Paz y para mí la Comisión para la Paz es el gran disparador del asunto que después se consolida, el gran disparador de la reinstalación del tema en la agenda pública uruguaya y la reinstalación en la agenda de los politólogos que hacen análisis o de los analistas políticos que vuelven a plantear el tema como un problema de la democracia o como un legado mal resuelto de la transición, para ponerlo en otros términos pero mientras tanto, yo creo que ese ambiente social en el cual había un discurso hegemónico que planteaba que ésa había sido la mejor salida y no había actores sociales que impugnaran, que tuvieran capacidad de recolocar el tema en la agenda hasta el 96-2000” (21)</p> <p>“pero tampoco hay muchos trabajos sobre la transición, no está en la agenda de la ciencia política uruguaya la dictadura y en realidad uno mira la literatura de ciencia política y ve que hay todo una reflexión sobre los autoritarismos y que la ciencia política no estudia solo la democracia estudia también los autoritarismos que es la mitad de los regímenes políticos del mundo real” (23)</p> <p>“Acá compramos todos alegremente el paquete sanguinettista-seregnista porque no fue Sanguinetti sólo...” (25)</p> <p>“Todos compramos, todos no, la mayoría compramos eso. Una academia casi sin...los únicos que rezongaban acá quiénes eran, tipos como Romeo Pérez o como Carlos Pareja que protestaban contra la transición, protestaban contra el Club Naval y todo eso pero ni siquiera hacían un... pero protestaban más sobre la primera parte de la transición que por sobre la segunda parte...” (26)</p>
--	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Table 15: View of democracy**

Country	Code of interview	Quotation
Argentina	A1	“la vuelta a la democracia y la reivindicación de la palabra democracia, en términos de democracia liberal, democracia de partidos, democracia electoral va a ser predominante en la ciencia política” (15)
	Ch1	“si tú lees los grandes padres del mainstream, la idea es, qué sé yo, tener democracias que funcionan y eso implica tener obviamente una participación, pero que esté canalizada por los partidos políticos, o sea, la democracia, la poliarquía” (13)
	Ch2	“O sea yo creo que esto del debate de esas dos definiciones de democracia, es muy out, fue ya” (15)
	Ch5	“un poco el manual del perfecto idiota latinoamericano, la vanaglorización... hay un cierto tipo de izquierda progre que lucha por la democracia y los derechos humanos, pero que están dispuestos a pasárselos donde mejor les place cuando la coyuntura no es conveniente y eso a mí me enferma” (41)
	Ch6	“Se hace un famoso seminario en el año 86 sobre democracia en el que viene Sartori, Dahl y no sé, un montón de gente” (7)
	Ch9	“la democracia es lo que es” (11)
	Ch10	“creo que en Chile específicamente no habrían pasado muchas cosas de las que pasaron y que realmente nos avergüenzan como historia si hubiéramos tenido un poco más de respeto por un régimen político que instaurado estaba” (12)
	Ch11	“cómo se cambia esa parte de la constitución, no se ha podido cambiar nunca y cuando ha habido intentos de cambio han sido intentos parciales que siempre han fracasado, por qué, porque no han tenido la mayoría” (13)
	Ch13	“el tema es que los politólogos acá han entronizado todo el tema de la democracia liberal americana, por ejemplo el modelo que ellos tienen: todo lo que tiene que ver con la representación, la asociación, la participación, es liberal” (14)
	Ch14	“Y eso se reduce violentamente cuando aparece la democracia, ése es el costo, uno de los costos de las ciencias sociales en Chile de la democracia, se acabaron los financiamientos externos, porque ya no lo necesitan, pueden sobrevivir solos.” (8)
	Ch15	“a fines de los 80 ya se había revalorizado por

	Ch16	parte de los cientistas sociales el tema de la democracia” (20)
	Ch17	“Pero todo el debate sobre democracia participativa, la ciudadanía, el empoderamiento ciudadano, todo ese debate, desde la politología no hay mucho aporte, son los sociólogos los que eventualmente podían decir algo” (23)
	Ch18	“a ellos les da lo mismo si la democracia está en una suerte de conflicto, en una suerte de crisis, y hay una serie de elementos que podrían estar poniendo en cuestión e inclusive la misma existencia de la democracia pero ellos siguen trabajando con los mismo índices, con los mismos elementos que les proporcionan modelos” (4)
	Ch19	“y aunque tengamos democracia o no, nadie es ajeno a lo que hace el príncipe” (30)
	Ch20	“yo creo que efectivamente, hay resistencia a la idea de democracia directa que defiende David” (32)
	Ch21	“la democracia semi-soberana por qué, porque Chile, en su momento, su soberanía estuvo limitada por el poder militar pero yo digo su soberanía estuvo limitada también en el tema económico que no se puede tocar” (1)
	Ch22	“tu no ves de lejos lo que ves de cerca” (28)
	Ch23	“yo defendí a un gobierno democrático, por lo demás, me defendí a tiros en el palacio presidencial, no estoy muerto porque Dios es grande” (7)
	Ch26	“estamos en el año cero cuando volvimos de la democracia” (25)
	Ch27	“a comienzos de los 90 había un cierto compromiso de los cientistas sociales por apoyar la democracia” (4)
	Ch29	“creo que se abrió un espacio para discutir, incluso conceptos que podían sonar peligrosos como un referéndum” (18)
	Ch34	“Democracia representativa, una exaltación del método Schumpeteriano total” (36)
		“la gente no cree en las instituciones legislativas, la gente no tiene confianza interpersonal, en Chile eso esta horadando a la democracia” (19)
Uruguay	U1	“Hay una revalorización muy fuerte de la importancia de la democracia y de las instituciones. Que creo que todos lo hemos hecho en alguna medida, en el sistema político uruguayo” (22)
	U2	“También es natural que me interese más la

	<p>U4</p> <p>U5</p> <p>U6</p>	<p>democracia” (15)</p> <p>“Yo creo que sí, que todos abrevamos de esa idea de lo importante que es la democracia. A diferencia de los años 60” (15)</p> <p>“La democracia es algo muy importante que hay que proteger por sí mismo” (16)</p> <p>“la pobreza crecía y nosotros que defendíamos, que teníamos la obsesión por profundizar la democracia no incorporamos suficientemente eso como un desafío a la democracia” (37-38)</p> <p>“nosotros es como que habíamos caído en un liberalismo absorbente de todas las visiones democráticas, la única democracia que era posible era la democracia liberal” (40)</p> <p>“hasta el Golpe de Estado la intelectualidad o el pensamiento era crítico hacia los partidos, pensábamos que los partidos eran la principal basura y salimos de la dictadura con una revalorización de los partidos” (9)</p> <p>“nuestra función es convencerlos de que efectivamente no hay democracia porque no cumple con los requisitos de Dahl” (27)</p> <p>“Yo te diría que la democracia hoy es un paradigma dominante, aceptado, pero en el fondo hay como una larva, que a veces aparece, sobre todo cuando hay frustraciones sociales” (27)</p> <p>“La máquina es un conjunto de instituciones que funcionan bien bajo democracia, es así. De pique tiene que haber democracia si no esa máquina no va a funcionar” (29)</p> <p>“la ciencia política se asume como una ciencia política instalada en un saber convencional y valorativo sobre la democracia liberal, concebida como democrática, digamos así, asumida normativamente como una democracia. Entonces trabaja sobre esa base, en esa democracia hay representaciones, actores que ejercen cierta responsabilidad frente a sus electores, etcétera, por lo tanto analizan ese escenario. No creo que se auto perciba como elitista, ni se la pueda tachar de elitista a menos que se discuta la visión que se tiene de la democracia liberal como elitista” (5)</p> <p>“efectivamente, hay una relación con el objeto, en cuanto a lo que convencionalmente se entiende por política y por democracia, muy cercana, muy íntima...” (23)</p> <p>“Yo creo que no tendrían ningún problema en reconocer esto, que hubo un cambio en la</p>
--	-------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

		valoración de la democracia en la intelectualidad uruguaya y entre los cientistas sociales uruguayos. La dictadura paradójicamente, irónicamente jugó en ese sentido un papel positivo” (44)
	U7	“no hay democracia sin las famosas garantías institucionales de Dahl” (51)
		“vos tenés, tu propia reflexión sobre estas cosas. Cuando yo digo democracia es: “Dahl tiene razón, poliarquía y libertades y garantías institucionales” (52)
	U10	“la democracia no le importaba a nadie, ni a la derecha, ni a la izquierda. Si vos agarrás el discurso de la derecha antes de la dictadura, en el Uruguay y a nivel mundial, democracia quería decir libre mercado. O sea, era democracia liberal, pero liberal a la vieja usanza, que nunca fue democrática, como entendemos democracia hoy, en todo caso era democracia para los que tenían plata. Pero democracia para Estados Unidos y para la derecha era libre mercado, las libertades públicas y los derechos individuales nunca le interesaron. Nunca le interesaron y para la izquierda...” (31)
	U12	“Cuando salimos de la dictadura todo el mundo tuvo que decir lo contrario, esta democracia con todos sus problemas es el mejor ámbito para el cambio social, esta democracia no te la regaló nadie, salió porque vos hiciste huelga clandestina, porque hubo tres mil presos, es producto de eso” (32)
		“Antes de la dictadura la democracia era una cosa atenazada, totalmente atenazada, la derecha no creía para nada en la democracia y la izquierda tenía visiones diferentes, pero en general, era una visión puramente instrumentalista” (35)
	U13	“La ciencia política uruguaya se desarrolla y se constituye institucionalmente como parte del emprendimiento de consolidación de la democracia” (20)
		“Como de alguna manera la disciplina nace después de la dictadura y no tienen una tradición un poco más larga” (19)
	U16	“Yo detesto a los políticos, no puedo hablar con ellos, no los puedo escuchar y sin embargo pienso que la democracia sin partidos no puede funcionar.” (12)
	U17	“Aquí la problemática estaba muy centrada en

	<p>U18</p> <p>U20</p> <p>U21</p>	<p>el tema de la democracia política-poliárquica punto” (7)</p> <p>“la dictadura me hizo adherir categóricamente a la democracia” (17)</p> <p>“la democracia, yo lo veía como un régimen preferible a todos los demás pero históricamente condicionado a otras evoluciones a las cuales se podía impulsar en términos extra-institucionales, extra-democráticos.” (18)</p> <p>“lo que yo sigo siendo muy partidocéntrico como hipótesis descriptiva, también sigo creyendo que no hay experiencia democrática sin partidos políticos, no conozco ninguna y partidos quiere decir pluralidad de partidos, pueden ser dos o más pero no uno sólo” (21)</p> <p>“no hay ente sin unión de forma y materia y como forma la considero la mejor de las formas políticas conocidas, tampoco lo proyecto indefinidamente al futuro pero la considero la mejor de las conocidas y rechazo que tenga condicionamientos civilizatorios” (34)</p> <p>“La democracia es el único sistema que (sin dejar de ser un régimen de gobierno) regula con la convivencia de hombres libres, de hombres y mujeres libres, de personas libres, es un programa de regular desde un amplio catálogo de espacios de libertad que no puede invadir, ni confiscar, el gobierno y debe ser preservado de otras agresiones de grupos, por ejemplo, más poderosos económicamente o de ordenaciones delictivas o lo que sea” (36)</p> <p>“¡No hay una definición sola de democracia!” (17)</p> <p>“yo creo que acá, me parece que por un afán de revalorizar la democracia en Uruguay, el sistema democrático y los partidos políticos, de alguna manera como un reaseguro frente al pasado; decir: “no, pará”, porque muchos que es lo que dicen: “date cuenta de que antes del golpe se caricaturizó tanto al parlamento, a los parlamentarios, que llegó un momento que chau” (32)</p> <p>“porque de alguna manera la ciencia política tenía un compromiso de favorecer la consolidación democrática, a mí me parece que hubo una cosa así.” (34)</p> <p>“Como que no cierra, que yo siga manteniendo mis convicciones marxistas si en realidad de lo que se trata hoy es de apuntalar, desarrollar,</p>
--	----------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	U22	<p>mejorar, fortificar, fortalecer la democracia en Uruguay, ¿me entendés?” (35)</p> <p>“La verdad, lo que tengo que reconocer es que con la licenciatura gané una sensibilidad democrática mucho más fina, en el sentido de entender a la democracia en una forma mucho más compleja de lo que yo probablemente la entendía antes, no sé, cosas muy puntuales, que yo empecé a valorar con la licenciatura es el pluralismo, la cuestión del pluralismo, que era algo para mí... tenía una noción pluralista de la política, la valoraba pero como que me preocupé más por eso, por el valor del pluralismo o del componente pluralista de la democracia y también...” (9)</p> <p>“te diría que cuando empecé el IPA, recién terminada la dictadura tenía esa visión de que la historia y la enseñanza de la historia podía ser un instrumento (me estoy burlando del lenguaje de la época) pero un instrumento para elevar la conciencia de la gente” (17)</p> <p>“Todos estos compañeros no trabajan porque el tema de ellos es la democracia, por lo tanto la dictadura no” (23)</p>
--	-----	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------



Table 16: View of the United States

Country	Code of interview	Quotation
Argentina	A1	“en los Estados Unidos hay de todo” (20)
Chile	Ch1	“en Estados Unidos no hay grandes intelectuales” (31)
	Ch2	“Estados Unidos es Estados Unidos” (27)
	Ch4	“discusión de gringos con la panza llena” (28)
	Ch5	“en Estados Unidos es que a veces la forma puede importar más que el fondo” (14)
	Ch6	“tienes que pensar que la mayor parte de nosotros... fuimos formados en Estados Unidos” (16)
	Ch7	“en Estados Unidos, hasta los más recónditamente neoliberales racional choicistas están abandonando eso, o por lo menos están consientes de que hay otro mundo del institucionalismo” (12)
	Ch9	“O sea, nosotros somos una réplica de la ciencia política norteamericana hoy día, una réplica absoluta.” (9)
	Ch10	“el mundo es bien anglosajón, al menos en el ámbito de la disciplina” (25)
	Ch11	“Pero hay una mirada de ese tipo de que aquí lo que vale es la interpretación que puede ser demostrable solo con números y resultados de ecuaciones” (26)
	Ch12	“Pero si es lo que nos enseñan en Estados Unidos o en Canadá, o converges o te marginas de la disciplina” (5)
	Ch13	“la Católica siempre tuvo el modelo americano” (9)
	Ch15	“me parece un avance importante de las ciencias sociales el que haya distintas miradas, a ratos siento quizás que en el afán de conformarnos a los índices y a los índices internacionales hay una excesiva predominancia del empiricismo norteamericano” (13)
	Ch16	“o vienes de alguna universidad o estudiaste en Estados Unidos, te ponen el label” (16-17)
	Ch17	“con la teoría democrática de la democracia que está muy vinculada a la rational choice, al neoinstitucionalismo, etcétera. En ese sentido yo pienso que no nos permite hacer una buena comprensión de los fenómenos políticos porque se hace en base a criterios que son muy influyentes del comportamiento político norteamericano, o anglosajón en general” (3)
	Ch19	“lo mismo que pasa en Estados Unidos, en todo el mundo, mientras lo que tú haces más se parezca a la economía más técnico parece, más

		profesional” (22)
Ch21		“los que estudiaron en Estados Unidos, comparten algo así como un mismo universo mental” (12-13)
Ch23		“cualquier cosa que pasa en Estados Unidos al día siguiente está acá.” (32)
Ch24		“en los Estados Unidos hay muchas universidades críticas, hay muchas posibilidades para tener un espacio” (30)
Ch26		“la ciencia política en Estados Unidos que crecientemente es irrelevante en las discusiones de políticas públicas y en las discusiones de procesos políticos” (2)
Ch27		“Creo que se privilegia tal vez mucho más la formación en Estados Unidos” (11)
Ch28		“porque funcionamos como cualquier departamento de ciencia política en Estados Unidos, o tal vez aún mejor, porque tenemos más interacción, somos jóvenes, tenemos interacción.” (4)
Ch29		“en la Católica son muy excluyentes de acuerdo al perfil de estudio y los enfoques que ellos tienen y ellos tienen muy incorporado esto de que tienes que ser internacional, justamente orientando a este tema de la ISI, a esto de tener influencia” (24)
Ch30		“a mediados-fines de los 90 hay una mayor influencia de la ciencia política norteamericana, obviamente, y mayor presencia de académicos formados allá que empiezan a tener gradualmente mayor entrada en las universidades de Chile” (19)
Ch31		“Me da la sensación de que en Estados Unidos también eso es así, que la teoría siempre tiene que estar explicándose y dar cuenta de por qué existe” (8)
Ch32		“el intelectual no necesariamente tendría por qué tener un doctorado en Estados Unidos, es una estupidez” (21)
Ch33		“es del 86 cuando empezaron los Estudios Norteamericanos, pero no sé si había empezado antes el vínculo con la Embajada. El vínculo estuvo siempre” (2)
Ch34		“Harvard no tiene por qué andar acreditando sus programas de derecho, no tiene por qué estar dando pruebas de blancura a agencias de calidad que establecen si el programa de derecho en Harvard cumple o no cumple los requisitos” (35)
Ch35		“impresionante como Estados Unidos ha centralizado y concentrado recursos humanos en

		ciencia política es muy impresionante”
<b>Uruguay</b>	U3	“la influencia que tiene Estados Unidos que en Chile siempre ha sido muy potente” (24)
	U4	“Eso se construyó, tuvo mucho que ver con cierto momento de hegemonía de la ciencia política norteamericana, que yo creo que tiende a decrecer (...) porque la ciencia política norteamericana ya no es eso (...) Habría que discutir si alguna vez lo fue efectivamente, yo creo que siempre fue más plural de lo que se pensaba, pero hoy es más plural aun” (10)
	U5	“Sí, o sea, vos agarras “el enfermo imaginario”, revisá la literatura, empezamos a escribir en el 94-95, y nosotros citábamos cosas del 92 que se habían publicado en Estados Unidos, en esa época era como...” (8)
		“A ver, lo que pasa es que, ¡ojo!, ese Instituto es más radical que un Departamento de ciencia política en Estados Unidos” (16)
	U7	“yo creo que la ciencia política norteamericana es una ciencia política muy abierta, (como refleja este debate que conocí a través tuyo), muy abierta donde hay cabida para mucha cosa” (18)
		“a esa política norteamericana me quiero parecer. A esa ciencia política que dice es una falsa oposición, estudios de caso y n grande, sin estudios de caso bien hechos el n grande es una basura” (19)
		“Mi claudicación de decir: ‘está bien, no hay más remedio que normalicemos esto, hagamos una ciencia política como la norteamericana” (21)
		“En Estados Unidos el de afuera es siempre bienvenido, porque va a traer cosas nuevas, y ésta es parte de su riqueza” (23)
		“El indio y el conquistador” (27)
		“hemos perdido mucho tiempo discutiendo con los gringos en lugar de aprender de ellos” (28)
U10	“Estados Unidos era la barbarie, incultos, brutos, claro, elefantes en un bazar, con mucha plata” (28)	
U15	“Tal vez los sociólogos tenían alguna cosa más francesa pero nosotros veníamos con una matriz sumamente americana” (18)	
U16	“Tú allí morís, acá no (...) si tu Departamento en el mercado norteamericano no asume la realidad de cómo funciona el mercado... ya está” (5)	
	“¿Qué pasa en la academia gringa? No, o sea si bien hay un sector, un grupo, por ejemplo el área de gobierno, partidos, legislaturas son muy americanistas, muy obliguistas, muy... digamos,	



	U22	Latinoamérica” (23-24) “Es notorio que hay una presencia fuerte, cada vez más fuerte de la literatura norteamericana, eso yo lo percibo también...” (6)
--	-----	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Table 17: View of Europe**

Country	Code of interview	Quotation
	A1	“podemos decir que dentro de la filosofía política argentina la fi-lo-so-fía, política argentina, la influencia europeo-francesa es mayor” (17)
<b>Chile</b>	Ch1	“en ciencia política sin lugar a dudas sí, se citan muy pocos franceses” (21)
	Ch5	“teoría política sigue teniendo referentes muy fuertes del mundo alemán, del mundo francés” (39)
	Ch6	“A mí me parece que Europa puede ser un poco distinto pero no mucho, no muy distinto, dependiendo de la escuela” (15)
	Ch7	“Pero es que Europa está cada vez más parecida a Estados Unidos” (12)
	Ch10	“Alfredo Joignant que es un caso especial, él viene de Francia, pero se ha ido modernizando, él y varios otros de su entorno la postura de la investigación en base a la forma que ha ido evolucionando también la politología francesa” (27)
	Ch11	“se pierden toda la otra dinámica que es mucho más intuitiva y de interpretación y de observación e interpretación más general, creo yo, que entiendo que viene mucho más de la escuela europea” (26)
	Ch13	“El modelo de la Chile fue distinto, el modelo de la Chile fue siempre las ciencias políticas como un Carrefour, una encrucijada de disciplinas abocadas a tratar de reflexionar acerca del fenómeno político, la perspectiva francesa.” (9)
	Ch15	“corresponde a una tradición que es más francesa, es más de la cultura italiana, es una tradición en la que los intelectuales escriben y debaten en los diarios, porque los diarios los lee gente que no solamente los compra para ver los avisos económicos, sino que se supone que logra captar las grandes ideas en discusión” (21)
	Ch21	“yo me formé en el mundo de Bourdieu” (3)
	Ch23	“aquí no existe esa raíz, ese mirar a Europa” (32)
	Ch26	“creo que es súper importante que las escuelas tengan mucho más diversidad, no puedes pensar en que vas a tener riqueza solo teniendo clones” (11)
	Ch28	“quizás afuera de acá el eje tal vez es un poco más europeo” (26)
	Ch29	“él incorpora base de datos, los últimos trabajos que ha hecho, esa modernización tiene que ver con que hace más tablas” (20)
	Ch30	“Si bien es cierto que las universidades europeas contribuyeron al desarrollo importante de una generación en la disciplina después esa presencia fue disminuyendo, paulatinamente” (19)
	Ch31	“Si yo empiezo a hablar de Deleuze, y de la pluralidad y del handbook, que por ahí habría que meter a Deleuze en

	Ch32	<p>el handbook sobre populismo, si yo hago un argumento muy así el otro se cruza de brazos a esperar que yo termine y me dejan pasar” (16)</p> <p>“el modelo para la gente Argentina sigue siendo Francia” (12)</p>
<b>Uruguay</b>	<p>U1</p> <p>U4</p> <p>U5</p> <p>U7</p> <p>U10</p> <p>U16</p> <p>U17</p>	<p>“yo no sé si había un paradigma europeo, lo que claramente no había era un paradigma fuerte como el rational choice que viene muy posteriormente a la ciencia política a instalarse” (7)</p> <p>“Si yo solamente puedo orientar a alumnos solamente hacia los Estados Unidos o si por cada diez que puedo promover hacia los Estados Unidos a regañadientes me aceptan uno en Europa, claramente la reflexión dentro de la disciplina se va a empobrecer.” (12)</p> <p>“Totalmente porque de una licenciatura que tenía textos de Blondel, de Schmitter, de algunos franceses como era Rosanvallon y cuál era el otro...¿ves? ya ni me acuerdo, uno que estudiaba las elecciones en regímenes autoritarios que lo leíamos mucho. Eso se esfumó y lo que empezó a pesar más fue toda la relación con Estados Unidos” (14)</p> <p>“¿Tenemos que parecernos a la ciencia gringa?, la ciencia francesa, no existe...” (18)</p> <p>“La ciencia política europea fue influyente en la formación de quienes nos formaron a nosotros, eso lo tenés clarísimo, pero no fue influyente en nosotros después.” (23)</p> <p>“Sí pero Europa tampoco forma parte de la discusión, no es: ‘miren esto que escriben en Europa es un desastre, tenemos que destruir esto’. Simplemente desinterés, simplemente asumimos que la vanguardia de la ciencia política estaba en Estados Unidos” (23)</p> <p>“En la época de mi primera vida el vínculo con Estados Unidos era muy lejano, muy poco el vínculo con Estados Unidos, el vínculo era con Europa y la referencia era Europa” (28)</p> <p>“una cosa es Europa, otra cosa es Estados Unidos” (52)</p> <p>“Me parece que nuestra influencia, es una influencia académica... Por ejemplo, cierta influencia española, francesa, que son dos academias que en ciencias sociales son muy pobres, salvo en economía y en algunas áreas pero son dos academias muy pobres en ciencia política, extremadamente pobres, no han dejado, no dejan nada, no tienen nada, prácticamente...” (8)</p> <p>“Los franceses se miran el ombligo, los españoles también, esa gente mira para adentro. Nosotros hemos heredado eso también” (9)</p> <p>“porque España estaba haciendo el mismo proceso que nosotros de nacimiento de una ciencia política extremadamente americana. Luego a ese proceso se suman todos los países europeos, Francia (tardíamente) y</p>

		en Francia es en donde es más débil, probablemente, la ciencia política. Alemania pero en Alemania tienen mucha más complejidad y entonces hay mucha otra cosa pero Dieter Nohlen, (¿?44:53) todos estos, tienen esa línea” (15-16)
	U20	“lo que estoy trabajando, yo encontré que hay una literatura norteamericana, claro, pero hay todo un desarrollo europeo que está a la par en años y tipos de investigación que ni siquiera se citan...” (24)
	U22	“la historiografía uruguaya siempre ha sido europeo referida...” (6)



**Table 18: View of Marxism**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of interview</b>	<b>Quotation</b>
Argentina	A1	“el manantial marxista” (38)
Chile	Ch2	“¡Ya fue el marxismo!” (14)
	Ch4	“es impresionante ver cómo algunos (sobre todo desde el neoliberalismo filosófico y la visión neoclásica económica) empezaban a asumir procesiones de fe, al igual que hace 40-50 años atrás algunos marxistas soviéticos” (18)
	Ch6	“posteriormente lo desaparecieron en un sentido muy literal” (13)
	Ch7	“si hacés filosofía política y no estudiás neomarxismo es una pelotudez. Ahora si vas a hacer estudios electorales, no veo qué tiene que ver el neomarxismo” (20)
	Ch9	“comienza a identificarse el marxismo como una matriz reflexiva que no es capaz de pensar la especificidad de la política” (16)
	Ch10	“mucha gente prefería llamarse marxista en vez de cientista político” (11)
	Ch11	“Al final todos éramos marxistas en esa época.” (8)
	Ch13	“Yo creo que se abandonó en Chile pero no creo que esa sea la generalidad en América Latina” (9)
	Ch14	“El marxismo es siempre marginal a la academia” (2)
	Ch15	“ciertamente la influencia del marxismo era muy fuerte en las ciencias sociales” (10)
	Ch16	“el problema es que no han habido escuelas y las escuelas que han habido son débiles” (16)
	Ch17	“derrota... todo lo que es la renovación del pensamiento, el marxismo queda a la deriva” (15)
	Ch18	“Yo creo que el marxismo, en algún momento va a renacer” (23)
	Ch20	“las ciencias sociales estaban ya dañadas por el marxismo, muy dañadas” (8)
	Ch22	“no me considero marxista porque pasé por un proceso de autocrítica y de crítica muy fuerte” (5)
	Ch23	“Esa parte desapareció, claro y quedó la otra” (2)
Ch25	“hoy día Marcuse y Gramsci son retomados por cierta ciencia social o ciertas humanidades, que yo diría que en términos de la administración del poder son periféricas” (25)	
Ch27	“yo pienso que en nosotros el tema del marxismo no se pasaba en ningún lado, en el colegio Allende no existía” (17)	
Ch30	“Se esfumó” (37)	



	<p>U5</p> <p>U6</p> <p>U7</p>	<p>un fenómeno con múltiples consecuencias, múltiples consecuencias, una de esas consecuencias es que en muchos apareció el fanatismo del converso” (11)</p> <p>“Cuando empecé a leer a Weber yo pensaba, tenía el prejuicio de que Marx era insuperable, me costaba creer que hubiese alguien que haya construido una teoría, una visión tan holística...” (5)</p> <p>“Fue como que nos desintoxicaron (<i>risas</i>), del marxismo-leninismo y nos trajeron a la realidad, nos volvimos más liberales.” (6)</p> <p>“no, no había un ambiente marxista, no, para nada era más bien liberal.” (9)</p> <p>“Cuando sos socializado en cierta edad es difícil después perder ciertas ideas” (7)</p> <p>“la gente que pudo haber sido marxista en su juventud y escribió cosas marxistas y marxistas-leninistas hoy analiza las cosas desde otra óptica, en reconciliación fuertemente con lentes de tipo demo-liberales, democráticos liberales, no me cabe la menor duda” (7)</p> <p>“marxismo sesentista montado sobre bases precarias” (9)</p> <p>“Cuando estás en la capilla no querés dudar querés reafirmar tu fe” (5)</p> <p>“Entonces se me fueron cayendo como capas de cebolla. Se me cayó el leninismo, se me cayó el marxismo, se me cayeron todas las ideas y me quedé absolutamente a la intemperie, ¡un placer infinito, una sensación de libertad maravillosa!” (5)</p> <p>“para mí era el marxismo y el marxismo a la manera de los bolcheviques uruguayos era como una cárcel” (7)</p> <p>“El Instituto que yo conocí es un Instituto, y es la academia que yo conocí ya, es una academia que está de vuelta y si no está de vuelta está tratando de huir despavoridamente del marxismo” (10)</p> <p>“Lo que pasa es que el marxismo fue muy dominante, como sabés vos, en los 60, en los 70 y no ayudó mucho, en esa época no nos ayudó mucho, nos confundió mucho. Yo creo que hay que distinguir entre el marxismo en la historia de la civilización para decirlo en términos grandilocuentes donde ahí yo hago un balance súper positivo, y otra cosa es el marxismo en ciertas épocas de nuestro desarrollo intelectual, creo que nos empobreció tremendamente” (10)</p> <p>“Pero hay muchas maneras de huir del</p>
--	-------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	<p>U8</p> <p>U10</p>	<p>Marxismo, que huimos, huimos” (14)</p> <p>“Yo creo que, cuando la academia y la intelectualidad abandonó el marxismo ganó muchísimo en términos del pluralismo” (14)</p> <p>“afuera del marxismo hay mucho más que adentro” (14)</p> <p>“Nos vació de marxismo, chau” (24)</p> <p>“el mundo de la hegemonía marxista era un mundo muy hostil” (63)</p> <p>“en todo caso en un enfoque así es como en el marxismo. En el marxismo podés explicar todo, todo, o es conciencia o es falsa conciencia. Todo lo explicas perfectamente, un enfoque así es maravilloso, te hace sentir muy poderoso, sos un tipo poderoso, que te metes en un paradigma así tan fuerte...Lo que pasa es que al mismo tiempo te destruí” (66)</p> <p>“tiene que ver con la huida, huimos y chau jamás volvimos” (68)</p> <p>“nosotros sobre todo los que pertenecemos al mundo del Partido Comunista, conocimos una versión bastante berreta del marxismo y nos quedamos con eso” (69)</p> <p>“yo lo que buscaba en ese texto y en todas mis clases era dar una posición científica no embanderada, lo cual era muy difícil en toda aquella época” (6)</p> <p>“en los años 60 había muchísima gente de la intelectualidad pensando que había que plantearse el cambio. Porque la sociedad así como funcionaba para ellos no conducía a ninguna parte más que a la pobreza y a las limitaciones del individuo en todo sentido ¿y cuál era la teoría política y la ideología predominante? El marxismo, entonces era natural que se fueran a nutrir del marxismo” (9)</p> <p>“el que sabía economía política marxista con eso alcanzaba” (5)</p> <p>“imaginate, una jauja era aquello todos los libros” (6)</p> <p>“Manifestarse de izquierda era exponerse a que te dieran, me acuerdo que al Kechi (que fue compañero mío de generación en la maestría) le daban porque había sido bolche y todavía mantenía alguna reminiscencia” (13)</p> <p>“En todo el proceso que se da en el mundo hay un cuestionamiento muy fuerte al marxismo y hay una etapa en la que el marxismo casi que se borra del panorama académico, yo no estuve ajeno a eso. Sin dejar en el fondo de mi alma de</p>
--	----------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

		<p>guardar una brasita, si se quiere” (16)</p> <p>“Capaz que alguna cosa de la Escuela de Frankfurt, pero incluso hoy en día, mirá que vos hablas con los muchachos que están terminando la licenciatura, mirá que salen, llegan al final de la licenciatura y no han visto casi que nada más allá de Bobbio y yo qué sé, de pensamiento crítico no han visto nada” (19)</p> <p>“Y el arbitraje podría ser cuestionado con mucha fuerza, porque además vos agarrás las cosas que se publicaron en la American Political Science, no sé qué puta, Review y los filtrás los artículos por su enfoque teórico y vas a encontrar cosas muy claras, no vas a encontrar un enfoque marxista, seguramente desde los años 90 para acá. Para encontrar un artículo con un enfoque teórico marxista, vas a tener que poner la lupa y probablemente no encuentres ninguno” (49)</p>
	U11	<p>“en la academia y en la vida intelectual británica estaba presente (...)Y acá no, no lo he encontrado para nada” (16)</p>
	U12	<p>“viví una especie de esquizofrenia, en un ambiente ideológico-partidario muy hermético y en una vida académica totalmente permeable” (6)</p> <p>“cerrazón ideológica” (7)</p> <p>“en ese lugar, era imposible tenías que hacer una especie de voto de silencio, para que no fueras lo que eran...” (21)</p> <p>“había mucho discurso político marxista, había muy poco análisis marxista” (27)</p>
	U13	<p>“he visto mucho discurso político marxista y después mucha investigación positivista de los mismos actores” (27)</p> <p>“El gordo Aguiar te cuenta claramente, en los 60 y en los 70 todos éramos marxistas y muchos no sabíamos lo que quería decir, todos éramos marxistas” (17)</p> <p>“Sí pero eso se perdió rápidamente ellos se formaron y dejaron, no les queda rastro de eso salvo la estructura de militancia, la estructura de pensamiento de ellos. Porque ser bolche es como ser jesuita, ¡no se te va más!” (22)</p>
	U14	<p>“por una vía o por otra fue evacuado” (31)</p> <p>“La verdad que nunca tuvo mucha presencia” (17)</p> <p>“Sí, quizás lo sentías en los 90, lo sentías más en las clases, tenés razón vos, lo sentías más en las clases porque tenías gente que había militado en el Partido Comunista, o que tenía esa formación marxista básica y entonces salían reflexiones de</p>

	<p>U15</p> <p>U16</p> <p>U17</p>	<p>ese carácter pero quizás, es cierto que los docentes siempre fuimos como... los docentes de ciencia política. Quizás por el mismo rescate de la especificidad de lo político no sé...” (18)</p> <p>“Leíamos marxismo pero tuvimos que desenterrar los libros porque estaban enterrados, entonces leíamos libros que estaban totalmente húmedos (...) conseguimos unos libros... El Capital, los Manuscritos Económicos y el 18 Brumario por un investigador de CIESU pero que los tenía enterrados en el fondo de su casa” (3)</p> <p>“Estaba desdibujado, la visión marxista estaba como desdibujada en el Instituto... O no había nadie” (16)</p> <p>“Es como “El Manifiesto Comunista”, un panfleto” (15)</p> <p>“mi primera tentativa de tesis de doctorado era sobre la teoría política del marxismo, tratando de demostrar que el marxismo no sólo no tenía teoría política, sino que tenía una imposibilidad de pensar una teoría política real” (4)</p> <p>“Cuando yo llego siento que ha habido un vuelco total, el marxismo es casi que despreciable” (10)</p> <p>“en esa perspectiva el marxismo es una pelotudez, el marxismo es algo que no entra y justamente esa reacción de César Aguiar en el sentido de que el marxismo ha sido una imbecilidad. Yo recuerdo el título de un librito algo así como, “miseria de la ton-teoría”, algo así” (10)</p> <p>“En cambio la ciencia política nace como una ruptura radical con el marxismo y con la sociología, radical” (11)</p> <p>“Yo durante mucho tiempo tuve grandes dificultades para poder plasmar un pensamiento porque mi pensamiento era como culposo, en cuanto a las formas como yo pensaba, no se adaptaban a las...Yo incluso me voy a España con la idea de reciclarme plenamente en ciencia política y en meterme en estos temas de partidos y elecciones y lo que sea. Incluso abandono mi tesis sobre la teoría política del marxismo...” (15)</p> <p>“saco la mitad de las cosas, todo esto para ellos es algo que no tiene el más mínimo significado y por más esfuerzo que yo haga es como estar tratando de venderle Beethoven a los de la cumbia villera, que capaz que lo entienden más todavía, pero era así.” (19)</p>
--	----------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	<p>U18</p>	<p>“Todo eso lo mandé a la mierda y todo eso como te digo, son libros que a veces paso y los veo que me miran desde la biblioteca y con nostalgia digo: “es un camino que no continué” y era un camino que para mí tenía cosas muy interesantes.” (20)</p> <p>“Yo pienso que despachar al marxismo como un bloque así como se lo aceptó en muchos ámbitos, incluso universitarios (sobre todo universitarios) es totalmente arbitrario, aceptarlo en bloque y rechazarlo en bloque” (1)</p> <p>“Después se podía, dentro del marxismo, interpretar algunas partes, hasta eventualmente rechazar algunas tesis. Pero dentro del marxismo, con método marxista, etcétera. Hoy casi que si vos querés hablar algo del marxismo tenés que decir: ‘pero miren que yo no me como todo el bloque’” (2)</p> <p>“hay una crisis del marxismo, la crisis del marxismo (del marxismo teoría) yo creo que no hay que vincularla estrechamente al colapso de la Unión Soviética, creo que es independiente” (2)</p> <p>“El auge del marxismo es de los 60 hasta la dictadura, no porque la dictadura lo haya invalidado, sino más bien por lo que pasaba en el mundo que iba llegando tarde también a nuestra teoría” (2)</p> <p>“internacionalmente creo que Uruguay era un rabo por desollar... El marxismo uruguayo con una fuerte presencia universitaria, a la altura del 84-85 cuando se normaliza la vida universitaria era, dejando de lado ese marxismo totalmente falto de cualquier academicidad que todavía hoy existe” (4)</p> <p>“A un amigo mío que cursó con él, le calificó mal un escrito y cuando mi amigo que había estudiado para el escrito y que venía haciendo una buena carrera de derecho, cuando le fue a preguntar por qué, en fin que él esperaba una nota un poco más alta, le dijo: ‘ah, sí no lo calificó así porque su escrito no es suficientemente militante, no es suficientemente revolucionario’” (10)</p> <p>“Yo los pondría como investigadores de matriz teórica marxista, después, evolucionan pero me parece que sí, que estaban formados y aplicaban ese marco teórico” (15)</p>
	<p>U19</p>	<p>“habría que ver un poco cómo fueron los desarrollos del marxismo pre-dictadura para explicar por qué hubo ese quiebre post dictadura.</p>

	<p>U20</p>	<p>Y en cierto modo ese marxismo pre dictadura estuvo muy vinculado a las organizaciones políticas de izquierda. Incluso con referentes: el caso Arismendi en el Partido Comunista, el caso Gerónimo de Sierra desde el Partido por la Victoria del Pueblo, Hugo Cores también. Es decir, son referentes teóricos muy adscritos a las prácticas de los partidos políticos y menos a la Academia” (6)</p> <p>“El quiebre posterior no solamente tiene que ver con la crisis del socialismo real y la deslegitimación del pensamiento marxista también a nivel universitario, sino que también tiene que ver con cómo se fue configurando ese espacio de la reflexión marxista sobre los problemas de la realidad, donde está más asociado a referentes personalizados, referentes personalizados muy vinculados a las organizaciones políticas” (6-7)</p> <p>“Algo de presencia tenía, más allá de que en aquella época no era muy buena palabra ser marxista, justamente, después que me recibí (porque ya me estaba recibiendo) nos reíamos de eso, de que ya estaba mucho más aceptado” (2-3)</p> <p>“creo que durante los 90 o la mitad, decir ser marxista era un poco ridículo, académicamente” (7)</p> <p>“siendo socialista uno no podía decir: “soy marxista”, así tan... porque tenía como ciertas connotaciones medio negativas y además si lo decías, si alguien sabía lo que era el marxismo realmente, era como que quedabas en orsai. Pero eras progresista, de izquierda...” (7)</p> <p>“creo que el marxismo cayó en un descrédito importante cuando empezaron a fracasar los modelos políticos que se sustentaban en él. Ahora, creo que como cualquier teoría... porque, vos me decís, el marxismo ha desaparecido de las investigaciones, pero capaz que el estructural funcionalismo también. Capaz que lo que está desapareciendo son enfoques, algunos enfoques que pautaron nuestra disciplina durante los 50 y 60. Hay un rescate, por ejemplo, yo he visto, que últimamente se está rescatando mucho lo sistémico...” (28)</p>
	<p>U21 U22</p>	<p>“yo creo que el marxismo perdió pie, sí, sí.” (33)</p> <p>“sumamente útiles para el análisis, en particular para el análisis histórico; esa ausencia del marxismo en la que hemos caído termina siendo un déficit también porque ahora al revés, por</p>



		<p>incorporar otras bibliotecas, la biblioteca marxista quedó fuera, entonces nos estamos perdiendo todo lo que el marxismo tiene para dar en el análisis social y político indudablemente, porque sigue habiendo marxistas más allá de los autores clásicos, o no tan clásicos, sigue habiendo marxistas que producen y están totalmente fuera de nuestra literatura. Entonces yo creo que fue... vos preguntás si fue un avance, sí fue un avance, sí. Pero creo que se ha producido un desequilibrio inconveniente, también ha sido al mismo tiempo una pérdida...”</p> <p>(32)</p>
--	--	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Table 19: View of *ensayismo***

<b>Country</b>	<b>Code of intervieww</b>	<b>Quotation</b>
Argentina	A1	“ensayo con mucho cita erudita” (23)
Chile	Ch4	“O sea, el ensayo político es clave para una sociedad, tiene que existir, es indispensable porque si no nos transformamos en unas bestias empiricistas que no saben nada de nada, pero no se llama ciencia política” (16)
	Ch7	“si tú quieres hacer ensayos y quieres dedicarte a la historia... Muy bien, pero estamos hablando de ciencia” (11)
	Ch10	“Porque en Europa las cosas son más intelectuales, intelectuales en el sentido que incentivan a más debate, más ensayística” (13)
	Ch14	“Joignant, es formado en Francia, pero claro, los franceses también han evolucionado en esa dirección tampoco hacen ensayo a la Motesquieu, digamos, así que hay una cierta convergencia” (14)
	Ch15	“Mayol es visto como un ensayista y a lo mejor lo es, y corresponde a una tradición que es mas francesa” (21)
	Ch16	“creo que sería un suicidio para la disciplina el renunciar al ensayo” (13)
	Ch18	“probablemente este periodo de estas ciencias sociales, que... en Estados Unidos tienen un modelo más cuantitativo... más matemático cuantitativo y en Europa más matemático – estadístico, menos modelación, denostó al ensayo como forma de conocimiento.” (21)
	Ch19	“sí yo creo que hay un juicio... en general desde la ciencia política hay un juicio crítico a la sociología, a la visión más sociológica de la política como poco seria, como utópica” (34)
	Ch21	“no es que el ensayo sea malo, lo que sucede es que yo desconfío, sospecho de los libros en donde no hay ninguna nota a pié de página. Yo sospecho eso, sospecho que no hay pensamiento sistemático” (16)
	Ch25	“fetichización metodológica” (8)
	Ch26	“ser intelectual público me parece un argumento súper legítimo, yo también lo soy. Tengo mis columnas en el periódico, participo en programas de televisión, pero creo que ser intelectual público no es lo mismo que ser cientista social” (4)
	Ch28	“Es que yo no creo que haya mucha teoría” (5)
	Ch29	“no, esto no es ciencia política” (13)
	Ch31	“en el Instituto de Ciencia Política vienen speakers a hablar continuamente y hay dos seminarios paralelos: hay un seminario de teoría política al cual viene gente de teoría política, de filosofía, de

	Ch34	<p>humanidades, etcétera y hay un seminario del ICP (que así se llama)” (13)</p> <p>“Nos sumamos a los números o nos quedamos en los análisis crítico, tipo ensayo” (15)</p>
Uruguay	U1	<p>“me acuerdo haber demandado a la dirección del Instituto que nosotros necesitábamos más teoría social para nuestra formación y la respuesta que recibí en ese momento es: ‘si a vos te interesa la teoría social andáte a estudiar sociología”” (8)</p> <p>“La ciencia política de los primeros 90 era una ciencia política muy ensayista.” (9)</p> <p>“hay una reacción, todos esos eran de alguna manera ensayistas y en mi generación hay una reacción a decir: “bueno, queremos hacer ciencia y esto no entendemos que pueda ser la ciencia política”. Algunos buscamos al camino por un mayor compromiso con el dato” (10)</p> <p>“Los ensayistas y no ensayistas, es una cuestión de la nueva generación, de los egresados de la licenciatura en ciencia política.” (16)</p> <p>“Sobre finales de los 90 hay quienes buscan un paradigma fuerte que los mantenga dentro de esa bandera de la ciencia política pero que a su vez los diferencie de los ensayistas.” (17)</p>
	U2	<p>“Pero yo digo que es más bien una empirización. Es decir, si vos vas a hacer un trabajo científico; está bien, salvo que seas un gran teórico y puedas aportarle al mundo de la teoría, trabajá con datos, no con las impresiones que vos tenés de cómo funciona el mundo.” (18)</p> <p>“No me doy mucho cuenta si eso crea conocimiento o es más bien un divulgador”</p> <p>“Yo, lo que creo es que lo que se publicaba, lo que se hacía como ciencia política, en realidad eran ensayos, que justamente, carecían de rigor” (19)</p> <p>“todos lo que dicen ‘reflexiones’, todos los que dicen ‘repensar,’ cosas así, yo creo que eso es sanata. Son opiniones ilustradas, que pueden estar perfectas pero no creo que hayan sido sometidas a rigor científico” (20)</p> <p>“Si yo digo que el mundo es de alguna manera, entonces yo voy a documentarlo con datos: ‘esto es así’. Y puedo ser más duro o puedo ser más blando pero lo tengo que documentar, tengo que poner datos” (21)</p>
	U4	<p>“lo que ocurrió en los 90 fue una revalorización de los partidos uruguayos” (27)</p> <p>“Yo lo que veo hoy es un menoscabo de la teoría, a veces una suerte de visión complaciente o visión casi... bueno es algo que hay que cumplir, pero es</p>

	U5	<p>como un adorno de la torta” (6)</p> <p>“el libro de Gustavo y Fito, es un ensayo sobre Rodó y Vaz Ferreira, es una cuestión más de reflexión sobre el pensamiento uruguayo y está más próximo a la filosofía política o a la teoría política. Pero de ciencia política... nosotros estábamos haciendo ciencia política” (9)</p> <p>“Lo que pasa es que no hay investigaciones cualitativas, hay ensayos, investigaciones cualitativas en ciencia política no hay mucho.” (31)</p> <p>“Primero te voy a decir qué entiendo por ensayo. Real de Azúa decía que el ensayo es la forma más lograda de producción de conocimiento. Porque escribir un ensayo tiene reglas muy amplias y vos tenés que ser capaz de convencer al lector. El ensayo crea conocimiento pero tenés que convencer al club” (31-32)</p> <p>“Entonces, yo no estoy en contra de que se hagan ensayos simplemente que tiene que ser buenos ensayos. ¿Me explico?” (32)</p> <p>“A mí los ensayos me gustan, me gustan mucho, mucho, lo que pasa es que los respeto” (35)</p>
	U6	<p>“entonces el problema no es solo de la ciencia política uruguaya, es general, pero efectivamente, en la ciencia política uruguaya hay poca teoría, yo digo que hay poca teoría, hay poco de todo, hay poco de todo en general, es una ciencia política demasiado política.” (4)</p> <p>“¡A mí no me sirve absolutamente para nada...! (eso marcalo bien en la grabación) lo interpretativo desde el punto de vista normativo...” (17)</p> <p>“me parece que nunca hubo en el Uruguay mucho vuelo teórico como para anteponer a la línea empírica-positiva” (19)</p>
	U7	<p>“Y ya no tiene mucho sentido escribir como Real de Azúa, porque es demasiado difícil escribir así y a veces oscurece más de lo que aclara. Entonces, hay que hacer un esfuerzo por la claridad. Se instaló cierta idea de que Real de Azúa era un fenómeno, pero un fenómeno propio de su tiempo y que en aquellos años tenía sentido lo que él hacía y que en nuestros tiempos no tenía mucho sentido escribir de esa forma y que en nuestros tiempos no tiene sentido el ensayismo. Se instaló una crítica muy fuerte del ensayismo que yo la he padecido, como ensayista que soy” (16)</p> <p>“Yo voy contribuyendo con la idea que no tenemos que hacer más ensayos, nos fuimos de rosca, porque el ensayo es maravilloso, ¿cuántas</p>

		<p>buenas hipótesis salieron del ensayo?, del propio Real de Azúa, ¿cuántas ideas nos dejó que después fueron testeadas más en el modelo formal?, más en el modelo de lo que llamamos ciencia últimamente, y han dado frutos impresionantes” (16)</p> <p>“Ensayismo no es ciencia pero el ensayismo puede alimentar la ciencia” (16)</p> <p>“otra vez me van a decir que soy ensayista”. Yo lo publico igual y trato de disimular que se parezca a la ciencia” (16)</p> <p>“Hay muchos colegas, el Fede Traversa se acercó a la matemática, buscando prestigio y buscando legitimidad. Yo me acuerdo que en un momento me asocié con un economista, en un momento de desesperación. Se me había ocurrido un buen argumento, me parece que era un buen argumento...” (65)</p> <p>“está desvalorizada” (9)</p> <p>“a la teoría hay que reconocerle la necesidad de un estudio específico, autorizado, inteligente; ¿Por qué?, ¿quién asegura si no es gente que esté específicamente cultivando la reflexión, la especulación teórica, lo que sea, todo eso... quién asegura que esa otra investigación, la investigación en contextos de aplicación, no se convierta en una discusión atórica?” (23)</p> <p>“ahí había un grupo para, de alguna manera, hacer que el Instituto de Ciencias Sociales dejara de estar en manos de los abogados y del ensayismo, para una ciencia política, una sociología mucho más profesional” (5)</p> <p>“La idea era que la construcción del Instituto de Ciencias Sociales, la sociología nueva había que echar a los ensayistas, que eran: Solari, Ganón, Campiglia, quienes se presentaron al concurso” (13)</p> <p>“un par de cuadros tenés que tener. Yo por eso, por suerte en este último artículo puse un par de cuadros, cuatro cuadritos, entonces, ya siento que capaz que me aceptan un poquito más.” (24)</p> <p>“hay que profesionalizarse” (13)</p> <p>“capaz que era un período de la gente que formaba, que hoy forma parte del CLAEH que siguió formando, de Pareja, de unos intelectuales ensayistas, que eran muy importantes, fueron muy importantes en la dictadura y muy importantes en la apertura y todavía estaban en el Instituto, se habían involucrado. Como Romeo. Claro las ciencias sociales requieren formación y</p>
	U9 U12	
	U13	
	U14	
	U15	

		<p>reformación y lectura permanente. Esta gente no leyó más ni investigó más” (15)</p> <p>“Después tenías una camada más adulta, que no estaba formada, era más ensayista, que era Romeo (...) eran ensayistas en un momento donde no había nada, pero tal vez no hacían verdaderos ensayos de ciencia política, tal vez hacían una mezcla entre opinión y algo de ensayo” (16)</p> <p>“Hoy me doy cuenta que los ensayos que yo leía, que me parecían bárbaros cuando yo llegué, apenas son ensayos, ni siquiera son ensayos. Ahora que aprendí la lógica de cómo se hace un ensayo y la rigurosidad que tiene un ensayo. Lo que se hacía acá era lo que le parecía a la gente. Eran buenos intentos, no eran malos intentos para unas ciencias sociales, en general, que eran muy pobres” (28)</p>
	U16	<p>“nuestra formación viene... tanto Chasqueti como Buquet y yo, tenemos en el origen una formación fuertemente ensayística...” (16)</p>
	U17	<p>“A mí, durante mucho tiempo me costó enormemente legitimar mi pensamiento ante mí mismo; yo sentía que lo que decía tenía que archi buscar argumentos para poder decirlo porque no era evidente que me lo fueran a aceptar si yo no tenía...” (16)</p>
	U18	<p>“el ensayo es el discurso analítico que corre en el eje sintáctico, subordinando al eje semántico.” (45)</p> <p>“nosotros entendíamos por ensayo y ensayística esa producción, que había sido abundante y dentro de sus reglas brillante, del Uruguay en los 50 y en los 60, como siempre hay antecedentes pero había sido brillante” (46)</p>
	U20	<p>“Vos lees los ensayos (lo mismo pasa con Real de Azúa) y vos decís: caramba, se mueven sintácticamente, no se detienen jamás a acreditar por qué dicen tal cosa, cuál es el referente, pero qué encuadre cultural, cultural, qué erudición en el mejor sentido de la palabra y te surge (<i>suspira</i>) ¡si los que hacen ciencia tuvieran un poco de la cultura de los ensayistas!, pero hay abismos, los que hacen ciencia, se ocupan de acreditar algunas afirmaciones por lo menos (<i>suspira</i>) pero el ensayista tiene un cuadro cultural general que ningún científico tiene (<i>pausa</i>)” (48)</p> <p>“Ha desaparecido. Yo creo que en el área, no sé si ha desaparecido del todo porque hay gente que lo sigue haciendo, pero hasta los ensayistas ponen su información con cuadritos, tablas o lo que fuera,</p>

	U22	<p>no sé...” (9)</p> <p>“No, me parece que no y me parece que no hay un desprecio a la teoría tampoco, me parece que han leído las cosas que han salido de teoría, en términos generales la discusión republicana y básicamente estos artículos que se han discutido, entre ellos, Javier y Cristian, eso se ha leído, por lo que yo converso y, me parece que cumplen la función de la teoría y la teoría es por ahí. Pero lo que pasa es que no sé si es muy reconciliable con... primero, si se tiene que ir, si está desubicada me parece que no, que sí que cumple cierta función, que podría cumplir una función más importante si se consolidara como un área más activa también, que eso pesa y capaz que dialogar un poco con el resto, no sé, pero no porque el resto tenga que tomar la teoría desde la teoría para hacer las investigaciones, porque lo que hacen las otras áreas es tomar teorías de alcance medio y de ahí salir, o sea, sería muy difícil, no se me ocurre cómo...” (17)</p> <p>“¡Ahí va! Pero sí que hay un desprecio interesante, bueno interesante no, pero muchas personas te dirían: ‘no, pero eso para qué, el poder de generalización mas allá de las subjetividades individuales no pesan, al contrario, son los resultados o los comportamientos y no las construcciones que se hace a través de eso’; bueno, todo eso que ya sabemos” (19)</p> <p>“Sí, yo lo reconozco como una debilidad de mi propio trabajo”(11)</p> <p>“yo considero que un buen trabajo tiene que tener un rigor metodológico del cual yo todavía me considero lejano, por ejemplo...” (11)</p>
--	-----	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

## APPENDIX C: Situated Understanding(s) of “Quantitative” and “Quantification”

Sartori’s harshly critical piece on American PS sparked controversy in Latin America (Sartori, 2004; see Introduction, in particular footnote 10). To a lesser extent, the Perestroika Movement within APSA (Monroe, 2005) also reached the Latin American conversation (see also Introduction, especially the passages on my conception of “the mainstream”). A recent article (Rocha, 2014) explores to what extent the mainstream American PS is being imported or imposed into the region, concluding that there is enough empirical evidence of a shift in that direction. Indeed, the growth of ‘quantitativism’ is clear to any informed observer. However, and this is perhaps even more significant, *the very notion* of quantitative varies across geographies and academic cultures: while in many academic conversations in Latin America, descriptive statistics or even the mere presence of tables with numerical data are considered as markers of the “quantitative” identity, within the American debates only statistical techniques of analysis such as regression or correlation are the doorbell to the world of quantification.

This is fascinating to me. For instance, if we use the concept of “quantitative” employed by the Americans, Uruguayan political scientists are actually *extremely* “qualitative.” Following the articles’ typology by methods used by Pion-Berlin & Cleary (2005) and Kasza (2005) (see Figure 18 below) between 1991 and 2000 74% of *APSR* articles used “statistics” or “math modeling” (Pion-Berlin & Cleary, 2005, p. 307) while, according to my own analysis, that is the case for a tiny minority in *RUCP* (around 5%). Graph 27 shows that even in the more recent period 2001-2012, only 17% of *RUCP* articles fall into “statistics.” This is an expression of the situated condition of ‘science’ –again, knowledge and its political circumstances.

**Figure 18: Typology of academic articles by methods (Pion-Berlin & Cleary, 2005; Kasza, 2005)**

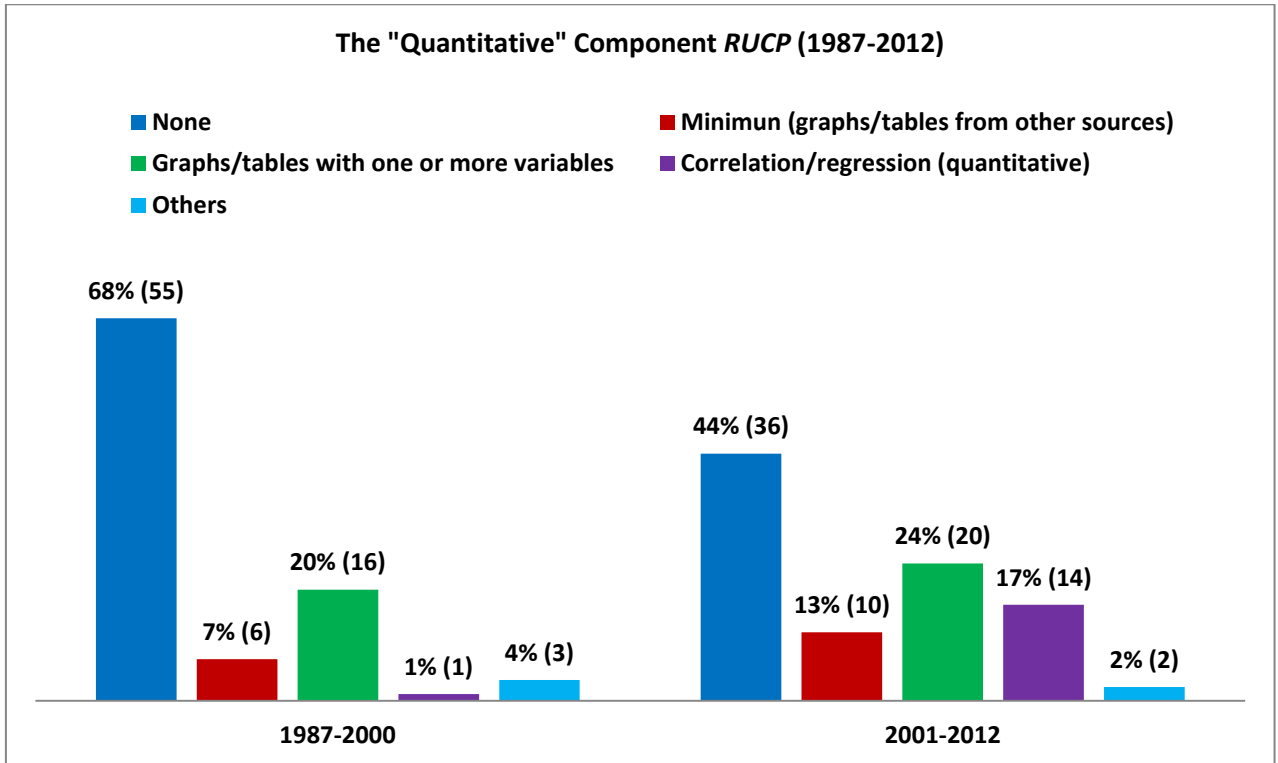
- **Statistics:** articles that analyze empirical, numerical data sets using statistical techniques such as regression or correlation.
- **Mathematical or formal modeling:** articles that use deductive reasoning to develop formal models.
- **Philosophy or theory:** articles on philosophers such as Plato and articles that explore questions such as “what is political culture?” without examining specific empirical cases.
- **Qualitative empirical research:** articles that explore empirical subject without using statistical techniques.



Typology of articles	American Journal of Political Science	American Political Science Review
Statistics + Modeling (%)	90,3 (2000-2001)	79,4 (only 2000)

Table 20: Typology of articles by methods, AJPS and APSR

Graph 27



## **APPENDIX D: Informed Consent**

### **Study name:**

Political Science and *the politics of science*: a reflection from the Latin American experience

### **Researcher:**

Paulo Ravecca

Doctoral Candidate

Graduate Program in Political Science, York University

S602 Ross Building, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3

Email: xxxxx Cell: xxxxx

### **Purpose of the research:**

The purpose of the research is to study the connections between the discipline of political science and its political environment and historical context in Chile and Uruguay. Concretely, I aim to explore how historical processes such as the rise of the United States as the main global power, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its (academic) effects, the dictatorships of the 1970s, the experience of the democratic transitions, the so-called “hegemony of the neoliberal discourse” among others, have impacted on our discipline. This empirical material will be analyzed through a set of theories that problematize the relationship between knowledge and power. The research has different methodological components: semi-structured interviews with academics in both countries, a systematic analysis of the Latin American production since the creation of the political science departments onwards, and an assessment of the changes on the syllabi during same period. It will also systematically account for the social transformations that Latin America has experienced in the last decades (taking into account the changes of American society and its influence over the region). The final product of the research will be a Doctoral Dissertation which will hopefully become a book and a number of academic articles.

### **What you will be asked to do in the research:**

The interview is structured as a conversation based on some questions regarding the participant’s views on the transformations suffered by political science in the last decades and their connections to political events. The participant should communicate the researcher if there are questions that are discomfoting. The researcher will answer any question or concern that the participant may have about the research. The estimated time commitment for the interview is approximately one hour but it will depend on how much the participant elaborates on the responses. Ultimately the duration of the interview is decided by the participant.

### **Risks and discomforts:**

No risks or discomforts are expected. However, we understand that the description of the transformation of political science in the last decades may involve talking about institutional changes and other aspects that may be polemic. The utmost care will be taken to ensure that the interview remains confidential. The interview may be modified at participant’s request in order to eliminate uncomfortable questions and/or topics. If at any

point in time the participant does not feel comfortable about the questions asked, she/he is always welcomed to decline answering the question, stop the interview immediately, and/or request that records of the interview be deleted permanently.

**Benefits of the research and benefits to you:**

This research is an opportunity for us, political scientists, to reflect on the state of our discipline, its epistemological, methodological and theoretical dimensions and changes. This kind of disciplinary introspective study is highly beneficial for academic communities. At the individual level, and upon request of the interviewee, her/his name may be associated to her/his responses, which would give her/him visibility in this research and future related publications. Thus, the interview is an opportunity for the participant to enrich the public and academic debate around political science and its civic role in the region.

**Voluntary participation:**

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

**Withdrawal from the study:**

You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

**Confidentiality:**

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. The interview recordings and notes will not be associated with identifying information such as names, contact information, and academic departments of the participants except where explicit written consent has been given. Written excerpts of interviews that are used in publications will not be attributed to names, except where explicit written consent has been given by the participant. Given the intellectual nature of the discussion, and that most participants participate in public debates around the issues explored in the interview, the interviewee will have the option of being identified in the text if she/he so desires. The interview data will be collected via handwritten notes as well as digitally recorded (voice only). Digital files will be transferred and handwritten notes will be transcribed to the researcher's computer the same day as the interview, after which the file on the recording device and the physical notes will be destroyed. All digital copies of the interviews as well as notes will be stored on the researcher's computer and external hard drive; both the data itself and the computer will be password protected. Both the computer and the hard drive will be kept in a locked apartment or office when unattended. The principal researcher will be the only one with access to this information. Upon completion of the study, the data will be archived on the researcher's external hard drive, which will be password protected.

**Questions about the research?**

If you have questions about the research in general or your role in this study, please contact me (contact details listed above), my supervisor Dr. David McNally (xxxxx), or the Graduate Program Director in Political Science at York University, Dr. Shannon Bell, at +1(416)736-2100 ext 22552 or xxxxx.

**This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University’s Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, you may contact the Senior Manager and Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University, telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail xxxxx.**

**Legal rights and signatures:**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, consent to participate in the study “Political Science and *the politics of science*: a reflection from the Latin American experience” conducted by Paulo Ravecca. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

I additionally give my consent for an audio recording to be made of the interview. Yes [ ] No [ ]

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Participant

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Principal Investigator

### Additional consent

I hereby additionally consent to:

(a) The use of my photograph in the study and publication of results

Yes [ ] No [ ]

(b) Waive anonymity

-Be identified by name in the study and publication of results

Yes [ ] No [ ]

-Have workplace name and employment position identified in the study, including in the publication of results

Yes [ ] No [ ]

in the study “Political Science and *the politics of science*: a reflection from the Latin American experience” conducted by Paulo Ravecca.

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Participant

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Principal Investigator

## Verbal Informed Consent Script

Paulo Ravecca  
PhD Candidate, Political Science, York University

Contact Information:  
Graduate Program in Political Science, York University  
S602 Ross Building, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3  
Email: xxxxx Cell: xxxxx

You are being invited to participate in the study entitled “Political Science and *the politics of science*: a reflection from the Latin American experience”

The purpose of the research is to study the connections between the discipline of political science and its political environment and historical context in Chile and Uruguay. Concretely, I aim to explore how historical processes such as the rise of the United States as the main global power, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its (academic) effects, the dictatorships of the 1970s, the experience of the democratic transitions, the so-called “hegemony of the neoliberal discourse” among others, have impacted on our discipline. In this context I would like to ask you some interview questions about your views on the transformations suffered by political science in the last decades and their connections to main political events.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can stop participating in it at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop the interview, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researcher, York University, or any other group associated with this project. If you choose to stop participating in this interview at any time, all the information and records of it will be destroyed. This study is not meant to pose any risks or discomfort to you, and this conversation as well as your identifying information will remain confidential to the fullest extent possible by law. Your identifying information will be removed in the publication of results unless you decide to give explicit written consent to waive your anonymity. The data collected (both audio files of the interview and written notes) will be stored on the researcher’s computer and external hard drive which will be password protected. Both the computer and the hard drive will be kept in a locked apartment or office when unattended. The researcher will be the only one with access to the data. Upon completion of the study, the data will be archived on the researcher’s external hard drive, which will be password protected. If you have any questions or concerns about this interview, please feel free to ask them now, at any point in the interview and/or after it.

If you do not have any questions or concerns at this moment, we will begin the interview. Please understand that you do not waive any of your legal rights by verbally consenting to this interview.

## APPENDIX E. An Example of the Acritical Relationship with the Elites? PS and Mining

On February 27<sup>th</sup> at 6 PM the ICP hosted a round-table on “Mega-mining and the Environment” where only mining-friendly experts were invited to speak. Even more, some of them were active participants in the Aratirí project.<sup>223</sup> The activity was disrupted by a group called “*Alianza Pachamama Uruguay*” with accusatory shouts.<sup>224</sup> There are different narratives around what happened in the event. The activists claim that they asked to participate in the table, a possibility that was denied by the organizers arguing that there would be a table including critical voices later on. Thus, they made their contribution to the debate in the only way available: protesting.

There was a second round-table hosted by the ICP on March 7<sup>th</sup> where a mea culpa was made in terms of the unbalanced view presented by the first round-table. Indeed, this event included a majority of panelists critical of the Aratirí project. However the ICP again excluded *Asamblea Pachamama*, inviting groups that are perceived as more “moderate.”

The disorganized and heated way in which the conversation took place shows the lack of dialogue and symbolic violence that official voices exercise over dissent (to the point that a trade-union leader prevented one member of the public from speaking). In an email interview with one of its leaders, *Asamblea Pachamama Uruguay* mentioned that they are systematically invisibilized by the massmedia and by academia.

According to a study, 25% of the Uruguayan population never heard of this project which is going to be the biggest foreign direct investment in Uruguayan history.<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>223</sup> Minera Aratirí, the Uruguayan subsidiary of Anglo-Swiss group Zamin Ferrous, is engaged in the prospection, exploration, mining, processing and export of iron ore in Uruguay. The company is developing the greenfield Valentines iron ore extraction project.

<sup>224</sup>This is the website of the organization : <http://www.pachamama.org/>

<sup>225</sup> More information can be found in the following links:

<http://www.subrayado.com.uy/Site/noticia/31457/paridad-entre-quienes-estan-a-favor-y-en-contra-de-aratiri;>

<http://www.elpais.com.uy/informacion/pit-cnt-blanco-criticas-foro.html>

<http://www.elobservador.com.uy/noticia/273459/charla-sobre-mineria-casi-termina-a-los-golpes/>



## APPENDIX F: Syllabus of PPS BA course (Spanish)

**Ciencias sociales, Producción de Saber y Pensamiento “Radical” Contemporáneo  
(Social Sciences, Knowledge Production and Contemporary ‘Radical’ Thinking)**

Edición 2012  
Plan 2009  
Ciclo Avanzado

---

**Docente: Paulo Ravecca**

**2° semestre de 2012. Inicio de cursos: 13 de agosto**

**Créditos: 6**

**Carga horaria: 45 horas, 3 horas semanales,**

**Modalidad de enseñanza: teórico-práctico**

### **Objetivo y Presentación**

El objetivo central de este curso es interrogarnos sobre el lugar que, como intelectuales y científicos sociales, ocupamos en las relaciones de poder que analizamos. El mismo se compone de dos secciones. En la primera y más extensa sección abordaremos diferentes teorías y vocabularios conceptuales que, de variadas formas, reconocen y conceptualizan la condición política de la producción de conocimiento en el mundo contemporáneo. En la segunda sección trataremos de forma crítica los debates concretos que algunas comunidades académicas han planteado acerca de sí mismas. La última clase estará dedicada a discutir elaboraciones teóricas en las que el docente está trabajando en este momento y tendrá formato de seminario de investigación.

**Descriptor:** Pensamiento “Radical” Contemporáneo, Ciencias Sociales, Saber y Poder, Epistemología, Clase, Racialización, Género, Sexualidad, Política, Capitalismo, Socialismo, “Neoliberalismo”, De-reificación.

### **Contenidos**

En las primeras sesiones comenzaremos por hacer una apropiación estratégica de algunos autores clásicos del pensamiento “radical” como Foucault, Gramsci, Hegel, la



Escuela de Frankfurt, Marcuse, entre varios otros. Se pondrá énfasis en Freud, Marx y Nietzsche y su epistemología “de la sospecha”, y se discutirá en qué sentido podemos hablar de la “radicalidad” de estos autores. Luego nos abocaremos al estudio del marxismo actual, los estudios post-coloniales y la teoría queer que, junto a algunas líneas del pensamiento crítico “europeo-continental”, desafían de distintas maneras la idea de la neutralidad de las teorías, la ciencia y la academia. Este ejercicio nos facilitará herramientas conceptuales concretas que permitirán, en la segunda parte del curso, involucrarnos con algunas conversaciones críticas que han estado ocurriendo en las ciencias sociales en general y la ciencia política en particular.

La segunda sección del curso se centra entonces en las reflexiones que los científicos políticos y otros científicos sociales han estado desarrollando sobre sus propias disciplinas. Especial atención se prestará al movimiento de la Perestroika de la ciencia política estadounidense, que cuestiona la disciplina desde dentro tanto a nivel intelectual como institucional. Exploraremos también los debates sobre el estado y proyección de la ciencia política en América Latina. Así, apelaremos a las teorías y los conceptos “radicales” analizados en el primer módulo para hacer una evaluación crítica de las maneras en que las comunidades académicas de las ciencias sociales (especialmente la ciencia política) han tendido a plantear el debate sobre su propio “desarrollo”.<sup>226</sup>

Las ciencias sociales han desarrollado teorías y metodologías potentes para el estudio de la realidad social. La emulación de las ciencias naturales y la tendencia a la cuantificación como modo de aprehensión de la realidad es una de ellas. El liberalismo predominante a nivel teórico también ha producido contribuciones invaluable para pensar el mundo político. No es el neopositivismo o el liberalismo hoy triunfantes lo que se impugnará en el curso. Criticar no implica atacar: lo que sí parece importante impugnar es cualquier agenda de “pensamiento único” o exclusión. El fundamentalismo no es monopolio de ninguna escuela de pensamiento, es una forma de relacionarse con el otro, y puede ser laico o religioso, marxista, postmoderno o liberal. En definitiva, lo que se propone aquí es una agenda de de-reificación del vínculo con el otro y de impulso a la imaginación epistemológica y política en el ámbito de las ciencias sociales.

La introspección disciplinar importa. Es relevante que sean los propios cultores de una disciplina quienes realicen su crítica, porque son ellos y ellas quienes la conocen en profundidad. Si esa crítica es realizada únicamente en lenguajes foráneos algo importante será perdido. La identidad disciplinaria es marcante a muchos niveles. Sin embargo, y dado que el docente es científico político, vale aclarar que *este no es curso solamente*

---

<sup>226</sup> En este sentido la elección del término “Perestroika” es “sintomática” de lo que dicho movimiento no hizo (y que, décadas antes, el viejo Caucus for a New Political Science intentó hacer con más consistencia): pensar la conexión entre el contexto socio-político y las relaciones de poder endógenas a la disciplina –la mutua constitución entre el adentro y el afuera. El argumento que subyace aquí es que la “introspección disciplinar” que sólo atiende al adentro de la disciplina (enfoque internalista), no puede entender lo que realmente una ciencia social “es”: una “actividad humana” (Marx) inmersa en y, relacionada con, otras actividades humanas. Cuáles son las implicaciones de pensar las ciencias sociales desde la categoría de “actividad humana” es un asunto crucial a explorar en el curso.

*“para (futuros) politólogos”.* Las discusiones a abordar son de relevancia para cualquier disciplina social o humanística. En síntesis, este curso tratará de proponer encuentros posibles entre lenguajes y metodologías que por lo general no tienen contacto entre sí, para hacer sentido de un modo novedoso en torno al problema del lugar político del discurso académico de las ciencias sociales.

**Nota adicional:** El tema explícito del curso es, como ya se dijo, la relación entre la realidad social y la academia. Sin embargo, el interés de fondo es más amplio, y profundo: la relación entre el pensamiento y la realidad pensada, o en otras palabras, la dimensión epistémica de los procesos políticos y sociales (género, clase, racialización, política en sentido tradicional, etc.). Las ciencias sociales son una forma institucionalizada y estandarizada de ejercer el pensamiento, pero la politicidad del pensar puede ser aprehendida mirando hacia otros lugares. A lo largo del curso movilizaremos los distintos enfoques teóricos estudiados para hacer sentido de problemáticas y casos empíricos concretos. Tomaremos desde cuestiones aparentemente triviales (como por ejemplo la cobertura de la prensa uruguaya sobre la vida privada de las “celebridades”) hasta asuntos más graves como la ocupación de Irak o la reciente invasión a Libia como ocasiones potentes para pensar el nacionalismo, la guerra y otros temas *políticos* desde su dimensión epistemológica. Incorporaremos además a la discusión exposiciones de arte, algunas novelas y films en tanto material para reflexionar, desde el pensamiento radical contemporáneo, sobre el rol político de la producción de conocimiento. Como nota “de método” que puede ayudar a navegar la complejidad del curso, con sus diferentes escenas y momentos, conviene tener presente siempre que el eje conceptual organizador es constante: el problema del saber y el poder.

### **Conocimientos previos requeridos**

Este curso es ideal para estudiantes con curiosidad y apertura intelectual. El mismo problematiza la distinción entre “análisis empírico”, “producción de teoría” y “meta-teoría” (o epistemología), y propone un diálogo entre las transformaciones sociales contemporáneas y los desplazamientos epistemológicos e intelectuales ocurridos en la academia. El ejercicio no es fácil y demandará a las/los estudiantes la lectura de trabajos recientes sumamente complejos y a veces intrincados. Por todo esto, se recomienda que las/los estudiantes posean una formación teórica sólida acorde al nivel de licenciatura. Se aclara además que éste no es un curso de teoría política canónica y en ese sentido pasaremos de leer textos “teóricos” a lidiar con análisis cuantitativos de los patrones de publicación en las ciencias sociales o analizar la obra de un artista. Se requiere por tanto flexibilidad y disposición para manejar diferentes lenguajes y epistemologías.

### **Método de trabajo y reglas de convivencia**

Se seguirá un formato cercano al de cursos de posgrado, habilitando la conversación y el intercambio. El docente, sin embargo, ejercerá la responsabilidad de guiar la discusión e incluso “corregir” lecturas erróneas de los textos cuando sea necesario. Además habrá

sesiones en que el docente hará exposiciones extensas sobre las temáticas bajo análisis. La idea es desarrollar una estructura flexible y ordenada que se adapte a diferentes modalidades de aprendizaje, asegure la asimilación de ciertos contenidos y no inhiba la creatividad intelectual de los estudiantes.

Se recomienda estudiar en profundidad y leer varias veces los textos de cada sesión. Una parte menor pero significativa de la bibliografía está escrita en inglés y no existe aún traducción disponible al español. Sin embargo, poder leer en inglés *no* es una condición sine qua non para tomar el seminario. Para cada lectura en inglés habrá un sustituto en español. El docente ofrecerá, además, su ayuda en sus horas de oficina para leer junto a las/los estudiantes partes de los textos que puedan resultar difíciles sea por hermetismo conceptual o por el obstáculo que supone leer en un segundo idioma.

Este curso tiene un enfoque incluyente y respetuoso del otro. El docente reconoce que procesos relativos al clasismo, la racialización, la discriminación de género, la homo-bi-transfobia y otras relaciones de dominación similares *también* tienen lugar, y han de ser combatidos, en el aula. El docente hará todo lo posible para que todas/os las/os estudiantes se sientan seguros y a gusto durante el curso.

### **Sistema de evaluación y actividades**

Participación en clase (30% de la calificación). Se tendrá en cuenta el involucramiento en el curso. Este compromiso puede tener diferentes formas. Se recomienda fundamentalmente una presencia activa en las clases y la realización de varias presentaciones a lo largo del semestre. Sin embargo, el docente es plenamente consciente de que “hablar en público” es una actividad con la que no todas las personas se sienten cómodas. La estrategia será crear un ambiente agradable y anticompetitivo que habilite la palabra de todas y todos, y habilitar asimismo espacios de intercambio alternativos (horas de oficina, emails, papers voluntarios, etc.).

**Nota importante:** Dado que las lecturas son extensas se adjudicará el “liderazgo” a un/a estudiante por cada texto/artefacto cultural explorado en la sesión, quien presentará la idea central del mismo, formulará preguntas y compartirá sus reflexiones.

Paper expositivo (30% de la calificación). En una extensión máxima de 8 páginas, el texto deberá presentar de forma descriptiva y precisa el argumento central de un material explorado anteriormente en clase. Se deberá demostrar un sólido manejo del material en cuestión.

Paper de reflexión (40% de la calificación). En una extensión máxima de 15 páginas, el texto deberá desarrollar una “conversación” conceptualmente rigurosa con uno o más materiales del curso. El eje de la reflexión debe estar relacionado con la cuestión del saber y el poder pero el tema específico es libre. Esta instancia puede ser “utilizada” por la/el estudiante para pensar sobre su tema de tesis desde el ángulo propuesto. Se recomienda entregar un *abstract* del paper con anticipación o al menos conversar con el

docente sobre el asunto a abordar, con el fin de asegurarnos la viabilidad y pertinencia del mismo.

### **Bibliografía obligatoria y descripción de las sesiones\***

\*Nota: se recuerda que muchos de los libros clásicos (por ejemplo, las obras de Marx y de Nietzsche) están disponibles gratuitamente online. El docente facilitará el acceso a la bibliografía vía email en la casi totalidad de los casos.

#### **-Primera sesión: Presentación del concepto general del curso y sus fundamentos: elementos de epistemología crítica.**

El docente hará explícitos los alcances, límites y objetivos concretos del curso. Especialmente enfatizará la advertencia de que éste no es un curso canónico sobre “autores” sino que pretende hacer una *apropiación estratégica* de ciertos contenidos (textos, escuelas de pensamiento y otros artefactos culturales) para desarrollar la reflexión y abrir las interrogantes planteadas en **Objetivo y Presentación** y en **Contenidos**. ¿Cuáles son los fundamentos de la estructura del curso? ¿Bajo qué justificación se agrupa autores como Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Foucault, Gramsci, Marcuse, y otros? ¿Por qué “utilizar” el marxismo, los estudios postcoloniales y la teoría queer para reflexionar sobre el discurso de las ciencias sociales? ¿Con qué objetivos luego nos trasladamos a las reflexiones que los científicos sociales han desarrollado sobre sí mismos? ¿Qué se busca con este encuentro entre el adentro y el afuera de la ciencia política y otras disciplinas sociales? ¿Es éste un curso de teoría política, de auto-reflexión disciplinar, de política a secas o de “frontera” entre estos distintos espacios e identidades? Se desarrollará en detalle el argumento, que atraviesa el curso, de que la producción de saber está implicada en las relaciones de poder, y que, junto a los autores examinados en las primeras sesiones, el marxismo actual, la teoría queer y los estudios postcoloniales nos asistirán en develar aspectos diversos de esta implicación.

#### **Lectura obligatoria:**

Prefacio a la *Fenomenología del Espíritu*, de G. W. F. Hegel

Ejercicio: Para Hegel la “opinión convencional” queda fijada en la antítesis entre la verdad y la falsedad. Basándose en el Prefacio a la *Fenomenología* discuta por qué Hegel busca ir más allá de esta antítesis, y cuál es el concepto alternativo que propone.

#### **-Segunda sesión: Alienación, conocimiento y emancipación en Marx**

El docente hará una presentación del Volumen I del *Capital* y de cómo Marx problematiza la economía política de su época como una expresión intelectual del capitalismo. Se harán algunas comparaciones con Polanyi a este respecto. Se hará también énfasis en el respeto intelectual que Marx tenía por Smith y Ricardo y la distinción entre éstos y la economía política “vulgar”. Dicha distinción será una buena ocasión para pensar la relación entre ciencia (que siempre tiene una dimensión ideológica) e “ideología” a secas.

El eje de la sesión, sin embargo, se centrará en el “Marx temprano” y en los conceptos de alienación, esencia humana, la producción de conocimiento como actividad colectiva, entre otros.

### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

*Contribución a la crítica de la filosofía del Derecho de Hegel*

*La cuestión judía*

*Manuscritos de 1844 sobre economía y política*

*Tesis sobre Feuerbach*

### **Algunos trabajos interesantes de epistemología marxista:**

Ollman, B. (1971). *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*. Cambridge: U.P., pp. 3-42, capítulos 1-3. Disponible en [www.dialecticalmaxism.com](http://www.dialecticalmaxism.com)

Stallybrass, P. (1998). “Marx’s Coat”. In Speyer, P. (Ed.), *Border Fetishism: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*. New York: Routledge, pp. 183-207. Disponible en [http://davidmcnally.org/?attachment\\_id=463](http://davidmcnally.org/?attachment_id=463)

Martin, N. (1968). “The unknown Marx”. *New Left Review*, 46, pp. 41-61. (El docente proveerá el texto).

### **-Tercera sesión: Pensando desde Nietzsche. “Insights” sobre epistemología, género, moralidad y poder en *Genealogía de la Moral* y más allá.**

Nietzsche es un autor fundamental para pensar la relación entre poder, moral y saber. En esta sesión analizaremos su obra a la luz de esta perspectiva. “En un hombre de conocimiento la compasión casi produce risa, como en un cíclope las manos delicadas”. ¿Qué significados podemos generar a partir de formulaciones como ésta? Procederemos a desarrollar además un análisis innovador y radical sobre “Nietzsche y el género” a través de su concepto de genealogía.

**Lectura obligatoria:** *Genealogía de la Moral*

Se recomienda leer además otros libros como *Ecce Homo* o *Más allá del Bien y del Mal*, que están disponibles online.

### **-Cuarta sesión: Escuela de Frankfurt, Marcuse y el pensamiento crítico. La cuestión del objeto y el rol político de la teoría.**

¿Qué es la “teoría crítica” y en qué se diferencia de la teoría “tradicional” en la perspectiva de Horkheimer? ¿Qué conexiones pueden trazarse con la noción de “racionalidad tecnológica” y el planteo sobre el “hombre unidimensional” de Marcuse? ¿Cómo operan los legados de Hegel, Marx y Nietzsche en estas elaboraciones? ¿Qué tipo de

apropiación hace la Escuela de Frankfurt del psicoanálisis\* como enfoque epistemológico y político? ¿Qué significa que en la sociedad contemporánea se impone “una sintaxis en la que la estructura de la frase es comprimida y condensada de tal modo que no se deja ninguna tensión, ningún «espacio» entre sus distintas partes”? (Marcuse, 1993: 53). ¿Qué implicaciones tiene todo esto para las ciencias sociales? Éstas son sólo algunas de las preguntas que exploraremos en nuestro cuarto encuentro.

\*Se recomienda al menos leer los siguientes textos de Sigmund Freud: “¿Por qué la guerra?”, “El malestar en la cultura”, “El porvenir de una ilusión” y “Moisés y la religión monoteísta”.

### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

Horkheimer, M. (1937). “Traditional and Critical Theory”, in Connerton, P. (ed.) *Critical Sociology*. Penguin: New York. Se puede utilizar la versión en español: “Teoría Crítica y Teoría Tradicional”.

Marcuse, H. (1993). *El hombre unidimensional. Ensayo sobre la ideología de la sociedad industrial avanzada*. Editorial Planeta: Buenos Aires.

<http://www.enxarxa.com/biblioteca/MARCUSE%20El%20Hombre%20Unidimensional.pdf>

### **-Quinta sesión: Michel Foucault: economía política, discurso, identidad, saber**

En el marco de una “hermenéutica de la sospecha” (Freud, Marx y Nietzsche) haremos una exploración del nexo entre verdad y poder en algunos textos fundamentales de Foucault. Se prestará atención al sofisticado “método” de pensamiento que este autor desplegó para conceptualizar “la productividad del poder”. Nociones como las de “autor”, “discurso”, “disciplina”, “gubernamentalidad”, “tecnologías de saber y poder”, “dispositivo de sexualidad”, “población”, entre otras, serán exploradas al detalle. Haremos la conexión entre la obra de este autor-caja de herramientas, y la posterior “teoría queer”.

### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

Michel, F. (1991). *Historia de la sexualidad, 1-la voluntad de saber*. Siglo Veintiuno: Madrid.

Michel, F. (1991<sup>a</sup>). *Saber y verdad*. Las ediciones de la piqueta: Madrid.

### **-Sexta sesión: Gramsci, hegemonía y después. El conocimiento en lo político**

Temas como el rol de los intelectuales, la educación y la cultura en la política revolucionaria, el subalterno, el lenguaje y, por supuesto, el concepto de hegemonía serán explorados cuidadosamente. Se incluirán en la conversación a autores “post-marxistas” y su expansión/problematización de la perspectiva gramsciana. De hecho, la comparación con, o ubicación en relación a, otros autores y escuelas de pensamiento será una

constante de todo el curso. En este caso “ubicaremos” a Gramsci también en relación a Marx, Foucault, Spivak, entre otros, en función del lugar que, en estas miradas, el saber y la teoría ocupan en las relaciones de poder.

Gramsci, A. (2008). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Hoare, Q. & Nowell Smith G. (Eds.). New York: International Publishers. Sección sobre “Los intelectuales” (íntegra). En la edición en inglés: páginas 3-23; y El Príncipe moderno (íntegra). En la edición en inglés: páginas 123-203. Se puede utilizar la versión en español.

Ernesto Laclau. “Politics, Polemics and Academics: An Interview by Paul Bowman”.

Laclau, E. y Mouffe, Ch. (2004). *Hegemonía y estrategia socialista. Hacia una radicalización de la democracia*. Fondo de Cultura Económica: Argentina.

### **Algunas lecturas sobre epistemología (y otros asuntos) en Gramsci:**

Buttigieg, Joseph A. (1990). “Gramsci’s Method”, *boundary 2*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 60-81: Duke University Press. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Giroux, H. A, “Rethinking Cultural Politics and Radical Pedagogy in the Work of Antonio Gramsci”. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Moe, N. J. (1990). “Production and Its Others: Gramsci’s ‘Sexual Question’”. *Rethinking Marxism*, Volumen 3-4, Fall-Winter.

### **-Séptima sesión: Estudiando la (¿post?) colonialidad en la producción de saber. Otredad y alterización.**

La emergencia de los estudios post-coloniales ha constituido un evento de suma relevancia académica, intelectual y política. En esta sesión exploraremos algunos de sus aportes fundamentales para pensar la relación entre el saber y el poder en el mundo contemporáneo. *Orientalismo*, el trabajo a estas alturas clásico de Edward Said, será analizado en profundidad. Ubicaremos conceptualmente la categoría de orientalismo en diálogo con los legados de Foucault (especialmente la noción de discurso) y Gramsci (hegemonía), desentrañando además su originalidad. Himani Bannerji, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Guha Ranajit y Chandra Talpade Mohanty nos ayudarán a pensar sobre la condición subalterna, la colonialidad de las ciencias sociales y la historiografía, las relaciones de dominación en los discursos críticos sean anticoloniales, socialistas o feministas, entre otros temas. Se incluirá una reflexión sobre “el desarrollo” como concepto y la desigualdad entre “norte y sur” en la academia. Con Lazarus, además, avanzaremos una crítica de la perspectiva “post-colonial”.

### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

Said, E. (2003) *Orientalismo*. DEBOLSILLO: España. Extractos - el docente indicará oportunamente las secciones a leer. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Spivak Chakravorty, G. "¿Puede hablar el subalterno?"

<http://redalyc.uaemex.mx/redalyc/pdf/1050/105018181010.pdf>

Smith, T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Press. Capítulo 2: Research Through Imperial Eyes. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Mohanty Talpade, Ch. "Bajo los Ojos de Occidente: Feminismo Académico y Discursos Coloniales". En Liliana Suárez Navaz y Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo (editoras) *Descolonizando el Feminismo: Teorías y Prácticas desde los Márgenes*: <http://webs.uvigo.es/pmayobre/textos/varios/descolonizando.pdf>

Guha, Ranajit (1982). "On Some Apects of the Historiography of Colonial India". *Subaltern Studies*. pp. 1-8. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Bannerji, H. (2003). "The tradition of sociology and the sociology of tradition", *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*,16:2, 157 — 173. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Lazarus, N. (2002). "The Fetish of 'The West' in Postcolonial Theory", in Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus, eds., *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (El docente proveerá el texto).

### **-Octava sesión: El aporte de la teoría queer al pensamiento "radical".**

Luego de presentar rápidamente la teoría queer y especialmente el libro a estas alturas clásico de Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, nos preguntaremos colectivamente qué implicaciones tiene (o puede tener) esta mirada para la práctica de las ciencias sociales y para pensar críticamente la política hoy. En ese sentido son interesantes las intervenciones de Butler en un diálogo con Laclau y Žižek publicado en formato libro (ver abajo). Reflexionaremos detenidamente sobre afirmaciones como ésta: "entender el radicalismo, ya sea político o teórico, o ambos, exige una investigación de los presupuestos de su propia empresa" (Butler en Butler Laclau, Žižek, 2003: 263). Toda la literatura de este módulo se encuentra disponible en español.

Butler, Judith (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.

[http://www.pueg.unam.mx/formacion/images/Documentos/Modulo1/4El\\_genero\\_en\\_disputa\\_Buttler.pdf](http://www.pueg.unam.mx/formacion/images/Documentos/Modulo1/4El_genero_en_disputa_Buttler.pdf)



Butler, J.; Ernesto L., & Slavoj Z. (2003). *Contingencia, hegemonía, universalidad. Diálogos contemporáneos en la izquierda*. Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

**-Novena sesión: Teoría queer y más allá. Economía política, transnacionalidad, imperio, otros.**

Algunas interrogantes a explorar en esta sesión son las que siguen: ¿Qué tan “queer” sigue siendo la teoría queer después de todos estos años? ¿Cuáles son los debates actuales acerca de la misma? ¿Y cómo “conversa” con otras teorías políticas radicales hoy (especialmente, los estudios poscoloniales y el marxismo)? ¿Cómo complican estos enfoques la noción de “desarrollo”? ¿Qué nos pueden “decir” de interesante a los uruguayos las experiencias de Canadá, Europa, Estados Unidos e Israel en torno al “avance” de la agenda (legislativa, social y política) de la “diversidad”? ¿Puede ser “lo gay”/el feminismo conservador y fascista? ¿Qué es el homonacionalismo y por qué es preciso problematizarlo? ¿Y qué podemos decir sobre Uruguay a través de la teoría queer y los debates que la circundan y atraviesan?

**Lecturas obligatorias:**

Puar, J. K. (2007). *Terrorist Assemblages. Homonationalism in queer times*, United States: Duke University Press. Introducción y conclusiones.

Puar, J. K. (2011). ‘I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess’. Intersectionality, Assemblage, and Affective Politics. Disponible en <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0811/puar/en>

Lauria Morgensen S. (2010). “Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism and Queer Modernities”, en *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, Volume 16, Number 1-2, 2010, pp. 105-131. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Ravecca, P. y Upadhyay, N. (2012). “Queering Conceptual Boundaries: Assembling Indigenous, Marxist, Postcolonial and Queer Perspectives”. *Jindal Global Law Review*, Special Double Issue: “Rethinking Queer Sexualities, Law and Cultural Economies of Desire” Volume 2. Editors: Oishik Sircar and Dipika Jain. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Ravecca, P. (2010). “Marxismo, estudios poscoloniales y *teoría queer hoy*: economías de la violencia conceptual y horizontes más allá del *apartheid*. Una reflexión epistemológico-política”. III Seminario Académico de Género y Diversidad Sexual del Uruguay (21, 22 y 23 de septiembre de 2010/ Área Académica Queer Montevideo). <http://www.fisyp.org.ar/media/uploads/queer.pdf>

Alexander, J. M. (2005). *Pedagogies of Crossing. Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham: Duke University Press. Introducción y capítulo 2.

Marxismo y estudios poscoloniales: agregar.

**-Décima sesión: Siempre el otro. Paul Gauguin, Saartije Baartman y « l'invention du sauvage »: Problematizando el “trabajo de campo”**

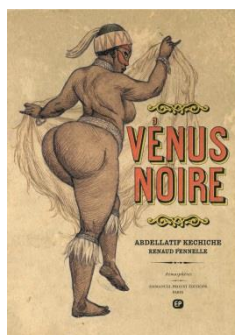
¿Qué conexiones de sentido pueden trazarse entre la novela de Mario Vargas Llosa, *El paraíso en la otra esquina*, el film *Vénus noire* de Abdellataïf Kechiche, y la exhibición « l'invention du sauvage » del Museo Quai Branly de París, por un lado, y la historia y el presente de “nuestras” disciplinas por el otro? En esta sesión miraremos críticamente (en clave “postcolonial” y “queer” básicamente) a las ciencias sociales desde estos materiales artísticos, audiovisuales, históricos y literarios. Tomaremos también anuncios de seminarios sobre el “trabajo de campo” en las ciencias sociales para analizar cómo construyen al “otro”-investigado. (Haremos complementariamente una crítica de la izquierda marxista a la luz de la historia de Flora Tristán y de algunas líneas del socialismo utópico que *ya entonces* colocaban la relación de género -y la sexualidad- como un lugar fundamental para la realización de la emancipación y de la libertad).

Film recomendado: *Vénus noire*, de Abdellataïf Kechiche. El material puede ser “bajado” desde estos tres sitios web, el docente procurará proveer una copia para uso de la clase.

<http://rapidgator.net/file/19918028/Black.Venus-RedBlade.part1.rar.html>

<http://rapidgator.net/file/19918027/Black.Venus-RedBlade.part2.rar.html>

<http://rapidgator.net/file/19917989/Black.Venus-RedBlade.part3.rar.html>



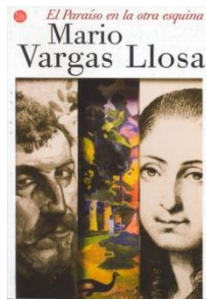
**Lecturas obligatorias:**

'La Venus negra', alegato contra el racismo y por la dignidad humana” Por Julio Feo.

<http://www.espanol.rfi.fr/cultura/20101101-la-venus-negra-alegato-contra-el-racismo-y-por-la-dignidad-humana>

Hasan, N. (2012) “Containing fieldwork: Locating the 'field' in academic knowledge production”. Presented at CERLAC seminar, *Problematizing 'field-work': Seminar on knowledge, power and self-reflection*, York University. February 16. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Vargas Llosa, M. (2003). *El paraíso en la otra esquina*. Alfaguara: México.

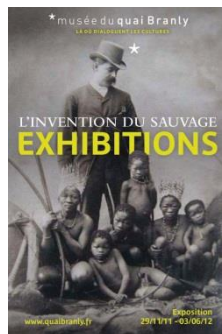


**Sobre la exhibición « L'invention du sauvage » :**

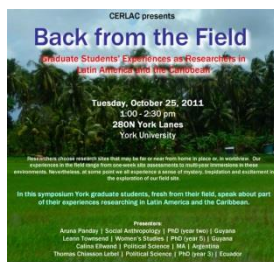
<http://www.quaibrantly.fr/fr/programmation/expositions/expositions-passees/exhibitions.html>

[http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2011/11/29/album/1322521202\\_910215.html#1322521202\\_910215\\_000000001](http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2011/11/29/album/1322521202_910215.html#1322521202_910215_000000001)

[http://elpais.com/diario/2012/01/07/babelia/1325898780\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/2012/01/07/babelia/1325898780_850215.html)



**Los seminarios sobre “trabajo de campo” a analizar:**



**-11ª sesión: La Ciencia política estadounidense reflexiona sobre sí, ayer y hoy**

En esta sesión y en las siguientes miramos (y criticamos) sistemáticamente las formas en que las comunidades académicas de las ciencias sociales, con énfasis en la ciencia política, han tematizado y problematizado su propio derrotero. Empezaremos por estudiar algunos textos básicos en esta materia.

Almond, G. (1990). *A discipline divided*. US, California: Sage Publications. "Separate Tables: Schools and Sects in Political Science" y "Clouds, Clocks and the Study of Politics". Hasta página 66.

Sartori, G. (2004). "Hacia dónde va la ciencia política?", *Política y Gobierno*, Vol. XI, N°2 (pp. 349-354). Disponible en:

[http://www.politicaygobierno.cide.edu/num\\_anteriores/Vol\\_XI\\_N2\\_2004/EnsayoSartori.pdf](http://www.politicaygobierno.cide.edu/num_anteriores/Vol_XI_N2_2004/EnsayoSartori.pdf)

Shapiro, I. (2002). "Problems, methods, and theories in the study of politics, or what's wrong with political science and what to do about it", *Political Theory*, Vol. 30, N° 4 (pp. 596-619). (El docente proveerá el texto).

**-12ª sesión: Hacia una *crítica política* de la ciencia política. Análisis de tres textos fundamentales de la literatura sobre democratización: Lipset, Almond y Verba, Putnam.**

Este curso hace una crítica política (en sentido profundo) de las ciencias sociales. Develar la política de la ciencia política, y cómo en nombre de la objetividad se trafica ideología, es una operación potente en ese sentido. En esta sesión nos ocuparemos de la historia de la disciplina, mostrando que algunos textos consideramos fundamentales o incluso fundantes de la ciencia política (o, más abarcativamente, de la literatura de democratización) tendieron a romantizar la democracia estadounidense, ignorando simples datos de la experiencia como la segregación racial y el tardío establecimiento del sufragio universal en ese país, así como el impacto negativo que el intervencionismo internacional de algunas democracias "desarrolladas" ha tenido en diferentes partes del mundo. Se introduce la noción de "política de la ciencia política" y de "democracias tóxicas" (Ravecca y Torres-Ruiz, 2012).

#### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

Almond, G. & Verba, S. (1992). "La cultura política". In A. Batlle, *Diez textos básicos de ciencia política*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, S.A.

Lipset, M. S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy". *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Mar., 1959), pp. 69-105. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ravecca, P. y Torres-Ruiz, A. (2011). "The Politics of Political Science and Toxic Democracies: A critical view at our field and a new category for understanding political regimes and their transformations in Latin America," En "How can we improve our capacity to study politics?", International Political Science Association; Research Committee 33, July 25-26, Córdoba, Argentina. (El docente proveerá el texto).

### **-13ª sesión: Perestroika! (?), la persistencia de los muros y el urgente "más allá"**

En esta sesión reflexionamos críticamente en torno al movimiento de la Perestroika de la ciencia política estadounidense. En qué contexto surge, qué crítica, qué propone, qué dicen a su vez sus críticos, qué tipo de reflexión podemos hacer en el marco de este curso a la luz del recorrido hecho hasta aquí. Ésas son algunas de las cuestiones a explorar en la sesión.

#### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

Monroe, K. (Ed.) (2005). *Perestroika! The Raucous Revolution in Political Science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Parte 1 y Parte 2.

### **-14ª sesión: El debate sobre el "desarrollo" de la ciencia política en América Latina y en Uruguay. ¿Qué debate?**

Hablar de "América Latina" es una operación dudosa, pero si fuéramos a dejar ese problema a un lado por un segundo, podríamos formular la siguiente pregunta: ¿qué tipos de debates se ha dado América Latina en torno al desarrollo de la ciencia política y su proyección? El panorama va desde ejercicios descriptivos sobre "el estado de la disciplina", pasando por diversas reacciones al texto de Sartori y su argumento sobre "los pies de barro" hasta duros ataques ideológicos a aquélla. Esta sesión nos introduce en la conversación que los politólogos tienen sobre sí en "América Latina".

#### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

*Revista de Ciencia Política*. (Santiago) v.25 n.1 Santiago, 2005. Número especial sobre el desarrollo de la ciencia política en América Latina. (El docente proveerá el texto).

*América Latina 9. Revista del Doctorado en Procesos Sociales y Políticos en América Latina*, 1er semestre 2012/Universidad ARCIS. Discutiendo la Ciencia en América Latina.

Borón, A. (2007). "Aristóteles en Macondo: Notas sobre el fetichismo democrático en América Latina", In Hoyos Vásquez, G. *Filosofía y teorías políticas entre la crítica y la utopía*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO libros. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Rico, Á. (2005). *Cómo nos domina la clase gobernante. Orden político y obediencia social en la democracia posdictadura, 1985-2005*. Ediciones Trilce: Montevideo.

### **-15ª sesión: “Neoliberalismo”, “Democracia” y Ciencias Sociales.**

La palabra “neoliberalismo” ha sido tan repetida en tantos contextos de sentido que hoy parece haber devenido en una noción vaciada de efectividad analítica y teórica. En esta sesión “recuperamos” la densidad y profundidad (y *por ende* la fuerza crítica) de la categoría. ¿Qué es el neoliberalismo?, ¿y qué hace? ¿Cuáles son, finalmente, sus implicaciones para las ciencias sociales y para el pensamiento en general? Asistidos por Alexander exploraremos la noción de Nuevo Orden Mundial y su vínculo con la práctica académica y docente. Bannerji, con su reflexión sobre género, “raza” y clase, nos brindará elementos para pensar la dimensión epistemológica del neoliberalismo de forma “radical”. ¿Y cómo ubicar el reciente texto de Kelsky en todo esto?

#### **Lecturas obligatorias:**

Saad-Filho, A. & Johnston, D. (2005). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press. Introducción y Parte I. (El docente proveerá el texto).

Alexander, J. M. (2005). *Pedagogies of Crossing. Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham: Duke University Press. “Whose New World Order? Teaching for Justice.

Bannerji, H. (2005). “Building from Marx: reflections on class and race”. *Disponible en: [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_hb3427/is\\_4\\_32/ai\\_n29239276/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb3427/is_4_32/ai_n29239276/)*

Kelsky, K. (2012) “Graduate School Is a Means to a Job”. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 27. (El docente proveerá el texto).

### **-16ª sesión (opcional): De-reificación intelectual y política. Desestabilizando la posicionalidad del “pensamiento crítico” o “radical”. Hacia una introspección relacional.**

Si incluimos en la conversación una noción teórica de otro contexto de sentido, la de “porosidad”, desarrollada por Susan Buck-Morss en su libro *Hegel and Haiti*, ¿qué tipo de desestabilización podemos hacer de la dicotomía, de algún modo segura y aseguradora, entre lo crítico y lo “no-crítico”? “At some points there is, there has to be, dialogue across the boundaries of oppositions” (En algún momento hay, tiene que haber, diálogos que crucen las fronteras entre las oposiciones) escribe Tuhiwai Smith. Durante nuestro viaje empírico y conceptual problematizaremos el pensamiento dicotómico y sus divisiones reificadas y reificantes: epistemología/investigación; adentro/afuera; política de la identidad/lucha de clases; Norte/Sur; Este/Oeste/; global/local; poder/conocimiento/moral; interno/externo; crítico/conservador e incluso la tricotomía marxista/liberal/postmoderno.

El docente ofrecerá una perspectiva relacional mostrando la “porosidad” entre el saber y el poder, y también entre estas otras categorías y experiencias. Las formas de problematización de estas dicotomías serán varias. Reflexionaremos, por ejemplo, sobre la lógica capitalista de reproducción del pensamiento crítico en la universidad (el marxismo, por ejemplo) y nuestro pensamiento devenido en mercancía. También sobre la problemática de la “acrítica” búsqueda de un sujeto “puro” (en la “clase trabajadora”, en el “sur”, en los “pueblos originarios”, en el “oriente”) que ocurre a veces en “ambientes críticos” y el sordo ejercicio de poder que esa dinámica de representación del otro encierra. “If we were going to talk about “geography” again, I would say: there is no academic hero coming from the North; there is no magic illumination coming from the South” (Ravecca, 2012). (Si fuéramos a conversar sobre geografía, otra vez, yo diría: no hay “héroe académico” viniendo del Norte; no hay iluminación mágica viniendo del sur”). Si el pensamiento radical no puede guarecerse bajo el techo de identidades protectoras (a riesgo de devenir acrítico) o de aprioris ontológicos (a riesgo de devenir ahistórico y simplemente inútil), ¿qué podemos hacer, intelectual-políticamente?

### **Materiales obligatorios:**

Buck-Morss, Susan (2009) *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History*. University of Pittsburgh Press: Pittsburgh.

“Adorno era muy provinciano”. Entrevista con Buck-Morss, Diario La Nación (Argentina): <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1374064-adorno-era-muy-provinciano>

### **Algunas conferencias magistrales pertinentes para nuestro curso:**

Communism, A New Beginning? Day 2: Susan Buck-Morss: "Communism and Ethics"  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mVXIEjOGJ5c&feature=related>

“Ambas perspectivas: la de un pensamiento sin una comprensión de lo empírico y la de una comprensión de lo empírico sin pensamiento, sin reflexión crítica, ambas, son susceptibles a la reificación”. Susan Buck-Morss

Himani Bannerji: A pedagogy of Decolonization - Tagore, Gramsci, Fanon  
<http://vimeo.com/32704164>

The Trajectory of the Subaltern in My Work: Gayatri Spivak  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZHH4ALRFHw>

Judith Butler speaks about BDS at Toronto's Israeli Apartheid Week (1 of 5)  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3YzKGXtIIM>

David McNally- Socialist Register 2012: The Crisis and the Left [3/5]

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DJg81xnGaZ0>

Wendy Brown Keynote Address at the 2009 Feminist Theory Workshop

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sqCP5AJVkJ\\_A](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sqCP5AJVkJ_A)

Wendy Brown - The psychological need to create 'us' and 'them'

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rrbnbmA3n5o&feature=related>

Homonationalism Gone Viral: Discipline, Control, and the Affective Politics of Sensation.

Jasbir Puar. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6a0Dkn3SnWM>

### **Bibliografía ampliatoria**

Abdel-Malek, A. (1963). Civilisations and social Theory. *Social Dialectics*, 1. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Adorno, T. W. (2005). *Negative Dialectics*. New York: Continuum.

Adorno, T. W. & Horkheimer, M. (2002). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Continuum.

Ake, C. (1979). *Social Science as Imperialism*. Nigeria, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Albó, X. (2007). Un Estado Plurinacional y a la vez Unitario en Bolivia. Retrieved from <http://albo.pieb.com.bo/>

Alexander, J. M. (2005). *Pedagogies of Crossing. Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Almond, G. & Verba, S. (1992). La cultura política. In A. Batlle, *Diez textos básicos de ciencia política*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, S.A.

Almond, G. (1990). *A discipline divided*. US, California: Sage Publications.

Almond, G. and Sidney Verba (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Altman, D. (2005). La institucionalización de la ciencia política en Chile y América Latina: una mirada desde el sur. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25, nº1, 3-15.

Amorim Neto, O. & Santos, F. (2005). La ciencia política en Brasil: el desafío de la expansión. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25 (1), 101-110.

Anderson, K. S. (2010). *Marx at the Margins. On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Arendt, H. (1999). *Eichmann en Jerusalén. Un estudio sobre la banalidad del mal*. Barcelona: Lumen.

Arendt, H. (1995). *De la historia a la acción*. Barcelona: Editorial Paidós I.C.E., U.B.A.

Arendt, H. (1993). *La condición humana*. Barcelona: Editorial Paidós.

Baer, M. A, Malcolm E. J. & Sigelman, L. (Eds.) (1991). *Political Science in America. Oral Histories of a Discipline*. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.

Bannerji, H. (unpublished) Building from Marx: Reflections on "race", gender and class.

Bartra, R. Populismo y democracia en América Latina. Retrieved from <http://www.aportescriticos.com.ar>



- Bejarano, A. M. & Wills, M. Emma W. (2005). La ciencia política en Colombia: de vocación a disciplina. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25 (1), 111-123.
- Bello, W. (2008). How to Manufacture a Global Food Crisis: Lessons from the World Bank, IMF and WTO. Retrieved from [http://www.tni.org/detail\\_page.phtml?act\\_id=18285](http://www.tni.org/detail_page.phtml?act_id=18285)
- Berger, P. L. and Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.
- Bhambra, G. K. (2010). Sociology after postcolonialism: provincialized cosmopolitanisms and connected sociologies. In Gutierrez Rodriguez, E., Boatca, M. & Costa, S. (Eds.) *Decolonizing European Sociology: transdisciplinary approaches*, 49 - 70, Farnham: Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate.
- Bhambra, G. K. (2010). Historical sociology, international relations and connected histories. *Cambridge Review Of International Affairs*; 23 (1), pp.127 – 143.
- Bhambra, G. K. & Margree, V. (2010). Identity politics and the need for a 'tomorrow.' *Economic And Political Weekly*, 45, pp. 15, 59 - 66.
- Biglasier, Glen (2001). The Internationalization of Chicago's Economics in Latin America, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 50, pp. 269-286.
- Borón, Atilio (2007). Aristóteles en Macondo: Notas sobre el fetichismo democrático en América Latina, In Hoyos Vásquez, G. *Filosofía y teorías políticas entre la crítica y la utopía*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO libros.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). El capital social. Apuntes provisionales. *Zona Abierta*, 94/95
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). *El oficio del sociólogo*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.
- Brettschneider, M. (2011). Heterosexual political science. *PS*, doi:10.1017/S1049096510001794.
- Breuning, M. & Sanders, K. (2007). Gender and journal authorship in eight prestigious political science journals. *PS*, doi: 10.1017/S1049096507070564.
- Brown, H. R. (1993). Modern Science: Institutionalization of Knowledge and Rationalization of Power. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34(1), pp. 153-168.
- Brown, W. (2002). At the Edge. *Political Theory*, 30(4), pp. 556-576.
- Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Butler, J.; Ernesto L., & Slavoj Z. (2003). *Contingencia, hegemonía, universalidad. Diálogos contemporáneos en la izquierda*. Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Butler, Judith (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.
- Cansino, C. (2008). La muerte de la ciencia política. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.
- Cansino, C. (2006). Adiós a la ciencia política - Crónica de una muerte anunciada. *Espacios Políticos*, 3, Rosario.
- Casen, C. & Paulo R. (2010). Le conflit égalitaire : un impensé de la science politique en Amérique Latine. *Contretemps Revue Critique*. Retrieved from <http://www.contretemps.eu/interventions/conflit-egalitaire-impense-science-politique-en-amerique-latine>

- Casen, C. & Paulo R. (2008). Gobierno “progresista” y movimientos sociales en Bolivia y Uruguay hoy. *Tinkazos*, 11 (23-24), pp.197-211.
- Castoriadis, C. (1991). *Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy*, New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Castoriadis, C. (1990). *El mundo fragmentado*. Montevideo: Editorial Nordam-Comunidad.
- Chartier, R. (1996). *Escribir las prácticas, Foucault, de Certau, Marin*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Manantial.
- Coleman, J. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology Review*, 94, 95-120.
- Combes, H. (PhD dissertation) *De la politique contestataire à la fabrique partisane. Le cas du Parti de la révolution démocratique au Mexique. 1989-2000*, Institut des hautes études de l'Amérique latine (IHEAL), Paris: université La Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris III.
- Cours-Salies, P. & Vakaloulis, M. (2003). *Les mobilisations collectives, une controverse sociologique*. Paris : PUF.
- Dauphinee, E. (unpublished) *The politics of exile*.
- De Angelo, M. (2004). Separating the doing and the deed: Capital and the continuous character of enclosures. *Historical Materialism*, 12(2), pp. 57–87.
- De la Torre, C. & Peruzzotti, E. (Eds.). (2008). *El retorno del pueblo. Populismo y nuevas democracias en América Latina*. Quito: FLACSO.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2008). *Another Knowledge is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies*. London: Verso.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (Ed.). (2008). *Pensar el Estado y la sociedad: desafíos actuales*. La Paz: CLACSO, CIDES-UMSA, Muela del Diablo, Comunas.
- Diamond, L. J. & Morlino L. (Eds.) (2005). *Assessing the quality of democracy*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Diamond, L. J., Hartlyn, J., Linz, J. J. & Lipset, S. (1999). *Democracy in developing countries: Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Di Leo, R. (2000). *Il primato americano*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Dussel, E. (1995). *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*. New York: Continuum Intl Pub Group.
- Dzuback, M. A. (2003). Gender and the Politics of Knowledge. *History of Education Quarterly*, 43(2), pp. 171-199.
- Easton, D., Gunnell, J. G. & Stein, M. B. (1995). *Regime and discipline: democracy and the development of political science*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Elías, A. (2007). Ante la expansión capitalista y la retórica progresista: una agenda de cambio institucional. In Gambina, J. & Jaime E. (Eds.) *¿Hacia dónde va el sistema mundial? Impactos y alternativas para América Latina y el Caribe*. Buenos Aires: FISYP-CLACSO.
- Escobar, A. (2004). Beyond the third world: imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements. *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (1), 207-230.
- Eulau, H. & March, J. G. (Eds.) (1969). *Political Science*. US: Prentice Hall.
- Evans, H. K. & Moulder, A. (2011) Reflecting on a decade of women's publications in four top political science journals. *PS*, doi:10.1017/S1049096511001296.

- Evans, P., Skocpol, T. & Rueschemeyer, D. (1985). *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Farr, J. Dryzek, J. S. & Stephen, L. T. (Eds.). (1999). *La ciencia política en la historia*. Madrid: Istmo.
- Fillieule, O. (1997). *Stratégies de la rue, les manifestations en France*. Paris: Presses de Science Po.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making Social Science Matter: why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, M. (2006). *Seguridad, territorio, población*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Foucault, M. (1993). *Genealogía del racismo*. Montevideo: Nordam.
- Foucault, M. (1992). *Microfísica del poder*. Madrid: La Piqueta
- Foucault, M. (1991). *Historia de la sexualidad 1- la voluntad de saber*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno.
- Foucault, M. (1991<sup>a</sup>). *Saber y verdad*. Madrid: Las ediciones de la piqueta.
- Foucault, M. (1989). *Vigilar y castigar*. Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno.
- Foucault, M. (1980). "Two Lectures". In Gordon, C. (Ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, New York: Pantheon.
- Fowler, J. H., Grofman, B. & Masuoka, N. (2007). Social networks in political science: Hiring and placement of Ph.D.s, 1960–2002. *PS*, doi: 10.1017/S104909650707117X.
- Freud, S. (1993). "¿Por qué la guerra?", *Obras Completas*, volumen XXII. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Freud, S. (1986). "El malestar en la cultura", *Obras Completas*, volumen XXI. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Freud, S. (1986<sup>a</sup>). "El porvenir de una ilusión", *Obras Completas*, volumen XXI. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Freud, S. (1980). "Moisés y la religión monoteísta", *Obras Completas*, volumen XXIII. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Friedrich, N. (1989). *Genealogy of Morals*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Friedrich, N. *Twilight of the Idols*. Retrieved from <http://www.handprint.com/SC/NIE/GotDamer.html#sect1>
- Gambina, J. (2006). Políticas culturales, hegemonía y emancipaciones. Mimeo.
- Garcé, A. (2011). Estructuras políticas y uso de la investigación en las políticas públicas. Método e hipótesis para una agenda de investigación. In Correa Aste, N. & Mendizabal, E. (Eds.), *Vínculos entre conocimiento y política. El rol de la investigación en el debate público en América Latina*, pp. 345 - 367. Lima: CIES.
- Garcé, A., Gallardo, J. & Ravecca, P. (2010). De la coyuntura a la estructura: Uso de investigación social en las políticas públicas de Uruguay durante el gobierno de Tabaré Vázquez. In Mancebo, M. E. & Narbondo, P. (Eds.), *Reforma del Estado y políticas públicas de la Administración Vázquez*. Montevideo: Fin de Siglo
- Garcé, A., Gallardo, J. & Ravecca, P. (2010). Think Tanks and Experts in the Broad Front Government (Uruguay 2005 - 2008). In Garcé, A. & Uña, G. (Eds.), *Think Tanks and Public Policies in Latin America*. Buenos Aires: CIPPEC-IDRC.

- Garcé, A. (2009) *El giro republicano. Bases conceptuales del déficit democrático de América Latina*. Montevideo: Trilce.
- Garcé, A. (2005). La ciencia política en Uruguay: un desarrollo tardío, intenso y asimétrico. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25 (1), pp. 232-244.
- Geertz, C. (1997). *La interpretación de las culturas*. España: Gedisa.
- Giddens, A. (1987). *La constitution de la société*. Paris: PUF.
- Gómez Leyton, J. C. *La RIP de la Ciencia Política Norteamericana*. Retrieved from <http://www.espaciospoliticos.com.ar/>
- González, L. E. (1993). *Estructuras políticas y democracia en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: ICP-FCU.
- Gramsci, A. (2008). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Hoare, Q. & Nowell Smith G. (Eds.). New York: International Publishers.
- Guilhot, N. (2001). Les professionnels de la démocratie. Logiques militantes et logiques savantes dans le nouvel internationalisme américain. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 139, pp. 53-65.
- Guilhot, N. (1995). La science politique et la transition démocratique à l'est. *Futur Antérieur*, 27, pp.139-152.
- Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E., Boatca, M. & Costa, S. (Eds.) (2010). *Decolonizing European Sociology: Transdisciplinary approaches*. Farnham, England: Ashgate.
- Habermas, J. (1999). *Teoría de la acción comunicativa I*. España: Taurus.
- Hagopian, F. and Mainwaring, S. (2005). *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and setbacks*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, P. and Taylor, R. (1996). Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44 (5), pp. 936-957.
- Harris, J. & de Renzio, P. (1997). 'Missing link' or Analytically Missing? The concept of social capital. *Journal of International Development*, 9 (7), pp. 919-937.
- Hasan, N. Z. (2012). Containing fieldwork: Locating the 'field' in academic knowledge production. Presented at CERLAC seminar, Problematizing 'field-work': Seminar on knowledge, power and self-reflection, York University.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hennessy, R. (2000). *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism*. London, GBR: Routledge.
- Hix, S. (2004). Global Ranking of Political Science Departments. *Political Studies Review*, 2: 293-313.
- Horkheimer, M. (1978). *Théorie critique*. Paris: Payot.
- Horowitz, G. (1977). *Basic and surplus repression in psychoanalytic theory: Freud, Reich and Marcuse*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Huneus, C. (2006). El lento y tardío desarrollo de la ciencia política en América Latina, 1966-2006, *Estudios Internacionales*, 155, 137-156.
- Immergut, E. (1998). The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalism. *Politics and Society*, 26, pp. 5-34.
- Jay, S. G. (1994). Knowledge, Power, and the Struggle for Representation. *College English*, 56(1), pp. 9-29.

- Kain, P. J. (1983). History, Knowledge, and Essence in the Early Marx. *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 25(4), pp. 261-283.
- Kammler, J. (1971). El Estado social. In Abendrot, W. and K. Lenk, *Introducción a la Ciencia Política*. Barcelona: Anagrama
- Kaztman, R., Filgueira, F. and Furtado, M. (2000). Nuevos desafíos para la equidad en Uruguay. *Revista de la Cepal*, 72.
- Kelsky, K. (2012) Graduate School Is a Means to a Job. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 27.
- King, G., Lehman Schlozman, K. and Nie, N. (2009). *The Future of political science: 100 perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Kogan, M. (2005). Modes of Knowledge and Patterns of Power. *Higher Education*, 49(1/2), pp. 9-30.
- Kuhnl, R. (1971). El liberalismo. In W. Abendroth and K. Lenk, *Introducción a la Ciencia Política*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, Ch. (2004). *Hegemonía y estrategia socialista. Hacia una radicalización de la democracia*. Fondo de Cultura Económica: Argentina.
- Lagos, R., Lechner, R. & Rosenthal, G. (1991). Las ciencias sociales en el proceso de democratización. *Cuadernos de difusión*. Santiago de Chile: FLACSO.
- Laitin, D. (2004). ¿Adónde va la ciencia política?, Reflexiones sobre la afirmación del profesor Sartori de que "la ciencia política estadounidense no va a ningún lado". *Política y gobierno*, 11 (2), pp. 361-367.
- Lanzaro, J. (2005). "Las izquierdas latinoamericanas: entre el populismo y la socialdemocracia". Retrieved from [http://www.espectador.com/principal/documentos/izquierdas\\_latinoamericanas\\_lanzaro.doc](http://www.espectador.com/principal/documentos/izquierdas_latinoamericanas_lanzaro.doc)
- Lazarte, J. (2007). ¿Multiculturalismo o multinacionalismo?. *Peripecias*, 49. Retrieved from <http://www.peripecias.com/ciudadania/268LazarteBoliviaMulticulturalismo.html>
- Leiras, M., Abal Medina, J. & D'Alessandro, M. (2005). La ciencia política en Argentina: el camino de la institucionalización dentro y fuera de las aulas universitarias. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25 (1), pp. 76-91.
- March, J. G. and Olsen, J. P. (1984). The New Institutionalism. *American Political Science Review*, 78.
- Marcuse, H. (1991). *One-Dimensional Man*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Marcuse, H. (1974). *Eros and Civilization. A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Markoff, J. and Montecinos, V. (1994). El irresistible ascenso de los economistas, *Desarrollo Económico*, 34 (133).
- Martin, N. (1968). The unknown Marx. *New Left Review*, 46, pp. 41-61.
- Marx, K. (1990). *Capital Volume I*. London: Penguin Books.
- Marx, K. (1978). Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. In Tucker R. C. (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York – London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Marx, K. (1978). Theses on Feuerbach. In Tucker, R. C. (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York – London: W. W. Norton & Company.

- Marx, K. A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right. Retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>
- McNally, D. (2011) *Global Slump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis and Resistance*. Oakland: PM Press.
- McNally, D. (2002). *Bodies of Meaning. Studies on Language, Labor, and Liberation*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- McNally, D. (1997) Socialism from below. *New Socialists Canada*. Retrieved from [http://www.marxsite.com/socialism\\_from\\_below\\_by\\_david\\_mc.htm](http://www.marxsite.com/socialism_from_below_by_david_mc.htm).
- Mejía Acosta, A., Freidenberg, F. & Pachano, S. (2005). La ciencia política en Ecuador: un reflejo de su fragilidad democrática (1978-2005), *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25 (1), pp. 147-161.
- Mendez, J. and O'Donnell. G. (Eds.). (1999). *The Un(Rule) of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Menéndez-Carrión, A. (2007). *Repensar la polis. Del clientelismo al espacio público*. Compilación y Estudio Introductorio: Paulo Ravecca. Montevideo: CLAEH.
- Miller, D. W. (2001). Storming the Palace in Political Science. Scholars join revolt against the domination of mathematical approaches to the discipline. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, september 21.
- Monroe, K. (Ed.) (2005). *Perestroika! The Raucous Revolution in Political Science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Moreira, C. (1997). *Democracia y desarrollo en Uruguay. Una reflexión desde la cultura política*. Montevideo: Trilce.
- Moreira, C. & Ravecca, P. (2008). Alternancia político-ideológica, desarrollo y redistribución: alcances e impactos del "giro a la izquierda" en el cono sur. Ponencia presentada en ALACIP. Mesa "Los partidos políticos de América Latina en el nuevo milenio: entre la persistencia y el cambio".
- Morelli, C. (2008). "Behind the World Food Crisis". *International Socialism* 119. Retrieved from <http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=455&issue=119>
- Moyn, S. (2010). *The Last Utopia: human rights in history*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Mukherjee Reed, A. (2008). *Human development and social power: perspectives from South Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Munck, G. L. & Snyder, R. (2007). Who publishes in comparative politics? Studying the world from the United States. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40(2), pp. 339+.
- Negri, A. (1994). *Marx beyond Marx*. NYC: Autonomedia.
- Neveu, E. (2002). *Sociologie des mouvements sociaux*, Paris : La découverte.
- Nohlen, D. (Ed.) (2006). *Diccionario de Ciencia Política*, México: Porrúa.
- O'Donnell, G. (1994). Delegative Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1).
- O'Donnell, G. & Schmitter, P. (1986). *Transiciones desde un gobierno autoritario. Conclusiones tentativas sobre las democracias inciertas*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires-México: Ediciones Paidós.
- Ollman, B. (1971) *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*. Cambridge: U.P.

- Otero, G. (2007). Review Article: Class or Identity Politics? A False Dichotomy. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 48(1).
- Pachano, S. (2008). *Temas actuales y tendencias en la ciencia política*. Quito: Flacso.
- Portes, A. (1998). Social Capital: Its origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, pp. 1-24.
- Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Puar, J. K. (2007). *Terrorist Assemblages. Homonationalism in queer times*, United States: Duke University Press.
- Puello-Socarrás, J. F. (2010). La Miseria de la Politología: trayectoria histórica, perspectivas políticas y proyecciones sociales. *AMERICA LATINA*, 9, pp. 211-265.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Putzel, J. (1997). Accounting for the 'dark side' of social capital: reading Robert Putnam on democracy. *Journal of International Development*, 9(7), pp. 939-949.
- Rancière, J. (2006). La haine de la démocratie - Chroniques des temps consensuels II. Retrieved from <http://multitudes.samizdat.net/>
- Ravecca, P. (2011). Review of Applying Political Theory: Issues and Debates of Katherine Smits. *Crítica Contemporánea*, Retrieved from <http://www.fcs.edu.uy/archivos/Ravecca.pdf>.
- Ravecca, P. (2010). Marxism, postcolonial studies and queer theory today: economies of conceptual violence and horizons beyond the apartheid. An epistemological and political reflection. *Fisyp publications*. Retrieved from <http://www.fisyp.org.ar/modules/news/article.php?storyid=577>.
- Ravecca, P. (2010). La política de la Ciencia Política: ensayo de introspección disciplinar desde América Latina hoy. *REVISTA AMERICA LATINA*, 9.
- Ravecca, P. (2007). Del pasado al futuro, del futuro a un pasado-otro con implicaciones hoy. Esbozo de un recorrido. In Ravecca, P. (Ed.), *Rethinking the Polis. From Clientelism to Public Space. An Anthology of Amparo Menéndez-Carrión*. Montevideo: CLAEH, 2007.
- Ravecca, P. (2007). "Política" flota si "Cultura" irrumpe: un ejercicio de interpretación, mimeo.
- Ravecca, P. (2005). Comentario crítico de Orientalismo de E. Said (2003). *Cuadernos del CLAEH*, 90.
- Rico, Á. (2005). *Cómo nos domina la clase gobernante. Orden político y obediencia social en la democracia posdictadura, 1985-2005*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce.
- Rogers, L. (1964). Notes on "Political Science". *Political Science Quarterly*, 79(2), pp. 209-232.
- Rossal, M. (2005). *Ritos y mitos políticos. Una mirada antropológica del campo político uruguayo*, Montevideo: Lapzus.
- Saad-Filho, A. & Johnston, D. (2005). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.
- Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sánchez González, S. (2005). La ciencia política en Panamá: un nuevo punto de partida, *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), pp. 204-221.

- Sartori, G. (2004). Where is Political Science going? *Political Science and Politics*, 37(4), pp. 785-789.
- Sartori, G. (1984). La política, lógica y método en las ciencias sociales. In Leftwich, A., *¿Qué es política?* México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Schedler, A. & Santiso, J. (1998). Democracy and Time: an invitation. *International Political Science Review*, 19(1).
- Schmitter, Philippe (1992) "The Consolidation of Democracy and Representation of Social Groups", *American Behavior Scientist*, vol. 35, n°4/5.
- Schram, S. F. and Caterino, B. (Eds.) (2006). *Making Political Science Matter: debating knowledge, research, and method*. New York: New York University Press.
- Schumpeter, J. (1984). *Capitalismo, socialismo y democracia*. Barcelona: Folio.
- Scott, D. (1995) Colonial Governmentality. *Social Text*, 43, pp. 191-220.
- Shaw, K. (2003). Whose Knowledge for What Politics? *Review of International Studies*, 29, pp. 199-221.
- Shilliam, R. (2009). *German Thought and International Relations. The Rise and Fall of a Liberal Project*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Silva, P. (2008). *In the Name of Reason: Technocrats and politics in Chile*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Silva, P. (1991). Technocrats and Politics in Chile: From the Chicago Boys to the CIEPLAN Monks. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 23(2), pp. 385-410.
- Smith, Ch. A. (2011). Gay, Straight, or Questioning? Sexuality and Political Science. *PS*, doi:10.1017/S1049096510001824.
- Smith, T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Press.
- Spivak, G. Ch. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretations of Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.
- Stallybrass, P. (1998) Marx's Coat. In Speyer, P. (Ed.), *Border Fetishism: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*. New York: Routledge, pp. 183-207.
- Tarrow, S. (1996). Making Social Science Work across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*. *American Political Science Review*, 90, pp. 389-397.
- Thelen, K. (1999). Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, pp. 369-404.
- Tocqueville, A. (1982). *La democracia en América*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Trent, J. E. (2009). Political science 2010: out of step with the world? Empirical evidence and commentary. Paper prepared for the 21st International Political Science World Congress, Santiago, Chile, July 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.johntrent.ca/published-writings/IPSAIsPolSci-0709.html>
- Turner, F. C. 1995. Reassessing Political Culture. In Smith, P. H., *Latin America in comparative perspective. New Approaches to Methods and Analysis*. San Diego: University of Westview Press.
- Varnoux Garay, M. (2005). La ciencia política en Bolivia: entre la reforma política y la crisis de la democracia. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(1), pp. 92-100.



- Varnoux Garay, M. (2008) Dignidad. *Diario Crítico de Bolivia*, Línea crítica, Opinión. Retrieved from <http://www.diariocritico.com/bolivia/2008/Noviembre/opinion/marcelovarnoux/112177/marcelo-varnoux.html>
- Vidal, G. (1990). *Hollywood: a novel of America in the 1920s*. NY: Random House.
- Vidal, G. (1987). *Empire*. US: Random House.
- Vidal, G. (1984) *Lincoln: A Novel*. London: Heinemann.
- Wallerstein, I. (2006). *European Universalism: the rhetoric of power*. New York – London: The New Press.
- Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Unthinking Social Science: the limits of nineteenth-century paradigms*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Whitehead, L. (2002). *Democratization: theory and experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, N. (2002). *Reflections on Political Theory. A Voice of Reason from the Past*. Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire & NY: Palgrave.
- Zizek, Slavoj (2005). *La suspensión política de la ética*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.