The Relevance of Political Science to the World Bank

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The Governance Agenda

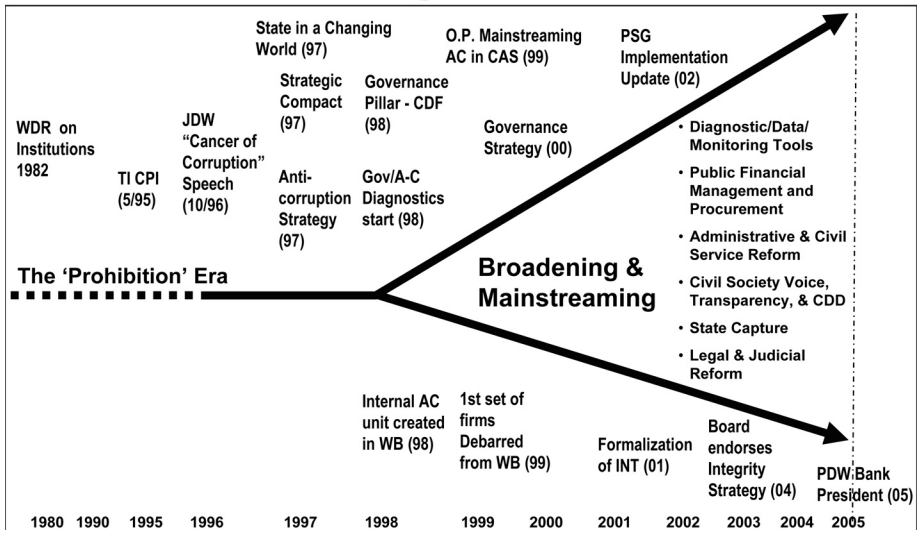
By the mid 1990s, scholars, practitioners, and policy makers alike had begun to recognize the critical importance of good governance for growth and poverty reduction. Yet corruption, its mirror image, remained "taboo" at the World Bank up until the historic "cancer of corruption" speech in 1996 of then-Bank President James Wolfensohn that formally brought governance and anticorruption into the forefront of the Bank's agenda (see Figure 1). In 1997, the World Development Report: The State in a Changing World broke new ground within the Bank, taking stock of the erstwhile work on governance and addressing what the institution could do to enhance its ability to help client countries improve governance and reduce corruption.

Since then, the Bank has promoted many programs within the broad theme of governance, covering key areas including in particular administrative and civil service reform, decentralization, public financial management, tax policy, anticorruption, and legal and judicial reform (Figure 1). These programs have been mainstreamed into Country Assistance Strategies (CAS) and lending operations to help address governance and corruption concerns. In parallel, the Bank has supported and encouraged empirical research on governance and corruption, developing extensive data bases and diagnostic tools. In combination with scholarly research grounded largely on the new institutional economics, this has led to the general acceptance by both the academic and development community of the significant impact that the quality of governance institutions has on the welfare of citizens and thus the urgent need to address poor governance.

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Figure 1

The Governance Agenda: Birth . . . Growth



Analytical Frameworks Help Guide the Design of Governance and Anti-Corruption Programs

The Bank has developed a wide variety of governance diagnostic tools to unpack governance and guide the design of its interventions in different country contexts. These include: aggregate indicators for different aspects of governance; surveys of households, firms, and public officials to identify key areas of vulnerability; measures of state capture and administrative corruption; and public expenditure tracking surveys (see Figures 2a and 2b and http://info.worldbank.org/governance/kkz2004/). For instance, a careful analysis of the Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Surveys (BEEPS) conducted for transitional economies led to a typology of corruption based on extent of state capture vs. administrative corruption that helped identify different entry points and governance reform strategies for countries in the region (see Figure 3).

APSA scholars can deepen and enrich the understanding of different types of governance dysfunctions and reform pathways. For instance, it would be useful to unpack different types of governance challenges in African countries (e.g., based on clientelistic vs. developmental leadership, capacity, presence of extractive industries), with different implications for reform strategies.

How Can Political Scientists Contribute to the Governance Agenda?

Public sector governance is often defined as the manner in which the state exercises the authority to provide and manage public goods and services. But not only is it important to understand the manner in which public officials and public institutions manage and provide public goods but also the manner in which they acquire the authority to do so in the first place (Campos and Lateef 2005). The acquisition of authority/power is invariably about politics and thus the subject matter proper of political science. The World Bank does not and cannot support any political activities.[1] But it can certainly

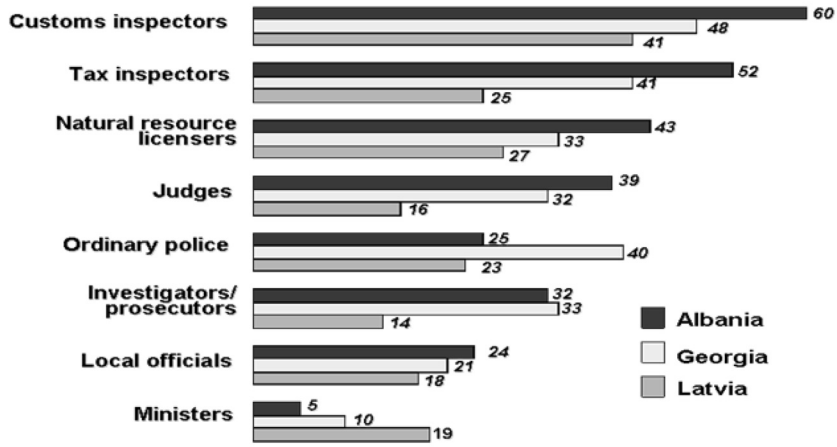
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benefit from understanding the underlying mechanisms of the political drivers of or constraints to change, particularly in clientelistic states. In designing its programs, the World Bank can benefit from APSA scholars undertaking detailed research on these issues.

The Use of Political Analysis in Formulating Strategy

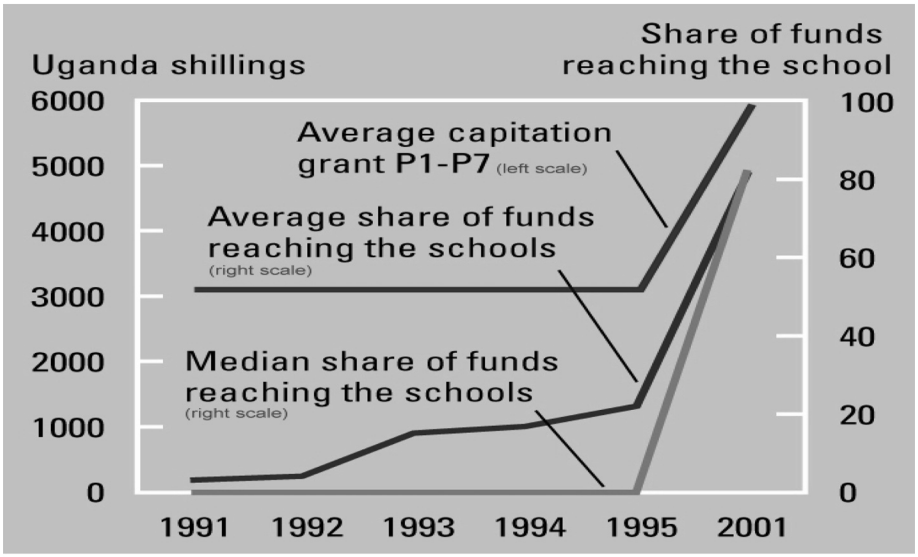
There is a growing recognition within the World Bank of the importance of understanding the social, political, and institutional context within which reforms evolve, and, correspondingly, the need for better political and institutional analysis to inform the design of programs and the formulation of strategies. The Bank has begun to employ political stakeholder analysis to help clarify who the potential winners and losers of a particular reform might be and the extent to which each might be capable of influencing the outcome. The approach is based upon rational actor decision theories and focuses on identifying stakeholders and their preferences to establish the form and shape a reform might take to be politically feasible and/or acceptable. For example, in East Asia, stakeholder analysis revealed potential winners and losers and how coalitions could change as a consequence of World Bank recommended reforms. In Nicaragua, a surprising convergence emerged among contending parties, suggesting that the World Bank should focus on cross-stakeholder coalition-building. The benefits of this tool in assessing the political feasibility of reforms are significant. But there are likely other tools or methodologies that political scientists have developed or perhaps could develop that could complement or deepen the approach. Understanding the politics of a country is indispensable in formulating good strategy and thus in enhancing the chances of successfully implementing a reform.

Figure 2.a Purchasing of public positions



Source: Kaufmann, Pradhan, Ryterman (1998)

Figure 2.b. Public expenditure tracking in Uganda



Source: Reinikka and Svensson (2004)

Emerging Issues

Understanding the pathways and politics of change

As noted earlier, the World Bank has developed useful diagnostic tools to help its staff better understand the nature of corruption and governance in a particular country. However, the Bank seeks to move beyond an identification of symptoms toward a deeper understanding of the underlying causes of poor governance and lack of "political will" for progressive change. In this regard, political analysis helps understand the vested interests that result in the status quo. But it is important to go beyond this to identify and support drivers of change. Political scientists can potentially help the World Bank provide guidance on how to manage the politics of change.

Strengthening demand side pressures for reform in clientelistic states

The World Bank has increasingly recognized the importance of country ownership and commitment for sustaining governance reforms. Not surprisingly, the strongest demand for governance reforms comes mainly from "developmental" states, in which leaders are willing to change the status quo and govern justly. By contrast, the demand from countries with more clientelistic leadership has been substantially weaker. Addressing governance in such countries is crucial to the World Bank as they tend to be among the poorest as well. But this presents formidable challenges. While research in political economy has provided reasonable explanations for the persistence of poor governance in clientelistic states, it has done little to improve our understanding of how to generate demand for governance reforms or how to identify major points of entry for Bank or other development assistance programs in such countries. Research in this direction would be mutually beneficial for both the World Bank and political scientists interested in clientelistic political systems.

Measuring governance

As other panel presenters have rightly highlighted, the issue of measurement is at the core of evaluating the success or failure of governance and institutional reforms. So far, the World Bank has employed aggregate measures such as the World Bank Insti-

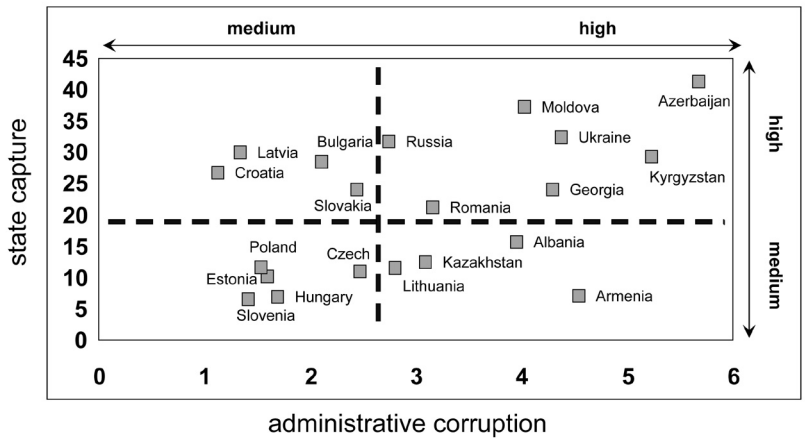
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tute's governance indicators, Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, political risk indicators from the International Country Risk Guide, etc. Though such data allow the examination of general patterns and trends over time, they are subject to a number of potentially serious measurement issues. Furthermore, based on such indicators, it is hard to assess the impact of the World Bank programs—the trends in these indicators cannot be easily attributed to Bank assistance because there are typically many more factors that affect them and are beyond the control of the Bank. Moreover, in many countries, Bank lending for governance constitutes a very small portion of public expenditures. The World Bank is very much interested in cutting-edge and innovative ways of measuring the quality of governance using policy relevant actionable indicators. Research in political science on measuring governance can significantly improve the assessment of the real impact of Bank interventions.

The World Bank-APSA collaboration is a promising and mutually beneficial endeavor. It can help the Bank better understand and manage the political dynamics of reform for stronger results on the ground, and it can provide APSA scholars with a valuable laboratory for rich, policy-oriented research. The participants of this panel can take the collaboration forward, using the APSA meetings for annual consultations between the Bank and APSA on mutual areas of interest and potential research priorities.

Figure 3

Country Typology: From Governance Outcomes to Strategy



Notes

* The presentation was made at the APSA 2005 meeting, "Panel on Politics and Development Programs: APSA and World Bank Collaboration." Panel participants included: Margaret Levi (APSA President 2004–2005), Ashutosh Varshney, Anna Grzymala-Busse (University of Michigan at Ann Arbor), Daniel N. Posner (University of California Los Angeles), and Timothy Frye (Ohio State University) from APSA; and Sanjay Pradhan, Edgardo Campos, Richard Messick, and Maks Kobonbaev from the World Bank Public Sector Governance Unit.

1. The Bank has the mandate to address governance and corruption as a development issue within its Articles of Agreement. However, the Bank's work should be based solely on economic considerations and not be influenced by political concerns in keeping with its Articles of Agreement.

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From Fukuoka to Santiago: Institutionalization of Political Science in Latin America

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To Carlos Filgueira, In Memoriam

This articlehelps fill the void in U.S. political science's approach to Latin American political science and its institutionalization. One example of that void is that *PS: Political Science & Politics* has recently published several pieces on the state of the discipline in diverse regions of the world but, despite its relative importance, none on the state of the discipline in Latin America (see, for example, Boðaç and Turan 2004; Rizayev 2004; and Sharapova 2005). This omission is remarkable because this continent has both nourished U.S. political science by providing several outstanding colleagues, many of whom have generated controversial and important arguments against the dominant paradigms in the discipline, and because, for better or worse, Latin America has been considered the "backyard" of the United States. Arguably, because of its economic, social, and political ties with the U.S., any major change in Latin America would have greater and more immediate implications for the U.S. than similar events elsewhere in the world. These topics are particularly pertinent with the upcoming conference of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) being held in Santiago, Chile, in 2009, and the APSA's new efforts to recruit members from overseas, especially from not-so privileged countries.

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Latin American political science shows enormous variation in terms of what we could call the institutionalization of the discipline. For instance, in some countries no political science degree can be obtained, not even at the undergraduate level; in others, less than five Ph.D.s in political science are currently working in universities; and in still others, a high degree of political science institutionalization exists in terms of the availability of university degrees, number of research programs, and quality of academic life in general. These deficiencies are not only closely tied to different historic contexts but also are in part inherently related to academic politics.

The Impact of the Political Context on Political Science

Latin American political science experienced its "golden age" in the 1970s, and then had to wait another 30 years to regain its momentum. The major exponents of the discipline in this period were socialized in the Southern Cone of the continent (especially in Argentina and Chile) and in Brazil, with important contributions coming from Mexico a bit later. It is undeniable that Latin American political science is immersed in a constant process of transformation that is highly contingent on the history of the continent. Although contributing to the same discipline, each country's historical trajectory and political context has affected, and continues to affect, the evolution of the field at the local level.

Significant asymmetries exist in regard to the state of the discipline within the region; with the exception of the "big ones" (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico), a national institutionalized political science does not exist (i.e., offering degrees at all levels—B.A., M.A., Ph.D.—, having consolidated research programs, having clear criteria for quality in research, established professional careers, providing a decent standard of living to those who chose to work in the field, etc.).

Clustering all national Latin American political science departments and programs creates a triad with the three "big ones" in the first group, a second group of countries presenting clear signs of improvement, but with some ways to go (Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Venezuela), and, finally, the rest, countries where the gap is even broader. Within this last group, it is even difficult to speak of a discipline with a minimum degree of autonomy.

In spite of the existing differences and nuances in each of the national academies, it is possible to find common evolutionary processes in certain sub-groups of countries. Perhaps the most homogenous subgroup is the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay). In this region (led by Argentina, with Chile and Uruguay lagging behind) the bases of political science were truncated by authoritarian governments and only with the reinstallation of democracy did the discipline acquire new life.

In Argentina and Chile the discipline began to expand its roots at the end of the 1960s, catalyzed by years of ideological polarization and constant political mobilization. Argentina was—and, as we will see, continues to be—a great producer of outstanding social and political scientists. Figures like Gino Germani, Torcuato Di Tella, and Guillermo O'Donnell transcended the limits of their own country and even of Latin America. Nevertheless, political science did not have time to complete its consolidation when the region was overtaken by authoritarian regimes that saw in political science, which was dominated in those years by "radical" ideas, a threat to their interests.

Those dictatorial regimes brought about a two-fold exile that is still, 20 years later, playing an important role in the development of the discipline, and in academia in general. The military regimes encroached upon university affairs and censured many scholars. These academics, barred from working in universities, began to gather in centers that were dedicated to "low profile" research and were largely financed by international organizations whose goals were the reinstallation of democracy and the quest for social justice.

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Many blacklisted scholars were forced into exile and had to build new lives in other countries.

Violence and exile were not in any way the exclusive patrimony of citizens in the Southern Cone. In some countries, political scientists sought to foster democracy and peace. For example, the climate of polarization, war, and repression in Guatemala inspired political scientists and scholars in general to think of ways to resolve conflicts and democratize their country (Azpuru 2005). In Colombia, during the 1980s, when the conflict was still characterized as an "armed conflict" and not yet as a "war," the academy sought to propose routes of democratic consolidation as a way of deactivating the political violence (Bejarano and Wills 2005). In other countries, the dangers associated with being an academic under a repressive regime made exile a common option. For example, exile played a preponderant and negative role in the development of the discipline in El Salvador starting in the late 1970s (Artiga-González 2005).

Evidently, the political context in which political science develops marks the research agenda of the discipline. Yet the consequences of a particular regime do not always have the same effects. As a matter of fact, authoritarian regimes have not been uniformly adverse to the development of the discipline in the continent, as some would believe. In this regard, the cases of Brazil and Mexico are worth mentioning, as is the case of Peru (Tanaka 2005). In some countries, the dictatorships brought research to a halt; in others, the violence made research simply untenable; and in yet others, the same climate generated the incentive for political scientists to think about politics and policies and hence actually helped foster academic life.

Returning to the Southern Cone, exile nourished other Latin American academies that took advantage of the opportunity to incorporate those affected by the repression. For example, although FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales—Latin American Social Science Faculty) in Argentina was a very important center of refuge for Chilean and Uruguayan academics from 1973 until the Argentinean military coup in 1976, the countries that "capitalized" the most by attracting colleagues from the south were Mexico and Brazil in the first instance and then Venezuela and Costa Rica (Alfaro Redondo and Cullell 2005; Alvarez and Dahdah 2005). For example, the CIDE (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas—Center for Economic Research and Education) in Mexico was, at a given moment, a kind of refugee center for outstanding social scientists from South America, especially from the Southern Cone. IUPERJ (Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Río de Janeiro—University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro) in Brazil was one of the favorite centers for pursuing doctoral studies for people coming from the River Plate. In this respect we might include the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame as one of the most prominent centers for Latin American intellectuals at the time.

Once democracy was (re)established in the region in the 1980s and many political scientists returned from exile to their countries, two significant phenomena happened simultaneously. First, given that universities inherited the thin budgets of the authoritarian regimes, many scholars had to look for complementary sources of income because, in general terms, universities were not a place that allowed academicians to live at a dignified level. In most countries, political scientists had to take on multiple jobs, teaching courses at several universities simultaneously and taking on other miscellaneous jobs to supplement their academic income (on the practice of "*multi-empleo,*" see Garcé 2005). Second, many of the scholars returning to their countries were absorbed by the new democratic governments. Chile stands out as the most extreme case, result clearly associated with the governments of the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Garretón 2005). But the practice was widespread. Although this trend was a great bonus for these governments, it robbed the universities of some of their country's best minds.

Another corollary of the return and stability of democracy in the region was that many international organizations of cooperation turned their focus to other regions of the world. With this move, important sums of money destined for research stopped flowing to the region and universities were consequently overwhelmed with researchers who had previously worked in NGOs and research centers that had relied largely on external funding. Obviously, universities could not absorb everyone on a full-time basis and this demand for jobs, partially met through massive hiring, especially by public universities, greatly contributed to the vicious cycle of *multi-empleo.* In fact, *multi-empleo* continues to exist in the great majority of Latin American countries and is currently perhaps the greatest obstacle to the professionalization of the discipline.

In general terms, democratization in Latin America also brought the deregulation of the politics of education. As a consequence of competition, postgraduate programs mushroomed in the region. Unfortunately, many of these programs have core deficiencies: except for the filter exerted by the market, with some exceptions very few supervisory education policies exist; in many countries the comptroller organizations in charge of university programs are also providers and evaluators of these programs.

The explosion of the private universities produced more competitors in the academic labor market. This has had enormous consequences for our discipline (and others). First, it is clear that today "the market" has determined that an undergraduate degree is not enough to find a good job, less still to be employed in the academic world. In many of the region's prestigious universities having a Ph.D. constitutes a *sine-qua-non* condition to be hired as a full-time researcher, albeit this norm is not uniform. Catalyzed by the deficiency of local postgraduate programs, many Latin Americans look to continue their professional training overseas. Many, educated at public universities and with financial resources, stay in the places where they studied abroad (especially the U.S.).

This last phenomenon has had great repercussions in our academies. Those who did not obtain a doctorate degree from Latin American universities with prestigious programs are threatened by the new generation of foreign-trained academics who are up on the latest trends and skills in the discipline. In several academic centers, those who remained have resorted to actions of self-preservation and are usually the staunchest opponents to establishing transparent criteria for academic careers. On the other hand, academic staffing has been inflated excessively—following the praiseworthy logic that it is better for many to have little than to have a few professionals dedicated full-time.

Such intercollegiate competition has not necessarily been accompanied by improvements in programs, but has resulted rather in the systematization of what has come to be known as opiniology. Although the great majority of the academic world is led by research and teaching, it is also true that the great majority of private universities depend on the tuitions paid by students. Thus, the universities seek "to sell" their "product" in the market hoping to have the greatest possible return. Following a logic of name recognition, a certain degree of public presence is required. The quest for the spotlight has created academics willing to share their opinions on the most miscellaneous aspects of life. Some institutions even provide monetary rewards to those that excel at being in the public eye. This strategy can bear immediate fruits, but one would hope that the

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Table 1: Broad Estimations about Political Science in Latin America

	Teaching[a]				Research			Community		Professional Life				
	POP in millions (aprox. 2003).	B.A.	M.A.	PhD.	Competitive Funds	Blind Peer-Reviewed Journals	SSCI (ISI) or SciELO	Community Estimation of Ph.D.s currently working in Political Science programs	National Association	PPP (U$S. est. 2003) World Bank Database	Range Estimation Monthly Salaries (U$S)[d]		Range Ratio Income / PPP	
Argentina	38.4	33	27	15	Yes	Yes	Yes	n.d.	Yes	10900	1400	3000	0.13	0.28
Bolivia	9.0	4	2	0	No	No	No	n.d.	Yes[c]	2450	500	600	0.20	0.24
Brazil	176.6	18	13	6	Yes	Yes	Yes	170	Yes	7480	1500	2500	0.20	0.33
Chile	15.8	11	16	0[b]	Yes	Yes	Yes	24	Yes	9810	1400	3900	0.14	0.40
Colombia	44.4	15	6	0	Yes	Yes	No	15	No	6520	1500	2500	0.23	0.38
Costa Rica	4.0	1	1	1	No	No	No	12	No	9040	600	1400	0.07	0.15
Cuba	11.3	0	1.75	1	n.d.	No	No	n.d.	No	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Ecuador	13.1	2	1	1	No	Yes	No	9	No	3440	2000	2500	0.58	0.73
El Salvador	6.6	0	1	0	No	No	No	1	No	4890	1550	1650	0.32	0.34
Guatemala	12.3	3	3	0	No	No	No	3	No	4060	1600	2000	0.39	0.49
Honduras	7.0	0	1	0	No	No	No	1	No	2580	1000	2500	0.39	0.97
México	102.3	43	9	4	Yes	Yes	SI	n.d.	Yes[c]	8950	900	3500	0.10	0.39
Panama	3.0	0	0	0	No	No	No	6	Yes[c]	6310	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Peru	27.2	2	2.5	0	No	No	No	4	No	5090	450	2000	0.09	0.39
Dom. R.	8.8	2	4	0	No	No	No	3	Yes[c]	6210	900	1100	0.14	0.18
Uruguay	3.3	1,5	0.75	0.5	Yes	No	No	10	No	7980	750	1400	0.09	0.18
Venezuela	25.6	9	11	4	Yes	Yes	No	36	Yes	4740	695	1480	0.15	0.31
Total	508.7	144.5	1000	32.5	7/18	7/18	4/18	294	±8/18	6278	1116	2135	0.22	0.38

(a) The value of "1" is assigned to that specific program in political science and "0.5" to the programs in social sciences with specialization in political science. Also, political science programs that do not have annual graduations, but that can only be entered upon the previous matriculation were assigned "0.75."
(b) A Ph.D. in political science will most likely exist in July 2006.
(c) In spite of the fact that there is a national association of political science, it does not satisfy the requirements of a biannual congress and annual activity.
(d) This approximation is based on the gross monthly salaries (that is, before taxes). Sources: Chapters and authors of *Revista de Ciencia Política* 25 (1), 2005, and author's calculations.

scientific community will end up avoiding these tactics.

Disciplinary Institutionalization in Latin America

This section must begin with the obvious observation that Latin American countries must dedicate more resources to scientific research. Latin American countries' investments in education, research, and technological development lag far behind those of the "developed world." Despite these shortfalls, the performance of Latin American sciences in some arenas is comparable to that in other regions of the world. This is not the case with political science. Taking as a given their scarcity, how should available resources be suitably distributed through a merit-based evaluation system?

Evaluating the quality of political science programs remains an incredibly important goal. It includes, for instance, determining whether program "a" is better than program "b" in job-placement, or whether an international foundation should be financing a specific project, or whether a job candidate from one university is substantially better prepared than a candidate from another. The dilemma arises when trying to establish the most objective criteria to weigh the quality of the political science programs. Which criteria would we have to consider? The list is almost endless, but one could well include: the number of full-time professors with Ph.D.s in a department, amount and quality of faculty publications in blind peer-reviewed journals, the types of faculty publications (books, articles, notes in newspapers), faculty success in attaining competitive research funds, or the success of a program's students in the labor market. Undoubtedly we can find some guidance in the (minimum) consensus that the American and European academies have reached on evaluation, and from the wealth of literature on the subject (Ballard and Mitchell 1998; Garand and Graddy 1999; Hix 2004; Jackman and Siverson 1996; Katz and Eagles 1996; Lowry and Silver 1996; McCormick and Rice 2001; Miller, Tien, and Peebler 1996; Schmitter 2002; Welch and Hibbing 1983). Yet, despite the lack of information required for ranking political science departments in Latin America, we can trace some broad lines about the state of political science at the national level.

Latin American political science presents a fragmented visage at the national level. However, inspired by the literature, Table 1 displays a series of estimations on the state of the institutionalization of the discipline in Latin America. This table is structured on four pillars: Teaching, Research, Community, and Professional Life.

Education of political science

International comparisons are very problematic; it would make no sense to compare the number of Ph.D. programs in a country without weighing that country's available resources (human and economic). Obviously, resources are not the same in Brazil as in Panama, or in Mexico as in Uruguay. Besides, the number of programs a country offers says nothing of their quality. For example, some universities offer Ph.D. degrees "almost by correspondence" while others require four- or five-year programs with courses, comps, and all the elements typical of a U.S. university. Some programs are extremely successful in retaining their students, while in others the ratio between students and those who finish their degree is amazingly low. In Uruguay this relation is about 5% (Garcé 2005, 239); in Argentina it is hardly superior to 3% (Leiras, Abal Medina (h.), and D'Alessandro 2005, 83–84).

Nevertheless, having stated these reservations about the quality of the programs, it is interesting to see the dispersion of degrees in the region. Table 2 shows an approximate measurement of the number of degrees offered in each Latin American country. The region boasts approximately 150 B.A. programs (or equivalents), 100 M.A. programs, and a little more than 30 Ph.D. programs in political science. There is a clear correlation (Pearson 0.637, sig. to 001) between the popula-

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Table 2

	Population (in millions, circa 2003)	% of continental programs (B.A.)	Ratio B.A.s/Pop.	% of continental programs (M.A.)	Ratio M.A.s/Pop.	% of continental programs (Ph.D)	Ratio Ph.D.s/Pop.
Argentina	38.4	23.1	0.86	27.8	0.70	44.8	0.39
Bolivia	9	2.8	0.44	2.1	0.22	0	0.00
Brazil	176.6	12.6	0.10	13.4	0.07	17.9	0.03
Chile	15.8	7.7	0.70	16.5	1.01	3	0.06
Colombia	44.4	10.5	0.34	6.2	0.14	0	0.00
Costa Rica	4	0.7	0.25	1	0.25	3	0.25
Cuba	11.3	0	0.00	1.8	0.15	3	0.09
Ecuador	13.1	1.4	0.15	1	0.08	3	0.08
El Salvador	6.6	0	0.00	1	0.15	0	0.00
Guatemala	12.3	2.1	0.24	3.1	0.24	0	0.00
Honduras	7	0	0.00	1	0.14	0	0.00
México	102.3	30.1	0.42	9.3	0.09	11.9	0.04
Panama	3	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Paraguay	5.7	0.3	0.09	1	0.18	0	0.00
Peru	27.2	1.4	0.07	2.6	0.09	0	0.00
Dominican Rep.	8.8	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Uruguay	3.3	1	0.45	0.8	0.23	1.5	0.15
Venezuela	25.6	6.3	0.35	11.3	0.43	11.9	0.16
Total	**514.4**	**100**	**0.28**	**100**	**0.19**	**100**	**0.07**

Table 3

		Political Science (SSCI 1975–2005)				International Relations (SSCI 1975–2005)					
Country	Country's Percentage of continental population	Total entries POLSCI	Country's Percentage of continental production	(% Production -% Population)	Country's relative POLISCI Rank	Total entries IR	Country's Percentage of continental production	(% Production -% Population)	Country's relative IR Rank	Average Difference POLISCI-IR vs.population	POLSCI+IR Rank
Argentina	7.51	58	11.81	4.30	2	38	18.72	11.21	1	7.76	2
Bolivia	1.76	2	0.41	-1.35	12	0	0.00	-1.76	13	-1.56	13
Brazil	34.56	125	25.46	-9.10	18	47	23.15	-11.41	18	-10.26	18
Chile	3.09	21	4.28	1.19	4	26	12.81	9.72	2	5.46	3
Colombia	8.69	20	4.07	-4.62	17	9	4.43	-4.26	17	-4.44	17
Costa Rica	0.78	6	1.22	0.44	6	6	2.96	2.18	5	1.31	5
Cuba	2.21	29	5.91	3.70	3	1	0.49	-1.72	12	0.99	6
Ecuador	2.56	4	0.81	-1.75	14	1	0.49	-2.07	14	-1.91	14
El Salvador	1.29	3	0.61	-0.68	10	0	0.00	-1.29	9	-0.99	10
Guatemala	2.41	3	0.61	-1.80	15	0	0.00	-2.41	15	-2.11	15
Honduras	1.37	0	0.00	-1.37	13	0	0.00	-1.37	10	-1.37	12
Mexico	20.02	167	34.01	13.99	1	53	26.11	6.09	3	10.04	1
Nicaragua	1.08	10	2.04	0.96	5	3	1.48	0.40	7	0.68	7
Panama	0.59	1	0.20	-0.39	9	2	0.99	0.40	6	0.01	8
Paraguay	1.10	0	0.00	-1.10	11	0	0.00	-1.10	8	-1.10	11
Peru	5.32	16	3.26	-2.06	16	3	1.48	-3.84	16	-2.95	16
Uruguay	0.65	3	0.61	-0.04	7	7	3.45	2.80	4	1.38	4
Venezuela	5.01	23	4.68	-0.33	8	7	3.45	-1.56	11	-0.95	9

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tion of a country and the number of B.A.s offered in that country. Nevertheless, this correlation does not hold for M.A.s and Ph.Ds.

Although Mexico represents 30% of the B.A.s in Latin America (Table 2), we can observe that the ratio between B.A.s offered and population is far from being the highest. When controlling for population size, Argentina offers the greatest amount of B.A.s, with a ratio of 0.86, followed immediately by Chile, with a ratio of 0.70. Although Argentina is the country that offers the greatest number of Masters programs (0.70), Chile has a higher ratio between population and degrees obtained (1.01).

Research: Resources and Publications

Within the scope of research we must compare not only research output (information, books, articles, databases, etc.) but also the capacity of those practicing our discipline to obtain the necessary resources to carry it out. As is the case of the National Science Foundation (NSF) in the U.S., which is an independent federal agency created by Congress in 1950, some Latin American countries have national science foundations (CONICET in Argentina, CONICYT in Chile, FONACIT in Venezuela, etc.). Unfortunately, to a large extent in Latin American, competitive national resources for political science research do not exist. Table 1, simply dichotomizes the existence (or absence) of these resources, without weighting their accessibility, competitiveness, or another criterion that could be crucial. Only seven of the 18 countries have these resources available to a greater or lesser degree (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela).

Evaluation of the quality and quantity of faculty research is becoming increasingly important and commonplace in universities and academic centers. Of course, significant differences in the research culture exist: some sub-fields of political science research appear in books, other subfields appear in articles. A comparison between countries based on the bibliographical production of books would be nearly impossible. Nevertheless it is important to indicate that, as is the case in the great majority of disciplines, articles are displacing books, which usually tend to be the culmination of "big" research. In some North American universities, the requirement of publishing political science doctoral theses in book format is gradually being supplanted by journal articles (usually three).

Figure 1

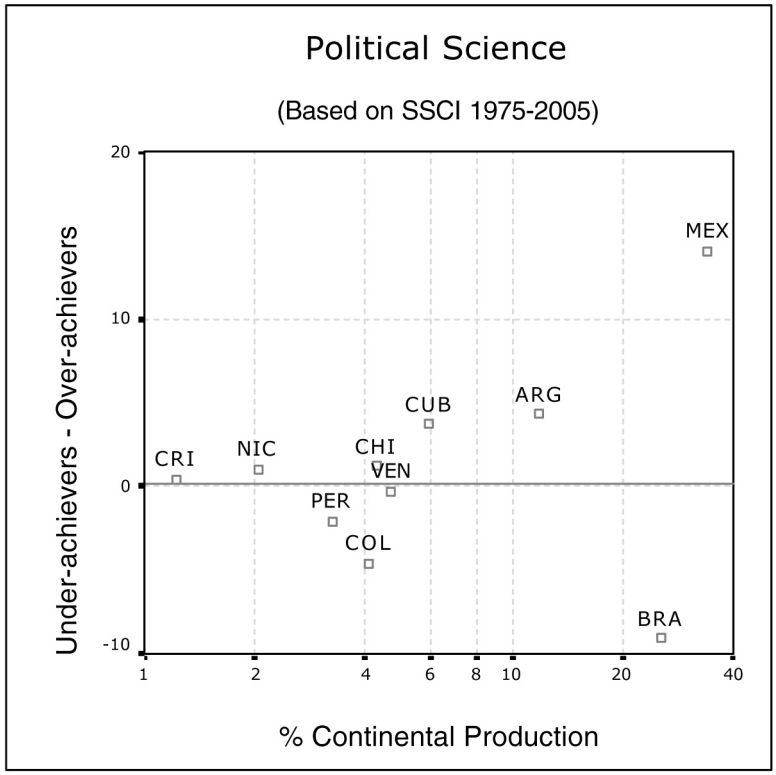
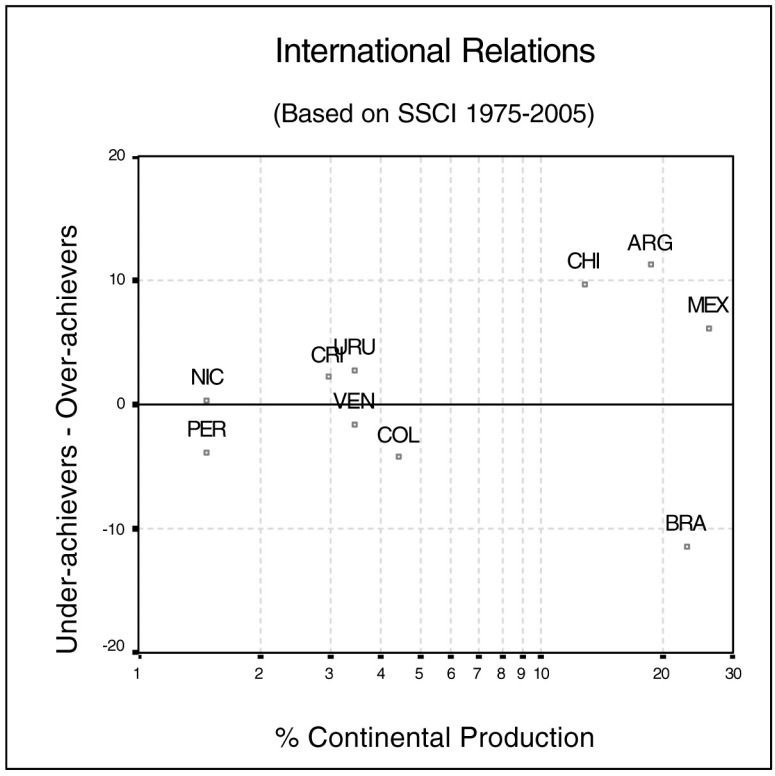


Figure 2



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TABLE 4:

Country	Percentage of continental population	Social Science Citation Index (1975–2005)					Science Citation Index (1975–2005)					Average Difference SSCI&SCI vs.population	Average SSCI and SCI Rank
		Total entries at SSCI	Percentage of continental production	Rank based on continental production	(% Production -% Population)	Country's relative SSCI Rank	Total entries at SCI	Percentage of continental production	Rank based on continental production	(% Production -% Population)	Country's relative SCI Rank		
Argentina	7.51	2.977	7.96	3	0.44	4	88.942	21.60	3	14.08	1	7.26	2
Bolivia	1.76	185	0.49	13	-1.27	12	1537	0.37	14	-1.39	13	-1.33	13
Brasil	34.56	9.728	26.00	2	-8.56	18	106.710	25.91	1	-8.65	18	-8.61	18
Chile	3.09	2.357	6.30	4	3.21	2	45.964	11.16	4	8.07	2	5.64	3
Colombia	8.69	1.096	2.93	6	-5.76	17	10.017	2.43	6	-6.26	17	-6.01	17
Costa Rica	0.78	502	1.34	8	0.56	3	5.081	1.23	9	0.45	6	0.51	4
Cuba	2.21	414	1.11	9	-1.10	9	9.437	2.29	7	0.08	8	-0.51	7
Ecuador	2.56	175	0.47	14	-2.10	15	1.960	0.48	12	-2.09	15	-2.10	15
El Salvador	1.29	52	0.14	18	-1.15	10	304	0.07	18	-1.22	11	-1.19	11
Guatemala	2.41	297	0.79	11	-1.61	13	1.870	0.45	13	-1.95	14	-1.78	14
Honduras	1.37	79	0.21	16	-1.16	11	480	0.12	16	-1.25	12	-1.21	12
Mexico	20.02	17.038	45.53	1	25.51	1	100.939	24.51	2	4.49	3	15.00	1
Nicaragua	1.08	143	0.38	15	-0.69	7	391	0.09	17	-0.98	10	-0.84	9
Panama	0.59	310	0.83	10	0.24	5	3.943	0.96	11	0.37	7	0.31	5
Paraguay	1.1	59	0.16	17	-0.94	8	1.422	0.35	15	-0.75	9	-0.85	10
Peru	5.32	650	1.74	7	-3.59	16	5.000	1.21	10	-4.11	16	-3.85	16
Uruguay	0.65	220	0.59	12	-0.06	6	5.163	1.25	8	0.61	4	0.28	6
Venezuela	5.01	1.137	3.04	5	-1.97	14	22.642	5.50	5	0.49	5	-0.74	8

To be considered competitive, a political science journal must meet a series of requirements. Perhaps most crucial is the way manuscripts are evaluated, the blind peer-review method being one of the crucial criterion for quality. Another desirable criterion is the impact these publications have on the peer community. Currently, there are two international indexes that represent an "impact index" relevant to Latin American academics: the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), and the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO).

Only Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico have journals indexed by SSCI or SciELO, but this situation will shortly change as Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela are pursuing local initiatives to develop SciELO projects.

I have studied the research production of scholars residing in Latin American countries (based on the addresses they provide) in regard to the journals categorized as political science and international relations at the Social Science Scientific Index (SSCI)—see Annex 1 for all journals in both categories.[1] Table 3 summarizes the number of entries each country has in each of the databases. Latin America's production of political science is concentrated in the usual areas (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico). These three countries account for over 70% of the political science entries, which is understandable considering their relative proportions of population in the continent.

To account for the huge differences in the relative population of each country I calculated the difference between the percentage of continental population and production. Controlling for population size, Brazil stands out as an underachiever, while Mexico and Argentina still produce more than their populations would suggest (see Figure 1). For instance, Mexico accounts for 20% of the continental population and produces almost 35% of the published research in the discipline. In consequence, Mexico has a positive 15% difference (the highest), and Brazil has a negative 9% (the lowest); Brazil is far and away the second largest producer of disciplinary literature, producing 25% of Latin America's political science literature indexed at the SSCI. Presumably, the Mexican record is partially biased, due to that country's geographical, social, political, and economical ties with the U.S. (and U.S. journals are the bulk of journals indexed at the SSCI). Nonetheless, besides this apparent distortion, these figures serve as a comparable measurement of research in the discipline among Latin American countries.

The same exercise is done for journals considered to be focused on international relations by the SSCI (see Figure 2). Basically, both ranks are consistent between themselves, having a Pearson r of 7.31 (sig., 2-tail at .001). Cuba is the most dissonant case, ranking third in the continent in political science and 12th in regard to international relations. It may be that we are witnessing a case of research "affirmative action" within the context of political science but not in international relations. As a matter of fact, Cuban entries at the SSCI are highly concentrated in a couple of journals and mostly at *Latin American Perspectives*.[2] Finally, in Table 3, the average difference between the differences among the percentage of continental population and production in political science and international relations is calculated and a rank is constructed. In this case, Argentina and Chile stand out as the biggest producers of international relations in relation to their size. Brazil again, the second largest producer of IR published research at the SSCI, appears as the country that produces the least in terms of its population.

One could rightfully ask whether the degree of political science production is related to a country's ability to produce other types of scientific research. Table 4 explores this relationship by considering all of a country's entries in the SSCI and SCI (see Table 4).

Community and Professional Life

I am not aware of any clear criterion that establishes the amount of scholars necessary to create a scientific community. Certainly, we could hardly have a critical mass of political scientists if courses specialized in the discipline are not systematically offered and if those that pursue a career in the field cannot earn a living as a result of their studies.

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For that reason the existence of a vital national association has been considered as a proxy for the existence of a scientific community. I understand by a professional association an organization that brings together most of the political scientists in a country and which has a national congress (at least once every two years) and some annually organized activity.

Also as proxy for the professionalization of the discipline and to illustrate the degree to which practitioners can have a career as an academic in political science, I include in Table 1 two columns that account for the gross monthly wage of a university professor (full-time) in U.S. dollars. That is, a reasonable range of what a colleague could aspire to if dedicated to academia. Of all the information provided in Table 1, these data offer the greatest amount of possible complexities and it must be said again that all these data respond only to approximate values (other possible personal income are not included, as well as the taxes each individual must pay to the state treasury).

Also, it is evident that a dollar is not worth the same in Honduras or Bolivia as in Argentina or Chile. For this reason, I have added a column to account for other aspects that we must consider, such as the variations in the rate of exchange and the level of real wage ("power of purchase"). The average of variation is enormous in the region, oscillating between a minimum of 0.07 in Costa Rica and a maximum of 0.97 in Honduras. In order to have a comparative parameter, in the United States a professor at a Ph.D.-granting university (n=220) has a gross annual income of between 60,000 and 170,000 dollars.[3] If we make the same calculation that we have done with the other Latin American countries controlling for the capacity to be able to purchase (PPP), the relative monthly wage on PPP gives a rank that oscillates between 0.14 and 0.39.

Appendix 1
Political Science and International Relations Journals

Political Science

Africa Today, American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annual Review of Political Science, Australian Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Political Science, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Chinese Law and Government, Commentary, Communist and Post Communist Studies, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Current History, Dissent, East European Politics and Societies, Electoral Studies, European Journal of Political Research, Europe-Asia Studies, Government and Opposition, Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics, Human Rights Quarterly, Internasjonal Politikk, International Political Science Review, Issues and Studies, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Political Philosophy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Strategic Studies, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Latin American Perspectives, Latin American Politics and Society, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Local Government Studies, Monthly Review, Nation, New Left Review, New Republic, Osteuropa, Parliamentary Affairs, Party Politics, Pensee, Policy and Politics, Policy Review, Policy Sciences, Policy Studies Journal , Political Behavior , Political Communication , Political Geography, Political Psychology, Political Quarterly, Political Research Quarterly, Political Science, Political Science Quarterly , Political Studies, Political Theory, Politicka Ekonomie, Politics and Society, Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Polity, Problems of Post-Communism, PS: Political Science and Politics, Public Choice, Public Opinion Quarterly, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Review of International Political Economy, Russian Politics and Law, Scandinavian Political Studies, Scottish Journal of Political Economy, Studies in American Political Development, Studies in Comparative International Development, Survival, West European Politics.

International Relations

Alternatives, American Journal of Peace and Science, Cornell International Law Journal, Current History, Emerging Markets Finance and Trade, European Journal of International Relations, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Global Governance, International Affairs, International Interactions, International Journal, International Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Internationale Politik, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Maritime Law and Commerce, Journal of the Japanese and International Economies, Journal of World Trade, Korean Journal Of Defense Analysis, Marine Policy, Middle East Policy, Millennium Journal of International Studies, Ocean Development and International Law, Post-Soviet Affairs, Review of World Economics, Review of International Studies, Russian and East European Finance and Trade, Security Dialogue, Security Studies, Space Policy, Stanford Journal of International Law, Terrorism and Political Violence, Washington Quarterly, Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv:Review of World Economics, World Economy, World Policy Journal, World Politics, World Today.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the necessity of professionalizing political science in Latin America continues to be one of the most urgent topics within the discipline in the region. This article does not attempt to be more than a first approach to the state of the discipline in the continent, therefore crucial subjects, particularly those related to the quality of research and teaching, were neglected. Eventually, future research must be done in this regard.

The state of political science in the Americas is one of enormous deficiencies in most of the elements necessary for the institutionalization of the discipline. Some countries do not offer any degrees in political science (Sánchez Gonzalez 2005), while in others, less than 10 Ph.D.s in political science are currently working in universities. Many universities in the region continue fomenting the part-time job or low-intensity dedication, and no clear criteria for professional excellence exist. In other countries, such as in Chile, the discipline is blooming (Fuentes and Santana 2005), and in a small number of countries we could properly talk about a discipline.

In order for political science to succeed in Latin America, our discipline must be built around academic institutions that emphasize clear rules and defined criteria that stimulate meritocracy. For meritocracy to exist, criteria are necessarily to account for research and teaching productivity, aspects that are lacking in most of the countries in the region. Clearly, the establishment of these criteria is necessary at the point of evaluation, a *sine-qua-non* reality in these times of economic constraints and competition.

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Notes

1. I did not consider SciELO yet because of its short time span.
2. In future research it would be extremely interesting to account for each journal's dispersion of entries for each country.
3. AAUP Faculty Salary Survey at: http://chronicle.com/stats/aaup/aaupresults.php?Year=2005&Keyword=&State_Type=All%20states&Category_type=I&Sort=PR_no&Unranked=0&limit=205

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Upcoming International Events

2006

March 22–25: International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, www.isanet.org/sandiego/.

March 28–29: Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism Annual Conference—Nations and their Pasts: Representing the Past, Building the Future, London School of Economics and Political Science, www.lse.ac.uk/collections/ASEN/conference2006.htm.

April 4–6: Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom, Annual Conference, University of Reading, UK, http://www.psa.ac.uk/con_and_app/psaconf.htm.

April 6–9: Association for Asian Studies, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, http://www.aasianst.org/annmtg.htm.

April 25–30: European Consortium For Political Research Joint Sessions of Workshops—Nicosia, Cyprus, www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/index.aspx.

May 24–26: Moscow State University Annual International Conference on Public Administration: Public Administration in the XXI Century: Traditions and Innovations, Moscow, Russia, www.spa.msu.ru.

May 27–June 1: Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, The City: A Festival of Knowledge, York University, Toronto, Canada, www.fedcan.ca/congress2006/letter.htm.

May 28–June 3: Bradley University's Berlin Seminar, Berlin, Germany, www.bradley.edu/academics/las/his/Berlin.

May 29–31: Slovenian Political Science Conference, Portoroz, Slovenia, http://guests.fdv.uni-lj.si/spod/default.htm.

June 1–3: Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, www.cpsa-acsp.ca/template_e.cfm?folder=conference.

June 4–10: The History of Turkish-American Relations, Bogazici University, Istanbul and Harran University, Urfa, americanturkishconference@boun.edu.tr.

June 10–12: XV International Conference of the Academy of Business & Administrative Sciences (ABAS), Vilnius, Lithuania, www.sba.muohio.edu/abas/.

July 9–14: International Political Science Association, 20th World Congress, Fukuoka, Japan, www.fukuoka2006.com.

July 13–16: Poetry and Politics, University of Stirling, Scotland,www.poetryandpolitics.stir.ac.uk/.

July 24–29: 10th Conference of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas (ISSEI), The European Mind: Narrative and Identity, University of Malta, http://issei2006.haifa.ac.il/.

September 7–9: European Consortium for Political Research, First ECPR Graduate Conference, University of Essex, UK, http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR//events/graduateconference/index.asp.

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Turkey	22
Belgium	18
Chile	16
Singapore	15
New Zealand	14
Greece	13
Austria	13
Hong Kong, China	12
Ukraine	12
Finland	11
Portugal	8
Thailand	8
India	8
Scotland	8
China	8
Lebanon	8
Argentina	7
Venezuela	6
Nigeria	6
Romania	5
Philippines	5
Poland	5
S. Africa	5
Bulgaria	4
Russia	4
Colombia	4
Peru	4
Hungary	4
Czech Republic	4
United Arab Emirates	4
Estonia	4
Croatia	4
Armenia, Costa Rica, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan	3
N. Ireland, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ghana, Bahrain, Cyprus, Luxembourg	2
Jamaica, Serbia, Indonesia, El Salvador, Trinidad & Tobago, Paraguay, Bangladesh, Latvia, Uganda, Macedonia, Tajikistan, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Guam	1
TOTAL	**1,875**

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