RESEARCH

mapping political research in portugal: scientific articles in national academic journals (2000-2012)

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Abstract

In recent years there has been a growing effort to trace the developments of political science in different countries through the analysis of articles published in academic journals. Building on existing literature on the history of the discipline, this contribution provides an attempt to produce a quantitatively informed description of political science publishing in Portugal from 2000 to 2012. Results show that the yearly output in national journals increased notably, mainly driven by international relations and comparative politics. A strong majority of articles are authored by researchers from domestic institutions. Nevertheless, the period under analysis witnessed an expanding scope beyond the domestic case and an increasing comparative focus.

Keywords political science; Portugal; journal articles

here is a tension within the social sciences between 'national intellectual traditions', on the one hand, and 'processes of universalisation or modernisation', on the other. This does not imply a one-dimensional antagonism between progress and stagnation, as national peculiarities can actually 'provide intellectual resources from which new

social theorising can continuously emerge' (Wagner et al, 1991: 341). Political science is not an exception, its development exhibits different patterns across the globe (Berndtson, 1991; Easton et al, 1995; Norris, 1997). Indeed, just as the study of politics is often enhanced by the use of comparisons, so can the study of the discipline itself be enhanced.

Most accounts of the development of political science in Europe refer to the cases of leading countries, notably the United Kingdom (Boncourt, 2007; Hayward, 1999), France (Billordo, 2005; Boncourt, 2007), Germany (Pehl, 2012) or Italy (Capano and Verzichelli, 2010), but there are also some interesting accounts about mid-range scientific powerhouses such as the Netherlands (Daalder, 1991), the Nordic states (Anckar, 1991) and Spain (Jerez-Mir, 2010).

Surveys of the evolution of political science in smaller and more peripheral countries have been scarcer. In the case of Portugal, the asymmetry vis-à-vis other countries is understandable. Not only the relatively small size of the country and its academy, but also the fact that during the twentieth century it experienced a long authoritarian regime largely averse to autonomous social sciences, have influenced the late institutionalisation of the discipline (Cruz and Lucena, 1985; Stock, 1991; Moreira, 2007). Despite being peripheral in the European context, Portugal may provide an interesting addition to the better known cases of the development of political science in the old continent. It also can bring meaningful insights regarding the perspectives of institutionalisation of the discipline in contexts of comparatively recent democratisation, in Europe and elsewhere.

In this article we attempt to provide an overview of the recent evolution of Political Science as a discipline in Portugal, with an eye to its history but primarily to a part of its output in recent years. Accounts of the state and evolution of political science in Portugal have so far consisted mainly of historical recollections, usually written by scholars who had a founding role in the institutionalisation of the discipline in the country (Cruz and Lucena, 1985; Stock, 1991; Moreira, 2007). Notwithstanding the importance of such contributions to document and preserve the

memory of political science in Portugal, we consider that there is a gap to fill regarding the empirical analysis of the discipline, especially in its recent years.

Instead of an encompassing assessment of the discipline, we focus on the articles published in Portuguese social science journals. From a general point of view, characteristics of scholarly publishing vary along the boundaries of scientific domains. For their part, social scientists often pursue research agendas concerned with their own national contexts (Archambault et al, 2006: 333); they are also more prone to publish in their own language than scholars from other fields (Hicks, 1999: 202). National journals become venues for publishing research concerned with the authors' own country, often without the expense of having to translate it, or write it from scratch, in a foreign language.

The context of publication is one of several relevant arenas for the assessment of national disciplines. In his evaluation of the productivity of Latin American departments of political science, Altman (2012) noticed that multiple evaluation criteria could be used for this purpose: human resources, bibliometrics, the attainment of competitive research funds and performance of alumni in the job market (73). In this light, an assessment of publications in Portuguese academic journals can provide a useful addition to the limited knowledge about political science in the country, though it will certainly not provide the whole picture.

Three sections follow this introduction. The first of them briefly introduces the evolution of the discipline in Portugal, summarising and updating previous accounts of the discipline. The second section presents the findings of a survey of articles published in scientific Portuguese journals between 2000 and 2012. Finally, in the discussion we attempt to extract some comparative interpretations from the preceding analysis.

THE EVOLUTION OF A **DISCIPLINE**

BEFORE DEMOCRACY

Political science is the youngest institutionalised social science discipline in Portugal, and its very raison d'être still prompts occasional disagreement both within and outside the academic world. Its domestic roots, however, may be traced back to 1885, when the term was introduced in Coimbra Law School's course of Public and Constitutional Law as the branch of sociology useful to understand the foundations of constitutional orders. Later in 1901, this positivist approach to public law gained formal recognition, as the course was relabelled Political Science and Constitutional Law (Cruz and Lucena, 1985).1

Slightly after the establishment of the First Republic in 1910, two new universities were founded, one in Lisbon, the other in Porto, and as part of the former a Faculty of Social Studies and Law was set up. In such a favourable academic and political environment, political science seemed to have fertile ground in which to grow. Nevertheless, the conservative reaction to positivism was fierce, both in the university and in politics. While the old natural law progressively retrieved its hegemonic position in Coimbra,² the Republican regime faced sixteen years of political instability, the efforts of World War I, and a deep economic and financial crisis, before it eventually succumbed to a right-wing military coup in 1926.

A nearly five-decade-long dictatorship severely constrained the development of political science. While an open science of politics was virtually impossible, it became a consented domaine reservé for scholars tied to the regime. Those were, for instance, the cases of Marcello Caetano, at Lisbon's Faculty of Law, and Adriano Moreira, at ISCSPU,3 two distinguished university professors with

'During th[e] dictatorship, Portuguese political science research and publishing ... were: (i) irregular ... (ii) incipient ... and; (iii) parochial ...'

relevant ministerial careers and often regarded as the founders of post-war Portuquese political science.

Despite the efforts of regime insiders to bring the discipline (back) into Portuguese academia, when the transition to democracy took place in 1974-1976, political science was far from fully institutionalised.4 There was not really a community of specialised scholars devoted to the discipline, but rather a tiny set of self-trained practitioners. Apart from some pioneering 'institution-building' carried at ISCSPU,⁵ specialised political science university departments, graduate and undergraduate programmes, research units, scientific societies or academic journals had still not seen the light.

During this dictatorship, Portuguese political science research and publishing (if any could be properly labelled as such) were: (i) irregular - producers were few and most of them interrupted their academic careers to serve in government for several years; (ii) incipient - many subjects already established elsewhere were systematically ignored or understudied in Portugal, such as party systems and elections and; (iii) parochial - they barely risked to move from their nation-centred, descriptive and atheoretical safe haven, thus lagging behind the ever-demanding comparative and causal-theoretical standards of the discipline, as developed elsewhere.6

IN DEMOCRACY

In the beginning of the democratic period, but still under the heat of the revolution, Portuguese political science lost its most developed organisational platform: a considerable number of ISCSPU's scholars were fired because of their links to the dictatorship and colonial policy, and the school was eventually closed by government order in 1976/1977.

As soon as democracy entered the stage of consolidation in the 1980s, the void in the academic field of political science slowly started to be filled. Lawyers claimed their space again, but scholars coming from traditionally neighbour disciplines – sociology, history and philosophy, and to a lesser extent economics and social psychology – also followed suit.

Three stages may be identified in the institutionalisation of the discipline across this democratic period: (a) a stage of institutional genesis; (b) a stage of institutional expansion and; (c) a stage of institutional consolidation and internationalisation.

In the first stage, from the beginning of the 1980s to mid-1990s, the first undergraduate and graduate programmes in international relations (IR) were set up at the University of Minho and the ISCSP (the latter being the old ISCSPU reborn but devoid of its mission to train colonial officers). Some years later, these institutions were joined by a number of private universities.

Meanwhile, modern research on mainstream topics of political science (parties, elections, elites etc.) began to pop up at the Universities of Lisbon (ICS and Faculty of Letters), NOVA (Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities), Évora and ISCTE-IUL, brought into the field by scholars from neighbour disciplines, sociology being the most important (Stock, 1991).

Nevertheless, in the mid-1990s, political science was still incipiently developed and methodologically uncertain, just as Cruz and Lucena (1985) had characterised it a decade before. Besides, one could hardly find a clear and permanent

community of academic professionals: projects such as a Portuguese Association of International Relations or a Review of Political Science had not survived their infancy in the mid-1980s.

A short stage of institutional expansion, from the mid to the end of the 1990s, was crucial to build up a critical mass for the discipline. A new set of undergraduate and graduate programmes in political science and/or IR was created at Coimbra University (Faculty of Economics), NOVA (Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities), ISCSP and some non-state-run universities, among them the Catholic University of Portugal (Institute for Political Studies).

In the research domain, Portuguese political science gradually evolved into a more consistent, collective and empirical craft, pushed by a new framework of competitive public financing of R&D and the availability of European cohesion funds. As a community of political scientists progressively took shape, a national scientific organisation, the Portuguese Association of Political Science (APCP), was finally founded in 1998.7 By the end of the 1990s, then, the political and institutional obstacles that, according to Stock (1991), had prevented the full assertion of the discipline in Portugal, were finally being removed.

A closer look at the academic publishing landscape, however, reveals some hurdles. Domestically, the absence of a national flagship or specialised journals still forced political researchers to publish in generalist journals of social sciences - Análise Social (b. 1963, at GIS/ICS, U. of Lisbon), Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais (b. 1978 at CES, U. of Coimbra) and Estudos Políticos e Sociais (reborn in democracy at ISCSP in 1981) - or to borrow space from sociological reviews - Sociologia - Problemas e Práticas (b. 1986 at CIES, ISCTE-IUL) and Sociologia (b. 1991 at U. of Porto). At the international level, Portuguese political science was almost absent from

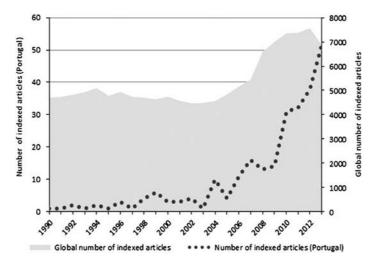


Figure 1 Annual volume of articles published (Articles by authors from Portuguese institutions and global number of articles).

Source: Social Science Index of Web of Knowledge by Thomson Reuters.

the top layers of the research arena (see Figure 1).

During the third stage, from the beginning of the 2000s onwards, the field continued to expand and consolidate internally, and an interesting process of internationalisation took place.8 Existing undergraduate degrees became well rooted in their hosting institutions, and new degrees were about to be created across the country, such as the ones at ISCTE-IUL, Porto, Évora and Beira Interior universities. The higher education reform drawn from the Bologna Process opened a window for universities to broaden the supply of Master's degrees and to set up a significant number of doctoral programmes. As of July 2013, 25 undergraduate, 37 Master's and 21 doctoral programmes in Politics were listed by APCP. Even if not all these programmes survive in the future, the discipline now seems to be solid enough not to vanish again from the national academic landscape.

In the research domain, an increasing number of scholars and doctoral students have taken advantage of systemic opportunities, such as the funding of scholarships and research projects by the national science foundation (FCT)⁹ and the European Union's Framework Programmes for Research and Technological Development. National funding was crucial to support the doctoral education of a new generation of specialised professionals, many of them trained abroad. Furthermore, national and European funding of research projects together provided the base for the integration of Portuguese political scientists in international research networks.

At this stage political research also became more autonomous in the constellation of academic publishing, as three specialised journals were created: Relações Internacionais (R:I) (b. 2004 at NOVA), Perspectivas - Portuguese Journal of Political Science and International Relations (b. 2005 at U. Minho) and Revista Portuguesa de Ciência Política (set up by an independent research centre, Observatório Político, in 2011). In addition, the appearance of the Portuguese Journal of Social Science was a key step towards broadening international access to national research outputs, as its articles must be submitted in English.

A relevant development of Portuguese political science is the increasing level of recognition from international peers, which is signalled by the number of articles appearing in indexed journals. A glance at data from the Social Science Index's Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters) reveals that between 1977 and 1990 only 14 articles were published in indexed journals within the categories of Political Science and International Relations. This indicator has experienced a remarkable increase from a residual level in the following decades, with a particularly steep rise from 2010 onwards, reaching a maximum of 52 articles published during 2013. Figure 1 depicts this evolution, displaying the global (worldwide) number of indexed articles in the background.

By the end of the 2000s, political scientists in Portugal could thus portray an optimistic scenario for the discipline. 10 In the latest years, though, while the financial and economic crisis has deepened and the bulk of resources for education and research narrowed, the overall picture of the 2000s has become less glistening.

SURVEY OF ARTICLES: METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Carrying an analysis of published articles is only one of several methods available to portray scientific disciplines and their changing configurations in space and time. In the case of the present research, this option seemed especially appropriate and potentially fruitful as the stock of empirical reviews of political science developments in various European countries has grown over the years (Boncourt, 2007; Norris, 1997; Pehl, 2012). While these articles derive from different questions, incorporate diverse methodological options and do not share a unified approach, they nonetheless provide the opportunity to embrace a comparative, if preliminary, outlook at how political science is practiced and published in Portugal.

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We examined the articles published in a set of nine journals. The background of social science publishing in Portugal has specificities that affected the research design and the selection of these publications. One of the most noteworthy features that distinguish the Portuguese case from its European counterparts is that the Portuguese Political Science Association does not own a flagship publication. What is more, this institutional absence is not compensated by the existence of long-standing (let alone highly ranked) journals specifically devoted to political science. Therefore, for the purpose of this research we created a pool containing three kinds of journals: (1) recently founded titles dedicated to the field of political science; (2) long-standing publications in the general domain of the social sciences, or from closely neighbouring disciplines that occasionally publish political science research; and (3) journals covering a particular sub-discipline of political science. In order to avoid selection bias as much as possible and to apprehend the multiple faces of developments in the discipline, our analysis encompassed publications associated with different institutions and, to a certain extent, with various epistemological and methodological perspectives of what political science should be about.

We examined every issue of the journals in our pool published between 2000 and 2012. Any temporal demarcation might be considered arbitrary, but these years - which roughly coincide with the stage of consolidation and internationalisation of Portuguese political science mentioned above - were chosen because our prior knowledge made it clear that this was a time of expansion in academic training (Ferreira-Pereira and Freire, 2009; Moreira, 2007) and in the practice of research.

As in previous studies (Boncourt, 2007; Pehl, 2012), only research articles were contemplated, while research notes and book reviews were not taken into account. Since most of the covered journals are not specifically devoted to political science, there was some degree of discretion regarding the selection of eligible articles. Rather than basing the inclusion on the affiliation of the author, a substantive criterion was used: articles covering, as its primary subject matter, one of the categories in the typology formulated by Norris (1997) were included. 11 This typology was convenient not only for selecting meaningful articles but also to probe for distinct approaches among different subdisciplines. Articles were coded along four main dimensions: (1) sub-disciplinary approach; (2) spatial and temporal scope; (3) methodological approaches and sources of data employed; and (4) profile of authorship (nationality and institutional affiliation) (Table 1).

SURVEY OF ARTICLES: FINDINGS

The first and most evident result was the remarkable growth of political science articles published in the selected journals between 2000 and 2012. Over this period the annual output more than doubled, from 45 articles up to 108. This finding should be interpreted with a certain degree of caution, as some of the publications were launched during the period under analysis - notably the one journal with most articles in the database, Relações

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Internacionais (R:I). However, if we consider only those journals that were continuously published over the entire period of 2000-2012, a growth, even if not equally steep, was also observable: between 2000 and 2002, an average of 29 articles were published annually, whereas from 2010 to 2012 this figure increased to 40. This implies that political science has not only developed its own channels of dissemination but that its space increased in 'generalist' social science journals as well (Figure 2).

The drivers behind this growth were IR, comparative politics and institutions, and to a lesser extent public policy (Figure 2). Political theory experienced a slight growth while the number of articles focusing on methodological themes was residual over the entire period.

The typology developed by Norris (1997) is particularly useful for disentangling the issues at stake in articles falling within the broad category of 'Comparative politics, political behaviour and institutions'. Within this domain (300 articles), the most common categories are 'democracy and development' (58), 'public opinion and attitudes' (54) and 'elections and voting behaviour' (41). There has been a lower volume of articles concerning political institutions such as 'party systems and organisations' (28), 'parliaments' or 'executives and bureaucracy' (17), 'courts, judiciary and constitutions' (13). Political science published in Portugal between 2000 and 2012 has therefore dealt more with the public and its political behaviour than with formal institutions. 12

Table 1: Journals reviewed

Journal name	Institution	Years active	Disciplinary focus	Number of articles
Análise Social	Instituto de Ciências Sociais, U. Lisboa	1963-present	Social sciences in general	193
Sociologia – Problemas e Práticas	Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, ISCTE-IUL	1986-present	Mainly sociology	84
Relações Internacionais (R:I)	Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais, NOVA University of Lisbon	2004-present	International relations	372
Portuguese Journal of Social Science	ISCTE-IUL	2002-2003; 2008-present	Social sciences in general	58
Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais	Centro de Estudos Sociais, U. Coimbra	1978-present	Social sciences in general	140
Sociologia	Faculdade de Letras, U. Porto	1991-present	Mainly sociology	45
Perspectivas – Portuguese Journal of Political Science and International Relations	Núcleo de Investigação em Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais, U. Minho	2005-present	Political science and international relations	49
Estudos Políticos e Sociais	Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, U. Lisboa (until recently, Technical University of Lisbon)	1963-1970; 1981-2001	Social sciences in general	14
Revista Portuguesa de Ciência Política	Observatório Político	2011-present	Political science	32
Total number of analysed articles				987

Taking into consideration the semiperipheral position of Portugal in the global and European context, it is also relevant to assess whether articles published in Portuguese journals are the product of research about the country itself. Within the research articles with a defined spatial scope, 13 slightly less of half of them (353) analysed the Portuguese case (or subnational units within it), whether in a comparative setting or not. If we take into consideration only articles within the domain of 'comparative politics, and political institutions', the proportion of articles dealing with the Portuguese case increases to 57 per cent. Interestingly, this share has decreased from 86 per cent in 2000 to 48 per cent in 2012, perhaps signalling an expansion of scope beyond the horizons of the country.

Methodological approaches and sources employed by the authors were also examined. Quantitative analysis, ranging from descriptive to more sophisticated techniques, was used in 26.5 per cent of articles. Interestingly, the results suggest the existence of different scientific profiles among the sub-disciplines. Approximately half

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(48.3 per cent) of articles on comparative politics make use of quantitative techniques, while only 8.9 per cent of IR articles employ them. Articles from each of these two main sub-disciplines can also be distinguished regarding the sources of data used. A considerable share of IR's articles tend to rely on the consultation of archives (50.9 per cent) and media reports (38.7 per cent). Articles on comparative politics also make use of these two kinds of sources (31 and 28 per cent, respectively), but tend to rely on a more heterogeneous array of information, such as interviews and focus groups (15.7 per cent), surveys (18.7 per cent) or legislation (19.3 per cent). Across all sub-disciplines, the use of ethnographic

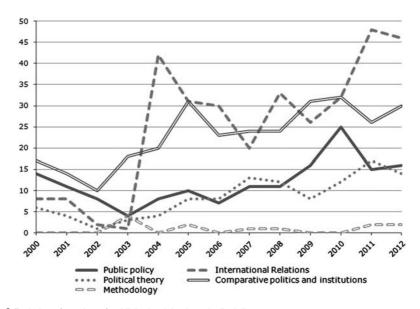


Figure 2 Evolution of number of published articles by sub-discipline.

fieldwork has been rare (only 3 per cent of articles use it).

Finally, the analysis of authorship reveals that in 78.5 per cent of the articles at least one of the authors comes from a Portuguese institution, while 36.5 per cent have one (co)author from a foreign institution - though the author can be Portuguese herself. Brazil (7.2 per cent), the United Kingdom (6.2 per cent) and the United States of America (3.5 per cent) are the most frequent origins of authors affiliated with a foreign institution. Given that each of the surveyed journals is linked with a particular institution, it is worth mentioning that slightly more than one quarter (26.3 per cent) of the articles were (co)authored by at least one researcher affiliated with the host institution of the journal.

CONCLUSION

Comparatively speaking, Portuguese political science has blossomed late, and only in recent years has the volume of publications increased significantly. The idiosyncrasies of this case should not, however, prevent us from taking a comparative outlook, albeit cautiously.

First, when compared with its mainstream counterparts, namely from the Anglo-Saxon countries, the picture we get from the journal articles analysed is as follows: political science published in Portugal is characterised by a limited use of advanced (namely quantitative) methods and techniques. However, according to previous accounts this picture does not seem to be an exclusive feature of the discipline as it is practised in Portugal: with its non-quantitative approaches and blurred boundaries between adjacent fields, such as political history or philosophy, it resembles that of Germany (Pehl, 2012), Italy (Capano and Verzichelli, 2010) or France (Boncourt, 2007). All in all, it must be stressed that Portuguese

political science does not offer a homogeneous picture, but instead a heterogeneous one. Furthermore, authors may choose to publish more cutting-edge research in journals from abroad, thus preventing it from being taken into consideration by analyses such as the one undertaken in this article.

It is interesting to note that, from a comparative point of view, this picture of Portuguese political science resonates with the experience of some non-European cases. For instance, some of the traits identified concerning Chilean political science also apply in the case of Portugal: a recent increase in the supply of training, the return of political scientists who graduated abroad and an increasing presence in the media (Fernández, 2005: 73). This signals the crucial importance of 'external forces' in the evolution of political science (Easton et al, 1995), and specifically the long-term legacies imposed by non-democratic regimes upon its development.14

Finally, it is also worth noting that there is a scarcity of articles on meta-theoretical debates addressing the foundations of the discipline and its epistemological paradigms, such as rational choice or the new institutionalism(s). This finding is reinforced bearing in mind previous accounts of the status of IR. In their recent assessment of IR as an autonomous social science in the country, Barrinha and Pedro stressed that 'the consolidation of the Portuguese position within the general IR discipline will inevitably have to be based upon theory' (Barrinha and Pedro, 2012: 9). These authors place Portuguese IR within a more extensive context encompassing other Southern Europe's counterparts: peripheral countries should not only adapt to the present framework of an evermore demanding global academic sphere, but also intervene and actively try to improve it (Barrinha and Pedro, 2012: 6).

Interestingly, the absence of empirical work on the foundations of political

science in Portugal had been compensated by long meta-theoretical debates, mainly featured by scholars of public law. But as the discipline became more and more institutionalised, an empirical drift took place, perhaps driven, at least in part, by the increasingly pragmatic goals behind the national and international funding of political research. With that in mind, it is likely that future research on the development of political science in Portugal will consider the impact of the budget cuts in recent years, both on the substantive concerns of the discipline and on its degrees of institutionalisation and internationalisation.

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Notes

- 1 This subsection owes much to Cruz and Lucena's (1985) contribution, which has been so far the most comprehensive, albeit outdated, historical outline of political science in Portugal.
- 2 The course of Political Science (and Constitutional Law) ceased to be lectured in 1911, as a result of the anti-positivist backlash within the Coimbra Faculty of Law.
- 3 ISCSPU was a higher education institution whose core mission was to train the top level of the colonial bureaucracy.
- 4 Here we broadly follow the concept of institutionalisation used by Cairns (1975) and Jerez-Mir (2010), inspired by Edward Shills, which include a set of structures and standards for knowledge transmission (university departments and positions, undergraduate and graduate degrees), knowledge creation (research institutes, scientific societies, research funding mechanisms) and knowledge dissemination (publishers, journals etc.).
- 5 From the 1950s onwards, ISCSPU hosted an undergraduate programme of Social Sciences and Overseas Policy, a research centre (the Board of Overseas Research - Centre for Political and Social Studies), and a journal (Studies in Political and Social Sciences).
- 6 This poor picture of political science is nonetheless brighter than Philippe Schmitter's: 'The nice thing about Portugal also was that it was an easy place to do research. There were very few Portuguese social scientists. I met them all, and I could have done it in an afternoon. In the early 1970s, Portugal was a country without sociology, let alone political science. I had talked to the few Portuguese living in exile, in Geneva or Paris, who had some knowledge, albeit not very direct, about the country. But, precisely because nobody was doing any social science research, I faced few obstacles gaining access to information' (in Munck and Snyder, 2007: 318).
- 7 The first governing bodies of the APCP still reflected the historical hegemony of law professors in Portuguese political science, as they occupied more than 50 per cent of the positions. Over the years, their importance started to decrease. As of today, the bodies of the APCP only have two law graduates (and none teaches at a law school).
- 8 Ferreira-Pereira and Freire (2009) have given a more extensive account of consolidation and internationalisation of IR in Portugal. Most of their paper may be used for understanding the development of political science, since the histories of both disciplines have tended to overlap in most institutional arenas (e.g., at the universities and in the Portuguese Political Science Association).
- 9 Although there are no accessible numbers concerning the number of doctoral and post-doctoral public scholarships granted in the last decade within the area of political science, the available statistical data provided by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) shows that in the period between 1994 and 2010, the number of research grant holders in the field of social sciences and humanities was multiplied by five, in the case of doctorates, and by 25, in the case of post-doctorates. However, following the budget cuts affecting public spending in Portugal in the aftermath of the global

financial crisis, there has been a steep decrease in the number of scholarships granted from 2010 to 2013. Source: http://www.fct.pt/estatisticas/bolsas/, accessed 19 April 2014.

10 See the article by Ferreira-Pereira and Freire published in 2009 on Portuguese international relations. 11 The typology includes the following categories: Courts, judiciary, constitution; Democracy/development; Elections and voting behaviour; Executives and bureaucracy; Federal/local government; Interest groups and social movements; International relations; Legislatures; Methodology; Normative theory; Party systems and organisations; Political economy; Political elites; Public opinion and attitudes; Public policy. Given the permeability of disciplines' boundaries, it would perhaps be more accurate to state that we have surveyed the universe of publications from 'political studies' rather than 'political science' stricto sensu. Indeed, given that most of the journals are not devoted exclusively to the field of political science, it can be argued that authors of a relevant share of the surveyed articles would not even identify themselves as political scientists.

- 12 The lower figures for institutional research as compared with the studies on public and political behaviour may be a further indicator that lawyers lost ground to sociologists in the shaping of Portuguese political science (at least in the social science journals under analysis).
- 13 Articles with a spatial scope are distinct from those with a strictly theoretical or methodological focus.
- 14 However, it should be stressed that different outcomes may result from authoritarian experiences as well (Easton et al, 1995).

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