CONTENTS

Center for Academic Writing

INTRODUCTION TO THE ACADEMIC WRITING SUPPORT PROGRAM FOR ONE AND TWO-YEAR MA STUDENTS OF NATIONALISM STUDIES

Fall 2020

The Center for Academic Writing provides an integrated three-part academic support program for CEU students. The aim of this program is to equip you with the writing and language skills you need to carry out your graduate level work at CEU, as well as in any professional or academic English-speaking environment. The program includes a taught course, individual writing consultations and a self-access component.

In-Class Component — Critical Reading and Writing for Graduate Students

For your program, this course will be held in the fall. The aim of this part of the course is to introduce you to the kind of challenges and difficulties connected to English academic writing that you will meet in your study here and give you the chance to reflect upon and prepare for these challenges. The specific content of the course sessions is outlined on page 3.

Our approach to teaching may be different from what you have been used to. We will be asking you to take an active role in the classroom by learning through discussing issues with other students in pairs or groups, reporting the results of these discussions to the class, solving problems, and generally sharing responsibility for what happens during the lesson. As part of the course, we will take you through issues involved in different types of writing, ask you to look at examples of these types, and discuss their strengths and weaknesses before asking you to go through the process of writing your own papers, giving you the chance to express your own ideas within the conventions of acceptable English academic writing.

INDIVIDUAL WRITING CONSULTATIONS

The second element of the Writing Center program is one-to-one writing consultations One-to-one writing consultations are available to all CEU students throughout the academic year. During a consultation you will work individually with an instructor on a piece of writing for your department to identify and improve relevant aspects of your writing. Many students find consultations to be the most valuable part of writing support, and those who come regularly can significantly improve their writing skills. Writing Center instructors are guides and impartial consultants who can offer advice about organizational, argumentative and stylistic issues, as well as language concerns. As a part of the course, you will have introductory consultations on a written assignment we have given you. After that, consultations are available to all students on an open sign-up basis. You are entitled to two sessions a week. If in a particular week you need to consult more than twice, please discuss this with your instructor. You are welcome to come to consultations throughout the year.

You can schedule appointments using our online system, available at *https://ceu.mywconline.com/*. On your first visit you need to register and enter your basic details (see below left). When you arrange an appointment, please also select the type of paper you want to discuss (instructor name not needed) (see below right). *Please e-mail your draft to your writing instructor 24 hours in advance* (unless you have agreed otherwise), saying what issues you would like to address.

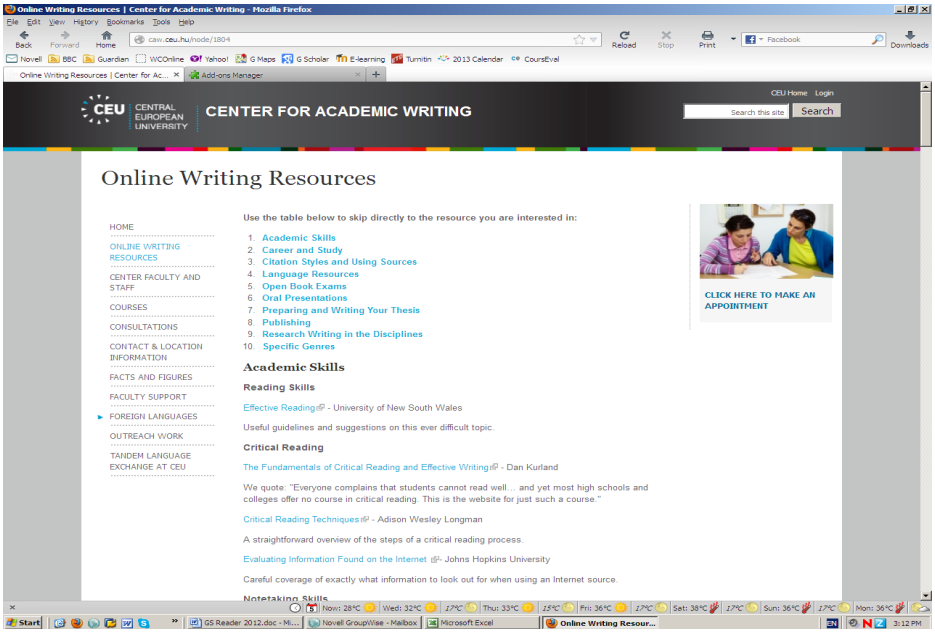
MANDATORY CONSULTATIONS

I will ask you to come for two mandatory consultations. In this semester, you will have an introductory consultation on an assignment set by me and you will have to come for one mandatory consultation on any of your assignment for one of your courses (e.g. Book Review, Film Review). I may recommend further consultations to help you to revise and improve your text.

You can schedule appointments using our online system, available at *https://ceu.mywconline.com/*. On your first visit you need to register and enter your basic details (see below left). When you arrange an appointment, please also select the type of paper you want to discuss (instructor name not needed) (see below right). *Please e-mail your draft to your writing instructor 24 hours in advance* (unless you have agreed otherwise), saying what issues you would like to address.

THE CENTER FOR ACADEMIC WRITING ON THE NET

The Center for Academic Writing has a resource webpage at *http://caw.ceu.hu/online-writing-resources* which contains a wide range of links to interactive language resources, including advice pages and on-line writing laboratories from universities all over the world, as well as extensive grammar resources. These can provide you with much more detailed information about academic writing than is possible in this reader.



WRITING CENTER STAFF All writing instructors are qualified teachers who have extensive experience in teaching academic writing. Most of us also have personal experience of writing research papers, articles for publication, and our own MA and PhD dissertations. Please don't hesitate to contact us personally or by email if you have a problem to discuss or need help with your writing.

You can find us in the Writing Center offices on the **second floor of the Nádor 15 building**, though some instructors work part-time and are not available every day.

Your instructor: **Sanjay Kumar (On Campus)** kumars@ceu.edu

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If you have questions about administrative matters such as foreign language classes or time-tabling, contact our co-ordinator:

Ágnes Makáry Room 216 makaryag@ceu.hu

ACADEMIC WRITING FOR NATIONALISM STUDIES

Sanjay Kumar, Borbala Farago

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The aim of this course is to help you develop as a writer within the English speaking academic community by raising awareness of, practising, and reflecting upon the conventions of written texts. The course will also address other skills needed for graduate level work in English.

Aims

During the course, you will:

- Become more familiar with features of various academic texts
- Learn to use the discourse patterns and conventions of academic English effectively, taking into consideration the expectations of your readership
- Improve your critical reading skills, so you can think and write more clearly and incisively
- Develop your writing process through generating ideas, drafting, peer evaluation and individual writing consultations
- Learn to incorporate the work of other authors into your own writing within the requirements of English academic practice

Outcomes

By the end of this course, you should be able to:

- Identify the purposes, typical components and features of various academic genres
- Structure an academic paper at the macro and micro level
- Think and write more clearly and incisively
- Employ effective skills and approaches when writing papers
- Properly incorporate the work of other authors into your own writing, and understand the CEU policy on plagiarism
- Edit and refine your own written work

Pre-Reading Assignments

Most of the reading and in-class materials you need for this course are included in the first section of this Study Pack. These include a number of reading assignments in preparation for the classes. It is important that you complete the assigned reading before each class because it contains essential information that will be needed in that lesson, and if some students do not have this information, a great deal of everyone's time will be wasted. Other materials needed for the course will be handed out in class. This material will mostly be discipline-specific texts, which you will analyze to get further insight into the specific aspect being addressed in that class. The second part of the pack contains general reference information that you will need to refer to during and after the course. The final section contains appendices.

Evaluation

During the course, you will have to complete a writing assignment for the Writing Center as well as working with us on one or more papers for your department. For each piece, you will have ample opportunity to redraft, revise and improve your work, both in co-operation with peers and in consultation with a writing instructor. We provide extensive qualitative comments during consultation and marking, which are intended to help you in improving your writing. The academic writing course is a required course, which you need to pass in order to complete your degree, but as it is a support course (to help you with other courses) it will not affect your GPA.

Timetable & Registration

Please see your pre-session schedule for days and times of class or ask your instructor when classes are held. The Fall Semester schedule for academic writing classes will be included in your departmental schedule. When you register for this course, please be sure to sign up for the group you are now in (the instructor's name will be listed in INFOSYS).

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Critical Reading and Writing

Aims

This course will introduce you to critical reading as a process of evaluating the context and purpose of written texts, and enable you to apply the insights gained from this process to the production of a paper to be written for your department.

Writing Task: Critical Essay

1. Critical Reading I – Identifying main and supporting arguments
2. Critical Reading II – Evaluating claims and comparing ideas
3. Evaluative Writing – Genre analysis
4. Developing Argument in Papers – Macro and Micro-Structuring
5. Improving your Text – Peer Evaluation Strategies
6. Presentation skills

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, you should be able to:

- identify and evaluate the key ideas of a text;
- recognize and appreciate the differences in genres of critical writing;
- draft, edit and refine your own critical writing including context, summary and evaluation;
- utilize peer evaluation strategies;
- develop your argument both at the macro and micro-level;
- be more aware of issues relating to effective presentations.

Evaluation is based on:

- attendance, which is mandatory;
- participation in the discussions;
- fulfillment of critique related written tasks;
- attendance of consultations with your writing instructor.

INTRODUCTION TO ACADEMIC WRITING

Cross-cultural Differences in Research Languages[1]

Recent research has found that certain aspects of academic writing in English may be different from some other languages. Consider the recommendations below and decide whether they are supported or contradicted by research. Then consider whether the answer is the same or different for your language:

You should . . .	**Have you been advised to do this when writing in English?** **Yes/No**	**Is this also the case in academic writing in your language?** **Yes/No**
1. be very explicit about the organization of your paper, saying what you will do in each part.	_____	_____
2. stick to the main subject of your paper and avoid all digressions.	_____	_____
3. write short sentences.	_____	_____
4. write short paragraphs.	_____	_____
5. avoid using "I" (the first person singular).	_____	_____
6. explicitly mention the weaknesses of, or gaps left by previous articles, in order to justify your work.	_____	_____
7. not mention your results in the introduction as this will take away the reader's motivation.	_____	_____
8. not use many references to the work of others as this obscures your own contribution.	_____	_____
9. emphasize recent publications when you do cite the work of others.	_____	_____

Bonus question

Is it the responsibility of an academic writer to make a text clear for the reader, or is the reader responsible for understanding the text of an academic writer?

_____ the writer is responsible _____ the reader is responsible.

[1] Based on an activity in John Swales and Christine Feak, *English in Today's Research World.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p.16.

CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT WRITING

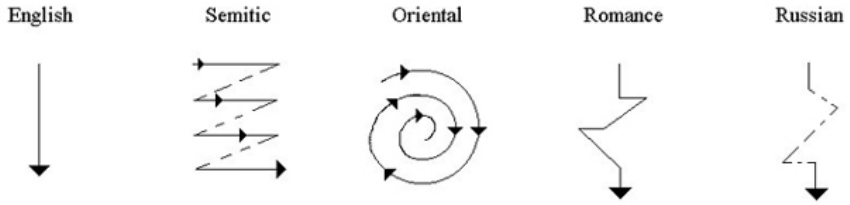
The world is made up of communities. Each community consists of members who share similar experiences, beliefs, values and ways of working. Consider, for a moment, some of the communities to which you belong and what is important to the people in them. Honesty, loyalty, or reliability are maybe some. The members of communities have also developed ways of speaking and communicating with each other, reflecting their beliefs and what they see as valuable.

The same community system works in academia too. In different countries and cultures, the way academics communicate with others in their community represents their shared assumptions and values. Of course, it is not possible to put all of this down to culture, as different genres (types of writing) and disciplines (sciences, humanities, etc) have their own specific features. Indeed increasingly it could be said that as technology makes cross-border communication easier, the similarities between two academics from different cultures writing in the same discipline are closer than two academics from the same culture writing in different disciplines. But culture does play a large role, too.

At CEU you will be writing in English, and with the written work you produce, you will probably want to approximate to the norms of the Anglo-American academic community in your discipline. This means following the conventions and styles that this community has developed over many years, and which it sees as reflecting its values. During this year, you will be learning about some of these conventions. Both the Writing center and members of your department will offer you advice on how to structure your work and how to use other authors' work in your writing so as to meet the expectations of this community. Following this advice may not only increase your chances of successfully completing your coursework, but also of getting published in the wider English language academic community.

However, the Anglo-American tradition is just one tradition in the world. In your home institutions, when writing in your mother tongue, you were writing to satisfy the requirements of that community. These traditions are in some cases very different from what you will encounter in the Anglo-American tradition. As early as 1966, from examining texts written by authors of different nationalities, Robert Kaplan identified thought patterns and structure culturally specific to those languages. These are represented visually here.[2]

Fig 1. Kaplan's models of contrastive rhetoric



Do you recognise these patterns from texts written in your own language? Russian writing, Kaplan suggested, contains digressions from the main theme of the text to give extra information that may be relevant, but equally is not central to the central thesis of the text. Semitic languages on the other hand are said to include repetition and backtracking, involving colourful and flowery language to engage the reader. In comparison, Kaplan saw English as linear, in that it identifies its main theme and follows it through without deviating to the end. Kaplan himself has since admitted that his depiction of English as straightforward and other languages as meandering is not a little ethnocentric, but it is generally accepted today that there are important differences in the way different cultures build texts and arguments, and this topic now forms a subfield of its own within the field of linguistics known as contrastive rhetoric.

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[2] Robert Kaplan, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-Cultural Education." *Language Learning* 17 (1966) 1-20.

In research comparing Anglo-American writing with what they call the 'continental' tradition of Romance and Germanic languages, Rienecker and Stray Jorgensen identify some key differences in approach to texts that are outlined below.[3] There is some evidence to suggest that Slavonic languages and Hungarian have also been influenced by the continental tradition, particularly through German.

Continental and Anglo-American Scientific Writing (A Continuum)

Continental (German-Romantic) tradition		Anglo-American tradition
Think-texts	⇔	Problem solving texts
Sources in the foreground	⇔	Problems in the foreground
Philosophy, the history of ideas, culture, spirit and mind, arts and aesthetics	⇔	Facts, realities, observable matters, empiricism
Emphasis on concepts and theories (methods)	⇔	Emphasis on methods (concepts and theories)
Interpretation (preservation) of traditional culture	⇔	New understandings, evaluations and actions
Numerous points, claims, conclusions, around the subject	⇔	One point, one claim, one conclusion
Often a non-linear, discursive structure, digressions allowed	⇔	Linear structure, digressions discouraged
Academic writing as art and inborn abilities	⇔	Academic writing as learned craftsmanship

For native speakers of English who come from countries where a literary tradition existed long before English became an official language there, the situation is more complex. In many African or Asian countries the academic communities produce writings which in many ways combine the English and other traditions. If you come from one of these countries, you may notice that the Anglo-American writing culture at CEU is somewhat different from English academic writing in your home country.

Maybe it seems obvious that there are differences between the writing traditions around the world. After all, spoken language also contains many differences that reflect the culture of the speaker. One practical use of being aware of these differences, is that it can help avoid misunderstandings and reduce frustration. If you feel that you are writing in English, with few grammatical mistakes and using the jargon of your discipline, but still your work does not seem "English", then it may be because you are using a structure or thought pattern from a different culture. This is not necessarily wrong, and may at times add colour to a dry text, but remember that the writing community into which you aspire to join has its ways of doing things and if you want to be a member of that community you need to respect them!

By reading articles by established academics in journals you can see how they structure their writing. Also, during consultations with tutors from the Centre for Academic Writing you can talk about the processes you go through in drafting your work, to make them accepted by the community you are now joining.

[3] Lotte Rienecker and Peter Stray Jorgensen. "The (Im)possibilities in Teaching University Writing in the Anglo-American Tradition when Dealing with Continental Student Writers" in L. Bjork, G. Brauer, L. Rienecker and P. Stray Jorgensen (Eds) *Teaching Academic Writing in European Higher Education.* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers) 2003.

TEXT FOR CRITICAL READING:

The Democratic Rollback - The Resurgence of the Predatory State

By Larry Diamond

From *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008

Since 1974, more than 90 countries have made transitions to democracy, and by the turn of the century approximately 60 percent of the world's independent states were democratic. The democratization of Mexico and Indonesia in the late 1990s and the more recent "color revolutions" in Georgia and Ukraine formed the crest of a tidal wave of democratic transitions. Even in the Arab world, the trend is visible: in 2005, democratic forces in Lebanon rose up to peacefully drive out Syrian troops and Iraqis voted in multiparty parliamentary elections for the first time in nearly half a century.

But celebrations of democracy's triumph are premature. In a few short years, the democratic wave has been slowed by a powerful authoritarian undertow, and the world has slipped into a democratic recession. Democracy has recently been overthrown or gradually stifled in a number of key states, including Nigeria, Russia, Thailand, Venezuela, and, most recently, Bangladesh and the Philippines. In December 2007, electoral fraud in Kenya delivered another abrupt and violent setback. At the same time, most newcomers to the democratic club (and some long-standing members) have performed poorly. Even in many of the countries seen as success stories, such as Chile, Ghana, Poland, and South Africa, there are serious problems of governance and deep pockets of disaffection. In South Asia, where democracy once predominated, India is now surrounded by politically unstable, undemocratic states. And aspirations for democratic progress have been thwarted everywhere in the Arab world (except Morocco), whether by terrorism and political and religious violence (as in Iraq), externally manipulated societal divisions (as in Lebanon), or authoritarian regimes themselves (as in Egypt, Jordan, and some of the Persian Gulf monarchies, such as Bahrain).

Before democracy can spread further, it must take deeper root where it has already sprouted. It is a basic principle of any military or geopolitical campaign that at some point an advancing force must consolidate its gains before it conquers more territory. Emerging democracies must demonstrate that they can solve their governance problems and meet their citizens' expectations for freedom, justice, a better life, and a fairer society. If democracies do not more effectively contain crime and corruption, generate economic growth, relieve economic inequality, and secure freedom and the rule of law, people will eventually lose faith and turn to authoritarian alternatives. Struggling democracies must be consolidated so that all levels of society become enduringly committed to democracy as the best form of government and to their country's constitutional norms and constraints. Western policymakers can assist in this process by demanding more than superficial electoral democracy. By holding governments accountable and making foreign aid contingent on good governance, donors can help reverse the democratic recession.

BEYOND THE FAÇADE

Western policymakers and analysts have failed to acknowledge the scope of the democratic recession for several reasons. First, global assessments by the Bush administration and by respected independent organizations such as Freedom House tend to cite the overall number of democracies and aggregate trends while neglecting the size and strategic importance of the countries involved. With some prominent exceptions (such as Indonesia, Mexico, and Ukraine), the democratic gains of the past decade have come primarily in smaller and weaker states. In large, strategically important countries, such as Nigeria and Russia, the expansion of executive power, the intimidation of the opposition, and the rigging of the electoral process have extinguished even the most basic form of electoral democracy. In Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez narrowly lost a December 2 referendum that would have given him virtually unlimited power, but he still does not allow the sort of free and fair political process that could turn him out of office.

Despite two decades of political scientists warning of "the fallacy of electoralism," the United States and many of its democratic allies have remained far too comfortable with this superficial form of democracy. Assessments often fail to apply exacting standards when it comes to defining what constitutes a democracy and what is necessary to sustain it. Western leaders (particularly European ones) have too frequently blessed

fraudulent or unfair elections and have been too reluctant to criticize more subtle degradations of democracy. They tend to speak out only when democratic norms are violated by unfriendly governments (as in Russia and Venezuela or in Bolivia) and soft-pedal abuses when allies (such as Ethiopia, Iraq, or Pakistan) are involved.

Elsewhere in the developing and postcommunist worlds, democracy has been a superficial phenomenon, blighted by multiple forms of bad governance: abusive police and security forces, domineering local oligarchies, incompetent and indifferent state bureaucracies, corrupt and inaccessible judiciaries, and venal ruling elites who are contemptuous of the rule of law and accountable to no one but themselves. Many people in these countries -- especially the poor -- are thus citizens only in name and have few meaningful channels of political participation. There are elections, but they are contests between corrupt, clientelistic parties. There are parliaments and local governments, but they do not represent broad constituencies. There are constitutions, but not constitutionalism.

As a result, disillusioned and disenfranchised voters have embraced authoritarian strongmen (such as Vladimir Putin in Russia) or demagogic populists (such as Chávez in Venezuela). Many observers fear that Evo Morales in Bolivia and Rafael Correa in Ecuador may be headed down the same road as Chávez. In Thailand, voters (especially in the countryside) have turned repeatedly to a softer autocrat by electing Thaksin Shinawatra, whom the military overthrew in September 2006 only to see his party reemerge triumphant in the December 2007 elections. All of these cases of democratic distress reflect a common challenge: for democratic structures to endure -- and to be worthy of endurance -- they must listen to their citizens' voices, engage their participation, tolerate their protests, protect their freedoms, and respond to their needs.

For a country to be a democracy, it must have more than regular, multiparty elections under a civilian constitutional order. Even significant opposition in presidential elections and opposition party members in the legislature are not enough to move beyond electoral authoritarianism. Elections are only democratic if they are truly free and fair. This requires the freedom to advocate, associate, contest, and campaign. It also requires a fair and neutral electoral administration, a widely credible system of dispute resolution, balanced access to mass media, and independent vote monitoring. By a strict application of these standards, a number of countries typically counted as democracies today -- including Georgia, Mozambique, the Philippines, and Senegal -- may have slipped below the threshold. Alarmingly, a January 2008 Freedom House survey found that for the first time since 1994, freedom around the world had suffered a net decline in two successive years. The ratio of the number of countries whose scores had improved to the number whose scores had declined -- a key indicator -- was the worst since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Where democracy survives, it often labors under serious difficulties. In most regions, majorities support democracy as the best form of government in principle, but substantial minorities are willing to entertain an authoritarian option. Furthermore, in much of the democratic world, citizens lack any confidence that politicians, political parties, or government officials are serving anyone other than themselves. According to surveys by Latinobarómetro (a Santiago-based corporation conducting public opinion surveys throughout Latin America), only one-fifth of the Latin American population trusts political parties, one-quarter trusts legislatures, and merely one-third has faith in the judiciary. According to similar surveys conducted by the Scotland-based New Democracies Barometer, the figures are even worse in the new democracies of eastern Europe.

Public confidence in many civilian constitutional regimes has been declining. The Asian Barometer (which conducts public opinion surveys throughout Asia) found that the percentage of Filipinos who believe democracy is always the best form of government dropped from 64 percent to 51 percent between 2001 and 2005. At the same time, satisfaction with democracy fell from 54 percent to 39 percent, and the share of the Filipino population willing to reject the option of an authoritarian "strong leader" declined from 70 percent to 59 percent. The Afrobarometer (which conducts similar surveys in African countries) uncovered even sharper decreases in Nigerians' public confidence in democracy between 2000 and 2005 and also found that the proportion of the Nigerian public that felt the government was working to control corruption dropped from 64 percent to 36 percent. This is no surprise: during this period, President Olusegun Obasanjo saw many of his laudable economic reforms overshadowed or undone by continuing massive corruption, by his obsessive bid to remove a constitutional term limit on his presidency, and by the gross rigging of the 2007 elections on behalf of his ruling party.

Electoral fraud and endemic corruption have once again ravaged a promising democratic experiment. If Nigeria reverts to military rule, descends into political chaos, or collapses, it will deal a harsh blow to

democratic hopes across Africa. Indeed, the many African countries that remain blatantly authoritarian will never liberalize if the continent's new and partial democracies cannot make democracy work.

IT'S THE GOVERNMENT, STUPID

It is often assumed that economic growth -- or the free-market economy, as Michael Mandelbaum recently argued in these pages -- is the key to creating and consolidating democracy. Certainly, the viability of democracy does hinge to some significant degree on economic development and open markets. But in most of the world's poor countries, the "economy first" advocates have the causal chain backward. Without significant improvements in governance, economic growth will not take off or be sustainable. Without legal and political institutions to control corruption, punish cheating, and ensure a level economic and political playing field, pro-growth policies will be ineffective and their economic benefits will be overshadowed or erased.

Kenya is a tragic case in point. In the last five years, under President Mwai Kibaki's leadership, it has made significant economic progress for the first time in many years, achieving a record five percent annual growth rate and establishing free universal primary education. But much of this progress has since unraveled amid the paroxysms of ethnic violence that greeted allegations of fraud following the December 27, 2007, presidential election. President Kibaki did not fail on the economic policy front, nor did his country lack international tourism and development aid (apart from a brief suspension of World Bank assistance in 2006 due to reports of egregious graft). Rather, he failed politically by condoning massive corruption, ethnic favoritism, and electoral malpractice -- a poisonous mix that has brought a promising new democracy to the brink of chaos.

In the coming decade, the fate of democracy will be determined not by the scope of its expansion to the remaining dictatorships of the world but rather by the performance of at-risk democracies such as Kenya. A list of such democracies would encompass more than 50 states, including most countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, four of the eight democracies in Asia, all of the post-Soviet democracies that do not belong to the European Union, and virtually all of the democracies in Africa. The most urgent task of the next decade is to shore up democracy in these countries.

At-risk democracies are almost universally plagued by poor governance. Some appear so trapped in patterns of corrupt and abusive rule that it is hard to see how they can survive as democracies without significant reform. The problem in these states is that bad governance is not an aberration or an illness to be cured. It is, as the economists Douglass North, John Wallis, and Barry Weingast have argued, a natural condition. For thousands of years, the natural tendency of elites everywhere has been to monopolize power rather than to restrain it -- through the development of transparent laws, strong institutions, and market competition. And once they have succeeded in restricting political access, these elites use their consolidated power to limit economic competition so as to generate profits that benefit them rather than society at large. The result is a predatory state.

In such states, the behavior of elites is cynical and opportunistic. If there are competitive elections, they become a bloody zero-sum struggle in which everything is at stake and no one can afford to lose. Ordinary people are not truly citizens but clients of powerful local bosses, who are themselves the clients of still more powerful patrons. Stark inequalities in power and status create vertical chains of dependency, secured by patronage, coercion, and demagogic electoral appeals to ethnic pride and prejudice. Public policies and programs do not really matter, since rulers have few intentions of delivering on them anyway. Officials feed on the state, and the powerful prey on the weak. The purpose of government is not to generate public goods, such as roads, schools, clinics, and sewer systems. Instead, it is to produce private goods for officials, their families, and their cronies. In such a system, as Robert Putnam wrote in his classic Making Democracy Work, "corruption is widely regarded as the norm," political participation is mobilized from above, civic engagement is meager, compromise is scarce, and "nearly everyone feels powerless, exploited, and unhappy." Predatory states cannot sustain democracy, for sustainable democracy requires constitutionalism, compromise, and a respect for law. Nor can they generate sustainable economic growth, for that requires actors with financial capital to invest in productive activity.

The most egregious predatory states produce predatory societies. People do not get rich through productive activity and honest risk taking; they get rich by manipulating power and privilege, by stealing from the state, extracting from the weak, and shirking the law. Political actors in predatory societies use any means necessary and break any rules possible in their quest for power and wealth. Politicians bribe election officials, attack opposition campaigners, and assassinate rival candidates. Presidents silence dissent with threats, detentions,

show trials, and murder. Government ministers worry first about the money they can collect and only second about whether government contracts serve the public good. Military officers buy weapons on the basis of how large a kickback they can pocket. In such societies, the line between the police and the criminals is thin. The police do not enforce the law, judges do not decide the law, customs officials do not inspect goods, manufacturers do not produce, bankers do not invest, and borrowers do not repay. Every transaction is manipulated to someone's immediate advantage.

By contrast, sustainable democracy and development require active "civic communities," in which citizens trust one another and interact as political equals. In sustainable democracies, institutions of good governance -- such as impartial judicial systems and vigorous audit agencies -- induce, enforce, and reward civic behavior. The tendency toward corrupt governance and the monopoly of power is checked by the rule of law (both culturally and institutionally) and a resourceful civil society. As Putnam argues, people in such societies by and large obey the law, pay their taxes, behave ethically, and serve the public good not simply because they are public-spirited but because they believe others will, too -- and because they know that there are penalties for failing to do so.

ESCAPING THE PREDATORS

For democracy to triumph, the natural predatory tendencies of rulers must be restrained by rigorous rules and impartial institutions. Some fundamental innovations are necessary to transform closed, predatory societies into open, democratic ones. Proponents of democracy both within troubled countries and in the international community must understand the problem and pursue the necessary reforms if they hope to restore the forward momentum of democracy in the world. Citizens must build links across ethnic and regional divides to challenge elitist hierarchies and rule by strongmen. This requires dense, vigorous civil societies, with independent organizations, mass media, and think tanks, as well as other networks that can foster civic norms, pursue the public interest, raise citizen consciousness, break the bonds of clientelism, scrutinize government conduct, and lobby for good-governance reforms.

States must also build effective institutions in order to constrain the nearly unlimited discretion that predatory rulers enjoy, subject those rulers' decisions and transactions to public scrutiny, and hold them accountable before the law. This requires both vertical and horizontal accountability. The premier example of vertical accountability is a genuinely democratic election. But ensuring democratic elections requires a truly independent electoral administration capable of conducting all the necessary tasks -- from registering voters to counting votes -- with strict integrity and neutrality. Other effective forms of vertical accountability include public hearings, citizen audits, the regulation of campaign finance, and a freedom-of-information act.

Horizontal accountability invests some agencies of the state with the power and responsibility to monitor the conduct of their counterparts. No institution is more important than a countercorruption commission, which should collect regular declarations of assets from all significant elected and appointed officials. To be effective, such commissions need legal authority, professional staffs, vigorous leadership, and the resources to check the veracity of financial declarations, probe allegations of wrongdoing, impose civil penalties, and bring criminal charges against violators. Their work must be reinforced by ombudsmen; public audits of all major government agencies and ministries; parliamentary oversight committees to investigate evidence of waste, fraud, and abuse by executive agencies; and competent independent judiciaries capable of penalizing bribery and embezzlement. In at-risk democracies, these institutions often exist but do not function well (or at all) -- largely because they are not meant to. Typically, they either limp along, starved of resources and bereft of morale and serious leadership, or become instruments of the ruling party and investigate only its political opponents. Countercorruption agencies cannot make a difference unless they are independent of the government actors they are supposed to monitor, restrain, and punish.

Poorly performing democracies need better, stronger, and more democratic institutions -- political parties, parliaments, and local governments -- linking citizens to one another and to the political process. In shallow democracies, these institutions do not generate much citizen participation (beyond occasional voting) because the political systems are so elite-dominated, corrupt, and unresponsive. Reform requires the internal democratization of political parties through the improvement of their transparency and accessibility and the strengthening of other representative bodies.

It is not only the regulatory and participatory institutions of government that need strengthening. Effective democracy also requires improving the technical skills, resources, professional standards, and organizational efficiency of the state. Such improvements allow the government to maintain security, manage the economy,

develop infrastructure, settle disputes, and deliver services such as health care, education, and clean water. Just as corruption erodes the basic functions of government, a feeble state drives people toward informal and corrupt networks to get things done.

Finally, reforms must generate a more open market economy in which it is possible to accumulate wealth through honest effort and initiative in the private sector -- with the state playing a limited role. The wider the scope of state control over economic life, the greater the possibility of graft by abusive and predatory elites. Reducing administrative barriers to doing business and implementing corporate-responsibility initiatives can address the supply side of the corruption problem. Strong guarantees of property rights, including the ability of owners of small farms and informal-sector workers to obtain titles to their land and business property, can provide the foundation for a broader institutional landscape that limits government corruption.

The most urgent imperative is to restructure and empower the institutions of accountability and bolster the rule of law. Changing the way government works means changing the way politics and society work, and that, in turn, requires sustained attention to how public officials utilize their offices. This is the fundamental challenge that all at-risk democracies face.

AIDING THE DEMOCRATIC REVIVAL

The current situation may seem discouraging, but there is hope. Even in very poor nations drowning in corruption and clientelism, citizens have repeatedly used the democratic process to try to replace predatory governments. Connected by grass-roots movements, community radio stations, cell phones, civic organizations, and the Internet, citizens are rising up as never before to challenge corruption, defend the electoral process, and demand better governance. The most important challenge now for the United States and other international actors is to stand with them.

The leverage needed to bring about radical change will never exist unless the politicians and officials who sit atop the structures of predation come to realize that they have no choice but to reform. In the early 1990s, many African regimes moved toward free elections when a combination of internal and external pressure left them no choice: they were running out of money and could not pay their soldiers and civil servants. Now, with the momentum going against democracy, a resurgent and oil-rich Russia flexing its muscles, and China emerging as a major aid donor in the rest of Asia and Africa, it will be more difficult to encourage reforms. Forcing change that leads to better governance will require serious resolve and close coordination among the established bilateral and multilateral donors.

The key is the principle of conditionality (or selectivity), which lies at the core of the Millennium Challenge Account -- one of the Bush administration's least heralded but most important foreign policy innovations. Under the program, states qualify for generous new aid payments by competing on the basis of three broad criteria: whether they rule justly, whether they invest in basic health care and education, and whether they promote economic freedom. The instrument of aid selectivity is showing promise as a tool that civil-society actors in predatory states can use to campaign for governance reforms and as an incentive for corrupt governments in need of more aid to reform their ways.

The international donor community's habit of keeping afloat predatory and other troubled states (in some cases covering up to half of their recurrent government expenditures) must end. The overriding purpose of foreign assistance must be genuine development, not the assuaging of Western guilt or the care and feeding of the massive network of career professionals, nonprofit organizations, and private-sector companies that constitute the global aid industry. It is time to start listening to the growing chorus of activists and organizations in developing countries that are imploring the West to please stop "helping" them with indiscriminate aid that only serves to entrench corrupt elites and practices. To be sure, it will be an uphill struggle to get international donors, and especially institutions such as the World Bank, to refocus their aid strategies on good-governance goals. Still, the reality of the link between development and decent governance -- in particular the control of corruption -- is gradually taking hold in foreign-aid circles, and the civil societies of developing countries are emerging as some of the most compelling and legitimate advocates of this concept.

Now, as democratic setbacks multiply, is the moment for a new strategy. Without a clear understanding of the fundamental problem -- bad governance -- and the necessary institutional responses, more democratic breakdowns are likely. Without a resolute and relentless international campaign to rein in corruption and improve the quality of governance in at-risk democracies, the current democratic recession could lead to a global democratic depression. Such a development would be enormously costly to human freedom and

dangerous for U.S. national security. Public opinion surveys continue to show that majorities in every region of the world believe democracy is the best form of government. The urgent imperative is to demonstrate, through the effective functioning of democracies worldwide, that it really is.

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Democracy Without America

By Michael Mandelbaum

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The administration of George W. Bush has made democracy promotion a central aim of U.S. foreign policy. The president devoted his second inaugural address to the subject, the 2006 National Security Strategy focused on spreading democracy abroad, and the White House has launched a series of initiatives designed to foster democracy across the globe, not least the military engagements in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other parts of the Arab world where the prospects for democracy once seemed promising -- Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, and Egypt -- U.S. efforts have not succeeded. In none of these places, as the Bush administration enters its final 18 months in office, is democracy even close to being securely established. This is a familiar pattern. Virtually every president since the founding of the republic has embraced the idea of spreading the American form of government beyond the borders of the United States. The Clinton administration conducted several military interventions with the stated aim of establishing democracy. Where it did so -- in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo -- democracy also failed to take root.

Yet the failure of Washington's democracy promotion has not meant the failure of democracy itself. To the contrary, in the last quarter of the twentieth century this form of government enjoyed a remarkable rise. Once confined to a handful of wealthy countries, it became, in a short period of time, the most popular political system in the world. In 1900, only ten countries were democracies; by midcentury, the number had increased to 30, and 25 years later the count remained the same. By 2005, fully 119 of the world's 190 countries had become democracies.

The seemingly paradoxical combination of the failure of U.S. democracy promotion and the successful expansion of democracy raises several questions: Why have the deliberate efforts of the world's most powerful country to export its form of government proved ineffective? Why and how has democracy enjoyed such extraordinary worldwide success despite the failure of these efforts? And what are the prospects for democracy in other key areas -- the Arab countries, Russia, and China -- where it is still not present? Answering these questions requires a proper understanding of the concept of democracy itself.

DEMOCRATIC GENEALOGY

What the world of the twenty-first century calls democracy is in fact the fusion of two distinct political traditions. One is liberty -- that is, individual freedom. The other is popular sovereignty: rule by the people. Popular sovereignty made its debut on the world stage with the French Revolution, whose architects asserted that the right to govern belonged not to hereditary monarchs, who had ruled in most places at most times since the beginning of recorded history, but rather to the people they governed.

Liberty has a much longer pedigree, dating back to ancient Greece and Rome. It consists of a series of political zoning ordinances that fence off and thus protect sectors of social, political, and economic life from government interference. The oldest form of liberty is the inviolability of private property, which was part of the life of the Roman Republic. Religious liberty arose from the split in Christendom provoked by the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Political liberty emerged later than the other two forms but is the one to which twenty-first-century uses of the word "freedom" usually refer. It connotes the absence of government control of speech, assembly, and political participation.

Well into the nineteenth century, the term "democracy" commonly referred to popular sovereignty alone, and a regime based on popular sovereignty was considered certain to suppress liberty. The rule of the people, it was believed, would lead to corruption, disorder, mob violence, and ultimately tyranny. In particular, it was widely thought that those without property would, out of greed and envy, move to seize it from its owners if the public took control of the government.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, liberty and popular sovereignty were successfully merged in a few countries in western Europe and North America. This fusion succeeded in no small part due to the expansion of the welfare state in the wake of the Great Depression and World War II, which broadened the commitment to private property by giving everyone in society a form of it and prevented

mass poverty by providing a minimum standard of living to all. Even then, however, the democratic form of government did not spread either far or wide.

Popular sovereignty, or at least a form of it, became all but universal by the second half of the twentieth century. The procedure for implementing this political principle -- holding an election -- was and remains easy. In the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, most countries did not choose their governments through free and fair elections. However, most governments could claim to be democratic at least in the sense that they differed from the traditional forms of governance -- monarchy and empire. The leaders did not inherit their positions, and they came from the same national groups as the people they governed. These governments embodied popular sovereignty in that the people controlling them were neither hereditary monarchs nor foreigners.

If popular sovereignty is relatively easy to establish, the other component of democracy, liberty, is far more difficult to secure. This accounts for both the delay in democracy's spread around the world in the twentieth century and the continuing difficulties in establishing it in the twenty-first. Putting the principle of liberty into practice requires institutions: functioning legislatures, government bureaucracies, and full-fledged legal systems with police, lawyers, prosecutors, and impartial judges. Operating such institutions requires skills, some of them highly specialized. And the relevant institutions must be firmly anchored in values: people must believe in the importance of protecting these zones of social and civic life from state interference.

The institutions, skills, and values that liberty requires cannot be called into existence by fiat any more than it is possible for an individual to master the techniques of basketball or ballet without extensive training. The relevant unit of time for creating the social conditions conducive to liberty is, at a minimum, a generation. Not only does the apparatus of liberty take time to develop, it must be developed independently and domestically; it cannot be sent from elsewhere and implanted, ready-made. The requisite skills and values can be neither imported nor outsourced.

While the British Empire did export liberty to India, the British governed the Indian subcontinent directly for almost a century. In many other places where the British ruled, democracy failed to take hold. In the twenty-first century, moreover, the age of empire has ended. Nowhere are people eager, or even willing, to be ruled by foreigners, a point the U.S. encounter with Iraq has illustrated all too vividly. Seen in this light, the spread of democracy in the last quarter of the twentieth century seems not only remarkable but almost inexplicable. For if the institutions of liberty, which are integral to democratic governance, take at least a generation to build, and since nondemocratic governments try, in order to preserve their own power, to ensure that the institutions and practices of liberty never take root, how can democracy be established at all?

THE MAGIC OF THE MARKET

The worldwide demand for democratic government in the modern era arose due to the success of the countries practicing it. The United Kingdom in the nineteenth century and the United States in the twentieth became militarily the most powerful and economically the most prosperous sovereign states. The two belonged to the winning coalition in each of the three global conflicts of the twentieth century: the two world wars and the Cold War. Their success made an impression on others. Countries, like individuals, learn from what they observe. For countries, as for individuals, success inspires imitation. The course of modern history made democracy seem well worth emulating.

The desire for a democratic political system does not by itself create the capacity for establishing one. The key to establishing a working democracy, and in particular the institutions of liberty, has been the free-market economy. The institutions, skills, and values needed to operate a free-market economy are those that, in the political sphere, constitute democracy. Democracy spreads through the workings of the market when people apply the habits and procedures they are already carrying out in one sector of social life (the economy) to another one (the political arena). The market is to democracy what a grain of sand is to an oyster's pearl: the core around which it forms.

The free market fosters democracy because private property, which is central to any market economy, is itself a form of liberty. Moreover, a successfully functioning market economy makes the citizens of the society in which it is established wealthier, and wealth implants democracy by, among other things, subsidizing the kind of political participation that genuine democracy requires. Many studies have found that the higher a country's per capita output, the more likely that country is to protect liberty and choose its government through free and fair elections.

Perhaps most important, the free market generates the organizations and groups independent of the government -- businesses, trade unions, professional associations, clubs, and the like -- that are known collectively as civil society, which is itself indispensable to a democratic political system. Private associations offer places of refuge from the state in which individuals can pursue their interests free of government control. Civil society also helps to preserve liberty by serving as a counterweight to the machinery of government. Popular sovereignty, the other half of modern democratic government, also depends on elements of civil society that the free market makes possible, notably political parties and interest groups.

Finally, the experience of participating in a free-market economy cultivates two habits that are central to democratic government: trust and compromise. For a government to operate peacefully, citizens must trust it not to act against their most important interests and, above all, to respect their political and economic rights. For governments to be chosen regularly in free elections, the losers must trust the winners not to abuse the power they have won. Likewise, trust is an essential element of markets that extend beyond direct local exchange. When a product is shipped over great distances and payment for it comes in installments that extend over time, buyers and sellers must trust in each other's good faith and reliability. To be sure, in a successfully functioning market economy, the government stands ready to enforce contracts that have been breached. But in such economies, so many transactions take place that the government can intervene in only a tiny fraction of them. Market activity depends far more on trust in others to fulfill their commitments than on reliance on the government to punish them if they fail to do so.

The other democratic habit that comes from participating in a market economy is compromise. Compromise inhibits violence that could threaten democracy. Different preferences concerning issues of public policy, often deeply felt, are inevitable in any political system. What distinguishes democracy from other forms of government is the peaceful resolution of the conflicts to which these differences give rise. Usually this occurs when each party gets some but not all of what it wants. Compromise is also essential to the operation of a market economy. In every transaction, after all, the buyer would like to pay less and the seller would like to receive more than the price on which they ultimately agree. They agree because the alternative to agreement is no transaction at all. Participants in a free market learn that the best can be the enemy of the good, and acting on that principle in the political arena is essential for democratic government.

PROMOTING MARKETS, PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

From this analysis it follows that the best way to foster democracy is to encourage the spread of free markets. Market promotion is, to be sure, an indirect method of democracy promotion and one that will not yield immediate results. Still, the rapid spread of democracy over the past three decades did exhibit a distinct association with free markets. Democracy came to the countries of southern Europe and Asia and to almost every country in Latin America after all of them had gained at least a generation's worth of experience, sometimes more, in operating market economies.

Viewed in this light, however, promoting democracy indirectly by encouraging the spread of free markets might seem unnecessary. Countries generally need no urging to recast their economies along free-market lines. Today, virtually all countries have done so, for the sake of their own economic growth. So important and so widespread had the goal of economic growth become in the second half of the twentieth century that the capacity to foster it had emerged as a key test of the political legitimacy of all governments. And the history of the twentieth century seemed to demonstrate conclusively that the market system of economic organization -- and it alone -- can deliver economic growth.

The free market, in this account, acts as a kind of Trojan horse. Dictatorships embrace it to enhance their own power and legitimacy, but its workings ultimately undermine their rule. Indeed, this line of analysis would seem to suggest not only that a foreign policy of deliberate market promotion is superfluous but that the ultimate triumph of democracy everywhere is assured through the universal voluntary adoption of free-market economic institutions and policies.

That, however, is not the case. The continued spread of democracy in the twenty-first century is no more inevitable than it is impossible, as is demonstrated by the decidedly varying prospects for this form of government in three important places where it does not exist: the Arab world, Russia, and China.

THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM

The prospects for democracy in the Arab countries are poor. A number of features of Arab society and political life work against it. None is exclusive to the Middle East, but nowhere else are all of them present in

such strength. One of them is oil. The largest reserves of readily accessible oil on the planet are located in the region. Countries that become wealthy through the extraction and sale of oil, often called petro-states, rarely conform to the political standards of modern democracy. These countries do not need the social institutions and individual skills that, transferred to the realm of politics, promote democracy. All that is required for them to become rich is the extraction and sale of oil, and a small number of people can do this. They do not even have to be citizens of the country itself.

Furthermore, because the governments own the oil fields and collect all the petroleum export revenues, they tend to be large and powerful. In petro-states, the incentives for rulers to maintain control of the government are therefore unusually strong, as are the disincentives to relinquish power voluntarily. In these countries, the private economies, which elsewhere counterbalance state power, tend to be small and weak, and civil society is underdeveloped. Finally, the nondemocratic governments of petro-states, particularly the monarchies of the Middle East, where oil is plentiful and populations are relatively small, use the wealth at their disposal to resist pressures for more democratic governance. In effect, they bribe the people they rule, persuading these citizens to forgo political liberty and the right to decide who governs them.

Arab countries are also unlikely candidates for democracy because their populations are often sharply divided along tribal, ethnic, or religious lines. Where more than one tribal, ethnic, or religious group inhabits a sovereign state in appreciable numbers, democracy has proved difficult to establish. In a stable democracy, people must be willing to be part of the minority. But people will accept minority status only if they feel confident that the majority will respect their liberty. In countries composed of several groups, such confidence is not always present, and there is little reason to believe it exists in Arab countries. The evidence of its absence in Iraq is all too clear.

For the purpose of developing democratic governments, Arab countries labor under yet another handicap. For much of their history, Arab Muslims saw themselves as engaged in an epic battle for global supremacy against the Christian West. The historical memory of that rivalry still resonates in the Arab Middle East today and fuels popular resentment of the West. This, in turn, casts a shadow over anything of Western origin, including the West's dominant form of government. For this reason, liberty and free elections have less favorable reputations in the Arab Middle East than elsewhere. In view of all these obstacles, whatever else may be said about the Bush administration, in aiming its democracy promotion efforts at the Arab world it cannot be accused of picking an easy target.

The prospects for democracy in Russia over the next two to three decades are brighter. Russia today has a government that does not respect liberty and was not chosen through free and fair elections. The absence of democracy is due to the fact that seven decades of communist rule left the country without the social, political, and economic foundations on which democratic government rests. But Russia today does not confront the obstacles that barred its path to democracy in the past.

The communist political and economic systems have disappeared in Russia and will not be restored. Russia is also largely free of the historically powerful sense that the country had a cultural and political destiny different from those of other countries. Russia's population no longer consists, as it did until the industrialization and urbanization of the communist era, largely of illiterate peasants and landless agricultural workers. Today, the average Russian is literate, educated, and lives in a city -- the kind of person who is eventually likely to find democracy appealing and dictatorship unacceptable.

The revolutions in transportation and communication have made it far more difficult for Russia's rulers to close the country off from the outside world. In particular, Russians today are far more aware of the ideas and institutions of the democracies of the world than they were during the centuries when absolute monarchs ruled the country and during the communist period. Finally, Russia in the twenty-first century faces far less danger of attack by its neighbors than ever before. Monarchs and commissars from the sixteenth century through most of the twentieth justified gathering and exercising unlimited power on the grounds that it was necessary to protect the country from its enemies. That rationale has now lost much of its force. A countervailing force must be set against these harbingers of a more democratic future for Russia, however. The country's large reserves of energy resources threaten to tilt Russia in the direction of autocratic government. Post-Soviet Russia has the unhappy potential to become a petro-state. Russia's democratic prospects may therefore be said, with only modest exaggeration, to be inversely related to the price of oil.

Of all the nondemocratic countries in the world, the one where democracy's prospects matter most is China -- the world's most populous country and one that is on course to have, at some point in the twenty-first

century, the world's largest economy. The outlook for democracy in China is uncertain. Beginning in the last years of the 1970s, a series of reforms that brought many of the features of the free market to what had been a communist-style economy set in motion a remarkable quarter-century-long burst of double-digit annual economic growth. Although the core institution of a free-market economy, private property, has not been fully established in China, the galloping pace of economic growth has created a middle class. As a proportion of China's huge population it is small, but its numbers are increasing rapidly. More and more Chinese live in cities, are well educated, and earn a living in ways that provide them with both a degree of independence on the job and sufficient income and leisure time for pursuits away from work.

Along with the growth of the economy, the sorts of independent groups that make up civil society have proliferated in China. In 2005, 285,000 nongovernmental groups were officially registered with the government -- a tiny number for a country with a population of 1.3 billion -- but estimates of the number of unofficial groups ran as high as eight million. Furthermore, twenty-first-century China emphatically fulfills one of the historical conditions for democracy: it is open to the world. Communist China's founding leader, Mao Zedong, sought to wall China off from other countries. His successors have opened the country's doors and welcomed what Mao tried to keep out.

The dizzying change that a quarter century of economic reform and its consequences have brought to China has therefore installed, in a relatively short period of time, many of the building blocks of political democracy. As Chinese economic growth proceeds, as the ranks of the country's middle class expand and civil society spreads, the pressure for democratic change is sure to increase. As it does, however, democracy advocates are just as certain to encounter formidable resistance from the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Although it has abandoned the Maoist project of exerting control over every aspect of social and political life, the party remains determined to retain its monopoly on political power. It squelches any sign of organized political opposition to its rule and practices selective censorship. Explicit expressions of political dissent and any questioning of the role of the CCP are prohibited. Its efforts to retain power are not necessarily doomed to fail. The CCP has greater staying power than the ruling communist parties of Europe and the Soviet Union enjoyed before they were swept away in 1989 and 1991. Because it has presided over a far more successful economy than did its European and Soviet counterparts, the CCP can count on the tacit support of many Chinese who have no particular fondness for it and who do not necessarily believe it has the right to govern China in perpetuity without limits on its authority.

Popular indulgence of communist rule in China has another source: the fear of something worse. Recurrent periods of violence scar China's twentieth-century history. The Chinese people certainly wish to avoid further bouts of large-scale murder and destruction, and if the price of stability is the continuation of the dictatorial rule of the CCP, they may reckon that this is a price worth paying. The millions who have done particularly well in the quarter century of reform -- many of them educated, cosmopolitan, and living in the cities of the country's coastal provinces -- have reason to be wary of the resentment of the many more, mainly rural, residents of inland China whose well-being the economic boom has failed to enhance. The beneficiaries may calculate that CCP rule protects them and their gains. Finally, the regime can tap a widespread and potent popular sentiment to reinforce its position: nationalism. For example, it assiduously publicizes its claim to control Taiwan, a claim that seems to enjoy wide popularity on the mainland.

Whether, when, and how China will become a democracy are all questions to which only the history of the twenty-first century can supply the answers. Nonetheless, two predictions may be hazarded with some confidence. One is that if and when democracy does come to China -- as well as to the Arab world and Russia -- it will not be because of the deliberate and direct efforts at democracy promotion by the United States. The other is that pressure for democratic governance will grow in the twenty-first century whatever the United States does or does not do. It will grow wherever nondemocratic governments adopt the free-market system of economic organization. Such regimes will adopt this system as part of their own efforts to promote economic growth, a goal that governments all over the world will be pursuing for as far into the future as the eye can see.

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EVALUATING ARGUMENTS

One vital aspect of critical reading is our ability to evaluate arguments. Michael Donovan defines this expression as our ability "to judge or assess its [an argument's] persuasiveness,"[4] that is, to determine whether we can *accept* the argument or not, based on the strengths and weaknesses of the reasons provided. In other words, when we evaluate an argument, we must resist the temptation to view the text (visual, written or otherwise) as an "authoritative whole"[5] and instead think carefully about *how* it has been constructed, what its purpose is, what assumptions have remained *hidden* or unstated, what the writer's biases are, what the source of the information is, and how *logically* the argument has been put together. So vital is this aspect that one scholar[6] even claims that analyzing and evaluating arguments is "the one skill that is most critical to a successful democracy." While this statement is in itself extreme enough to risk being deemed fallacious, there's probably at least some truth in it.

How then might we go about evaluating arguments? Some strategies are very complex and require rigorous and extensive study of Aristotelian rhetoric and logic, but unfortunately, such methods are far beyond the scope of this course. What we *can* provide are practical suggestions that should help you critically reflect on others' arguments so that you can assess their persuasiveness and thus accept or reject them accordingly.

Behrens and Rosen in *Writing and Reading across the Curriculum* provide a fairly simple, three-step guide to evaluating arguments and conclusions.[7] They ask we do so by "determining whether the author has (1) clearly defined key terms, (2) used information fairly, (3) argued logically and not fallaciously". We have added an additional item, whether the author has used appropriate sources.

Clearly defined terms

As they observe, clearly defined terms contribute to an argument's validity in that writer and readers need to agree on what is meant by these terms. For instance, in a phrase like "Democracy is a way of life," what exactly is meant by "democracy" (a system of government, a state of equality?), or for that matter, "a way of life" (life style, living standard, working conditions?)?[8] Notice here that even the terms to define the terms remain vague and elusive and thus threaten to undermine the validity of the argument. The authors point out shrewdly how in some cases "the success of the argument — its ability to persuade — hinges on the definition of a term."

Use of Sources

The author's use and selection of sources is important in informing us of the reliability of their claims. Considering the range of sources explicitly mentioned, both primary and secondary, allows the reader to judge whether the writer's support is credible, reputable, and ultimately reliable. The absence of any sources means we must be more careful in assessing whether the claims made by the writer are justified and therefore persuasive.

Fair use of information

When writers present evidence to support their arguments, Behrens and Rosen advise you to ask yourself as reader whether the information is correct, the most current, and just as importantly, whether it is "representative". They note how "ethical" writers will present evidence "in a spirit of fair play," which means they will avoid distortion — if not downright dishonesty — by providing both evidence which supports their

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4 Michael Donovan, *Evaluating Arguments: When is an Argument Fallacious?* Sonoma State University. Available at URL: http://www.sonoma.edu/people/donovan/ct/lessons/readings/reading4.html (last accessed 26th June, 2001)

5 Paul Prior, Writing/Disciplinarity: A Sociohistoric Account of Literate Activity in the Academy (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998), 133.

6 Rebecca Busker, *Evaluating Arguments*, Arizona State University. Available at URL: http://www.public.asu.edu/~rbusker/102/proj2.html (last accessed 21st June, 2002)

7 Laurence Berhens and Leonard J. Rosen, *Writing and Reading across the Curriculum* (New York: Longman, 1997), 61-64.

8 From Rise B. Axelrod and Charles R. Cooper, *The St. Martin's Guide to Writing* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 470.

views as well as evidence which may contradict them. Indeed, a skilled writer can *strengthen* his or her case by first acknowledging opposing evidence, and then countering it.

Logic

The third aspect of the strategy — and *any* strategy which evaluates arguments — requires that we consider the logic of the argument. Behrens and Rosen point out how naturally writers' arguments will have biases, which is perfectly legitimate as long as the arguments are "logically sound." As mentioned already, a "formal" study of logic, that is, the examination of structural *"patterns"* of premises without regards for the actual *"content"* of the argument,[9] remains beyond the scope of this class. But by applying a healthy mix of skepticism, common sense and critical reflection, we can interrogate the content of others' arguments in order to judge the claims intelligently.

It may be helpful to keep in mind two points as you focus on the logic of a text. First, consider the "grounds" on which the argument is based. Is it based on personal knowledge, reliable expert opinion, common knowledge, reliable testimony, necessary truth, or is it acceptable because your common sense tells you it's plausible? Secondly, look closely at claims made to see if they are based on fallacious reasoning. There are dozens of possible fallacies a writer may commit, just like the *either/or dilemma* , which may seem on the surface persuasive — herein lies the danger — but which are in fact bad reasoning, or manipulative, or both. Proceed, therefore, with great caution when you read — whether it be an essay, an editorial, a website, or any text. Evaluate the arguments as you go along, and trust that, in the end, your vigilance in *reading* can only make you a better *writer* as well.

Linguistic Devices to Convey Attitude and Tone

There are many different language devices that can be used to express or convey attitude and tone. The following is a description of the most important devices.

Lexical Devices

Word choice plays perhaps the most important role in the way we perceive and think about a subject in our reading (and of course writing). Words can have two types of meanings: **denotative** and **connotative**. The denotative value of a word is its primary dictionary definition; the connotative value includes the word's range of public and private associations. E.g. "big brother" is not just one's older brother, but is a term usually associated with controlling people's lives. Of particular importance are **emotive** connotations. Word choice also includes the use of the following lexical items:

Adjectives and **adverbs** that most commonly signal the writer's attitude, e.g. *unique, weak, effectively, inefficiently*

Reporting verbs can signal the writer's agreement or disagreement with previous research,

e.g. demonstrates, neglects

Qualifiers and **modifiers** that signal degree, e.g. *quite, extremely, to some extent.*

Connective expressions that signal attitude, e.g. *naturally, questionably, of course.*

Modal verbs which express doubt, uncertainty, possibility, probability, obligation e.g. *appear, seem, may.*

Personal/Impersonal forms which can be used to create a close or distant relationship between the author (and his or her beliefs/opinions) and the issue at stake. Use of the active and passive voice is one method to achieve this.

Syntax

Not only is the choice of words and expressions important in establishing opinions and attitude but also the way in which they are arranged or ordered in clauses, sentences and paragraphs. Some language devices are:

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[9] Ed Teall, *Is this Argument Good? – Evaluating Arguments*, Mount St. Mary's College. Available at URL: http://faculty.msmc.edu/teall/logictext/chapter1/chapt1-5.htm (last accessed June 26th, 2001)

Word order for both end of-clause/sentence stress and **juxtaposition** (see Juxtaposition below).

Repetition for reinforcing and reaffirming ideas and beliefs (see **Emphasis** below).

Typographical markers

The language we use itself may not always be enough to convey a particular opinion, attitude or idea; thus the writer may resort to other non-textual devices to highlight a particular word/expression (see **Emphasis** below). Aside from normal punctuation, typical typographical markers in this category may be "quotation marks", exclamation (!) and question marks (?), (parentheses), – dashes –, font, *italics*, **bold** or **underlining**. Because mechanical devices are too often used in attempts to compensate a lack of real significance, use them sparingly.

Rhetorical devices

There are a number of rhetorical devices that may be used. Some of the more frequent include:

Irony - a kind of antithesis in which words or actions are seen as conveying the opposite of their surface meaning. . The success of verbal irony depends on the audience's ability to detect a difference between expression and intention.

Understatement - a form of irony in which something is said to be less than it is. Understatement leaves it to the readers to build up what has been played down and therefore prompts them to engage actively in imagining the importance of what has been understated. An example would be to state that you are "a bit unwell" when you are actually in a life-threatening medical condition. Because the message might be misunderstood, irony and understatement are rarely used in academic writing,

Emphasis – stress on and attention given to particular words or ideas. Emphasis ought to be controlled so that the most important and least important point are given respectively most and least emphasis. One way of emphasising your point is **repetition**. Another device is placing important information at the end of a clause, sentence, paragraph or essay, where readers will notice and remember it more than they would if it was at the beginning. Similarly, use of the active or passive voice may emphasise (or de-emphasise) the subject or the object. In sum, making what must be remembered most memorable is best done through repetition, structure, and the choice of language.

Rhetorical question - a question posed not to provoke an answer but to assert or deny something indirectly. Rhetorical questions frequently occur in essays when the author is trying to disarm anticipated objections. An example of a rhetorical question might be: "Who does not know ...?" for "Everyone knows ..."

Juxtaposition - the strategic combination of words or ideas in order to achieve a desired effect. Thereby the reader may be forced to stop and reconsider the meaning of the text through the contrasting images/ideas/motifs.

THE LANGUAGE OF CRITIQUE

Read the following excerpts from critiques by various authors. Identify the linguistic devices indicating attitude and decide whether the language is primarily evaluative, summative or both.

1. In *The Two Cultures Controversy*, Guy Ortolano has set himself the task of explaining the famous heated controversy that was sparked by C. P. Snow's Rede Lecture in 1959. Snow argued that an incommensurable gap existed between scientists and literary intellectuals and that the hostility of the latter group to the achievement of the former had put modern civilization at great peril.[10]

2. Marked by careful research, sensitive analysis, and a good mixture of empathy and criticism in its approach toward its subjects, Ortolano's work should be read by anyone who is interested in the famous controversy (or other seemingly similar episodes).

3. This structure makes the book at times unnecessarily repetitious (with regard, for instance, to Snow's belief in bureaucracy), but the result is rewarding.

4. In the final chapter, Ortolano traces the fate of Snow and Leavis in a changing world. The book loses some of its focus here, as the subject is not *The Two Cultures* as much as the responses of Snow and Leavis to new egalitarian impulses.

5. This book offers a bold and brilliant attempt to rethink the concept of civil society in the context of Britain's Atlantic empire. The bulk of Livesey's research centers on the poorly understood and neglected case of Irish civil society between the Glorious Revolution and the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion. 11

6. His approach weaves together discussions of major figures like Davenant, Fénelon, and Hume with an equally impressive study of how ideas circulated among little-known merchants, clergymen, and literati.

7. Livesey offers a very rich account of the specific strategies employed by Irish Catholic and Protestant elites to assert their autonomy and forge an "independent language of rights" distinct from English tradition (91–92).

8. Some parts might have benefited from lengthier analysis. In particular, the crucial chapter on the Black family would have been stronger still if it had explained in greater detail just how commercial imperatives like interloping amounted to a principled moral stance in favor of civil society (146).

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10 Reviewed by Daniel Ussishkin: *The Two Cultures Controversy: Science, Literature, and Cultural Politics in Post-war Britain* by Guy Ortolano

11 Reviewed by Frederik Albritton Jonsson: *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century Atlantic World.* By James Livesey. Available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/658012 (last accessed August 15th, 2011)

THREE GENRES OF EVALUATIVE WRITING

Have a look at the three texts which are all responses to another writer's text. Discuss the following issues:

- How much of the text is summative or evaluative in nature?
- Why are these respective parts of different length? What is their purpose within the text?
- What, ultimately, is the purpose of the piece of writing and what evaluative genre does it belong to?
- What distinguishes the different texts and genres?

Erin K. Jenne, Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007. Pp. 273. $45.00 (pbk); ISBN 978-0-8014-4498-2.

With vast academic literature already available looking at minority empowerment, Ethnic Bargaining attempts to distinguish itself by providing a metatheory examining why internal ethnic conflicts are waged in the name of self-determination and continue in spite of "modernization" and globalization. Moreover, at a microlevel, it looks at why minority leaders tend to "vary in the intensity of their demands over time, while their grievances remain relatively constant" (p. 2). Erin K. Jenne's work draws upon comparative and longitudinal analysis of minority-majority relations exclusively in east central Europe, including fieldwork looking at Moravians and Slovaks in postcommunist Czechoslovakia (chapter five) and Hungarian minorities in postcommunist Slovakia and Romania (chapter four); historical investigations looking at the Sudeten Germans in interwar Czechoslovakia (chapter three); and a "plausibility probe" in postcommunist Yugoslavia (chapter six).

The first chapter presents the requisite contextual background information on minority rights discourse. Jenne's efforts are focused on discussing ethnic bargaining from a Westphalian integrationist rights perspective and a segregationist rights perspective fashioned in an age of nationalism and ends with looking at the rise of global minority mobilization since World War II. Her brief history of the minority rights discourse is particularly helpful to the unbaptized scholar. However, greater detail may be required to whole heartedly articulate a premise that a "steady rise in minority mobilization is driven largely by the increased activism of weaker minorities" (p. 36).

Chapter two is perhaps the most important aspect of the book. Here, the crux of the theoretical argument is articulated, exploring the microlevel dynamics of ethnic bargaining with a particular focus on the role of three main actors in the bargaining model: the minority, the majority, and the lobby. For Jenne, the lobby actor plays a significant role in influencing the intensity of minority demands and the response of the majority group. In fact, Jenne theorizes minority radicalization is driven by signals of behavioral intent from both the majority and/or lobby actor. In practical terms, her model paradoxically predicts if minority members are "confident of external support, their leaders will radicalize for concessions despite the majority's attempts to appease them" (p. 53). This is a strong departure from literature that suggests minority radicalization is mainly a function of the majority's inability to commit to minority protection.

The next four chapters are dedicated to presenting her case studies, and how they fit into the theoretical model. In doing so, however, it becomes apparent that the model is more applicable to territorial concentrated minorities and perhaps, specific to the context of postcommunist Eastern Europe. In respect to the latter point, due to the historical rooting of ethnic identification in the region, it will be far-fetched to ascertain universal applicability of her theory without further testing.

The final chapter presents potential policy recommendations to alleviate the paradox of minority empowerment. This unfortunately is not a major strength of the book. For instance, one of her major suggestions is that thirdparty mediators in ethnic conflicts should not have ties to either party of the dispute; or forceful interventions should only be carried out by major powers due to potent inducements and threats at their disposal. Both suggestions are the basis of any effective mediation and are well-known principles in international policy studies and diplomatic practices.

Notwithstanding this lapse, Ethnic Bargaining is a well-written book for professional scholars and graduate students interested in ethnic relations in Eastern Europe. The theoretical argument is a novel one, perhaps signifying a broader movement towards a new discourse in ethnic minority empowerment.

Reza Hasmath, University of Cambridge

"Sample Analysis in Teaching Genre: The Role of Models Revisited"

"Sample Analysis in Teaching Genre: The Role of Models Revisited" describes two ways of teaching critiques to MA students, one through analysis of two reviews published in scholarly journals (G1) and the other through analysis of student critiques of a scholarly article (G2). In addition, students in G2 were asked to develop criteria for evaluating critiques. And they carried out a series of assessments of the student critiques, designed to draw their attention to certain features. G1 and G2 students were then assigned to write their own critiques. The results were compared and discussed.

The discussion of the two different pedagogies is the strongest aspect of the paper. In fact, I would have liked to know more about the dynamics of the G2 lessons and students reactions to them. This to me was the most interesting feature. Another strong aspect was that in analyzing the results, the author wisely avoids making grand claims about the papers written by the two groups. She/he evenhandedly speculates about why there were similarities and differences in the results.

What made the paper hard to follow, however, was the lack of a clear theoretical framework. I was surprised to read in the introduction that "process" pedagogy of the 1980s was brought in and contrasted to genre pedagogy, with some of the familiar and tired complaints about process focusing on creativity and empowerment at the expense of models. This dichotomizing is unnecessary and ahistoric. Also, it serves the author poorly in framing the pedagogy and experiment described in the paper. Why drag out these old arguments rather than framing the research as an attempt to study how students make use of genre pedagogy in their writing? I fail to see how the quotes from Bruffee and Eschholz contribute to the points the author is making and, in fact, they seem to detract.

My suggestion for revision is to focus on what this paper is about: a micro analysis of genre pedagogy that is exploratory rather than explicitly focused on teaching moves. If this shift could be carried out, perhaps the author could, in addition, interview students about their composing decisions, to discover how much they were guided by their analysis of student papers. An article on the genre pedagogy described on page 7, with more data from student papers would be another way to go.

I'm not recommending the current paper for publication, but would recommend an extensively revised paper, along the lines discussed above.

The Spread of Democracy: Boom or Bust?

The spread of democracy across the globe is a hotly debated topic in international relations and one that spurs on the research of democracy scholars such as Michael Mandelbaum and Larry Diamond. The common goal of their recent articles, Mandelbaum's "Democracy Without America," and Diamond's "The Democratic Rollback: The Resurgence of the Predatory State" which responded to Mandelbaum's is twofold; to discuss problems with the current practices employed to further democracy, and propose more effective methods of promotion dealing with either economic development in the case of Mandelbaum, or better governance in the case of Diamond. Both authors add to a contested and growing literature on democracy promotion led by scholars such as Thomas Carothers of the Carnegie Foundation and Gideon Rose of Foreign Affairs.

Both men agree with Diamond's convincing assertion that, "before democracy can spread further, it must take deeper root where it has already sprouted," and holding elections is important, albeit only one component of being a democratic state12. For instance, Mandelbaum expands on this extremely relevant concept, explaining that a democracy is made up of popular sovereignty and liberty, and that popular sovereignty, also known as elections, are "relatively easy to establish," but that the second and necessary component, "liberty, is far more difficult to secure." 13 Diamond concurs with Mandelbaum's compelling argument and notes the existence of a "fallacy of electoralism" that allows states rife with "subtle degradations of democracy" to remain labeled a healthy democracy14. Though similar arguments; Diamond truly expounds on this idea and uses relevant examples to illustrate his view of democracy much more extensively than Mandelbaum does, bringing up the examples of places currently defined as democracies like the Philippines that upon closer examination, are not.

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12 Larry Diamond. The Democratic Rollback - The Resurgence of the Predatory State. Foreign Affairs: March/April 2008.

13 Michael Mandelbaum. *Democracy Without America.* Foreign Affairs. September/October 2007.

14 Diamond 96

From the outset of his article Mandelbaum is overly optimistic and sees the spread of democracy as an "extraordinary worldwide success" and predicts that "pressure for democratic governance will only grow as economies liberalize in the years that come."15 Diamond on the other hand, voices the sentiments expresses so strongly in his title that "the world has slipped into a democratic recession,"16 These different views create an interesting debate. Mandelbaum is of the opinion that democracy and the institutions it requires to function well are not feasible without first the development of a successful free market economy, and makes the questionable assessment that this trend is occurring quickly throughout the world, even in nations such as Russia, while Diamond thinks Mandelbaum has the "causal change backwards17." He makes a persuasive case that "without significant improvements in governance, economic growth will not take off or be sustainable" by discussing a case in Kenya where even successful economic development failed to develop democracy18.

This is just the first example of many instances that Diamond's use of examples strengthens his argument in respect to Mandelbaum's. Though I personally believe in Mandelbaum's strategy of economic development as the key to promoting democracy, choosing solely based on these texts, I would have to side with Diamond due to what I perceive as the greater credibility of his content. Mandelbaum brings in anecdotal and opinion-based information which I found specious or questionable at least, whereas Diamond seemed to base his argument on more detailed case studies, such as the ones already mentioned concerning the still developing democracy of the Philippines and experience of Kenya. In another instance Diamond discusses another trend, that of superficial democracies which have led "disillusioned and disenfranchised voters" to embrace authoritarian strongmen, and again he uses example such as Hugo Chavez in Venezuela.19

Now that the two authors positions have been discussed, as well as value passed on which argument is more coherent and well-supported, there is one other issue that is important to discuss that was blatantly neglected by both authors. Both authors failed to investigate the question of whether or not democracy should even be spread and disregard the very valid question of whether democracy is the best form of government for every country. Certainly democracy has proved a powerful and positive form of government for many nations, but both authors just make this assumption without enumerating the characteristics that have made it so successful. They neglect to mention what benefits democracy could bring to a currently undemocratic country. Instead of making a broad assumption it would have made more sense for the authors to discuss why studying strategies for spreading democracy is worthwhile, and to make their case stronger; at least address the viewpoint that democracy may not be the best form of government everywhere. Recognizing this concept would give the authors more credibility by appearing more informed on all sides of the issue, even the side with which they may disagree.

In conclusion, both authors contribute interesting insights to this important debate on the spread of democracy, however Diamond with his well-supported and detail rich assertion that it is 'good governance' practices that lead to a strong democracy, makes the strongest point. Neither, however, investigates the crucial question of whether or not democracy is appropriate in all contexts. This omission leads room for future investigation.

15 Mandelbaum 100

16 Diamond 95

17 Diamond 97

18 Diamond 97

19 Diamond 96

WRITING A BOOK REVIEW

A book review is an evaluative piece of writing designed to give a potential reader/buyer sufficient information to allow them to form an opinion on the desirability of reading or buying a given book. Academic books are typically expensive, since they are published in small quantities and written for a select audience. Perhaps surprisingly, the reviews are often written sometime after the book has been published, possibly because it takes time to find a suitably qualified reviewer. Reviewers may offer to write a review but are usually approached by a publisher seeking to promote the book. The reviewer raises their profile by showing their familiarity with the field and their ability to critically evaluate the author's findings or argumentation. Finding someone with the credentials to offer effective evaluation of an academic book means that the reviewer quite possibly knows the author, or is at least likely to come across them on the conference circuit. This is something which the reviewer will need to carefully consider in the writing of the evaluation of the book. Book reviews as a result will often start by seeking to emphasize the positive before becoming more critical.

Book reviews are an increasingly popular genre with CEU professors, and there are several courses in your department where you will be required to review a book of your choice. The review involves many of the skills of response writing that we learnt during the first part of this course when you were writing position papers, and will not only deepen your knowledge of the book you review (so choose one that is relevant to your research area as well as interesting) but prepare you for summative and critical writing within other papers you write at CEU and beyond. Some professors offer the added incentive that if your review is well written they can help you to find a place to publish it, which is a boost to your academic career.

The Audience

Although (initially at least) your review will only be read by your professor, in the real world, a large number of people might read a book review, most obviously academics and students within the discipline. While students may need to read more broadly to gain knowledge, the professor may only be interested in one or two of the chapters which fall within their more specific field of study. Academics are an important audience as they are in a better position to buy the book or to request it for their libraries. This leads to a lesser known reader who may have to read reviews, the librarian responsible for new acquisitions. They will be particularly interested in knowing to what extent the book is recommended.

Structure

The book review will need to provide contextual information, including an introduction to the writer, the title of their work, and possible biographical details or previous publications to highlight their knowledge or expertise in the field, to show how this work fits within the broader debate in the literature, and in what way/s it contributes to this debate. You may also need to provide information on the underlying methodology, or the use of primary material, depending on the nature of the work.

Because your audience have not read the book, the largest part of the review will almost certainly be summative, providing both an overview of the whole work and usually details of the parts. Ideally you should group chapters so the reader can understand the logic of the book's structure. You might need to identify individual chapter aims or scope, or highlight areas of particular merit or possible weakness or oversight. The review usually becomes more evaluative towards the end, before ultimately providing an evaluation of the book including a recommendation for a certain audience or a qualified recommendation, and in a few cases possibly a condemnation.

You will also need to consider how much information to include depending on the word limit (and journals as well as professors have word limits). If you have been given a ten-page limit, there will certainly need to be a summary, and perhaps evaluation, of each chapter. If on the other hand, your limit is 500 words, there will be little opportunity to look at the details, and both summary and evaluation will be much broader and more holistic.

Some academic analysis has been made of book reviews. Motta-Roth found the following structure common to many book reviews (Motta-Roth 1998: 49).

Figure 1. Typical Structure of Book Reviews

Move 1 – Providing contextual information on the article/book by:

- Introducing the general topic and/or
- Introducing the author
- Inserting the article/book into the existing topic/research area

Move 2 – Outlining the Article/Book by:

- Providing a general view of the organisation of the book/summary of the article
- Stating the topic of each chapter

Move 3 – Highlighting Parts of the Article/Book by:

- Providing focused evaluation

Move 4 – Providing Closing Evaluation of the Article/Book by:

- Definitely recommending or rejecting the book or
- Recommending the article/book despite some indicated shortcomings

As with all academic analysis of genres, this is a descriptive, not a prescriptive model: it shows what people tend to do, not what you must do. If you follow the model, you will be conforming to the norm, but not every book review does so. One very effective published review in sociology that we are aware of started with a whole paragraph about a book other than the one being reviewed. Another short review in the field of economic history spent the first third recounting the history of the period on which the reviewed book focused. Sometimes, a slightly unconventional approach may be effective; on the other hand, there is safety in following the crowd.

MICRO-LEVEL ARGUMENTATION

The whole edifice of academe is based on the principle that we (researchers) gather and assess evidence (by whatever means appropriate to our discipline) in order to put forward a claim which we then hope to persuade others (using reason and evidence) to accept as valid. Academic study across disciplines entails the careful analysis and evaluation of such claims, usually presented in articles in peer-reviewed journals or in books, in order to assess their validity, both in themselves and in relation to existing knowledge. In writing term papers for your courses, you are trying to learn how to write in this way. Though it may not seem like it at times, your objective is not to demonstrate to your course tutor that you have done the required reading, but being aware of the ideas in that reading, you are able to put forward credible analysis and argument that will convince others in your discipline.

Just as each text has an overall structure, with an introduction, a development of a main argument and conclusion, the smaller parts of each text also have their own micro-level structure. The smallest significant unit for the development of an idea is the paragraph. A paragraph is a text unit within which a single idea, or one aspect of a large and more complex topic, is developed and supported through a series of closely related sentences. The paragraph performs two main functions:

it introduces a new topic (or aspect of a topic) and develops it, usually making some sort of claim and supporting it

structurally and visually, it distinguishes the present (new) topic from the previous one and from the following one

The Structure of the Paragraph

An effective paragraph also has a clear and logical development over several sentences: each sentence has its role in building up an argument, whether by introducing a claim, expanding upon it, providing or analysing evidence, or drawing a conclusion. Though the theoretical research on paragraph structure is too complex to cover in detail here, some broad guidelines may be given.

The Topic Sentence

Most paragraphs will have a topic sentence. The topic sentence presents the topic of the paragraph; the remainder of the paragraph then develops that statement or idea further, supported by carefully related details. Because it introduces the subject that the paragraph is to develop, the topic sentence is typically the first sentence of the paragraph. It is effective in this position because the reader knows immediately what the paragraph is about.

Example:

> Much has been written about the social problems caused by the transition to democracy in Central Europe.

In certain situations, however, the topic sentence may appear elsewhere. For example, the first sentence of a paragraph may be a transition to link the coming idea back to the one that has just been discussed.

Example:

> The causes for the growing gap between the rich and the poor, then, have been well documented. Rather less attention, however, has been devoted to ways of reducing that gap.

In this example, the topic sentence is not the first but the second. A further case where a paragraph may not have a topic sentence is if it is the second or third of a series of paragraphs all of which share the topic sentence of the first.

The topic sentence, however, may not always contain the main argument of the paragraph. This is often developed in the next or later sentences, or in some cases, only in the conclusion of the paragraph, a form of argument known as 'inductive', which is most popular in the fields of law and the hard sciences.

Expansion or restatement

It is very common after the topic sentence for writers to develop further or expand their main idea. As just mentioned, this may involve the statement of a claim that will be supported by subsequent sentences. It is a

common stylistic strategy to start with a relatively simple topic sentence and then to expand it into a more precise statement or claim.

Example:

> Indeed, in the long term, it may be that the social problems of transition will in fact prove more difficult to overcome than either political or economic issues.

This sentence, following the topic sentence above starting "Much has been written about…" serves the purpose of coming more precisely to the point of the paragraph.

Limitation

Another strategy after the topic sentence is to immediately limit or narrow the paragraph to a precise aspect of the topic which will be discussed.

Example:

> Amongst these problems, however, some of the most serious are those experienced by women, whether this be in the family or in the workplace.

As an alternative to the expansion mentioned in the previous example, the writer may choose to narrow down from the general topic to their specific topic – in this case the problems of women in transition countries.

Illustration

A frequent feature of good paragraphs, and good arguments generally, is that having made a claim, the writer then brings evidence to support that claim. As we saw earlier in the course, a claim which is not substantiated with some sort of evidence is immediately suspicious to the critical reader. In academic writing, illustration may well take the form of reference to research carried out by others. We will deal with this aspect of writing more thoroughly later.

Example:

> Research by Hofstetter and Igel (1995), for example, has shown that women in former East Germany experienced considerably higher rates of depression and resorted more often to psychiatric help in coping with social change than their male counterparts.

Analysis/Conclusion

In some cultures it is considered enough to simply offer an example and leave the reader to draw their own conclusions. In English, however, it is common to explicitly analyze and discuss what an example proves and what can be learnt from it. Analysis may also be employed in direct relation to the topic sentence by addressing aspects of the topic, the expansion or the limitations mentioned.

Example:

> While one cannot, of course, dismiss the possibility that these figures are skewed by men's refusal to seek help for fear of appearing 'weak', nevertheless, comparable research in Hungary (Radnoti 1997) suggests that the areas in which the greatest social change has occurred, notably the conflict between breadwinning and child rearing, are areas where women are more involved than men.

In this case, the writer discusses the possibility that the evidence given in the sample sentence might be interpreted differently, then decides to provide further evidence which can be analysed in the same way.

Some paragraphs may finish with an analysis, as it may make a conclusive point which is obvious to the reader. Sometimes, however, a further sentence is needed to finish off the paragraph, making a statement on the topic or moving it forward in some way. However, effective paragraphs rarely finish with an example.

Example:

> Clearly then, the study of the social effects of transition should not neglect gender as an important factor for consideration.

In this case, the writer may feel that the analysis in the earlier example does not draw a sufficiently broad conclusion and thus expresses this general point explicitly in a concluding sentence.

Techniques for making your argument flow at paragraph level

Although a logical overall structure is important in a text, it is equally important to ensure that the ideas, claims and evidence flow smoothly at paragraph level so the reader can follow your argument. A number of techniques you can use to improve the quality of your writing at this level are described below.

Think of your writing as a dialogue

In good coherent writing, each sentence addresses the expectations that appear in the reader's mind when they read the sentence before. When they read a first sentence, various expectations may be formed in their mind. If the next sentence meets some or all of those expectations, the reader will see the logical connection. If the next sentence fails to meet any of the reader's expectations, he or she will need to go back and read again to see what the connection could be; having to do this is frustrating and makes for slower reading.[20] When checking your writing, it can be helpful to work through and see if there is actually a logical flow between sentences that the reader can follow. If not, you will need to add or revise.

Move from old information to new

Imagine you are at the airport and you want to find the gate for your flight. Which organization of information would be easiest for you to understand: a list by gate first then destination, or destination first, then gate?[21] The second would probably be more useful because it starts from what you already know. It is generally easier for your reader if you start with what they know (because you have said it earlier) and then move to the new information later in the sentence or paragraph. Whenever possible, try to make sure that if there is something in a sentence that refers back to what went before, that this is at the beginning, not the end, of the sentence.

Coherence

The entire paragraph should concern itself with a single focus, as expressed in the topic sentence. If it begins with one focus or major point of discussion, it should not end with another or wander within different ideas. The sentences should lead on from each other logically so that each one answers the questions that come into the reader's mind when they read the sentence before it. If the reader has to go back and read again two or three times to understand what you have written, this is an indication that the paragraph is not coherent and that sentences do not logically flow from one another.

The length of a paragraph may also serve as an indicator of coherence. If you have written a very long paragraph that fills a double-spaced typed page, for example, you should check it carefully to see if a new paragraph should start where the original paragraph wanders from its controlling idea. On the other hand, if a paragraph is very short (only one or two sentences, perhaps), you will probably need to develop its controlling idea more thoroughly, or combine it with another paragraph.

Cohesion – Transitional Devices

In a cohesive paragraph, each sentence relates clearly to the topic sentence and to the sentences on either side of it. This cohesion is provided partly by transition words such as *first, for example, however*, *in addition* which make clear to the reader how each sentence relates to the previous and where the paragraph is going. A cohesive paragraph also highlights the ties between old information and new information to make the structure of ideas or arguments clear to the reader. Think of it like tying or gluing the sentences together. Transitional devices emphasize the relationships between ideas, so they help readers follow your train of thought or see connections that they might otherwise miss or misunderstand. The paragraph below shows how carefully chosen transitions (in bold) lead the reader smoothly from the introduction to the conclusion of the paragraph.

> The fact that the Tamagotchi is a miniaturized toy and can **therefore** easily be held and transported seems to be of great importance in its ability to elicit feelings of affection. **Certainly** there have long been computer mounted versions of pets – incorporated into the larger screen – which have not

[20] This idea is originally taken from Michael Hoey's book *On the Surface of Discourse* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984).

[21] This example is taken from a presentation workshop by John Bean. *From Novice to Expert: Accelerating Student Growth as Academic Writers*, European Association of Teachers of Academic Writing Conference, Groningen, June 2001.

> seemed to draw much reaction. **As a result of** this tactile or mobile element, children can stand in clusters each holding their own Tamagotchi, comparing qualities and deficiencies, **as well as** their own caretaking behavior and what they have or have not administered to their virtual pets. **Furthermore**, it is easy to show to others, providing them with the opportunity to boast of their acquisition, **thereby** becoming members of an 'in-group' of those children socially attuned to and with access to current trends. **Moreover** its small size permits them to hold it in the palm of a hand, to cuddle it, to take it to bed with them and to hide it in a pocket. **In other words**, the Tamagotchi allows for a relative sense of intimacy in relation to its owner. It is here, **then** that the unscripted action takes place.[22]

In this example, we can also see the development described earlier. The topic sentence introduces one aspect, portability, of the larger topic, the popularity of the Tamagotchi. The second sentence expands and confirms the importance of portability by comparison to unsuccessful, non-portable versions of the same game on computers. Subsequent sentences (using *furthermore, moreover*) add and explain (*thereby*) several advantages of portability before a penultimate sentence that sums up (*in other words*) the essence of portability, and a concluding sentence that relates this feature back to the larger issue of 'unscripted action' discussed earlier in the text. The transition words used help the reader to understand how each sentence carries forward the argument about the significance of portability in accounting for popularity.

There are many different transition words and phrases, and all have slightly different meanings, however, some of them are roughly similar. If you are not sure exactly how a word is used, many grammar books and websites contain lists of transition words, however very few give any guidance or examples as to how to use them. A good way to find out how transitions are used is to use a concordancer, which searches many, many authentic texts for examples of how a word is used.

Lexical cohesion

As well as transitional devices, lexical items can also provide a paragraph with cohesion. Lexical cohesion[23] means repeating the same word, or using synonyms or other related words to help hold your text together. Particularly in paragraphs in which you define or identify an important idea or theory, be consistent in how you refer to it. This consistency and repetition will bind the paragraph together and help your reader understand your definition or description.

One strategy that strengthens paragraphs is the use of two or more parallel phrases with the similar grammatical structure. Such parallel structures make sentences clearer and easier to read. In addition, repeating a pattern in a series of consecutive sentences helps the reader see the connections between ideas. The paragraph below uses this technique very effectively. The parallel structures and lexical repetitions have been underlined.

> No woman gives birth to a baby. She gives birth to a girl or a boy, who will grow up to become a woman or a man. Descriptions of birth experiences sometimes tell us that the parents remained momentarily oblivious to the child's gender. But ***that*** is not usual. Birth attendants almost always announce the sex of the child even as she or he emerges: ***it*** is a crucial piece of information which will have profound effects on the way that the family relates to the child, how others see the child, and how the child learns to know who she or he is. ***This*** will, in turn, shape the ways in which the child-become-adult comes to express his or her self in solitude and with other people. [24]

Use of Clear Reference

Reference words (words or phrases which refer to something which is mentioned earlier in the text *this, she, such problems, these examples*) are extremely helpful in guiding the reader as to relationships between and within sentences. There are basically three types of simple reference:

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[22] Linda-Renee Bloch and Dafna Lemish, "Disposable Love: the Rise and Fall of a Virtual Pet," *New Media & Society*, Vol. 1, no.3 (1999), 289.

[23] The term is taken from Michael McCarthy, Discourse for Language Teachers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[24] Stephanie Dowrick, *Intimacy and Solitude* (London: The Women's Press, 1992).

It/they	Weak	Refers back to a noun in the same or a previous sentence[25]
This/these	Stronger	Refers back, usually to a larger idea or concept in a previous sentence
This/these + repeated noun, synonym or summary word	Strongest	Refers back to previous sentence or paragraph

Notice how both 'it' and 'this' (in bold italics) are used in the paragraph about birth above to refer back to earlier ideas or concepts. 'It' refers specifically to the sex of the child (within one sentence), while 'this' refers to the whole combination of 'the way that the family relates to the child, how others see the child, and how the child learns to know who she or he is' in the previous sentence. Neither word can replace the other.

Conclusion

In short, we can see that just as larger texts have a logical structure, each individual paragraph also has a structure, and that carefully planned paragraph development can help you to present and support your claims effectively so that your reader can follow and accept your argument. Reference and cohesive devices also help to hold paragraphs together, making explicit the role of sentences and their relationship to each other so that the reader can understand your ideas with less effort.

Task 1.

Consider what the text is about. If you have problems understanding, try discussing the meaning with another student. Decide together what the problem is that prevents you from understanding.

A newspaper is better than a magazine, and a park is a more suitable place than a busy street, though in any case you need plenty of room. At first you will almost certainly find it more helpful to run than to walk, and you may have to try several times before succeeding. While there is a certain amount of skill involved, it is easy enough to learn, even for small children. Once you have got the hang of it, complications are minimal and it can be very peaceful, though too many people doing the same thing can cause problems at times.[26]

[25] 'It' may occasionally also refer forward, (cataphoric reference), for example, the word 'it' in the last sentence of the Tamagotchi paragraph refers forward to 'here'.

[26] Adapted from Marty Klein, "Context and Memory" in *Activities handbook for the teaching of psychology*, Eds. L. T. Benjamin, Jr. and K. D. Lowman (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1981), 83

Identifying the paragraph as a unit

Find the paragraph breaks in the following text. Be prepared to explain to others how you made your decisions. When you have finished, your teacher will give you a copy with the original breaks for further analysis.

Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century: "Old Wine in New Bottles"

Stephen Fischer-Galati, The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century (1990).

Three times during the twentieth century – in 1918, 1945, and 1989 – Eastern Europe was to be made "safe for democracy". The dismantling of the empires of the Habsburgs, Ottoman sultans, Russian tsars, Hitler's Germany, and that of the Soviet Union in the face of the irresistible force of the oppressed nations' quest for democracy has fulfilled the axiomatic ideological position of Western champions of the principle of self-determination of nationalities. Yet even after the overthrow of the most pernicious forms of totalitarianism democracy remains illusory. It may well be asked what factors mitigated against the triumph of democracy after the world wars and to what extent these factors remain relevant today. The failure of democracy to take root or to develop in the way that Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and others expected has been attributed, in rather simplistic terms, to a variety of external and internal developments that are presumably becoming irrelevant. The rise of totalitarianism in Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union in the interwar years taken in conjunction with French and British appeasement and American isolationism, as well as the economic devastation caused by the Great Depression, had a negative impact on the democratic evolution of Eastern Europe. Similarly, Western errors at Yalta, reflecting political naivety with respect to Stalin's aggressive imperialism, made possible the conquest of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union. According to the proponents of such explanations, the forces of democracy that have prevailed in Germany since World War II are making headway in the Soviet Union itself under Mikhail Gorbachev. These forces are being supplemented and reinforced by Japan, the United States, and a European community vocally committed to the promotion of human rights, tolerance of ethnic and religious diversity, political pluralism, a market economy, and a new world order. These factors are likely to further and facilitate the democratic revolution and evolution of Eastern Europe in the future. Internal factors, designed to explain the retardation of the democratic evolution of the nations of Eastern Europe, range over a wide area. They include the standard lack of democratic experience in the face of fascist aggression in the 1930s and the more realistic assessment of nationalist excesses and internecine conflicts between diverse ethnic, nationalistic, and religious groups. In addition, we must consider the failure of ruling elites to address social and economic inequities, with a corresponding exacerbation of class conflicts leading to the eventual failure of fledgling democratic experiments of the interwar period. Western analysts routinely attribute the inability of democratic forces to assert themselves after World War II to Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. However, with the removal of the barriers to democracy following the collapse of the communist regimes of Eastern Europe in 1989, the democratic inclinations of the peoples of Eastern Europe, inflamed by decades of totalitarian repression, are assumed to have been unleashed and to be bound to triumph in the age of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. As appealing as these premises may be for interested parties and well-wishers, it may be well worth assessing their validity in the light of the historic realities of the twentieth century. It is indisputable that external factors played a major role in the destabilization of Eastern Europe in the interwar years, yet the failure of the democratic experiments might more reasonably be attributed primarily to internal factors in all the Eastern bloc countries (except perhaps Czechoslovakia). The presumption that the principle of self-determination of nationalities represented the ultimate expression of the oppressed nation's search for and commitment to Wilsonian

democracy and peaceful coexistence among the peoples of Eastern Europe on both intra- and international bases was erroneous from its inception. It simply ignored prevailing political, cultural, and socio-economic realities. By the end of World War I, social, economic, and political retardation were characteristic of most of the region. The largely agrarian, semiliterate societies were politically immature; they were certainly uncommitted to — and in most cases, unfamiliar with — democracy. The political culture, such as it was, has its roots in ecclesiastical and monarchical paternalism. This was most evident in the Orthodox and Catholic communities which comprised the majority of the inhabitants of the successor states. State armies, with their inherent stratifications that cut across some nationalist, religious, and class lines, provided points of identification, but little in the way of political organization. It seems fair to surmise that church, monarchy, and army were no more committed to Wilsonian democracy than were the majority of political organizations striving for leadership in the struggle for national independence and self-determination. National self-determination presupposed the total elimination of the imperial orders and the creation of the largest national states from the remnants of empires and competing national states. Nationalism, often virulent, became the standard for all political groups seeking the support of the masses and the ear of the peacemakers committed to the dissolution of the empires and the creation of democratic states. This brand of nationalism, however, was generally intolerant of religious and ethnic diversity and focused most explicitly on territorial issues. Disputes over the borders of the successor states tended to exacerbate conflicts among various ethnic and religious groups. In this respect most inflammatory was the singling out of Jews — outcasts both on religious and ethnic grounds — as not only unidentifiable with national causes but also overt opponents of national states by virtue of their presumed affiliation with Bolshevism.

Paragraph Cohesion and Coherence – The following paragraph analysed

The extent of political **negativism** and **intolerance** varied from **country to country** *(topic sentence in the form of a claim, short and clear and linking back with negativism and intolerance).* It was **least** evident in urbanized and industrialized Bohemia and Moravia in present Czechoslovakia. *(this sentence deals quickly with the less interesting countries)* It was **most striking** in **Hungary** and **Romania**, albeit for **different** reasons. *(limits the focus and sets up the structure of the rest of the paragraph, first Hungary and then Romania)* The Hungarians **resented** the loss of Transylvania to Romania more than any other territorial loss they suffered at the end of World War I. The revolution that brought to power the communist regime of Bela Kun contained the roots of an identification of Hungarian Jews with Bolshevism. *(and then Romania …)* In turn, the leaders of Greater Romania **fearful** of Hungarian irredentism and, even more so, of the Bolsheviks' rejection of the annexation of Bessarabia by Romania in 1918, made the defense of the country's national and territorial integrity against Hungary and "Judeo-Communists" *a sine qua non* for political success.

DEVELOPING MACRO-LEVEL ARGUMENT

Academic writing is not simply a matter of reciting the opinions of others; rather it is the process of arguing a case. Your decisions about which information to include, which authorities to refer to, what to quote, how to explain and interpret data, or which methodology to choose should all be driven by a central desire to argue your position.

It is important to remember therefore, that your writing needs to persuade your readers that what you have to say is relevant and important. This means that you have to develop certain strategies and 'tools' in order to put your point across effectively, and you have to take into consideration the expectations and views of your audience as you write. Studying argumentation can help you to understand these critical tools. However, reading and talking about the qualities of good and bad arguments is only one part of the process. It is essential to actually argue in writing in order to get better at it.

The skills that you need to think logically in evaluating the writing of others are very much the same as those you need in developing your own arguments. The process of producing a clear and convincing argument helps a writer to mature as a thinker and a critic because written argumentation facilitates the development of important mental skills: developing and organising ideas, evaluating evidence, observing logical consistency, and expressing yourself clearly and economically. All of these are valuable skills in any field of academic study.

The Structure of an Argument

In the English Academic Writing tradition, writers are expected to announce their position at the beginning, and build this argument up over the course of the paper. While no two papers are ever organized the same way (for example many include a section on background information or a literature review) there are four parts or stages that are almost always present. These four are discussed below.

The Introduction

Except in certain literary genres, such as detective novels, it is unusual for the reader to be thrown straight into the middle of the action. In most types of writing, the first thing that a writer does is to introduce the subject to be dealt with. The purpose of this introductory paragraph is to introduce the problem or the issue that is to be debated and explain what the debate is about. It will also often lead from the more general situation toward the specific issue you plan to discuss. If you want for example to address the topic of infringements of article 13 of the European Convention of Human Rights in Albania, you might well want to start with the topic of human rights generally, then focus on human rights in Albania, before finally addressing specifically article 13 in Albania. Although there is no formula for writing a successful introduction, the following elements commonly appear:

Introductory Statements

The first sentence of an essay needs to present the debate in an interesting enough way to persuade your reader to keep reading. You might present striking facts and figures, or outline the importance or the gravity of the problem and thus the need to achieve the right solution. Following this, you will need to lead your reader into the topic, present the sides of the debate and narrow in on the specific area you will be discussing, so as to prepare for your thesis statement.

Thesis Statement

This serves as the controlling force of your essay. The thesis statement states the position you are arguing, that is, which side you are going to defend. You may find it strange to say at the beginning of an essay what the conclusion will be rather than withholding your conclusions until the end. In English academic writing, however, it is normal and even desirable to tell your reader what position you are going to take at the beginning.

Presenting your Case

Once you have laid the ground for the discussion in the introduction and outlined the position you intend to adopt, much of the body of the essay is the arena in which you present your case and try to persuade your reader that you are right. A well-presented case will convince the reader that because certain facts are true, and because certain beliefs are shared between writer and reader, the reader should therefore accept the writer's conclusions as being valid and acceptable.

The most common way of presenting a case in academic writing is to make an assertion or *claim* and then provide evidence to *support* it, usually but not always in the form of facts and examples. It is equally possible to start with a review of evidence and sample situations (support) and then to draw a conclusion (claim) from them. The following paragraph from an essay on censorship provides an example of the 'claim-support' approach:

> Censorship, by its very nature, goes against the principles of a democratic society. [*Claim*] It is fundamentally undemocratic because it limits freedom of expression and allows the few to dictate what the many may - or may not - view, read or listen to. [*Support*] For example, removing a controversial book from circulation in a public library, for whatever reason, cuts its author off from a large number of readers who have no other way to access the book. At the same time, the select group of individuals who decide to pull something off the shelf is, in effect, telling the general public that it may not read the book. [*These two examples develop the supporting sentence.*] This action, therefore, is more in keeping with a "dictate-orship" than a democracy. [*Restatement of initial claim*]

Behind these basic building blocks of claim and support lie the *assumptions* on which a claim is based. Assumptions are the philosophical or moral views that we hope others in our society, including our reader, will share. For example, a discussion about arranged marriages may be underpinned by the assumption that people are free to make their own choices. We hope that our reader will share our assumption; if they don't, they will be unlikely to accept the claim that marriages arranged by parents violate people's fundamental rights. If this is not the case, then we will need to argue differently; our assumptions themselves will then become claims and will need to be supported. Remember that as English is a lingua franca, not all readers of a particular journal will come from similar cultures and share similar views of the world! Therefore be very cautious when deciding on your assumptions.

Anticipating Objections

The conventions of English academic rhetoric require the writer at some stage to acknowledge the opposing views. It may at first sight appear contradictory or detrimental to your position to show the other side of the argument; however, there are a number of good reasons for acknowledging the opposition. First, if you do not anticipate objections, you are deliberately suppressing the evidence against your case, and this lack of objectivity will very likely lose you your reader's sympathy. Remember that you are trying to persuade your reader to agree with you, not deceive them into agreeing.

Moreover, your argument will have more credibility if you acknowledge that there are views markedly different from your own. As in any situation where you are trying to persuade someone of something, there will be people who disagree with you. By anticipating their objections and showing how those objections are less valid or well grounded than your own views, or how your awareness of these views has led you to modify your position, you strengthen your own case.

Finally, the practice of including the opposition refines critical thinking, forcing you as a writer to situate yourself within an ongoing debate and realise that other points of view not only exist, but also have validity.

Common Techniques for Dealing with Objections

As a general rule, you should start by identifying the opposing position. It is worth doing this as thoroughly and fairly as you can, given the space available, because misrepresenting or trivialising it is likely to earn you the sympathy of only the most uncritical reader. Once you have stated the opposing view, you will want to do one or more of the following:

suggest solutions to the challenges that the opposing view poses to your argument

point out weaknesses or problems in the support underlying the opposing claim

make concessions to the opposing view and suggest a compromise position or solution

The following example from an argumentative essay on censorship illustrates how anticipation of the opposing argument can serve to strengthen your own thesis. After writing the introduction and thesis, several paragraphs are developed in which it is argued that censorship is 'a bad idea', perhaps for several different reasons. Following this, the writer might include a paragraph (or more) on the following lines, acknowledging the other side of the argument and making some concessions:

> While censorship is dangerous to a free society, some of the concerned citizens who are in favour of censorship may have valid points when they object that children should not be exposed to television violence. [*Concession made and an objection anticipated*] Indeed, often there is too much violence on television. [*Concession and point of agreement*] Perhaps the answer is for all networks to establish the same guidelines of self-censorship. [*Compromise solution offered*] If the networks were more responsible and tried to avoid material that is poor in taste, governmental officials, religious groups, and concerned parents might not feel the need to be involved in their decisions at all.

Where you place the counter-argument, how much space you devote to it and how you deal with it are just some of the choices you make when writing an effective essay.

The Conclusion

Many writers are often unsure what to include in the conclusion. It is not advisable at this stage to start introducing new ideas that have not already been raised in the body of the essay. It is also unwise to use your conclusion as a kind of 'now here's what *I* think' section. By doing so, you are likely to give the impression that anybody can think whatever they want. Remember that your purpose is not just to tell your reader what you think, but to persuade them that what you think is in fact a tenable and valid position that they might also wish to adopt, or at least acknowledge. We recommend you begin with the following features:

Restatement of Thesis

Restate and stress the importance of your original thesis statement as the entire essay has been spent arguing and supporting this point. Some writers feel that restating the thesis verbatim is an effective rhetorical device, while others believe it is better to rephrase it.

Synthesis of the Argument

In the conclusion you should restate and summarise briefly the main points of your argument. Try to show the reader how the points you made and the evidence and examples you used fit together to prove your argument.

A Final Word

Almost all types of extended writing will require an introduction and a conclusion, and whenever you are involved in discussing or presenting ideas, you will need to make claims and support them, consider the opposing side of the argument and present reasons why that view or interpretation is less valid than the one you believe in. Throughout all this, your writing will need to be guided by a clear sense of the knowledge and expectations of your audience so that it fulfils those expectations both in terms of content and structure. Taking all of these factors into consideration when you write and redraft your work will enable you to become a more effective writer.

The Thesis Statement

The topic sentence of your paragraph constitutes the central claim at the micro level of argumentation. At the macro level this function is fulfilled by the thesis statement, which is the main argument of your paper. It is crucial to phrase your thesis statement accurately, so that the research community can get a clear idea of what your major point is.

Checklist for Evaluating your Thesis Statement

The checklist below can serve as a guide to help you write a clear and explicit thesis statement that will accurately reflect your intentions.

1. Do you avoid hedges that cast into question your competence as a researcher?
2. Does your TS precisely define the scope of your research?
3. Does your TS state the ultimate goal of your paper, i.e. what you set out to achieve?

Thus, if we start with this thesis statement:

> *This paper will attempt to discuss some aspects of the Mongolian 1992 constitution.*

1. Hedges (cautious language) are often used in academic writing so as not to imply that the author has found the only correct answer but is rather offering a valid interpretation; however, the place for hedges is not in your thesis statement. Do not tell the reader that you will '*try*', '*attempt*', or '*make efforts*' to do something; simply tell them you will do it. They can judge for themselves how successful you are; there is no need to lower their expectations at the outset by implying you will not succeed.

Revision 1:

> This thesis will *attempt to* discuss some aspects of the Mongolian 1992 constitution.

2. The sample TS is weak because it only tells what will be happening during the thesis. The nature of your research is not to discuss, but to use discussion (or better, analysis or evaluation) as a way of deciding how things are or what should be done - it is a *means*, not an *end*. It is also weak because it only tells us of the intent to look at some aspects of the constitution - we don't know which ones. Always try to define as narrowly as possible the aspects of the research topic that you will consider, so that both you and your reader know what you are doing and what you are *not* doing.

Revision 2:

> This thesis will attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of some aspects of the Mongolian 1992 constitution, focusing specifically on the legitimacy of the constitution making process and the question of constitutional continuity .

3. You should provide the central argument, or key finding in a TS. Go to the library and check out theses or journals in your area to see how common this is. Below is an example.

Revision 3:

> This thesis will evaluate the effectiveness of the Mongolian 1992 constitution, focusing specifically on the legitimacy of the constitution making process and the question of constitutional continuity. *It will be shown that the roots of the present political crisis lie in the failure of the powers involved in the process to ensure a legitimate constitution.*

In addition to all this, when you have finished your paper make sure that the thesis statement does indeed reflect what you have done. Research goals sometimes shift in the process of carrying out the research, and with good reason. Therefore you should check that your thesis statement reflects what you have done, not what you intended to do when you first started.

USING THE WORK OF OTHER AUTHORS IN YOUR WRITING

> *The embedding of arguments in networks of references not only suggests an appropriate disciplinary orientation but reminds us that statements are invariably a response to previous statements and are themselves available for further statements by others.* Ken Hyland[27]

Writing is the principal means of communication in the academic community, with ideas and evidence being exchanged through the publication of articles and books. The rules of discourse in this academic community require that you, the writer,[28] situate yourself in relation to the existing body of published knowledge, whether in order to use it as support, to exemplify a point, to build on it, or to take issue with it. The term for this reference to the works of other authors is *citation*.[29] In order to be accepted as an academic, you have to fulfil two requirements: you have to show some sort of original contribution to the discipline, and at the same time, you have to demonstrate that you are, as Phillips and Pugh put it, 'aware of what is being discovered, argued about, written and published by your academic community across the world'.[30] Academic writing is often seen as a kind of balancing act between these two contradictory aims, and this balance is certainly something that many students find difficult to achieve. As one former CEU student put it: 'if you use too many sources, your own ideas get lost, but if you write on your own, it's like 'who's interested? – where's the authority?'[31] Making reference to published *authors* who have said something similar or discussed similar questions is the key way of increasing your own '*authority*' – establishing your credentials as someone who is entitled to contribute to the academic dialogue.

1. Citation systems

The choice of citation system you use is likely to be determined by your department, which will have identified a standard system from among several that are available. Books known as style manuals will then explain to you exactly how to refer correctly to the sources you use within that system. Some professors may say that they are happy for you to use any standard system so long as you are consistent, but it is wise not to assume that because one professor allows you to use a certain system, others will too. As questions about citation can become very technical and detailed, we will not go into these here, but will briefly outline the two principal types: embedded and footnoted.

a) Embedded citation

In embedded styles, common in the social sciences, the work you refer to is indicated by a note in parentheses, in the body of the text, which includes the surname of the author, the year of publication, and in the case of quotations, the page number(s). For example:

> Queer research may thus expand well beyond the field of sexualities projects towards the 'analysis of the production of that knowledge itself' (Fotopoulou 2012, p.29).[32]

If the name of an author is part of your sentence, then only the date of publication goes in parentheses, after the name. The details such as the title of the article, journal where it was published and so on then appear in the reference list at the end of the paper.

b) Footnoted citation

Footnoted styles are more commonly used in the humanities. The same text shown above, when using a footnoted system would look like this:

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27 Ken Hyland, *Disciplinary Discourses: Social Interactions in Academic Writing* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 21.

28 As initiated by Thompson and Ye (in Hyland), we use the term 'writer' here to mean the person now doing the writing (ie. you), and 'author' to mean the author of the published text you are citing.

29 *Citation* is the act of naming an author and the work from which ideas have been taken. Citation is not the same as quotation. Quotation means repeating a person's actual words. Of course, if you quote an author, you will also need to provide a citation.

30 E. Phillips and D. Pugh, 1994. *How to get a PhD.* Quoted in D. Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook* (London: Sage Publications, 2000).

31 Piret Pernik, IRES MA Student 2000-01.

32 From Aristea Fotopoulou, Intersectionality Queer Studies and Hybridity: Methodological Frameworks for Social Research, Journal of International Women's Studies Vol 13 #2 March 2012. The footnoted citation has been adapted from it.

> Queer research may thus expand well beyond the field of sexualities projects towards the 'analysis of the production of that knowledge itself.'[1]
>
> [1] Aristea Fotopoulou, Intersectionality Queer Studies and Hybridity: Methodological Frameworks for Social Research, *Journal of International Women's Studies* Vol 13 #2 March 2012.

The footnote reference at the bottom of the page provides information as to the author's name, title of the article, journal details and so on. Subsequent references to the same work do not need to include all of this information, only the author's name and (in case of quotation) page number.

The most important thing is not to mix the two systems. If you are using a footnotes, don't put citations in parentheses in the text as well. Journals that use embedded systems do permit footnotes or endnotes, but these are for the purpose of providing incidental comments, and when references are included in such explanatory notes they should also be in embedded style. For more information on citation, consult Kate Turabian's "A Manual for Writers,"[33] the APA Style Guide, or the Chicago Manual of Style Online http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/16/contents.html. The Online Manual is only available within CEU via the CEU Library's subscription.

2. How is previous research used in building an argument?

As mentioned above, academic writing is often a balancing act between making a contribution and drawing on the work of others, and achieving this balance is something that many students find difficult. As one CEU student put it: 'if you use too many sources, your own ideas get lost, but if you write on your own, it's like 'who's interested? – where's the authority?'[34] Making reference to published *authors* who have said something similar or discussed similar questions is the key way of increasing your own '*authority*' – establishing your credentials as someone who is entitled to contribute to the academic dialogue. Bojana Petrić presents eight main categories.[35] Petrić's examples are taken from CEU MA theses but our examples from published articles suggest similar categories exist across academic writing.

Attribution

Here, the writer is simply 'attributing' information to a published author, that is, saying where it came from.

> Human beings need parental care for a prolonged period to survive physically and to develop mentally and emotionally. Even the best institutions fail to provide the care that infants and young children need (Bartholet, 2007a, p. 346 and n. 25, pp. 347–348).[36]

Attribution can also be done with a reporting verb (e.g. So-and-so argues, claims, points out, etc.) bringing the cited author into the sentence. This approach moves away from simple attribution and begins to hint at the (student) writer's attitude towards the source. We discuss the use or avoidance of reporting verbs further in section 3 below.

Petrić identifies attribution as the most 'basic,' descriptive form of citation (accounting for 78% of instances in the high graded theses she examined and 91% in the low graded theses) She suggests that as it is only a form of 'knowledge telling' and does not necessarily involve analysis or input from the writer, over-reliance on this type of source use is likely to be associated with lower grades, given that good grades are usually awarded for analysis and writer input.

Exemplification

A slightly more effective use of sources is where the writer makes a claim of their own and exemplifies this with information from a specific source.

> Medicalization, in other words, depoliticizes suffering. Scheper-Hughes (1992:196) provides a stark example: when doctors in the Brazilian slums treat hunger with tranquilizers, "health professionals contribute to the

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33 Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

34 Piret Pernik, IRES MA Student 2000-01.

35 Bojana Petric. 2007. Rhetorical functions of citations in high- and low-rated master's theses. Journal of English for Academic Purposes 6 238-253. She actually provides nine categories, but as the last is 'unclassifiable' we do not include it here.

36 Elizabeth Bartholet "International Adoption: The Human Rights Position" Global Policy 1/1 (January 2010) 91-100.

> process whereby more and more forms of human discontent are filtered through ever-expanding categories of sickness, which are then treated, if not 'cured,' pharmaceutically."[37]

The writer's claim here – that medicalisation depoliticises suffering – is a generalisation, which is supported by a specific example from another author. While Scheper-Hughes probably would agree with the generalisation, so might plenty of others, including the writer, who thus takes a little more ownership of the claim.

Further reference

It is common to refer the reader to other articles or books that will fill in detailed information if required. In this case, the writer usually does not discuss or comment on these sources but simply includes them in parentheses or in a footnote with the word 'see'.

> Throughout the childhood years, parents and other adults largely control what is purchased which, of course, reflects what those adults perceive as appropriate or inappropriate toys for the children in their lives, though children are also important active agents in expressing their toy choices and how they play with toys; in this respect, children also engage in gender self-socialization (see Tobin et al. 2010).[38]

Here the reader who wishes to learn more about children's gender self-socialisation is being referred to Tobin for more detailed information. 'See' may be used with multiple sources at once, as discussed under 'Clustering' below.

Evaluation

It is important not just to summarise but to evaluate the work of authors that you have presented, for example:

> A widely cited report from Ferris Research (2005) placed the worldwide cost of spam in 2005 at $50 billion; Ferris raised its estimate to $100 billion in 2007 and $130 billion in 2009 (Jennings 2009). However, the Ferris reports did not describe how they estimated such key parameters as the amount of time per worker spent deleting spam; indeed, one of the authors of that report indicated to us that their work was "not a scientific survey," but that it attempted to be a lower-bound estimate.[39]

Evaluation is an important part of the writer's contribution, which if done judiciously can increase the grade, though Petrić notes that inappropriately critical or dismissive treatment of the ideas of published authors is a weakness of some student writing.[40] If your evaluation is negative, it is wise to voice it cautiously and make sure you can defend your criticism, ideally with reference to another published author's ideas.

Establishing links between sources

It is common to compare and contrast different sources. This can either strengthen a view or else show there is room for disagreement and/or further research.

> In alternative hard rock subcultures, for example, girl bands challenge the homophobia common in rock as well as transform stigmatized femininities (like "slut" or "bitch") into markers of power. In her ethnography of the sport of roller derby, Finley (2010) also finds that women in this context are able to cultivate alternative femininities. Similarly, drag performances can challenge dominant understandings of gender and sexuality (Rupp, Taylor, and Shapiro 2010). However, not all forms of gender resistance result in a disruption of the gender order. Synthesizing across previous work, Finley asserts that in contexts where men dominate and control resources, it is less likely that women's enactment of unconventional femininity will transform the gender order (2010, 366).[41]

Here the writer's role is to analyse the relationship between the findings or approaches of different studies. This will often serve to justify the focus or direction of his or her own work. While according to Petrić, all

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[37] Claire Wendland. "Animating Biomedicine's Moral Order: The Crisis of Practice in Malawian Medical Training." *Current Anthropology* 53:6 (December 2012), pp. 755-788 (p. 757)

[38] Carol J. Auster & Claire S. Mansbach "The Gender Marketing of Toys: An Analysis of Color and Type of Toy on the Disney Store Website." *Sex Roles* (2012) 67:375–388

[39] Justin M. Rao and David H. Reiley. "The Economics of Spam." The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 26:3 (2012), pp. 87-110.

[40] Petric 2007, p. 239.

[41] Emily Kazyak. "Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality." *Gender & Society* December 2012 26: 825-848

students do this most in the literature review part of their thesis, high-graded theses also did it a lot in the introduction, which low-graded theses did not.

Clustering/Grouping

In certain parts of the paper, a common strategy not specifically mentioned by Petric is grouping several sources to support a particular view or focus. This could be considered a variation on 'Establishing links between sources,' but as it looks rather different we consider it separately.

> By far, most studies in the field rely on survey data (Fay, Hurst, and White 2002; White 1998a) with a few exceptions (Domowitz and Sartain 1999; Sullivan, Warren, and Westbrook 1989, 1994; Warren 1997, 2005) that use small samples of bankrupt households in the 1980s and 1990s.[42]

A long list of sources behind a statement may also show that a considerable consensus has been achieved on an issue, and/or that a particular issue has received a great deal of attention, thus making it a central and important research topic.

> These criticisms notwithstanding, EU conditionality was generally very effective in prompting the CEECs' alignment with the acquis (Andonova 2003; Grabbe 2006; Jacoby 2004; Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005a; see also Kelley 2004; Vachudova 2005).[43]

This strategy is most commonly used in introductions, where groups of scholars and their research are often being mapped out in relation to each other.

Application

Here the writer's own research is being consolidated by showing that it is compatible or works with and within constructs and frameworks put forward by other writers.

> I have also tried to understand women's desire for cosmetic surgery and their subjective narratives as they are 'inhabited through other categories' (Skeggs, 1997: 166) such as class, race, age, sexuality and gender and the everyday mundane experiences that create identity and position individuals within society.[44]

Petrić's research revealed that while weak theses only used this strategy in the methodology section, strong theses used it throughout, constantly keeping the work of others in mind and relating it to their own research.

Comparison of one's own findings with other sources

Findings, like questions, need to be related to what others have found previously. In combination, do they show consensus, difference, new insights, or other implications?

> If we contrast this [*i.e. the writer's own*] result with the estimates of the ratio between wheat wages of English and Indian unskilled laborers around 1850 (Broadberry and Gupta, 2006, quoted above), we note that the UK/India unskilled wage gap has increased from around 3.3 to 1 in 1850 to more than 9 to 1 today.[45]

Not surprisingly, this strategy is most commonly used in the final parts of a paper, such as discussion or conclusions. Again, Petrić found that high-graded CEU theses contained more citations of this type in their closing chapters than did low-graded ones, which often limit themselves to summarising the writer's own findings. We have also found that new students commonly assume (wrongly) that the conclusion is 'not the place for the work of other writers'.

3. To quote or not to quote?

Having decided that the research you have done is helpful in presenting your position, and that you want to cite a particular author, you still have to make a choice as to the best way of doing this. There are basically three issues to consider when using the work of other writers:

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42 Ning Zhu, "Household Consumption and Personal Bankruptcy," *Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol.40 (January 2011) 1-37.

43 Ulrich Sedelmeier. "After conditionality: post-accession compliance with EU law in East Central Europe" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15:6 Sept 2008: 806-825

44 Jacqueline Sanchez Taylor "Fake breasts and power: Gender, class and cosmetic surgery." Women's Studies International Forum 35 (2012) 458–466.

45 Branco Milanovic. "Global Inequality: From Class to Location, from Proletarians to Migrants" Global Policy 3/2 (2012) 125-134

- whether or not to quote a writer's words
- how to paraphrase or summarize a writer's words if you decide not to quote
- whether or not to use the writer's name in your sentence, together with a reporting verb such as 'notes' or 'suggests' to distinguish their ideas from your own

These three issues will be dealt with in more detail below:

a) Using direct quotation

In general, when writers choose to quote rather than paraphrase, they usually do so because the language in the text is vivid, provocative, unusual, or because the exact wording is historically or legally important; and this could possibly be lost in a paraphrase or summary.

For example, Adrian Hyde-Price, in an article on Europeanization, wrote:

> That great diplomatic virtuoso, Otto von Bismarck, once declared that: 'A statesman cannot create anything himself. He must wait and listen until he hears the steps of God sounding through events; then leap up and grasp the hem of his garment' (Taylor 1955: 115).[46]

Clearly, Bismarck's famous words are so poetic that to paraphrase them would lose a great deal. In this case *how* Bismarck said it is as important as what he said. Hyde-Price goes on immediately to quote someone equally famous but, as he admits, less poetic:

> Henry Kissinger expressed the same idea more prosaically: 'The test of a statesman', he wrote, 'is his ability to recognize the real relationship of forces and to make this knowledge serve his ends' (Kissinger 1957: 325).

Finally, Hyde Price ends his article with his own conclusion about the ESDP, which he has been analyzing, showing how Bismarck's words (which he repeats but partly paraphrases) are relevant to it.

> The ESDP will undoubtedly continue to be 'shaped and shoved' by structural pressures, but its future will also depend very much on the ability of European leaders to hear God's footsteps sounding through events and 'then leap up and grasp the hem of his garment'.

Note how Hyde Price decides to paraphrase "the steps of God" on second mention but keeps the last phrase as in the original. He also takes the trouble to introduce both authors before he quotes them (see underlining). We recommend you follow this strategy: don't just throw in a naked quotation to do your work for you; introduce the author by name, then tell us what they say.

How do you know when and how much to quote?

Research by Hyland[47] into the use of citation in research articles in both sciences and humanities suggests that quotations are relatively rare compared to summary or paraphrase. Hyland's figures suggest that even in the humanities, only 8-12% of all citations involve quotation.[48] If your paper focuses on some primary source, such as a significant speech, an important manuscript, or some government document or legislation, you may need to quote more extensively from the original, explaining such matters as the content, tone, wording, and structure of that work. Secondary sources, however, such as critics who have commented on the primary source or experts in related fields, should be quoted much less frequently. Again, to maintain your own voice, if you quote someone, don't just leave your reader to work out for themselves why you quoted that person; follow up the quotation with a comment of your own which ties it into your argument.

How to incorporate quotation into your writing

Your department will be able to advise you on the exact techniques it requires for quotation and referencing. Some basic guidelines are given here:

a) Always quote accurately.

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46 Adrian Hyde-Price. 'Normative' power Europe: a realist critique. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2 March 2006, p.235-251

47 Hyland, 26.

48 This figure refers to quotations from secondary sources. The number of quotations you include from interviews conducted during fieldwork will depend on the topic.

b) Enclose all quoted material in quotation marks (“ ”) and cite the exact source immediately after the quotation, even if you have mentioned this source earlier. If you need to quote longer passages (usually more than four lines[49]), set the quotation off in an indented, single-spaced block (called a ‘block quotation’). If you do this, you should not also use quotation marks.

c) Sometimes, for clarity or length, you may need to alter or shorten a direct quotation in some way. If so, enclose any changed or added words in square brackets [ ], and indicate any deletions with three ellipsis points … . Be especially careful that any changes you make in a quotation do not alter its essential meaning. In addition, use these marks sparingly: too many brackets and ellipsis points make for difficult reading.

d) When you quote less than a full sentence, be careful to match the grammar of your own words to those of the quotation so that the two fit together as if they were one sentence. If you have to change the grammar of the original quotation, you should put any altered words in square brackets [ ].

b) Using paraphrase and summary

Usually, not all of the piece you want to quote may be relevant, or it may say what you want to say in a rather lengthy way. In such cases, it is usually a better idea to paraphrase or summarize the author’s words instead of quoting. Similarly, when you want to cite an author’s ideas but you feel that his or her argument would not benefit from the inclusion of the exact words, it is sensible to paraphrase or summarize. Secondary sources used to lend authority to your own voice should usually be paraphrased or summarized.

Summary and paraphrase are similar, in that both entail using your own words rather than those of the author; however, while summary involves shortening the original and capturing the key ideas, paraphrasing usually means keeping the same length as the original idea but expressing it in other words.

i) Paraphrasing

When you want to include all the ideas of another author from a particular *sentence* or *paragraph*, but do not feel the need to include the author’s actual words, you will probably choose to paraphrase. In this sense, you are not changing the essential content, but rather *rewording* the original. There are a number of ways of approaching paraphrasing, but most techniques include the following three steps:

- Isolate the essential ideas in the text
- Restructure the sentences, changing the syntax and form of words
- Use close synonyms or related words where suitable

ii) Summarizing

When you want to include only the main ideas from another author’s work, it will probably be appropriate to summarize the information. This normally happens when you want to include the main ideas from whole *pages* of another author’s work. As with paraphrasing, it is important that you use your own words in presenting information. This means that the techniques mentioned above can also be employed in summarizing. It is often helpful to take notes and then write a summary from your notes rather than from the original text.

As with quotation, indicating the sources of paraphrase and summary is important. Failure to cite sources for material that is not in quotation marks but that you could not have arrived at by yourself, even if you do it unintentionally, constitutes plagiarism. As you are carrying out research reading, it is helpful to add under any notes you make the exact source that they come from. If your notes are incomplete or your source is unclear, relocate the original to clarify the information. Resist the temptation to write your paper without adding any references to your reading and then put these in later at the editing stage; working in this way leaves you open to the danger of unintentional plagiarism.

[49] The exact length of a quotation to be blocked may vary. Check with your department’s recommended citation guidelines.

c) Using reporting verbs (integral citation)

You can refer to an author's work in two ways: by integral or non-integral citation.[50] In integral citation, the author's name is *integrated* in your sentence, usually with a reporting verb like 'suggests' or 'argues', while in non-integral citation it only appears in footnote or in parentheses. Especially if you are using a footnoting system, non-integral citation has the disadvantage that the original author is almost invisible in your text, therefore there is a greater risk of the reader confusing the author's ideas with your comments and interpretations. Integral citation avoids this problem by giving prominence to the author's name.

Compare these two examples:

Integral

> Copeau ([1923] 1955) linked the fusion of audience and performance to the internal unity of the audience itself.[51]

Non-integral

> The fusion of audience and performance is linked to the internal unity of the audience itself (Copeau [1923] 1955).

The addition of a reporting phrase also gives you the chance to tell the reader how you relate to this source. In the first example above, an adverb such as 'rightly' could be added to show the writer's positive evaluation of the source - that the writer shares this opinion. Hyland's research showed that in the humanities, around 50% of citations used reporting verbs (ranging from 34% in Marketing to 67% in Philosophy), the most popular being *suggest, argue, claim, note, point out, discuss, show* and *explain*.[52]

4. The Misuse of Sources, Plagiarism and Academic Dishonesty

As we have seen, effective use of sources can strengthen your paper. Most importantly, it increases your authority, showing that you can use the work of established scholars to support or situate your own argument. Connected to this, it places your research in the broader debate, demonstrating your familiarity with that debate, and shows the reader where they can get more information on the points you discuss.

Because of the defining role of sources in academic writing, however, some students, and not only students, use sources inappropriately to strengthen their work by making their own ideas or words appear more eloquent than they really are. Perhaps because they feel their own words or ideas are too weak to impress, or due to poor time management they need make up for their own weak analysis, some students may use sources to try to salvage what would otherwise be a poor or even failing grade. This is considered cheating, usually called *academic dishonesty* or *plagiarism*, and may be punished severely.

CEU's policy on plagiarism defines it as follows:

> "Plagiarism occurs both when the words of another are reproduced without acknowledgment, or when the ideas or arguments of another are paraphrased in such a way as to lead the reader to believe that they originated with the writer." [53]

Two things are important to remember here:

- *Paraphrase can be plagiarism too*

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50 The decision whether or not to integrate the author's name into your sentence remains your choice. It is not to be confused with which citation *system* you use: embedded (Harvard, MLA, APA) or footnoted (Chicago/Turabian). A citation system is a set of fixed rules as to exactly how the technical details of citation are to be arranged, and is set down in a manual or guide. Your department will tell you which citation system to use.

51 This example is from Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy" *Sociological Theory* 22:4 (2004), 564. The non-integral example was adapted from it. Note the inclusion of two dates in the citation: Copeau's work was originally published in 1923, but Alexander used an edition published in 1955.

52 Hyland, 27 - though Hyland noted a total of 400 different reporting verbs in his corpus. Favourite verbs in the sciences included report, propose, develop and describe as well as some mentioned for the humanities.

53 From the section "Academic Misconduct" in *Student Rights, Rules, and Academic Regulations* (CEU Document P-110-2), p. 10, Retrieved 29 August 2011 (http://www.ceu.hu/sites/default/files/Student_Rights.pdf). This document is under revision at time of writing due to formal changes in the policy documentation structure but its content is unchanged.

You don't have to copy someone's words in order to plagiarise: if you take their idea and paraphrase it in your own words, it is still cheating if you don't say that it was their idea. However, the reverse is also true: you can be accused of plagiarism if you provide a reference but copy the author's words without quotation marks, suggesting that the phrasing is your own.

- *Accidental plagiarism can still be plagiarism*

You don't have to *intend* to cheat to be found guilty; you might take a quotation from a source, add it to your paper and forget to add the reference to where you took it from. Once your professor spots it, it is only your word that you didn't mean to forget the reference. And as someone who deliberately tried to cheat would almost certainly make the same claim, you will probably not be given the benefit of the doubt.

a) How are students caught?

For a long time, quite a lot of professors were not actually very good at spotting plagiarism unless it was fairly blatant. The advent of more powerful computers, however, changed all that. Now there are numerous search engines dedicated to helping catch plagiarism, intentional or otherwise. CEU uses a service called **Turnitin**, which is one of the most effective. Turnitin compares submitted students texts against an enormous database of articles, books, web pages and even other student assignments that have been previously submitted to it, and sends back your paper with all the phrases that match those other texts highlighted so the professor can see them. That doesn't mean you have plagiarised: you might have used a phrase like "While a great deal of research has been dedicated to the question of …" Nobody owns that phrase. But any phrase you have taken from another author's text and pasted into your own is likely to show up, and your professor can see if you provided a citation, if you used quotation marks, and so on. If you didn't, and especially if you didn't more than once, you may be in trouble.

b) How serious an offence is plagiarism?

In CEU, and throughout the English academic community, plagiarism is taken very seriously. There have been recent cases where CEU students failed courses or their degree because they did not follow the rules of citation. Students have been failed for offences such as copying a published paper and putting their name on the top (!), copying another author's interviews from fieldwork into their thesis and claiming it as their own, copying four consecutive pages of another author's article into the middle of a 15-page term paper, and copying a series of book reviews from Amazon.com into a literature review. One student failed her thesis, among other reasons, for copying and pasting into it another author's summary of an article by Pierre Bourdieu. The student's defense – that Bourdieu is so widely known and so frequently summarized that it was pure coincidence that 27 consecutive words of her summary were identical to those of another author available on the web – was not accepted by the disciplinary committee.

c) But what if I've plagiarized without knowing it!

Because a disciplinary committee does not have to prove intent to deceive in order to prove plagiarism, many students fear that they may receive a severe punishment for an unwitting slip. First of all, it goes without saying that the better you learn the rules of citation, the better protected you are against inadvertent plagiarism. By learning the rules and following them closely, and by adding references and quotation marks as you write, not leaving them till the end, you significantly reduce the chances of accidentally plagiarizing.

Because students often worry whether they have applied the rules of citation correctly, the university permits CAW to use Turnitin for educational purposes as described below:

1. Students may request a CAW consultation on source use, using a Turnitin report for a draft of *one* departmental paper. An instructor who perceives that a student has difficulty with source use may also suggest such a consultation.
2. As this is as an educational opportunity, students will not be able to use this option for all papers. However, a second Turnitin consultation (on a different paper) may be justified where a student has shown difficulty understanding the rules of source use.

3. Only one Turnitin report will be used per assignment, and this report will be discussed in consultation. Access to the service is controlled by the CAW instructor. These assignments will not be included in the Turnitin database.
4. Any faculty member who does not wish the CAW to use Turnitin educationally for their course assignments, or any department that does not wish the CAW to use this resource for any of their students may inform the CAW instructors responsible for their department (or if there is none, the CAW director) in writing in advance.
5. Turnitin may not be used as an educational tool for MA theses.

d) How is plagiarism punished?

What is clear from the examples discussed earlier is that students almost never receive serious punishment for accidental slips. It is difficult to believe that the student who surfed the internet for interview data, then claimed that he had collected this data himself by traveling to his country and interviewing people, was not attempting to deceive his supervisor in order to receive a better grade (than the one he deserved for having spent his visit home enjoying himself with friends and not carrying out any interviews). Where a student has accidentally forgotten a set of quotation marks around one sentence, it would be inappropriate and unfair to apply the same punishment as for stealing an entire paper from another author. CEU recognizes that plagiarism is not a black-and-white issue and that varying degrees of plagiarism deserve different sanctions. The relevant section of the policy guidelines reproduced overleaf makes this clear. The whole document is available at http://documents.ceu.hu/documents/p-1405-1.

Table 1: Offending Strategies in Writing[54]

Severity of Offense	Example
Serious plagiarism	• Submitting as one's own work a text largely or wholly written by another person or persons. • Copying or paraphrasing substantial sections[55] from one or more works of other authors into one's own text, without attribution, that is, omitting any reference to the work(s) either in the body of the text, in footnotes, or in the bibliography/reference list. • Submitting a thesis as part of masters or doctoral requirements which has been previously submitted to another institution in English or in another language.
Less serious plagiarism	• Paraphrase of a substantial section or several smaller sections of another text or texts without any reference in the body text, but the work is included in the bibliography/reference list. • Copying verbatim two or three not necessarily consecutive phrases, or one or two not necessarily consecutive sentences, from the work of others without attribution. • Copying verbatim one substantial or several smaller sections from another text without quotation marks but with reference provided within the student's text. • Submitting without permission one's own work that has been largely or wholly submitted for credit to another course.
Poor Scholarship	• Copying verbatim one substantial or several smaller sections from another text without quotation marks but with reference provided within the student's text. • Summarizing an author's ideas at length but only mentioning the author or the source at the end of the paragraph. • Mentioning an author with appropriate citation in an early sentence but no attribution in subsequent sentences, so that it is unclear whether the author's ideas are continuing or the writer's own comments being offered. • Including a correctly referenced short fragment from another text but without quotation marks. • Using an author's work with incomplete reference (e.g. page number is missing, or the work appears only in a footnote/parenthesis and is missing from the reference list.

Measures to be taken in cases confirmed as plagiarism

(1) In the case of a first offense classified as less serious plagiarism, the student should normally:

a. receive an oral or written reprimand,
b. rewrite the assignment and receive a lowered grade

(2) In the case of a second, subsequent minor offense, or in the case of a first offense that in the department's opinion is more serious, the student should normally:

a. receive a written reprimand (not reflected on the transcript)
b. rewrite the assignment, receive a lowered grade or receive the lowest passing grade, with or

54 CEU policy on plagiarism. Available at: http://archive.ceu.hu/documents/g-1009-1

55 The word 'section' is understood here to mean more than one consecutive sentence. A copied section that has had a small number of extra words inserted by the student may still be considered as copied.

without being given a fail grade

(3) In the case of continuing offences, or of a serious offence, students should normally receive a

a. written reprimand (that will usually appear on the student's transcript)
b. fail grade, with or without the possibility of retake (often depends on whether the course is compulsory or elective).

(4) In very serious cases such as plagiarizing a major part of an assignment, or persistent plagiarism despite written warnings and other sanctions described above, the department should consider initiating formal procedures towards expelling the student from the University in accordance with the applicable policies.

In the case of multiple simultaneous minor offences, the department should decide whether these repetitions stem from ignorance (in which case they may be treated as a single offence) or the intent either to deceive or to avoid work, either of which may justify more severe action.

The offenses in the last category (Poor Scholarship) may often be attributable to poor ability, unclear thinking or carelessness. If so, they should not be considered academic dishonesty as such but should be penalized in the same way as other poor quality work, namely by a decrease in the final grade commensurate with the negative impact they have on the assignment as a whole. If such offenses are considered to be a deliberate attempt to achieve a higher grade, more serious action should be considered.

What if I had the same idea as an author whose article I haven't read?

Students sometimes fear they will be punished for expressing an idea similar to something in a published article they have not read. The likelihood that you will do this *in the same words* as the original author is infinitesimally small. That you will do it in what looks like a paraphrase of the original is slightly more likely, but there is hardly any chance that you will develop the idea in the same degree of complexity and detail and in the same way as the author you have not read (if you do, then you have a promising academic career in front of you). The reader will quickly perceive that the resemblance is coincidental.

What is more likely to happen is that while buried in extensive course material at 3am, you read a particular article, then remember the idea but forget who wrote it. This does present a danger, especially if you wrongly remember the idea as your own. Only careful note-taking and good organization (and enough sleep) can protect you from this hazard.

How 'common' is common knowledge?

The concept of common knowledge is often invoked as a reason for not needing a reference. However, common knowledge is a rather loose and audience-relative idea. What is common knowledge for most physicists may not be common knowledge for a literary scholar. In contrast, things we as lay people take for granted as common knowledge may for others be objects of serious research.

Two examples can illustrate the problems of common knowledge for the student:

1. "Italy is a large country of some 60 million people in the south of Europe (Wikipedia)"
2. For men, the attractiveness of a female is largely influenced by cues of fertility and reproductive value (Confer, Perilloux, & Buss, 2010; Symons, 1995) such as the shape of her body including both her waist-to-hip ratio and her body mass index (Platek & Singh, 2010; Schmalt, 2006; Singh, 1993), the quality of her hair and skin (Hinsz, Matz, & Patience, 2001; Sugiyama, 2005)—all cues of youth and fertility.[56]

[56] The Pop Culture of Sex: An Evolutionary Window on the Worlds of Pornography and Romance. Catherine Salmon. Review of General Psychology 2012, Vol. 16, No. 2, 152–160

We may laugh at the idea that a student (the first is a genuine example) might think it necessary to cite a source for the fact that Italy is in southern Europe. It is also worth noting that a reference to Wikipedia, while it may save you from plagiarism, will not make most faculty very happy as they much prefer to see you have been using 'serious' sources. Yet it is also surprising for many that the author in the second, Catherine Salmon, felt it necessary to provide seven references for the claim that men are typically attracted to young, slim women who have nice skin and hair. Seeing this, we may worry that every statement needs to be backed up with a source. This misses the point: Salmon is not worried about whether she can get away without a citation – on the contrary, she is keen to show the research she has read and on which her own work will build. For her, and for most scholars, *citation is a virtue, not a necessity*.

Common knowledge and author knowledge

On the other hand, scholars can often provide quite detailed information without citation. Consider the following extract from an academic article:

> In many societies, including France, Germany, Canada, Japan, and the Eastern European post-socialist nations, abortion is tolerated as a means to promoting certain shared social values, following on the notion that child-rearing is central to producing a good society, that children respond to the resources and care they are provided with, and, in the Eastern European (and formerly East German context), that it is necessary for improving the compatibility of employment and motherhood. This notion of abortion as a "social" necessity differs from the notion of abortion as a "right"—and diminishes the dividing lines between "pro-life" and "pro-choice" positions.[57]

Clearly the authors of this extract felt able to write all of this quite specific information without providing a source. As specialists in this field, they know this – it is their daily bread. In other words, if you know something very well from your own experience in the field, you probably won't need a citation. If you know it from your studies, you almost certainly will.

Preciseness

One indicator for common knowledge is the level of preciseness. That Italy is large and in southern Europe is fairly vague; that its population in 2011 was 60,770,000 almost certainly needs a citation (World Bank 2011), not least as the Italian National Office of Statistics will disagree and tell you it was 60,626,442. Under certain circumstances 143,558 could be a lot of people.

Abstractness

A second indicator for common knowledge is the degree of abstractness. That international conflicts can be sparked off by disagreements over access to natural resources is probably OK as common knowledge. That a securitising move will only be accepted by the audience if the securitising actor has the appropriate status, is probably deserving of a reference.

Go with the crowd

Generally speaking, if the texts you read are referring to something as if it were common knowledge, you can too. If they don't you certainly should not. A frequently quoted idea in the field of rhetoric is David Bartholomae's (1984) claim that students in their writing have to "reinvent the university". Everyone knows it; for scholars of rhetoric, it is common knowledge, but no one mentions it without referring to Bartholomae.

Conclusion

What should be clear then from this reading, is that for the scholar and researcher, using the work of others to support and situate their argument is an opportunity, not a risk. They know the rules and the rationale behind them. Students, a.k.a. junior researchers, often do not, and concerned with getting good grades, may break those rules, either inadvertently, under stress in order to survive, or rarely, in a premeditated attempt to cheat and defraud. CEU has tools and policies that attempt to identify those who break the rules and to apply sanctions that are as fair as possible, given the nature of the infringement. The best protection against being caught misusing sources is to learn the rules and understand the principles behind them, then behave like a scholar, using the work of others to strengthen your own arguments.

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[57] "Decentering agency in feminist theory: Recuperating the family as a social project" by Amy Borovoy and Kristen Ghodsee, published in Women's Studies International Forum, 35/3, May–June 2012, Pages 153–165

Use of Sources – Worksheet

How many (different) sources does the article use?

How often do writers cite the same source in a row, how do they vary the use of the authors when they do?

How many footnotes/references are there? How many of those are explanatory, adding information as opposed to merely citing the source?

How do writers introduce other authors into the text (reporting verbs etc.)? Why do they use the name of the source in the text as opposed to just referring to them?

How many of the references are used critically, how many for support, and what other uses are made of the sources used?

How does the writer distinguish themselves from their sources, use of I/we, hedging etc.?

How many paragraphs end with a reference/footnote? Why?

How many sources appear in the introduction/main body/conclusion?

What percentage of the article is in the footnotes? What uses does the footnote serve? Does this change as the paper develops?

What do you notice about the use of translation?

How many of the references are a summary of a whole book or article/ summary/paraphrase or quoted material?

How many quotes are used and why did the author choose to quote?

GIVING PRESENTATIONS

In many ways, a presentation is like a piece of writing: it needs careful planning beforehand in order to decide what to include and what to leave out, the order in which to present points and the way to link them. And like in writing, all of these decisions are guided by two factors: your *audience* and your *purpose*. What do your audience know? What do they hope to learn? What do they expect? How will they best understand and remember what you have to say? You will need to think about all these questions as you plan your presentation.

At the same time, oral presentations are different from written papers. They offer some advantages: you can use extensive visual material such as overhead projector slides or PowerPoint (indeed you may be expected to); you can check audience comprehension and explain things that are not clear; you can respond to questions at the end; and you can use the intonation, volume and pace of your voice, as well as facial expressions, eye contact and gesture to keep the audience's attention, emphasise your points and establish a good relationship with your listeners.

There are disadvantages of presenting orally, however. The most obvious is that your presentation is transient – if someone is not paying attention, they cannot go back and listen again; this puts pressure on you the presenter to make the presentation interesting and clear enough so that people do not drift off or fail to follow you. Another important disadvantage is that the delivery of your presentation takes place in real time. If you forget what you are saying or get confused, everyone will notice, and this fear of mistakes is what makes presentations stressful for many people. Connected to this, the success of a presentation, much more than a written paper, depends on your persona: your ability to stand up, look people in the eye, and convince them with the confidence of your voice and body language that you have something interesting to say that they should listen to. Again, many shy scholars find presentations difficult for this reason. Nevertheless, oral presentations are an important part of your professional life and success. This reading offers some brief suggestions on how to maximize the effectiveness of your presentations.

Planning your presentation

Plan you presentation as you would a written paper. Even a brief talk will seem like an eternity for the unprepared speaker. Start by deciding what is the main point you want to make. How will you arrange the information you have (such as summary of the main arguments of readings, their comparison or critical evaluation) in order to make you point understandable? Think how you will signal to your reader what will happen in your presentation (introduction), what stages there are (signposting), and at the end, what has been achieved (conclusion).

At the beginning:

- Say what you are going to do in you presentation. This should include not just the topic but also your purpose.
- Briefly outline the main stages of your presentation, but don't go into detail.

During the presentation:

- Signal clearly the end of a section ["So those are the most important aspects of…"] and the beginning of a new section ["Now I'd like to turn to…"]
- Make sure your audience can see the logic of the staging of your presentation ["Before we can consider… I'd like to explain…"] or ["Having explained… we can now consider/come back to…"]

At the end:

- Signal that the conclusion is starting ["To sum up, …" or "In conclusion, …"]
- Reiterate the main point you are making clearly and simply without getting tied up in details
- Signal that you have finished by thanking your audience; don't just stop or say "that's all."

Dealing with Questions

Many people fear questions at the end of a presentation, but if you are well prepared and have given a little thought to the sort of questions that might come up, it can be an opportunity to fit in extra points you had forgotten or decided not to include. Finish your presentation by inviting questions. If someone asks something, welcome the question ["That's an interesting question…" or "I'm glad you raised that point…"] and answer clearly and briefly. If you are asked a difficult question, don't be afraid to ask for repetition or clarification. At the end, check for satisfaction ["Does that answer your question?"].

Visual Aids

Visual information, whether in the form of graphics, headings, key ideas or important quotations, can help you to get your message across more effectively. Do use visuals, but be aware of the following points:

- Don't put too much information on one slide. If you have several points, uncover them one at a time (PowerPoint can do this for you; with OHP slides, cover the slide with a piece of paper and move it down as you talk).
- Make sure slides are relevant and clear.
- Do not read aloud from slides, but do explain, expand or discuss the content.
- Use large type (20 pt or bigger) so that your audience can read for themselves. If you are using a photocopied slide, check the text is big enough to read from the back of the room.
- Face the audience while talking about slides, not the wall. Both the overhead projector and PowerPoint allow you to do this. With the OHP you can use a pen as a pointer on the slide.

You can also use the whiteboard, but check that your pens work before you start, and check how big you need to write so it can be read from the back.

Handouts

Keep your handout concise and readable, using subheadings and bullet points. Huge areas of dense prose will probably never be read and end up in the recycling bin. When is the best time to give out your handout? Probably not at the beginning, or people may spend more time looking at the text than listening to you. If it mostly summarises your talk, it is probably best saved until the end. If it contains fragments of text or graphics that you want the audience to analyse (or follow your analysis), it will need to be given out before you do this.

Delivery

The style of your presentation is often as important as the content of the talk. A clear, confident voice, a calm pace and an appearance of being in control can make an OK talk into a good one. Rehearse several times beforehand to increase your confidence. Practice in front of a mirror, record yourself, or ask a friend to watch and take notes.

- Be aware of the size of the room where you will present and the number of people in the audience.
- Don't talk down to your notes, but project your voice to the whole room.
- Working from short notes or an outline will prevent the dull tone and lack of eye contact that comes from reading aloud. Talk about your subject to your audience, don't read a dry text into space.
- Avoid hesitation fillers such as *uh, um, well, like,* or *you know*. Don't be afraid of silence. A pause in which you gather your thoughts before continuing is much more effective.
- Emphasize key words and main points to maintain interest in the subject via the vitality of your voice.

Body Language

Your physical presence and how you move are also essential to a good presentation.

- Maintain eye contact across the audience by glancing around at different people. Don't stare at the ceiling, or at one particular member of the audience. Try not to turn your back on the audience either.

- Don't hide behind your notes or a chair, try not to fold your arms, and keep your hands away from your face. Don't stay rooted to the ground, but avoid rapid, nervous movement around the room, which can make your audience feel uncomfortable.
- Smile! Look confident. People want you to succeed: behave as if you plan to succeed and you will!

Some sources on You Tube

1. Killer Presentation Skills. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whTwjG4ZIJg&feature=related
2. Tips for Public Speaking. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s1H5m0S-sdQ&feature=fvw
3. Effective Pres. Skills. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AWbkAboFsTQ&feature=related
4. Voice. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=baX5_ZCGSPc&feature=related
5. How NOT to use PowerPoint! http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ssGw7h96qo&feature=fvsr

REFERENCE SECTION

READING EFFECTIVELY[58]

How you read should be determined by your reason for reading. So you will need to select the most appropriate technique depending on whether your purpose is:

to get an overview

for specific information

for pleasure

for subject mastery

to find different opinions, being constructively critical

If you only need an overview or to get a specific bit of information, you will probably want to skim over the text quickly or scan through it to find what you need. More often, however, you need a more detailed reading technique than this. The SQ3R approach outlined below is suitable for a quite intensive reading aimed at getting a good understanding of an article. It takes time but if used effectively it can save time at a later stage when you may need to discuss or write about the article.

The SQ3R Approach

This method takes you through several of the reasons you may have for reading.

S – is for *survey,* or gaining an overview of the article, chapter and so on, before reading it in greater depth. First do a quick read of the abstract, the introduction, especially focusing on the topic area, thesis statement and outline of the paper's structure. Then read the conclusion to find the main results, before finally looking at the body, firstly section titles and the introductions and conclusions to those sections and then read first and last sentences in each paragraph. This relatively fast read will give you a good overview of the article, its context within your subject area and it will enable you to then

Q – develop some initial *questions*. These initial questions will allow you to read more critically since they will provide a purpose when reading and therefore a focus. To learn you need to actively and critically

R – *read* to find answers. The questions you initially ask yourself will lead to other questions as you read and progress through the article. Each time you find an answer, or realize that a question remains unanswered, you will be interacting which will make the reading much more memorable. The information can then be added to your existing knowledge, and made more memorable by

R – *recalling* what you have read. Vocalising what you have read, or at least mentally summarizing after each section of the paper will add to later recall. Finally you should

R – *review* what you have read. Resurvey the article's place in your knowledge of the subject field. You may need to reread specific sections again, and check that you have taken appropriate notes and recorded all bibliographic material if you need to find and cite the information at a later date.

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58 Material adapted from http://adminwww.flinders.edu.au/cas/readeffect.html and http://osiris.sund.ac.uk/~cs0mho/chap11.htm (last accessed August 30th, 2004)

Sample Critical Essays On Nationalism Theories

Essay 1. On the Tide of Nationalism

Nationalism is a modern political movement that first manifested itself in the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. Nevertheless, certain forms of nationalism, albeit deeply intertwined with the idea of liberty, had in all probability existed beforehand. A case in point is the Puritan Revolution in England, where rudimentary form of nationalism rose to prominence in the 17th century.[59] However, most scholars agree that the world became aware of nationalism as a full-blown concept only when it was intertwined with democratic ideals and ushered in a modern French state by claiming a crucial victory over the traditional structures of power. Conversely, when it comes to explaining how nationalism grew to be one of the dominant forces in modern societies, there is hardly any consensus. Closely referring to the three texts by Kedourie, Gellner and Mann, which deal mostly with the rise of nationalism, I will try to elaborate on this controversial topic. Although Kedourie believes that writings of Enlightenment and Romanticist philosophers were indeed the key for the rise of nationalism, there were also other, perhaps just about equally important factors that cannot be overlooked. Namely, the industrial revolution, resulting in a higher social and geographical mobility, a growing state apparatus, rapid spread of literacy and high culture across strata, codification of the vernacular languages, nation-wide education, and finally resistance to the decisions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which all generated a fertile soil for the emergence of nationalism. Furthermore, one should understand that not all of these factors were necessary for the occurrence of nationalism. Rather, all of them essentially made nationalism, to use Gellner's words, 'our destiny' rather than contingency. In addition, when it comes to the intensity with which each factor was expressed, there probably existed, as Mann argues by acknowledging Hroch's idea, a certain level of literacy and communication below which it was impossible for patriots to effectively organize.[60]

Kedourie and Gellner propose their theories on the emergence of nationalism from quite different perspectives. On the one side, Kedourie believes that the doctrine of nationalism is, above all, to be understood as a matter of ideas. He compellingly argues that the emergence of nationalism cannot be explained using social and economic factors, due to the fact that it was based on a very different and rather autonomous set of ideas presented by the thinkers of the Enlightenment and Romanticism.[61] Kant's concept of individual self-determination and right to autonomy as well as Fichte's notion of the importance of formal education in shaping the people's will, according to Kedourie, made the ways in which the traditional societies had functioned before the French Revolution look absurd to the younger generations. What is more, these ideas instilled in the youth the belief that a new form of society, based on the idealized picture that was presented in the books, could be created. In contrast, Gellner asserts that nationalism was not "contingent and accidental, the fruit of idle pens and gullible readers."[62] According to him, nationalism was rather a consequence of certain social conditions, and its roots were "deep and important."[63] Moreover, Gellner argues that the rise of nationalism and its general acceptance as a viable principle was mostly a corollary of certain social changes that occurred at the beginning of the industrialization.[64] He sees economic growth and nationalism as two main principles of the industrial world.[65] Economic growth, combined with the pervasive modernization, fueled social mobility which eventually brought about egalitarianism. Subsequently, people started indentifying with the society as a whole, thus effectively laying the foundations of nationalism. While Kedourie and Gellner seemingly have divergent opinions, in practice there is little real difference between the two. Instead, each is conceivably trying to 'push' his own theory by inflating the implications of just one aspect of the big picture, while neglecting the importance of the other, equally relevant.

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59 Hans Kohn. *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Backgrounds*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2005. (p.178)

60 Michael Mann. "A Political Theory of Nationalism and Its Excesses." *Notions of Nationalism.* (1995) (p.52)

61 Elie Kedourie. *Nationalism (4th Expanded Edition)*. London: Hutchinson, 1993. (p.95)

62 Ernest Gellner. *Nationalism*. New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1997, (p.10)

63 Ibid., p.11

64 Jack Howard, Brian Barry, and Archie Brown, eds. *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century*. London: Oxford University Press. 2003, (p.328)

65 Gellner, p.25

A case in point would be Gellner's attempt to defend his theory when faced with the challenge of explaining the rise of nationalism in the Balkans, where there was very little sign of industrialization at the time. He tries to do so by introducing two "distinct processes."[66] The first process was an attempt on the part of the local chiefs to use the diminishing power of the Ottoman Empire in order to establish their own sovereign territories. The second and more important one was that, by a twist of fate, the rebels happened to be Christians, which supposedly made them susceptible to various Western ideas formulated in the Enlightenment and Romanticism. In Gellner's view, the backward rebels turned into nationalists precisely by adopting these proto-Christian ideas. This rationalization is simply naive, especially if one bears in mind that the predominant religion of the Balkan people was Eastern Orthodox, quite distinct from Catholic or Protestant.[67] Furthermore, strong nationalistic tendencies were present even on the fringes of the Habsburg Empire, more specifically in today's Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia & Herzegovina, where the religion could not have been an issue. Gellner's line of reasoning is even shakier when focusing on the nationalisms in Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, all inhabited by principally Catholic population. Finally, by maintaining his theory Gellner indirectly admits that the ideas of Enlightenment and Romanticism can somehow instill nationalism in people, therefore effectively merging Kedourie's and his own theory.

Mann, on the other hand, distinguishes between several phases in the rise of nationalism. He argues that in the militarist phase, lasting from the end of the 18th until the middle of the 19th century, the state began to dominate the public life, primarily through the innovative methods of conscription and taxation. Consequently, people attempted to oppose this trend by asking for 'political citizenship of the people' and representative government. This struggle, in return, ultimately led to nationalism.[68] In addition, he emphasizes that already existing regional administration is a good indicator as to whether a certain ethnic group will become a nation. Hence, Mann asserts that 'the key lies rather in the state', and refutes the arguments of both Gellner and Kedourie that either industrialization or innovative ideas brought about nationalism.[69] At the end of the day, what Mann fails to explain is why the nations such as Germany and Italy were formed, even though there had been no previous regional administrations to support such an event. He further contends that in the industrial phase, which he places between the mid 19th century and the end of WWI, state functions expanded rapidly and the idea of popular sovereignty became prominent. Ultimately, these trends "furthered nation as an experienced community", and turned it into an equivalent of family or neighborhood.[70] However, he does not claim that the state was the only factor involved, and admits that regional-ethnic and religious components also played a significant role, particularly in early, proto-national phases that were characterized by a rapid the spread of literacy.[71] Thus, Mann embraces some the essential arguments offered by Kedourie and Gellner, but also effectively incorporates the impact of the expanding state functions on the rise of nationalism.

Kedourie and Gellner paid special attention to the eminent spread of literacy and, at least to a certain extent, also encompassed Anderson's concept of print capitalism in their respective theories. On the one hand, Kedourie stresses the significance of both lateral and vertical dissemination of literacy in making a vast number of people aware of ideas in a quick and cost-efficient manner. Accordingly, these novel and radical ideas of the Enlightenment, together with the desires for political power roused by Napoleon, as well as the industrial revolution which triggered rapid increase in population and modification of the traditional social structures all paved the way for nationalism.[72] In contrast, Gellner believes that the importance of the semantic nature work was tremendous. It introduced the need for schooling as a means of developing skills necessary to articulate and comprehend context-free messaging. Nation-wide education and rapid spread of literacy made the high culture a pervasive culture of the entire society. Therefore, according to Gellner, in order to have a successful industrialization, a society needs to reach a certain level of development of nation-wide education, mastery and homogeneity of high culture, and its accessibility to all the members of the society. This, in return, introduces nationalism. In a nutshell, for Gellner, a society needs nationalism in order

66 Ibid., p.42

67 Raymond Detrez. "Religion and Nationhood in the Balkans." *Centrum Voor Islam in Europa.* (2004)

68 Mann, p.48

69 Ibid., p.47

70 Ibid., p.54

71 Anthony Smith. *Nationalism and Modernism.* London: Routledge, 1998. (p.82)

72 Kedourie, p.90

for a successful industrialization to take roots. Such a monumental assertion thus inextricably ties the phenomenon of nationalism to the modern states.

Another important issue that Kedourie and Gellner try to tackle is the Congress of Vienna, which tried to restore the setting that had been in place before the French Revolution. By doing so, Kedourie asserts, the Congress came to symbolize everything that was reactionary. The educated youth of the day, stirred up by Napoleon's rhetoric and the progressive Enlightenment ideas, believed that if the peace settlement would be brought down, nation states, where governmental power would be finally fall the hands of the people, could be established. More importantly, Kedourie argues, people deemed that the democratic and liberal ideas embodied in the French Revolution would triumph as well, thus creating a setting which would obliterate all wars, and all the nations would eventually grow to be "pacific and just."[73] While Mann does not deal with the Congress of Vienna per se, he does emphasize the idea that nations and nationalism "originated and developed in response to the drive for democracy."[74] Moreover, he distinguishes between mild nationalism, which is "democracy achieved" and aggressive nationalism, which is "democracy perverted."[75] Though perhaps overly simplistic, his explanation is rather useful in connecting the rise of nationalism and democracy. Conversely, Gellner claims that even though the Vienna decisions of 1815 were not influenced by nationalistic ideas, the administrations established after this time were enthusiastic about expanding the education and formalizing the vernacular languages which in return increased the importance of the people who mastered the vernacular language of the territory. Furthermore, those who failed to integrate into the society due to their lack of knowledge of the language or their different culture had to migrate, assimilate or form their own independent political units through irredentist activity.[76] Gellner also admits that certain liberal and protestant ideas did become popular and widespread, but purely out of the interest of the elites. For instance, he sees the liberation of the serfs as a means of making them more zealous soldiers. In contrast, Kedourie would probably try to link the liberation to the hopes of achieving a harmonious international order.

However, regardless of outlook, when writing a political theory, especially a theory on a topic as controversial and complex as nationalism, one should be cautious not to make overly bold claims that are afterward extremely difficult to support or easily disproved by abundant concrete examples. Common errors, that even the most eloquent and coherent writers are susceptible to, such as hasty generalizations and single-factor explanations are also discernible in the above mentioned texts. These errors often stem from the desire to invent something unheard of before, or to make a breakthrough on a certain matter in the existing body of knowledge. Nationalism scholars are no exception to the rule. Hence, all of the above discussed theories should be approached and analyzed with a dose of vigilance, as to how exaggerated some of the claims are.

Nonetheless, each of the three authors raises a number of valid and particular points, which can be used to explain, at least in part, the emergence of nationalism as a dominant force in the modern world. All of them trace the doctrine of nationalism back to the powerful ideas invented in Enlightenment and Romanticism. However, only Kedourie bases his central argument around this claim, which arguably makes his most straightforward assertion made in the text. Gellner, on the other hand, dwells upon the significance of social and geographical mobility as a catalyst for change that can hardly be overstressed. During the Middle Ages, a large majority of people lived their whole lives within fifty miles of their birth place. Also, it was virtually impossible for a person born as a serf to move to any of the upper social strata. The industrial revolution altered these facts drastically. Other consequences of the industrial revolution were a mounting state administration, reinforced by the dynamic spread of literacy, which, according to Mann, had started already in the 16th century with the "religious phase" of the development of nations. The process intensified steadily throughout Enlightenment and Romanticism, and in the 19th century facilitated the codification of the vernacular languages and establishment of the nation-wide education systems. Consequently, for the first time, high culture became accessible to an increasing number of people. Also, as Mann stresses, the knowledge of the vernacular-turned-administrative language became a crucial determinant of the likelihood of all sorts of employment, while clearly discriminating against those who did not have good skills in that language. These people were faced with a choice between migration, assimilation or establishment of their own political units, which would make their language the language of the administration and accordingly eliminate the fierce

[73] Ibid., p.101

[74] Mann, p.62

[75] Ibid.

[76] Gellner, p.30

competition of foreign language speakers. The third option often appeared the most attractive and logical indeed. Finally, all these tendencies were intensified as a result of short-sightedness of the great powers during the Congress of Vienna, manifested in a complete refusal of the liberal principles that fueled the French Revolution. Accordingly, a struggle for the political representation and individual rights became coterminous with the struggle against the findings of the Congress. Thereafter, a separation of the effort for creation of nation states from the fight for liberalism and democracy was much easier said than done. Only then did nationalism become our destiny, rather than contingency.

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Essay 2. Western and Eastern nationalism in the works of Hans Kohn, John Plamenatz and Ernest Gellner

Nationalism as a theory, or at least as an ideology and social movement, has been subjected to various interpretations among scholars, remaining a highly contested term on which there is little general consensus. While scholars dispute the historical origin of the nations and the emergence of nationalism, most of them agree that nationalism is a specifically modern phenomena, originating in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Nevertheless, in contrast to modernists, for whom the nation-state is the product of specific conditions in modern society, primordialists argue that the nation-state originates in medieval or even ancient times. Furthermore, theorists of nationalism dispute on the typologies of nationalism and its mere definition. The aim of this paper is not to discuss all of these diverse conceptualizations of nationalism but to highlight one aspect of it, modernists's view on typologies of nationalism. Ever since Hans Kohn, a philosopher and historian, defined a division between a more "liberal, civic Western" and "illiberal, ethnic Eastern nationalism", his classification has become highly influential in supplying a framework for many modernists in understanding different types of nationalism[77]. A Montenegrin political philosopher, John Plamenatz, broadened Kohn's definition by placing German and Italian nationalism within the Western type, an interpretation similar to that of Ernest Gellner. In this essay I will compare the works of the above mentioned theorists and critically evaluate their conception of Western and Eastern classification of nationalism. The aim of this essay is also to question the importance of such divisions of nationalism.

To discuss the classification of nationalism includes defining the term within a historical context. As Ernest Gellner, the salient modernist explanatory theorist of nationalism, argues, both liberals and marxists assumptions of the extinction of nationalism by the progress of industrialism turned out to be wrong. While liberals saw nationalism as "a doomed legacy of outmoded irrationalism, superstition and savagery,"[78] marxists claimed nationalism to be an unimportant stage in the progress to global socialism. While both approaches were inaccurate in their prediction of later historical events, modernists defined nationalism as the key principle of political legitimacy in modern times. Ernest Gellner argues that nationalism is "primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent"[79]. When defining the

77 Taras Kuzio, "The myth of the civic state: a crittical survey of Hans Kohn's framewrok for understanding nationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002) : 20-39.
78 Brendan O'Leary, "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism." *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 2 (1997): 192.
79 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford : Blackwell, 1983), 3.

nation, Gellner actually invokes the state, a collectivity of formal institutions ruled by its co-nationals. According to Gellner, nationalism is a strive for cultural homogeneity, a demand that each state contains only one nation and one national culture. To acquire preconditions necessary for the rise of such nationalism, radical change in the relationship between polity and culture has to occur, such as modernization, transition from agrarian to industrial society. While pre-modern agrarian society was culturally diverse and divided into small autonomous sub-communities, the modern industrial and urban society required elementary literacy and a high degree of social mobility. The latter two could be achieved only by the state-run national educational system as the sole efficient provider of literacy. Therefore nationalism is the policy of a state, bound with one officially chosen language and culture, attained by what Gellner calls "the general imposition of a *high culture* on society, where previous low cultures had taken lives of the majority, and in some cases the totality, of the population" [80].

According to Gellner, nationalism is an enforcement of a common state culture. He assumes that political nationalism must be a high culture nationalism, hence fails to explain multicultural societies such as Switzerland. In my view, Gellner is too simplistic in assuming that political and cultural should coincide, therefore his model can only satisfy uni- and bicultural nations. His theory relies on a cultural and material reductionist conception of political motivation and fails to explain which cultures become nation-states. Gellner's implication is that nationalism cannot tolerate ethnic, racial or religious differences but must eliminate them[81]. Gellner's functional understanding of nationalism anticipates there can be no economic growth without *such* nationalism (as described above). If a society does not undergo industrialization, no nationalism or nations can therefore appear. According to Gellner uneven diffusion of industrialization - both territorially and in the timing of its impact on various part of a social structure[82] - led to various stages and zones of nationalism. Although being criticized for his simplistic and ideal classification, his categorization is a useful tool for explaining phenomena of nationalism in Europe. Gellner generates four types of nationalism: Western liberal, ethnic nationalism, diaspora nationalism and mature homogeneous nationalism. The main difference between classical liberal Western nationalism and ethnic (Habsburg) nationalism is the ability to attain high culture. While in civic nationalism the dominant group can easily homogenize all the possible others in its nation-building tendencies, in ethnic nationalism there are various and, to some extent equal groups, unable to homogenize. Hence it follows that civic Western nationalism refers to people who already have a state or a territorial unit of government; whereas ethnic nationalism refers to people who do not have such an entity.[83]

Gellner placed various nationalisms in four geographically defined zones. Zone 1 refers to the Western Europe nation-states, in which political and national unit coincided long before the Age of Nationalism.[84] The nationalism in the second zone does not need any cultural engineering. The examples of this nationalism are the "unification nationalisms" of Italy and Germany. Both had their national culture but no state protector, therefore only wished to confer a worthy political roof on a nation which already existed. This nationalism acts in alliance with liberalism, violence in this zone is optional. The third zone is geographically limited to the East, which coincides with the ethnic type of nationalism. Gellner argues that violence and brutality were predestined and inherent in the situation. Because neither national state nor national cultures existed both political and cultural engineering is needed[85].

Gellner's model (of categorization) is similar to John Plamenatz's classification of Western liberal civic nationalism and Eastern ethnic nationalism. Just like Gellner, Plamenatz also argues that nationalism is a modern phenomena, connected to democratic and liberal ideas although it "often takes illiberal and undemocratic forms"[86]. According to Plamenatz, nationalism of Eastern Europe was doomed to be illiberal. His division between Western and Eastern nationalism is geographically limited, the latter referring to Slavs in Eastern Europe as well as Africa, Asia and Latin America, whilst Western goes for the more advanced nations

80 Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson , 1997), 29.

81 Brendan O'Leary, "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism." *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 2 (1997): 191-200.

82 Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson , 1997), 31-35.

83 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford : Blackwell, 1983), 97-100.

84 *These cultures had their roof-state given by history before they ever needed to claim it, therefore identity and feeling of membership were never at stake.

85 Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson , 1997), 50-58.

86 *John Plamenatz,* **"***Two Types* of Nationalism," in Nationalism: The nature and Evolution of an idea, ed. E. Kamenka (London: E. Arnold, 1976), 23-36.

of the West[87]. The problem of Plamenatz's model of geographically limited nationalism, as well as Gellner's model, is that they are misleading, because they have no meaning outside of their geographical connotations. Both of them ignore ethnic and territorial violence that has taken place in Western states before and after the Age of nationalism.[88] Their typology is being used to generate types which do not coincide with the historical conditions. Britain, France and United States, the exemplars of Western liberal nationalism, experienced history that does not resonate with the notion of homogeneity of all groups in their nation-building ambitions. Catholics of Britain, Jews of France or Indians and black slaves of United States do not share the same history and culture as the majority group within these nation-states.[89] Therefore some characteristics of Eastern ethnic and civic Western nationalisms co-exist within each European nation-state.

In contrast to Gellner's definition of nationalism as a strive for homogeneous state culture, Plamenatz argues that nationalism arises when a people's national or cultural identity is threatened , hence nationalism is defined as a "reaction of people who feel culturally at disadvantage"[90]. For nationalism to flourish, certain conditions - such as awareness of people's separateness and distinctiveness; common ideals and conception of progress - have to be fulfilled. While Western societies already had their national culture, *Slavic*[91] nations of Eastern Europe had to re-equip themselves culturally[92]. Plamenatz argues that *these people* had already *some sense*[93] of identity or separateness, but felt inferior to the more successful Western rivals. To create national identity of its own *Slavs* had to imitate the alien dominant culture they were drawn into. Their relationship with the West was an ambivalent one, categorized by admiration inter-winded with rejection. Hence Eastern nationalism is seen as "imitative and hostile to the models it imitates, and is apt to be illiberal"[94]. The discourse Plamenatz uses to describe nations of the East is superficial and pejorative in addressing them as "people who come to be called backward". Therefore his division between the Eastern and Western nationalism is between the dominant and subordinated, between more advanced and primitive, between bourgeois and peasant.

This clearly superficial Manichean division into ethnic East and civic West was introduced by Hans Kohn. He argues that Western nationalism as being superior to Eastern nationalism has its social base in civic institution, whilst Eastern relies upon organic, ethnic roots and is made up by intellectuals who articulate a national idea. In the West the nationalism was a "predominantly political occurrence, preceded by formation of the future national state"[95], linked to individual liberty and rational cosmopolitanism, whereas in the East the opposite was the case. Kohn claims that nationalism in the West developed before the rise of nationalism. On the other hand, nationalism of the East arose "later, in conflict with existing states and within cultural domain"[96]. However, Gellner disagrees with Kohn's view that nations began to emerge before the rise of nationalism inter-winded with industrialization in the late 18th century. But for both Gellner and Kohn the East failed to attain a well defined and codified high culture and was based on ethnic grounds. Their division of nationalism, including Plamenatz's model, idealizes nationalism in the West as being always fully inclusive of social and ethnic groups while in the East nationalism was exclusive and illiberal.

As Kymlicka argues, to talk of liberal and illiberal cultures is to presume that the "world was divided into completely liberal societies on the one hand and completely illiberal ones on the other hand"[97]. Most scholars, including Gellner and Plamenatz ignore the fact that in most civic states different cultures have been and are still co-existing. The histories of many minority groups do not resonate with the histories, adopted by national majority - Catholics of Britain, provincials of France or black slaves of United States do not share the

87 Ibid.
88 Taras Kuzio, "The myth of the civic state: a crittical survey of Hans Kohn's framewrok for understanding nationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 25, no. 1 (2002) : 20-39.
89 Brendan O'Leary, "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism." *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 2 (1997): 214.
90 *John Plamenatz,* **"***Two Types* of Nationalism," in Nationalism: The nature and Evolution of an idea, ed. E. Kamenka (London: E. Arnold, 1976), 23-36.
91 Emphasis added by the author.
92 Ibid.
93 Emphasis added by the author.
94 *John Plamenatz,* **"***Two Types* of Nationalism," in Nationalism: The nature and Evolution of an idea, ed. E. Kamenka (London: E. Arnold, 1976), 23-36.
95 Hans Kohn. "Western and Eastern Nationalism". in *Nationalism, ed.* John Hutchinson and Anthony D.Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press , 1994), 164.
96 Ibid.
97 Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural citizenship : a liberal theory of minority rights (*Oxford: Clarendon Press , 1995), 95.

same culture as majority group in the nation-state. Although all analyzed theorists emphasize the cultural component of the nation-state, they strive to forget this classification when explaining Western nationalism as entirely civic and liberal. Namely, both Western and Eastern nationalism are grounded in culture, therefore both are composed of some civic and ethnic, liberal and illiberal components. Modernists aim to neglect that nation building in the West also consisted of both by building and destroying minorities and local communities – a fact ignored by all three authors in their positive definition of Western nationalism.

While all three scholars have very similar theories and their categorizations little differ, they disagree on one salient issue – framing of German and Italian nationalism. Plamenatz argues that the nature of both (German and Italian) nationalisms is Western, because they were already culturally strong and rather liberal in the nineteenth century. Nazism in Germany and fascism in Italy were just "historical accidents" in their liberal development or, as Gellner would emphasize, not predestined to happen. Though both illiberal, fascism and nazism were born out of frustration of people defeated in war or disappointed in victory.[98]

In contrast to Gellner's and Plamenatz's understanding of Eastern and Western nationalism, Kohn believed that German nationalism rejected Western concepts of individualism, rationalism and cosmopolitanism and instead found its "justification in the 'natural' fact of community, held together by traditional ties and kinship".[99] In Germany, romanticism and cultural nationalism were strong, both hostile to the democratic ideals of the French revolution. Gellner recognized un-benign forms that German and Italian nationalism took in the first half of the 20th century but still defined them as Western civic nationalism because they attained homogeneous national culture, though he did place them in the second zone of nationalism, arguing they *could* be benign and liberal. Gellner obviously did not stress the paradox of this classification because it was clear that Italian and German nationalism of the 20th century were of illiberal and ethnic norms. Gellner suggested that it was the morality of Romanticism, which praised feeling and cultural specificity, combined with Darwinism as mediated by the romantic Nietzsche, that led to the violence of the first half of the 20th century[100].

To sum up, I believe the division of nationalism into Western and Eastern type is a simplistic and superficial classification of nationalism. Nationalism is a too complex and contradictory phenomena to be easily divided into only two categories, geographically and historically limited. Many nation-states, classified as Western, have experienced very violent histories with conflicts based on strong ethnic content and territorial claims. On the other hand, many nationalisms of the East[101] have not had same historical experiences and do not geographically belong to this region. Moreover, exclusionary and integral nationalisms have also developed amongst peoples who have formed a homogeneous culture, while inclusive civic nationalisms have developed amongst peoples without crystallized high culture.

For example, Italian and German nationalisms are, according to Gellner and Plamenatz, classified as Western nationalisms. In their view, both Italy and Germany had unified national culture and were rather liberal in the 19th century. Although Italian and German nationalisms of the 20th century turned out to be extremely illiberal and ethnic, Gellner argued that nazism and fascism were not predestined to happen. On the other hand, Kohn placed German nationalism within Eastern type, because of its strong romantic and cultural content. Problematic classification of German and Italian nationalism shows that some characteristics of Eastern ethnic and civic Western nationalisms co-exist within each European nation-state. Although classifications can be a useful tool to understand the role and functioning of nationalism, they are not to be taken for granted. They can explain some manifestations of nationalism, especially when in conflict, but each nationalism is a specific phenomena, a result of specific historical and societal conditions.

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Essay 3. Between national attitudes

It has been a big challenge for researchers to present clear and consistent terminology of nationalism during the past decades. However, the existing nationalism literature lacks empirical data, actual analysis and discussions regarding the identification of several determinants which can lead to the explanation of national attitudes.

Two articles from "Political Psychology": "On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind Versus Constructive Patriotism" by Robert T Schatz, Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine and "Nationalism and Its Explanations" by Henk Dekker, Darina Malová and Sander Hoogendoorn, published in 1999 and 2003 respectively are topical examples of different views on how to create adequate measurement of nationalism, a relevant question in finding the grass-root processes of how nationalism emerges.

While in both cases the authors agree on conducting the research along the national attachment with the purpose of measuring it, the dimensions are investigated by different items in both cases.

In the first text blind[102], and constructive[103] patriotism are defined as the two dimensions of social attachment. Through Schatz's et. al. theoretical distinction the research is questioning whether patriotism is necessarily linked to aggressive militarism and hostility towards outgroups, and whether patriotism demands blind and uncritical allegiance to country.

The latter text argues that nationalism is an individual's attitude which is composed of national attitudes that differ in type and strength as it follows: national feeling, is a neutral attitude, the positive national attitudes are: national liking, national pride, national preference, national superiority, nationalism. The negative attitudes consist of: national alienation, national shame, national disgust and national hate. These attitudes form a cumulative hierarchy through which the researchers build a set of hypotheses explaining national attitude development and test these hypotheses empirically.

Schatz et al. explain the origin of the various attachments to one's country, whereas Dekker et al. claim their work is a "first step toward a theory explaining variances in national attitudes." (Dekker et. al. 2003, 368)

But what are the overlaps between the two texts? Overall the models, the structure of the two researches may seem clear and ready to follow. However, it is a matter of awareness to look into a few key issues regarding the conceptualization of terminology. Since there is a visible similarity between the two cases (namely the aim itself: developing a reliable model in how to measure attachment to one's country) it is useful to discuss the emerging issues in parallel, Therefore a brief summary of the mentioned researches is necessary.

The Schatz et. al. research contains two case studies which were conducted on undergraduate students from the United States using a two-dimensional factor analyses.

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[102] Blind patriotism: "attachment to a country characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism" (p. 151.)

[103] Constructive patriotism: "attachment to a country characterized by support for questioning and criticism of current group practices that are intended to result in positive change."(p.151.)

In both cases it was a general expectation that **blind patriotism** would show an active avoidance of political information, negative relation with political activism and gathering of political knowledge. However, it's relation to nationalism, national vulnerability (distrust of foreign nations) and cultural contamination (heightened concern that foreign influences erode the homogeneity and distinctiveness of national culture) was expected to be positive. (Schatz et. al. 1999, 155)

In contrast, the **constructive patriotism** was expected to show a high level of political activism and efficiency. The expectation was that constructive patriotism opposes or shows low degree of relatedness with nationalism, national vulnerability and cultural contamination.

The results of the study testing the two-dimensional model of patriotism showed that blind and constructive patriotism represent different constructs of patriotism. Although both types of patriotism share core patriotic sentiments, the relation between national attachment and blind patriotism proved to be stronger than the relation between constructive nationalism, just as the expectations predicted. Therefore, the blind patriotism proved to be positively correlated with political conservatism, and political party orientation. However, the authors express that this does not mean that all conservatives are blindly patriotic.

The research by Dekker at. al. contains three empirical studies using anonymous self-administered surveys testing national attitudes and the development of these. The case studies were conducted in three cases: "a well-established state (the Netherlands), a recently established state (Slovakia) and a region in which a considerable proportion of citizens are striving to develop a new independent state (The Basque Autonomous Community of Spain)."(Dekker el. al. 2003, 345)

One of the expectations was that national attitudes develop along a cumulative hierarchy, which means that each individual is expected to reach a state of national attitudinal development and each stage requires the fulfillment of the previous one

The researchers also formulated a hypothesis about national socialization which distinguishes three processes of national attitude development: a.) processing of one's affective observations, experiences and b.) affective messages from others about one's country and also c.) individual's earlier acquired orientations and early behavior.

The development of one's national attitude is also determined by national emotions, salient national beliefs, national behaviors, specific attitudes toward outgroups, foreign countries, and the role of agents of national socialization (family, school, church, mass media, social networks, politics).

The authors claim is that results did not reject the expectations in neither of the cases. However, in two cases the expectations were only partially confirmed. In all three cases a declining trend of support is present, as national attitude rose in the hierarchy. Also, the correlation between the different attitudes at the shortest distance was higher than those between attitudes at larger distance. There were two cases of partially confirmed expectations:

The case of Slovakia and the Basque Autonomous Country, where it was predicted that national emotion, national auto-stereotypes, attitude toward outgroups, national socialization and nationalistic leaders will have a strong explanatory power, but the research resulted that auto-clichés, national behaviors, concern about future, sense of positive self-identity are not good predictors in this case.

The second only partially confirmed case was the Basque's case, where the Basque regional nationalism proved to be a different phenomenon since the data did not confirm the Basque's attitude toward Spain.

The question of patriotism and nationalism

The first article investigates the blind and the constructive patriotism. Schatz et al. think that distinguishing blind and constructive patriotism could clarify the relationship between patriotism and nationalism, but the efficiency of the term clarification proves the opposite as nationalism seems to be part of patriotism according to the author's definitions.

The authors define patriotisms as dimensions of national attachment. Patriotism is defined as one of the most important forms of group attachment, a sense of positive identification with and feelings of affective attachment to one's country.

In the latter text Dekker et al. emphasize the importance of a stricter definition of nationalism and say that nationalism is often confused with other national orientation, such as national pride. Furthermore the authors

argue that if "70% of the people are 'nationalistic' because they are proud of there country, the concept loses its significance." (Dekker el. al. 2003, 346.)

At the same time they define one of the elementary concepts, the (positive) national pride as a necessary step to fulfill in the process of national attitude development. Reaching the last point of the pyramid is reaching nationalism.

In both cases, the questions that were asked are the same. The content of the answers given by people in the survey is probably in correlation, still, the frame, the definition mentions patriotism in one, and nationalism in the other case.

When Lowell W. Barrington draws attention to the misuses and loose uses of the term "nationalism"[104], he mentions - as the most basic misuse - the equation of nationalism with patriotism. Although the two can be interrelated, nationalism implies nation, people, whereas patriotism implies state, politics and institutions (Barrington 1997, 714.). In this way patriotism seems to be a moral attachment to the constitution, a political way of belonging as it seems to imply a political community.

So, the relationship between patriotism and nationalism in these cases is that blind patriotism predicts increased nationalism, while patriotism based on critical loyalty does not. Thus, the national feeling used by Dekker et. al. is neutral in this matter, as well as the constructive patriotism used by Schatz et. al.

Therefore national feeling does not lead to nationalism; it rather tends to point to the scale of negative national attitudes such as national alienation, national shame, national disgust and national hate.

Comparing the two articles, one can realize that blind nationalism stands for national pride or national preference and constructive nationalism can be defined as national feeling. Both authors seem to use different terms when conceptualizing the same meaning.

Nevertheless, definitions get more intricately when Schatz et al. mention Kosterman's and Feshbach's opinion on the nationalism-patriotism contrast: patriotism involves feelings of affective attachment to country, whereas nationalism is a "perception of national superiority and an orientation toward national dominance". In this case a long range of question could follow regarding minorities, majorities or nations with state or without state but seeking for state government (in this case the idea of a state-building process should play a more important role than the question of dominance).

While Schatz et al. distinguish patriotism from other form of intergroup discrimination such as racism, ethnocentrism or nationalism, in Dekker's et. al. case this would be just another form of attachment, another level of the process which leads to nationalism; it would be part of the positive national identity scale.

Moreover Schatz's et. al. argumentation also points to another concept of patriotism as containing both nationalistic and patriotic themes which contradicts the argument that patriotism is not a form of intergroup discrimination. From this point of view the concept of patriotism seems wider than nationalism, since it is defined as including "military", "protection", "war" but also "pride", "love" and "respect".

The military and civic forms of patriotism mentioned here are just steps away from the debate about ethnic and civic nationalism, so it is clearly an unsolved problem of the nationalism terminology.

The question of the models

The Schatz et. al. article offers the two-factor model of patriotic attitudes. The research concluded that a "patriotism based in staunch and uncritical attachment to country predicts increased nationalism; whereas a patriotism based in critical loyalty may not" (Schatz et. al. 1999, 169). Nationalism in this case is operationalized as an intergroup discrimination whereas patriotism is an ingroup identification and does not make any intergroup comparisons. Thus, one can draw the model of this research: while blind patriotism and constructive patriotism are orthogonal, the relation between blind patriotism and nationalism is a causal one, as we could see from the aforementioned. In other words, the higher the score on blind patriotism, the greater the preference for exposure to information that glorifies rather than criticizes the country (Schatz et. al. 1999, 168).

104 Lowell W. Barrington: "Nation" and "Nationalism": The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science. Political Science & Politics. December. 1997. 712−716.

At this point we can also put equate constructive nationalism with negative national attitude and blind patriotism with positive national attitude which leads to nationalism. Clearly the meanings match, despite the terminological difference.

The conclusive model of the Dekker et. al. presents the cumulative hierarchy with stages containing the neutral, positive and negative national attitudes, also mentioned above. This model can also be found in the Schatz et. al. article as a bipolar, single factor model, that proved to be less efficient in estimating the likelihood parameters.

When introducing the negative national attitudes, the national alienation, the national shame, the national disgust and the national hate, the authors mention that if there is absence in positive national attitudes negative national attitudes can be found. Therefore, it is not entirely clear what does neutral national attitude mean.

The authors also state that "national emotions are expected to influence national attitudes not only directly but also indirectly through their influence on national beliefs" (Dekker et. al.2003, 349). Thus, when the authors argue for the importance of taking in consideration emotions in the process of defining national attachment, it is not clear how national feeling can be tagged as neutral since according to Dekker et. al. in order for people to fulfill the steps of the cumulative hierarchy model, it is necessary to pass the first level, the national feeling. As long as this level is considered to be neutral the process should stop.

Moreover, the surveys can hardly be representative if there is no possibility for one to give a truly neutral answer. For example, when measuring the national attitudes among Slovaks one of the items for national feeling was: *Being Slovak*. The question whether one is Slovak, or not seems more like a question of citizenship than one of positive national attitude, whereas, the next item in line is truly one regarding national feeling: *Feeling Slovak* (Dekker et. al. 2003, 357).

Overall, both articles present a useful idea, as narrowing the research zone is very important in order to conduct researches in well defined regions. Nevertheless both researches have several limitations. For example, Schatz et. al. mention that non-student samples are necessary to increase the external validity of the findings.

Another one would be the use of different items, thus the different samples such as the non-representative sample of Slovakia. Also, in the Dekker et al. case, the surveys were conducted in different years and not all hypotheses were tested in all states and regions, like the international attitudes hypothesis which was only conducted in the Basque case.

However the overlapping meanings found in the two articles, namely constructive nationalism with negative national attitude and blind patriotism with positive national attitude are a good example for the existing problem in defining patriotism and nationalism. Thus, measuring national feelings becomes more difficult and hard to accomplish.

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MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT STYLE

As students you will write a variety of different types of papers, or *genres*, including examinations, essays, literature reviews, proposals, seminar papers and theses. It is important to become familiar with the variety of writing tasks expected of you in your department, and the stylistic choices you can make when writing them.

Examination answers are not always composed in the same way as essays, a literature review usually looks nothing like a proposal, and seminar papers presented orally in class during the academic year may need to be revised for inclusion in a thesis. This short reading cannot run through all the differences - and similarities - in stylistic choices related to genre. Writing instructors can give you general advice in this area, but your best source of information will be the professors for whom assignments are written.

How audience affects style

Kenneth Goodman, a pioneer in reading research, once wrote: "Texts are shaped as much by the writer's sense of the characteristics of their readers as they are by the writer's own characteristics."[105] Imagine for a moment you are sent to attend a conference in another country. While you are there, you write postcards to three people: your grandmother, your best friend, and a university lecturer in your department. Will all the postcards be the same? Probably not. Not only your choice of words and the way you address the three people will be different, but also the information you choose to tell them.

Within an academic context, the concept of '*audience'* or readership is equally important. Your readers will not only have opinions of their own on the subject you are writing about, they will probably come to the text with their own ideas on how you should present your views. Failure to take the expectations of your readership into account is likely to lead not only to your opinions not being taken seriously, but also to a bad mark. In supporting your case, for example, you may be able to choose from a range of arguments and examples. Which will you choose? The most scientific, the most emotional, the most extreme, or the most moderate? The knowledge that university professors tend not to be impressed by tears and melodrama may lead you to leave out those arguments that appeal to the heart rather than the intelligence. If you do so, you are making a decision based on your awareness of your readership. Similarly, if you know that your supervisor prefers very dry impersonal writing, you might be well advised to avoid starting sentences with 'in my opinion'. Again, your knowledge of your audience affects the choices you make in writing. Just what those choices are will be dealt with in the next section.

Most of the writing that you will have to do connected to your coursework will be relatively formal. Informal, journalistic style, like the example below taken from the UK Guardian, a quality intellectual newspaper, is not common.

> You think you've reached bottom, then you hear knocking from underneath. As I follow the news from Iraq, and the American debate about it, I fear that the worst is still to come. Here's the latest twist. In desperation, and since the surge is not having the desired effect, the US military is now arming and funding Sunni gangs to help them fight other Sunni gangs linked to al-Qaida. The enemy of my enemy is my friend - even if, until only yesterday, he was the enemy I had claimed to be defeating. But how will the US military know they are not supporting killers who have the blood of American soldiers on their hands? Ah, because they will use biometric tests - retina scans and fingerprinting - on those they are arming. How reassuring (Garton Ash 2007).

Here, the tone is conversational and the writer tries to establish a close relationship with the reader, notably through the use of 'I' and 'you', and features of spoken English such as contractions, short sentences, direct questions, and fragments (incomplete sentences, e.g. "How reassuring").

Contrast this, however, with the same writer – who as well as being a journalist is also an Oxford professor – writing for a different audience and purpose:

> The West German debate, however, is remarkable for the relatively small part played by these East European visions and aspirations. It is to some extent true that the concept of *Mitteleuropa* was reintroduced into German intellectual discourse via Paris (through Kundera), Budapest (through Konrad), and Prague (through Havel). But once reintroduced from these sources it rapidly took on a life of its own, picking up themes of the so-called "Historians' debate," the unceasing discussion about German identity and the German question, the future of Berlin, German-German relations, *Ostpolitik* more generally, security policy, and the Federal Republic of Germany's relationship with the United States. (Garton Ash 2000)

Here Garton Ash is writing an academic essay on a theoretical topic for a more academic audience. In this text the sentences are longer and more complex, direct questions, fragments and contractions have disappeared and the text is much more impersonal, with no mention of the word 'you', though the writer does use 'I' once later in the text. Note also the appearance of cautious language (known as 'hedging') in phrases like 'the

105 Cited in Arthur Brookes and Peter Grundy, *Writing for Study Purposes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1990.

relatively small part' or '[i]t is *to some extent* true that' that gives the impression that the writer is making carefully weighed claims. This formal, measured style is the one you will most likely want to choose in writing papers for your professors. The remainder of this reading addresses a number of stylistic issues which frequently worry CEU students in their writing.

Use of the first person

"Can I use 'I'?" is one of the commonest questions raised by students who have been told by their professors that the first person is not acceptable in university writing. Examination of articles published in journals shows that many researchers in the social sciences do use 'I', yet students often feel uncomfortable copying this strategy. Hyland concludes that although using the first person is "a significant means of promoting a competent scholarly identity and gaining acceptance for one's ideas" (2002:1111), many students are afraid to do so and thus do not make effective use of the options available to them. So how *can* you use 'I' safely in academic writing?

Ways of using the first person you may want to avoid

First of all, the rules about use of the first person in your own language may not be a good guide when making decisions about English. Particularly Slavic languages tend to replace 'I' with 'we'. This is not customary in English unless a text is being jointly authored, or the audience is being addressed, e.g. "How can we understand this turn of events?" Here 'we' does not refer to the author but to the academic community that author and reader are a part of. Phrases like "in this paper we argue", however, are not common in English unless you are writing the paper with someone else.

One reason why professors may discourage the use of 'I' is because they are tired of seeing phrases like 'I think' and 'in my opinion'. In the social sciences, researchers like to emphasise whenever possible that things are not a matter of opinion, but of claims supported by valid evidence. If you say "I think there is a need to protect women's employment rights in Kazakhstan", the response of the critical reader may be 'I'm not interested in what you think; I'm interested in whether there is evidence that will persuade *me* and others that there is indeed a need to protect women's employment rights in Kazakhstan". Instead of using 'I think' it is more effective to write, "There are three reasons why women's employment rights in Kazakhstan need to be protected. First… Second… Finally…".

Some students like to use phrases like 'I think' because they feel that these soften claims that may not be absolutely true. They feel uncomfortable making such strong statements as "The Bulgarian government has failed to effective and comprehensive policies to tackle violence against women". As mentioned above with the example of Timothy Garton Ash, cautiousness is very common in academic writing, however, it is not usually achieved by using 'I'. Instead, hedging phrases are used such as:

> "The Bulgarian government *can be seen* to have failed …"
>
> "The Bulgarian government *appears* to have failed…"
>
> "The Bulgarian government has *to an extent* failed…"
>
> "It is *questionable to what extent* the Bulgarian government has *succeeded*…"

These hedging phrases allow more sophisticated shades of meaning than the simple use of "I think". The first, for example, is rather stronger than the second, which is stronger than the third or fourth. In this way, you can clearly show your argument and at the same time express caution and admit the existence of other valid views, yet without using the first person.

Ways in which you may wish to use 'I'

One of the commonest reasons for using 'I' in English academic writing is in what is called 'metadiscourse', that is, those parts of your text that talk about how the text is organised and about your purpose. These include phrases like:

> "I address this issue in detail below."
>
> "I discuss this further in chapter four."
>
> "My purpose is to examine…"
>
> "I will argue that…"

Of course even in these situations, it is possible to avoid 'I'. One could say:

> "This issue is addressed in detail below." (passive)
>
> "Chapter four discusses this issue further" (dummy agent)
>
> "This paper seeks to examine… (dummy agent)
>
> "It will be argued that…" (passive)

Some students prefer to use these forms. Generally, this is a matter of personal choice, as both 'I' and dummy agents/passives are acceptable in metadiscoursal markers in most social science disciplines.

Another area in which the use of "I' is common is the description of methodology in empirical research. For example, one researcher describes his methodology as follows:

> In addition to the text analyses, *I interviewed* one supervisor from each field (all English L1) and organised small focus groups of student writers (all Cantonese L1). *Participants were asked* to provide information about their own writing and their impressions of disciplinary practices. *I used* a semi-structured format consisting of a series of open-ended interview prompts (Hyland 2002, p.1097).

Here again the author switches back and forth between 'I' (I interviewed, I used) and a passive form (Participants were asked), but we may assume that he does this for stylistic variety, not out of fear that the first person is inappropriate.

Using the passive

Just as there is extensive debate about whether the first person is too personal, there is debate about whether the passive is too impersonal – a kind of false modesty. You may have noticed that if you switch on the grammar checker in Microsoft Word it will underline many of your passive sentences, suggesting you change them into active sentences. First recommendation: be critical of your grammar checker.[106]

Some writers like the passive because (unlike 'I') they think it sounds objective and scientific. In reality, however, it only *sounds* objective: hiding behind passives does not make your research any more scientific. It is probably better to take responsibility for those choices and decisions in your work that were yours.

One important drawback of the passive is that it obscures who is doing the action. For example, in the statement:

> It is argued that religious groups as well as cultural and immigrant minorities may share beliefs that are detrimental to women's interests. [107]

It is, however, ambiguous who is doing the arguing. Is it generally argued by most authors, is it argued by an author the writer has forgotten to mention, or is it being argued by the writer of the present text? The reader cannot know. Of course, this ambiguity can be made clear while keeping the passive, for example:

> It is *commonly* argued that religious groups as well as cultural and immigrant minorities may share beliefs that are detrimental to women's interests.
>
> It has been argued *(Okin 1997)* that religious groups as well as cultural and immigrant minorities may share beliefs that are detrimental to women's interests.
>
> It is argued *here* that religious groups as well as cultural and immigrant minorities may share beliefs that are detrimental to women's interests.

However, this can be done more effectively in the last two cases by using active forms:

> *Okin (2007) argues* that religious groups as well as cultural and immigrant minorities may share beliefs that are detrimental to women's interests.
>
> *I argue here* that religious groups as well as cultural and immigrant minorities may share beliefs that are detrimental to women's interests.

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106 As well as marking many of your passive sentences as wrong, it will also frequently mark defining relative clauses as wrong.

107 This example and several subsequent ones are adapted slightly from the work of CEU students, with kind permission.

Using Acronyms

Writers often use acronyms (abbreviations based on the first letter of each word) to avoid repeating long terms over and over in a paper.

> *AFRO-NETS, MSF*, *UNICEF* and the *WHO* developed a joint strategy later in the year; every *AMVTN* staff member interviewed for this report felt this co-operation was vital in stopping the epidemic.

However, it is unwise to assume that all your readers will be familiar with every acronym associated with your discipline. For this reason, it is common practice to spell out a term on first mention, putting the acronym in parentheses, and use it - as well as synonyms and pronouns - in the rest of the paper.

> The *United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR)* was established to help displaced persons, but in this case *it* only made matters worse. The *commission's* representative was from outside the country, and he had no experience dealing with the particular problems of the local bureaucracy. In addition, the *UNHCR* staff in Geneva made matters worse by failing to listen to the complaints about the representative.

Long research papers, theses and dissertations often include a glossary of acronyms and abbreviations.

Specialized Vocabulary/Jargon

All academic writers need to use special vocabulary:

> *Cyborg politics* is particularly relevant here.
>
> Evidence to the contrary can be found in the *samizdat* of the 1960's.
>
> *Realists* argue that his decision to compromise with the enemy was the only option.
>
> His *cogito* changed the course of philosophy.

Cyborg politics, samizdat, realists and *cogito* are examples of specialized vocabulary, or jargon, a type of academic shorthand whose meaning has been agreed upon by an academic community.[108]

However, sometimes the meaning of jargon is not always clear:

> This is just another typical example of the *New World Order*.
>
> The first government was simply not dealing with *post-Cold War realities*.
>
> His project was the most *environmentally friendly* one in the entire region.

The term *New World Order* has both positive and negative connotations, the *realities* of the *post-Cold War* may depend on your political perspective, and what is *environmentally friendly* to one scientist may not be so *friendly* to another. Sometimes, clarification is necessary:

> In this paper, *the end of antiquity* will be used as Dr. Bettina Johnson defined it in 1973.

In addition, if specialized terms are overused, the reader may be confused:

> Neo-postmodernists and antideconstructionists agree ipso jure on a realpolitic approach to the problems of C4O3H2 levels as referred to in articles ss 7(4)(b) and 15(4) of the regulations concerning body knowledge and the Peter Principle.

However, it may be difficult to determine when a term is used inappropriately. The Writing Center recommends you critically read texts to evaluate how specialized vocabulary is used and/or abused in your discipline, consult professors and other professionals for their opinions on the subject, and be conscious of how you use such vocabulary in your own work.

Metadiscourse

Metadiscourse is discourse about discourse, or in other words, phrases that explain the direction or organisation of the paper. For this reason, it is sometimes also called 'signposting'. Metadiscourse is important

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[108] As is often the case in academia, the word jargon itself is the subject of controversy. Here it is used simply as a synonym for specialised vocabulary. For many people the word has negative connotations; they use the word jargon to describe *pompous*, *nonsensical*, or *deliberately obscure* language. You should take this into account when making vocabulary choices, because some readers may feel excluded if they do not understand your terms.

because it helps readers to make their way through the text, to connect, organise, interpret and clarify connections in the text. It also helps develop attitudes towards the given material and to start a dialogue between the writer and the audience.

Some examples:

- Before discussing X, let us briefly review the previous work on Y.
- In the next section I present the results of the analysis of…
- First, I will discuss…. I will then compare X to Y… Finally I will make recommendations.
- As I have shown in the Chapter 2,…

Metadiscourse is especially important in longer texts (such as a thesis) where without frequent signposting, readers might soon lose their way in the jungle of words. Similarly, at the beginnings and ends of sections and chapters, it is useful to have reminders of what has been covered and what is still ahead of us in subsequent parts. The more complex the subject matter of your paper is, the more metadiscourse elements you are advised to use, so that the reader should be able to easily follow your thoughts.

Conclusion

This reading is just the starting point when it comes to making decisions about individual academic style. In a few weeks, when you turn in your first paper, you will have to ask yourself what stylistic choices you need to make in order to write effectively in your department. Reflecting upon the issues related to style will be of enormous help to you throughout the academic year, especially when it comes time to write your thesis. As mentioned in the introduction, we believe graduate students need to develop a strong sense of their own style in their writing. We are available to assist you in these issues, however, as Peter Elbow wrote in the introductory quotation to this chapter, we are unable to give you all the answers you will need to cope with the various audiences for whom you are writing. We believe the professors in each specific discipline are the best source of advice regarding these issues; we encourage you to seek out their opinions on style.

NIALL FERGUSON: OBAMA'S GOTTA GO

Why does Paul Ryan scare the president so much? Because Obama has broken his promises, and it's clear that the GOP ticket's path to prosperity is our only hope.

I was a good loser four years ago. "In the grand scheme of history," I wrote the day after Barack Obama's election as president, "four decades is not an especially long time. Yet in that brief period America has gone from the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. to the apotheosis of Barack Obama. You would not be human if you failed to acknowledge this as a cause for great rejoicing."[109]

Despite having been—full disclosure—an adviser to John McCain, I acknowledged his opponent's remarkable qualities: his soaring oratory, his cool, hard-to-ruffle temperament, and his near faultless campaign organization.

Yet the question confronting the country nearly four years later is not who was the better candidate four years ago. It is whether the winner has delivered on his promises. And the sad truth is that he has not.

In his inaugural address, Obama promised "not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth." He promised to "build the roads and bridges, the electric grids, and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together." He promised to "restore science to its rightful place and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost." And he promised to "transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age." Unfortunately the president's scorecard on every single one of those bold pledges is pitiful.

In an unguarded moment earlier this year, the president commented that the private sector of the economy was "doing fine." Certainly, the stock market is well up (by 74 percent) relative to the close on Inauguration Day 2009. But the total number of private-sector jobs is still 4.3 million below the January 2008 peak. Meanwhile, since 2008, a staggering 3.6 million Americans have been added to

[109] http://www.fair.org/blog/2012/08/21/niall-ferguson-cant-be-fact-checked/

Social Security's disability insurance program. This is one of many ways unemployment is being concealed.

In his fiscal year 2010 budget—the first he presented—the president envisaged growth of 3.2 percent in 2010, 4.0 percent in 2011, 4.6 percent in 2012. The actual numbers were 2.4 percent in 2010 and 1.8 percent in 2011; few forecasters now expect it to be much above 2.3 percent this year.

Unemployment was supposed to be 6 percent by now. It has averaged 8.2 percent this year so far. Meanwhile real median annual household income has dropped more than 5 percent since June 2009. Nearly 110 million individuals received a welfare benefit in 2011, mostly Medicaid or food stamps.

Welcome to Obama's America: nearly half the population is not represented on a taxable return—almost exactly the same proportion that lives in a household where at least one member receives some type of government benefit. We are becoming the 50–50 nation—half of us paying the taxes, the other half receiving the benefits.

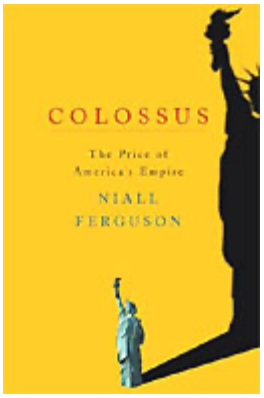
Niall Ferguson discusses Obama's broken promises on 'Face the Nation.'

And all this despite a far bigger hike in the federal debt than we were promised. According to the 2010 budget, the debt in public hands was supposed to fall in relation to GDP from 67 percent in 2010 to less than 66 percent this year. If only. By the end of this year, according to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), it will reach 70 percent of GDP. These figures significantly understate the debt problem, however. The ratio that matters is debt to revenue. That number has leapt upward from 165 percent in 2008 to 262 percent this year, according to figures from the International Monetary Fund. Among developed economies, only Ireland and Spain have seen a bigger deterioration.

Not only did the initial fiscal stimulus fade after the sugar rush of 2009, but the president has done absolutely nothing to close the long-term gap between spending and revenue.

His much-vaunted health-care reform will not prevent spending on health programs growing from more than 5 percent of GDP today to almost 10 percent in 2037. Add the projected increase in the costs of Social Security and you are looking at a total bill of 16 percent of GDP 25 years from now. That is only slightly less than the average cost of all federal programs and activities, apart from net interest payments, over the past 40 years. Under this president's policies, the debt is on course to approach 200 percent of GDP in 2037—a mountain of debt that is bound to reduce growth even further.

Niall Ferguson: Hegemony and Empire[110]



Julius Caesar called himself *imperator* but never king. His adopted heir Augustus preferred *princeps*. Emperors can call themselves what they like and so can empires. The kingdom of England was proclaimed an empire – by Henry VIII – before it became one.[1] The United States by contrast has long been an empire, but eschews the appellation.

Define the term *empire* narrowly enough, of course, and the United States can easily be excluded from the category. Here is a typical example: "Real imperial power… means a *direct* monopoly over the administration of justice and the definition of thereof. It means control over what is bought and sold, the terms of trade and the permission to trade… Let us stop talking of an American empire, for there is and there will be no such thing."[2] For a generation of "realist" writers, eager to rebut Soviet charges of American imperialism, it became conventional to argue that the United States had only briefly flirted with this kind of formal empire, beginning with the annexation of the Philippines in 1898 and ending by the 1930s. [3] What the United States did after the end of the Second World War was, however, fundamentally different in character. According to one recent formulation, it was "not an imperial state with a predatory intent"; it was "more concerned with enhancing regional stability and security and protecting international trade than enlarging its power at the expense of others." [4]

If the United States was not an empire, then what was it? And what is it now that the empire it was avowedly striving to "contain" is no more? "The only superpower" – existing in a "unipolar" world – is one way of describing it. *Hyperpuissance* was the (certainly ironical) coinage of the former French foreign minister Hubert Védrine. Some writers favor more economic terms like global *leadership*[5] while Philip Bobbitt simply regards the United States as a particularly successful form of nation-state.[6] A recent series of seminars at Harvard's Kennedy School opted for the inoffensive term *primacy*.[7] But by far the most popular term among writers in international relations remains *hegemon*.[8]

What is this thing called hegemony? Is it merely a euphemism for *empire*, or does it describe the role of the primus inter pares, the leader of an alliance, rather than a ruler over subject peoples? And what are the hegemon's motives? Does it exert power beyond its borders for its own self-interested purposes? Or is it engaged altruistically in the provision of public goods?

The word was used originally to describe the relationship of Athens to the other Greek city-states when they leagued together to defend themselves against the Persian Empire; Athens led but did not rule over the others.[9] In the so-called world-system theory, by contrast, hegemony means more than mere leadership, but less than outright empire.[10] In yet another, narrower definition the hegemon's principal function in the twentieth century was to underwrite a liberal international commercial and financial system. In what became known, somewhat inelegantly, as hegemonic stability theory, the fundamental question of the post-war period was how far and for how long the United States would remain committed to free trade once other economies, benefiting from precisely the liberal economic order

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[110] From Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004).

made possible by US hegemony, began to catch up. Would Americans revert to protectionist policies in an effort to perpetuate their hegemony or stick with free trade at the risk of experiencing relative decline? This has been called the hegemon's dilemma, and it appeared to many writers to be essentially the same dilemma that Britain had faced before 1914.[11]

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[1] However, see Davis, *First English Empire*.
[2] Zelikow, "Transformation," p. 18.
[3] Schwab, "Global Role." "American empire," in the words of Michael Mandelbaum, "was given up in the twentieth century:" Mandelbaum, *Ideas*, p. 87.
[4] Kupchan, *End*, p. 228.
[5] Mandelbaum, Ideas, p. 88.
[6] Bobbitt, *Shield of Achilles*.
[7] I am extremely grateful to Graham Allison for inviting me to open this series. This book owes much to the rigorous and constructive criticism of the seminar's participants.
[8] See, e.g. Kagan, *Paradise and Power*, p. 88; Kupchan, *End*, p. 266.
[9] Johannsen, "National Size," p. 352n.
[10] A hegemonic state was "a state … able to impose its set of rules on the interstate system, and thereby create temporarily a new political order," and which offered "certain extra advantages for enterprises located within it or protected by it, advantages not accorded by the 'market' but obtained through political pressure": Wallerstein, "Three Hegemonies," p. 357.
[11] See, e.g. Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*.

Europe: 'Ugly America'[111]

by *Russell A. Berman*

Europeans will even defend Strauss-Kahn and bin Laden if it gives them a chance to kick the U.S.

Whatever happened to anti-Americanism in Europe? The war of words and the angry demonstrations that defined trans-Atlantic relations during the Bush administration seem to have subsided. Today, Europe is more focused on some of its own problems, notably the pending financial crisis that threatens to spread beyond Greece and Portugal. It is not easy to blame Europe's bad fiscal habits on the United States.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel recently visited Washington DC for a warm and cordial, but fully inconsequential visit: she received the Medal of Freedom (a nice gesture, to be sure), but no new policy initiative resulted from her stay. Washington is not asking much of Europe these days, so there's no particular reason for Europeans to resent the United States.

Illustration by Barbara Kelley

Yet, as with most trans-Atlantic matters, there is a complex backstory. History weighs on the present, especially when it comes to the Old World. And some recent controversial flashpoints point toward a lingering anti-American potential in European political life.

Not every criticism of this or that American policy constitutes a case of European anti-Americanism. There are robust policy debates within the United States, and there is no reason why the Europeans—or for that matter, America-watchers elsewhere in the world—should not weigh in on those debates.

Anti-Americanism comes into play however when the specifics of particular issues are linked to negative stereotypes of Americans or American culture in general. It's one thing for an observer to criticize American gun control laws as insufficient; it's quite another to explain those laws by arguing that Americans have always been violent. Similarly, in terms of culture, it's fine for a European to complain that a new Hollywood release is a bad film (I might well share that judgment)—but it becomes anti-Americanism when the low quality movie is taken as a symptom of general cultural crudeness.

European anti-Americanism draws on a relatively defined collection of stereotypes about the United States, each with its own background. Perhaps the most enduring is the image of the obnoxious American as lacking sophistication and finesse. This perspective gives expression to long-standing elite European anxieties about democracy and its potential to spiral downward toward an ever-lower common

[111] Published in the *Hoover Institution Journal*, 5th August, 2011. Available at: http://www.hoover.org/publications/defining-ideas/article/88116 (Last accessed 4th August, 2013)

denominator. In this account, Europe remains the protector of high cultural values, while the United States promotes bad taste and the low cultural values that result from the mob mentality that elitists expect from mass democracy.

Europeans think of Americans as obnoxious cowboys, lacking sophistication and finesse.

Distinct from this aristocratic disdain, a second stereotype of the United States is a legacy of old Communist rhetoric: America as the native land of plutocracy, the ultimate capitalist country—where capitalism is taken to be a negative term. To be sure, capitalism thrives in Milan, Frankfurt, and London, but any dissatisfaction with capitalism is projected onto the United States. For example, many Europeans believe that the 2008 financial crisis was primarily the fault of the United States. This perspective overlooks all the home-grown flaws in Europe's economy.

In addition, a third stereotype common in Europe involves the depiction of the United States as profoundly or even fanatically nationalistic. American policies face the suspicion that they serve only U.S. interests—as if European nations have renounced all self-interest and entered an internationalist utopia of perpetual peace. This allegation of fanaticism is linked to a discomfort with American religiosity. Indeed, Western European culture is more emphatically secular than is American life, and the European opinion-making class has little tolerance for public expressions of spirituality, especially those that it finds in the United States. It takes offense at references to religion in American public life, including the conventional "God bless America" at the end of political speeches.

Though these three expressions of anti-Americanism—aristocratic, anti-capitalist, and internationalist-secular—exist in Europe, they do not define all European views of the United States. The United States has plenty of friends in Europe. Still, during the administration of George W. Bush, these stereotypes circulated widely. Then German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder ran his 2002 reelection campaign around an attack on "American conditions," and then French President Jacques Chirac promoted himself as the antipode to Washington. That was the era of fierce debates over the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The gulf between the United States and Europe grew deep in those days, not only because of genuine policy differences but also because of the eruption of anti-Americanism in European political culture.

As a presidential candidate, Barack Obama promised to end that all and heal America's strained relations with Europe. The enormous crowd that applauded him in Berlin when he delivered a speech in 2008 at the Victory Column—which is a monument to the German victory over France in 1871—seemed to promise a grand trans-Atlantic reconciliation. Would hope and change cure the anti-American disease?

The European demonstrations have subsided, and by and large, so has the continent's angry rhetoric. Obama is less easy to vilify than Bush. Yet while the tone has changed, it is worth noting that in the one and only policy initiative in which the Obama administration tried to gain significant support—the 2009 decision to surge in Afghanistan—Washington failed to convince Europeans to increase their troop numbers commensurate to the American investment. The result of the Obama surge was therefore a decrease in the fraction of European troops in Afghanistan—an Americanization of the war. Although Obama has tried to sell it as the "war of necessity," Europeans are growing ever more skeptical.

Would hope and change cure the anti-American disease? As it turns out—no, it would not.

What does Afghanistan have to do with European anti-Americanism? Obama's promise to overcome that atmosphere of suspicion and animosity that prevailed during the Bush administration has only succeeded in ratcheting down the tone but it has not led to any major policy collaboration—this is why the Merkel visit had no real content. The administration's overtures have not yielded results, campaign promises to the contrary.

This points to lingering suspicion in Europe toward the United States. There remains a significant bias against the United States in key parts of the European public, a bias that can have policy consequences. This bias was painfully obvious in two key, and very different, events: the German response to the killing of Osama bin Laden and the French reaction to the legal proceedings of the Dominique Strauss-Kahn case in New York City. In each case, familiar anti-American stereotypes came into play.

On May 1, U.S. forces killed bin Laden in his compound in Abbotabad, Pakistan, bringing a welcome end to a search that began right after the 9/11 attacks ten years ago. Those attacks put the blood of nearly 3,000 on his hands, not to mention the countless other victims killed during his years leading al-Qaeda. While one might ask whether capturing bin Laden alive might have been preferable in terms of collecting intelligence, it is difficult not to see his death as an appropriate end for a mass murderer and a declared enemy of the United States: this was a win.

Yet the German public sphere quickly filled with voices more prepared to scold the American celebrations than to condemn the Saudi terrorist. Thus a prominent radio moderator opined: "Carnival atmosphere in Washington, jubilation in the streets, euphoria in the newsrooms: no, this is not about discovering a cure for AIDs or cancer, nor a recipe for world peace. The euphoria responded to the death of 54-year old family father."

Similarly, a popular television commentator, Jörg Schöneborn, issued the unambiguous moralizing condemnation: "What kind of country is this that celebrates an execution? Civilized nations once invented international law. They agreed that criminals would be brought to justice and not simply killed." America, therefore, is placed outside the civilized world: the European prejudice views the United States as the Wild West. These denunciations were not restricted to journalists, either. Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt denounced the bin Laden killing as a breach of international law.

Bin Laden as a venerable family man, and Americans as a mob—this is anti-Americanism pure and simple.

In gratifying contrast to Schmidt, current Chancellor Merkel clearly stated that she was happy to learn of bin Laden's killing. Both for "our American friends" and for Germans, she emphasized, the important issue is that he would no longer be able to wage his war of terror. She characterized the commando action as a "success," and she added that putting an end to bin Laden's threat was "simply good news." Her forthright statement immediately elicited a wave of sour criticism in Germany. She was accused of fostering a mentality of vengeance and violence, and one local judge even claimed that she had broken the law by endorsing an alleged crime. These responses demonstrated how quickly Europeans, with their anti-American predispositions, could be offended by the chancellor's positive reference to "American friends."

The Manhattan arrest and indictment of International Monetary Fund Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on rape charges—and the on-going saga of this high profile crime story—were of course closely followed in France, where "DSK" has long been prominent in political life. Indeed he was likely to become France’s Socialist candidate for president in next year's election.

Yet, while most attention has focused on the determination of his guilt or innocence and the credibility of his accuser, a further aspect of this case involves the French judgment on American justice. His arrest shocked the French public, not only because of his importance politically but also because of the astonishment that a man of his stature could be subject to arrest at all. In other words, as the people of France watched the Strauss-Kahn drama unfold, they began to doubt the quality of American justice: corrupt, driven by money and media, and crudely unwilling to offer special treatment to a member of the political elite. In this view, America is the place of mass culture and mob rule under the sign of the almighty dollar. Prominent French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy has come to DSK's defense, articulating a strident critique of aspects of American justice.

There are of course differences in the judicial systems: in the United States, an adversarial system pits prosecutor against the defense, while in France the judge carries out the investigation, which makes matters less public. Perhaps underlying the different perspectives are alternative values of public exposure: should trials be open to the public—and therefore the media—or should these matters be handled more discretely? It is worth noting however that while the accuser's name has been largely kept out of the press in the United States, it is all over the headlines in France.

Neither the German response to the bin Laden killing nor the French view of the Strauss-Kahn trial translates immediately into any specific trans-Atlantic policy dispute. Each, however, does provide a snapshot of Europe’s pejorative views of the United States. It is the nature of politics that European and

American interests will sometimes point in different directions. But when they do, expect anti-Americanism to define parts of the European response.

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