Political Sociology
Tutorial 5 | Memos
plus bonus feedback on the reading quizzes
Political Sociology Quiz #1 (Week 4)

Full name

Group

No readings, no notes, no laptops, phones etc. No questions during the quiz.
Timing and grading will be indicated in class.

Mark the statements below as TRUE or FALSE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>TRUE</th>
<th>FALSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Dani Rodrik’s “sage” (or alternative) dynamic of globalization, economic globalization, spurred by revolutions in transportation and communication technologies, enables the construction of a global political community that underpins and further reinforces economic integration.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In his text on Steven Lukes third face of power, Ian Shapiro mentions John Gaventa’s work on quiescence. In Gaventa’s study of Appalachian miners, quiescence is virtually identical to consent, since both stem from the miner’s perceptions of their circumstances.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the tragedy of the commons, every herder can limit grazing by anyone else’s flock. If the herder limits his own use of the common meadow, everyone loses. Yet unlimited grazing destroys the common resource on which the livelihood of all depends.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialization is both an intergenerational and intragenerational process.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When you are done, please turn your quiz over.

Thanks for your work!

Felix & François
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title/Concept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shapiro</td>
<td>Luke’s third face of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapiro</td>
<td>Gaventa, <em>Powerlessness</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapiro</td>
<td>Hirschman, <em>Exit, Voice and Loyalty</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodrik</td>
<td>Bretton Woods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neundorf and Smets</td>
<td>Age-Period-Cohort effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neundorf and Smets</td>
<td>Generational replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>Balanced reciprocity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>Networks of civic engagement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Steven Luke’s notion of a ‘third face of power’ revolves around the manipulation of preferences, which makes it possible to control individuals by shaping their motives. Though hard to establish empirically, this phenomenon is crucial to the study of power (Shapiro).

The construction of the Berlin Wall by the East German government in 1961 is an example reaction to what Albert Hirschman calls ‘exit’ in his landmark study *Exit, Voice and Loyalty. Responses to the Decline of Firms, Organizations and States* (cited in Shapiro).
The Bretton Woods regime is a good analogy for how China has globalized its economy, namely by limiting liberalization to strategic export sectors while delaying it in some import ones (Rodrik).

The Bretton Woods regime allowed states to protect their domestic economies by enforcing capital controls that effectively protected their domestic social bargains (Rodrik).
Explaining socialization is facilitated by the collinearity of some of its causes. For instance, listening to political news might be caused by adulthood (age), by specific events (period), or by higher political activity in an entire generation (cohort) (Neundorf and Smets).

Generational replacement happens when a particular birth cohort, such as people born before 1930, stop being active in a particular domain because they are too old to do so, or consider themselves to be. It partly explains lower electoral turnout (Neundorf and Smets).
An important component of social capital is balanced reciprocity, which is a form of long-term, asynchronous exchange that allows individuals to securely exchange resources, such as security or fair contracts (Putnam).

Russell Hardin’s tragedy of the commons is a potential explanation for the failure to address climate change: the preservation of a nonrival, non-excludable good creates a seemingly unsolvable collective action dilemma (cited in Putnam).
In his study of Appalachian miners, John Gaventa shows that powerlessness, or political quiescence, can be analytically distinguished from consent, thereby lending support to Luke’s concept of a ‘third face’ of power (cited in Shapiro).

Steven Luke’s notion of a ‘third face of power’ revolves around the manipulation of preferences, which makes it possible to control individuals by shaping their motives. Though hard to establish empirically, this phenomenon is crucial to the study of power (Shapiro).
The Bretton Woods regime is a good analogy for how China has globalized its economy, namely by opening its imports sector while delaying the liberalization of its exports sector (Rodrik).

The Bretton Woods regime allowed states to protect their domestic economies by liberalizing trade beyond manufactured goods, thus effectively protecting their domestic social contracts (Rodrik).
Explaining socialization is facilitated by the collinearity of some of its causes. For instance, listening to political news might be caused by adulthood (age), by specific events (period), or by higher political activity in an entire generation (cohort) (Neundorf and Smets).

If individuals born after 1980 are, on average, more supportive of income equality between men and women than individuals born in previous decades, that is an example of a cohort effect (Neundorf and Smets).
According to Mark Granovetter, what matters most to sustain community cohesion is to have weak interpersonal ties. Networks of civic engagement that crosscut social cleavages are those best fit to nourish wider cooperation (cited in Putnam).

Russell Hardin’s tragedy of the commons is a potential explanation for the failure to address climate change: the preservation of a nonrival, non-excludable good creates a seemingly unsolvable collective action dilemma (cited in Putnam).
The rest of this tutorial is entirely about your memos.

Open your memo folder and all instructions documents.
Reminders

Slides for... cover...

- Week 1: a few memo examples
- Week 2: formulating research questions
- Week 3: finding sources to build a literature review
- Week 4: organising and selecting/citing sources

N.B. The slides for Week 4 include the memo deadline and submission guidelines (via Google Drive)
Studying contentious episodes

- Do we have actual data on the composition of the movement? on its claims? on its leaders?
  e.g. whether the movement is gender-balanced

- Are we yet able to distinguish between the movement itself and its intellectualisation by outsiders?
  e.g. claims that the movement is populist or not

- How much do we know about state repression of, and reaction to, the movement?
  ... or about e.g. its representational outcomes?
Studying revolutionary episodes

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.


## Agrarian Class Structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Peasant smallholders own 30-40% of land; work 80% + in small plots. Individual property established, but peasant community opposes seigneurs, who collect dues.</td>
<td>1787–9: Breakdown of absolutist state; and widespread peasant revolts against seigneurial claims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Peasants own 60% + and rent more; control process of production on small plots; pay rents and redemption payments. Strong community based upon collective ownership.</td>
<td>1860s–90s: Bureaucratic reforms from above. 1905: Unsuccessful revolutionary outbreak. 1917: Dissolution of state; widespread peasant revolts against all private landed property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Peasants own 50% + and work virtually all land in small plots. Pay rents to gentry. No peasant community.</td>
<td>1911: Breakdown of Imperial state; spreading agrarian disorder, but no autonomous revolts by peasants against landlords.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of Social-Revolutionary Crises</td>
<td>Socioeconomic Legacies of the Old Regimes</td>
<td>International and World-Historical Circumstances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Similarities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal stabilization impossible.</td>
<td>Society remains predominantly agrarian with peasants a major presence.</td>
<td>Nation intensively caught up in international competition during and after revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant classes vulnerable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular groups available for political mobilization.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal phases, but not stable.</td>
<td>Agrarian-commercial economy of small and medium units; industry nonmechanized.</td>
<td>France involved in Continental military competition as a potentially hegemonic power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational framework of royal line armies survives.</td>
<td>No industrial proletariat.</td>
<td>State control of national economic development not yet a world-historical possibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant revolts abolish seigneurialism, but do not redistribute landed property.</td>
<td>Petty-propertied groups dominate economy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Draft memo
grading and instructions
(Re)drafting strategy

Answer in a maximum of two paragraphs

- I want to study ... (topic)
- Specifically, I want to use (theory) ... to explain how ... 
- I will show that (1) ..., and that (2) ...
- My audience is ... (target audience)
- In summary, ...
- My sources are cited in my text and listed at the end.

Then, progressively expand to memo-length
Delivery

The memo was delivered on time, in PDF format, at the location indicated in class. The memo itself is named as in ‘Smith.pdf’ (where ‘Smith’ is the author’s family name).

Format

The memo uses the specifications of the memo template. It is composed roughly balanced paragraphs and sections, and observes the memo word limit.

Language

The memo is written in English and follows English conventions regarding things like punctuation and capitalisation. It is written in plain, concise and impersonal tone.
Sources

The memo uses a mix of relevant primary and secondary sources to substantiate its argument. It uses the Harvard bibliographic style for citations and references.

Analysis

The memo is addressed to a non-academic, real-world audience. It formulates an empirically and theoretically substantiated argument about a real-world case study.

Reading this template, you will notice that it contains a few example citations (Rokkan 2009: 74–7; OBR 2018), which point to Harvard-style references at the end of the text. Make sure that you understand how to use the Harvard bibliographic style that we use at ESPOL.

There are many ways to cite sources. The previous paragraph shows you how to cite with and without page numbers. It is also frequent to cite authors more directly: this example sentence refers to Weinberg (2019). Also cite tables and figures (Table 1).
The crisis as catalyst for reframing health care policies in the European Union†

JAN-KEES HELDERMAN*

Associate Professor at the Institute for Management Research, Department of Public Administration and Political Science, Nijmegen School of Management, Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Abstract: Seen from the perspective of health, the global financial crisis (GFC) may be conceived of as an exogenous factor that has undermined the fiscal sustainability of European welfare states and consequently, their (expanding) health systems as well. Being one of the core programs of European welfare states, health care has always belonged to the sovereignty of European Member States. However, in past two decades, European welfare states have in fact become semi-sovereign states and the European Union (EU) no longer is an exogenous actor in European health policy making. Today, the EU not only puts limits to
3.1. The OMC as ‘soft’ coordinating venue

The first health OMC was launched in October 2004 (Hervey, 2008). Part of the first health-OMC were: the 2005 National Preliminary Reports of the Member States; the 2006–2008 National Actions Plans; the 2005 Social Protection Committee (SPC) review (SPC, 2005); the 2006 indicators (EC, 2006). These reports resulted in the first European health strategy, published in the 2006 and 2007 Joint Reports of the Council and the Commission (Council of the European Union, 2006, 2007; EC, 2008). In ‘Together for Health, 2008–2013’, the EC emphasized the unique European challenge of demographic aging and the Commission formulated three strategic objectives: (1) fostering good health in an aging Europe; (2) protecting citizens from health threats; and (3) support dynamic health systems and new technologies by the development of a Community framework for safe, high quality and efficient health services. In order to develop this Framework, the Commission started to conduct its own health system analyses across European countries, in close collaboration with the OECD and the WHO (OECD, 2010).

In collaboration with the Economic Policy Committee, the Commission published the Joint Report on Health Systems, which focused on the drivers of health expenditures beyond demographics through a series of detailed analyses of the organizational features of Member States’ health systems (EC, 2010a).
Since the outbreak of the GFC in 2008, the rules concerning the SGP have seriously been reinforced and complemented with a new venue for the European Council and the Commission to interfere with Member States’ fiscal policies. The EU has strengthened its monitoring capacity and its economic policy cycle by means of the introduction of the so-called European Semester (Fahy, 2012; Paoli, 2012). Each year, the Commission publishes an Annual Growth Survey in which the targets of Europe2020 are translated into operational priorities, which are then to be translated in the National Reform Programs of the Member States. On the basis of these national reports, the Commission adopts a set of Country-Specific Recommendations. The manner in which these recommendations are implemented by the Member States is closely monitored and the results of this monitor feed on their turn the next Annual Growth Survey (Fahy, 2012). The first semester of 2011 did not mention any health-specific recommendations, but in their response to the Commission, several countries mentioned health system reforms spontaneously as proof of their efforts to improve efficiency in health care and the long-term fiscal sustainability of their health programs (Paoli, 2012). This led on its turn to four specific country recommendations (Austria, Cyprus, Germany and the Netherlands). The number of recommendations increased to eight health-related country recommendations in the second semester and 17
References


References


Primary sources (first-hand material)
Secondary sources (existing studies)

References


References


Tip: Accessing **hard-to-reach Web links**

**Access**

- **Wayback Machine**
- **Archive.is** (.fo, .today)
- **Outline** · example

**Archive**

- Same services, or
- Print as PDF
HOW YOU SEE YOURSELF:

COMPLEX HUMAN BEING

HOPES

DREAMS

ASPIRATIONS

HOW MOST PROFESSORS SEE YOU:

BRAIN

SO, HOW'S RESEARCH?

STICK
Style

Spelling should be impeccable. ‘Frenglish’ terms are banned.

Sources should all be properly cited and referenced in Harvard style.

Text should be formatted exactly as shown in your memo template.
Language rules

- Write for a **strictly English-speaking** audience
  ... i.e. who cannot read *any* French
  ➞ All figures, tables, maps etc. should be in English
  ➞ Recompose data taken from French sources

Now, French *references* are naturally accepted, but...

- Practice your **academic English** skills
  ➞ Use a dual-language *search strategy* for sources
  ➞ Learn to *cite and reference* sources properly
English language

● Write in **full words**
  ○ **No contractions:** no “don’t, can’t, it’s”
  ○ **No single numbers:** “four parties”, “23%”

● Remove **unnecessary words**
  ○ “**The**” is less needed in English than in French
  ○ Your “**Indeed,**” “**So,**” “**Thus,**” are *rarely* justified

● Check your **final ‘s’ letters**

  *Possessive ‘s’ ≠ Third-person ‘s’ ≠ Plural ‘s’*
The misunderstood apostrophe

The apostrophe (‘) is used for two unrelated purposes. First, it shows possession, when something belongs to someone. Second, the apostrophe makes up for missing letters, as in a contraction.

Possession: The driver’s uniform is dirty. The uniform belongs to one driver (singular): ’s. More than one driver (plural): s’. That’s the rule. The drivers’ uniforms are dirty. And if the word already ends in s? Still add ’s for the singular possessive (and just an ’ after the s for the plural possessive). The species’s extinction meant the end of the passenger pigeon. The species’ extinction marked the end of the world!

Contractions are the other use for apostrophes. Doesn’t stands for does not. It’s stands for it is. You know this already. But get ready to have your mind blown: The possessive form of its does not use an apostrophe. The bodega has cold beer. Its beer is cold. Did that blow your mind? Well, goddamnit, it should. I mean, why is there one single case where you leave out an apostrophe to indicate possession? I don’t know. But that’s the way it is.

If you don’t think apostrophes matter, consider this: Many readers mind small print (because their vision isn’t good). This is different from Many readers’ minds are filled with marbles. The
English punctuation

- **Punctuation:** no! spaces? before: stop; marks.
- **Quotes:** “use ‘English’ quotes,” not « chevrons »
- **Capitalization:** English Uses More Capital Letters
- **Footnotes**
  - Go after punctuation marks
  - Are for side comments, *not* references.¹

¹ Use **Harvard style** for references (Olsen 1993: 77–8)
1. PUNCTUATION AND CAPITAL LETTERS
   Punctuation: All sentences begin with a capital letter and end with a full stop.

   Capital letters: *The french legal system is based on roman law.*

The correction of the above is: “The French legal system is based on Roman law”. Use capital letters systematically for names of countries (France), adjectives of nationality (American), names of languages (English), days of the week (Monday), months of the year (February), official titles (Queen Elizabeth, President Truman), and in general all proper nouns (the Eiffel Tower, the Tate Gallery), disciplines (Mathematics, Economics).

2. ARTICLES
   Examples of errors:
   
   *The mothers love their children.* (which ones?)
   *The life is good.* (whose?)

   Reminder of basic rules:
Substance

Concision

= \min \text{ Length} \times \max \text{ Clarity}

Coherence

= \min \text{ Ambiguity} \times \max \text{ Logic}

Logic

\neq \text{ random logical connectors}
## Ten writing tips and the psychology behind them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tip</th>
<th>Why it matters</th>
<th>Why you fail</th>
<th>How to fix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Write shorter.</td>
<td>Readers are impatient.</td>
<td>You just keep typing; it’s easier than editing.</td>
<td>Edit out extraneous text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorten your sentences.</td>
<td>Long sentences puzzle readers.</td>
<td>You tack on ideas as you’re writing.</td>
<td>Break into shorter sentences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewrite passive voice.</td>
<td>Passive hides true meaning.</td>
<td>You’re insecure about what you’re saying.</td>
<td>Make the actor the sentence’s subject.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliminate weasel words.</td>
<td>Weasel words make statements wimpy.</td>
<td>You’re afraid to be bold.</td>
<td>Cut weasel words; if you can’t, cut the sentence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Ten writing tips and the psychology behind them

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cite numbers effectively.</td>
<td>Stats back up your point.</td>
<td>You think any number adds credibility.</td>
<td>Include both context and source for stats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use “I,” “we,” and “you.”</td>
<td>Pronouns invite the reader to relate.</td>
<td>You’re afraid of sounding informal.</td>
<td>Imagine the reader; write directly to her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move key insights up.</td>
<td>Bold statements retain attention.</td>
<td>You feel the need to “warm up” first.</td>
<td>Write bold openers; rewrite with each draft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cite examples.</td>
<td>Text without examples is boring.</td>
<td>You’re too busy to do the research.</td>
<td>Plan to spend half your time on research.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Relevance

Analysis
= Theoretical basis × Factual basis

Recommendations
= Relevance to audience × Strategy

Audience
≠ dead, academic, or out of office
Audience / Recommendations

- Your real-world target audience
  - Is part of a decision-making or policy-making body
    - e.g. governments (any level), IGOs
    - e.g. CSOs / NGOs, lobbies, think tanks
  - Is currently in office (neither dead or retired)

- Your recommendations
  - Are logically connected to the rest of your memo
  - Are strategically relevant to your target audience
Proofreading / Revising

- **Spell-checking is not enough** — e.g.
  - ‘To what *extent*’
  - Mixed past and present *tenses*
  - Excessive *passive voice*

- **Write in multiple stages:**
  - Write ‘*version 1*’ — and wait 24 hours
  - Read ‘*version 1*’ again — *proofread and revise* it
  - Do not stop before ‘*version 4*’
Formatting / 1

• **Paragraphs**
  1. Contain 3+ sentences, and span less than 8 lines
  1. Do *not* start with indents — **do not** first lines

• **Document**
  ○ Do not remove **page breaks** from the template
  ○ Leave your text **left-aligned**, as in the template
  ○ Check figures and tables stay **readable when printed**

(Your memo will be printed on A4 paper.)
Formatting / 2

All paragraphs

- Start with a sentence that makes sense on its own
- Mention all tables and figures featured in the memo

All sources

- Come from reliable publications (double-check!)
- Are cited where they are used in the text
- Are listed at the end only if they are cited in the text
Reprinting figures and tables

Figure 1. Monthly Market Capitalization of Major US banks.

Source: Reinke and Culpepper (2014), Figure 2.

If the figure has been altered

Source: adapted from Reinke and Culpepper (2014), Figure 2.

If the figure is original work

Source: author’s calculations.
Next session

Read Lipset and Rokkan 1967

The reading is in English, but there is a French translation: see the ‘Readings’ folder on Google Drive (‘W6-FR’ file).
### Tracklist for Tutorial 5

- **Mahavishnu Orchestra**, “*You Know You Know*” (1971)  
  *(instrumental)*

- **Sex Pistols**, “*Problems*” (1977)  
  
  Too many problems  
  Oh why am I here  
  I need to be me  
  ‘Cos you’re all too clear

- **Cristobal Tapia De Veer**, “*Meditative Chaos*” (2014)  
  *(instrumental)*