GUIDELINES FOR WRITING ESSAYS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE:  
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY, CITATIONS, AND STYLE

The purpose of the following handout is to give students a set of uniform guidelines on how to cite primary and secondary sources when writing essays and research papers in the political science department. These guidelines are based upon the *Style Manual for Political Science*, written by the American Political Science Association Committee on Publications. If students need more detailed information, they should consult *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

At the outset, let us emphasize the following three points:

1. These guidelines apply *only* to courses taught in political science. Other departments may have different guidelines.

2. These are intended to be *general* guidelines. Certain assignments and/or professors may require you to employ different methods. Check with your professor if you have any questions.

3. If there is something in this handout that is *unclear* to you, feel free to ask for clarification from someone in the political science department. We will be happy to assist you.

I. THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography is an alphabetical list of all the sources you have cited in your essay, and *only* those sources you cite. It should be attached at the very end of your essay. If you refer to several works by the same author, place them in chronological order in the bibliography, with the earliest publication coming first.

1. Books by one author.


*Take note of the information that is included in a bibliography, and the order in which it appears: author’s name (last name first); date of publication; title; place of publication; and publisher. Titles of books must be put in italics—they are never put in quotation marks. If the city where the book was published is well known, then you need not mention the state; otherwise, mention the state using postal acronyms (e.g., Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield). Finally, please note that you must indent the second line of the reference. This makes it easier for your reader to locate the reference itself.*

2. Books by two authors.

In this example, “6th ed.” indicates that the sixth edition of the book or text was used.

3. An edited collection.


Here, “eds.” stands for the editors of the book; a single editor would simply have “ed.” after their name.


In this example, the title of the chapter is put in quotation marks; the title of the book in which the chapter appears is put in italics; and it is followed by the page numbers of where it appears in the book. The abbreviation “eds.” indicates who edited the book.

5. A multi-volume work.


If the work you refer to contains more than one volume, indicate the number of volumes after the title (as in the first example above). However, if you are referring to a single volume in a multi-volume set, then give its volume number after the title (as in the second example). The abbreviation “trans.” indicates who translated the book.

6. Journal article.


The number “74” refers to the volume of the journal in which the article can be found. Each volume of a journal corresponds to a particular year. The page numbers of the entire article are put at the end of the reference. In general, you do not need to indicate the particular issue or number of the journal, as most journals have continuous pagination for each volume. If this is
not the case, then indicate the issue or number of the journal in parentheses after the volume, as indicated in the following example.


Once again, take note that the title of the article is in quotation marks while the name of the journal is put in italics.


Basic citation form:


Examples:

If the author is an agency:


If Congress is the author:


If the citation is a statute:


For additional information, please go to “Uncle Sam-Brief Guide to Citing Government Publications” at http://www.lib.memphis.edu/gpo/citeweb/htm. The site uses examples of
8. Legal references.


*Brunig v. Witcome.* 125 F. 225 (2d Cir. 1902).


Law schools use a unique system of citing and abbreviating the titles of legal references. In this system the volume number of a multi-volume work is placed before the title and the page number is placed afterwards, with the date following in parentheses. In undergraduate papers use this system for referring to judicial opinions but use the other styles illustrated in this memo to refer to other types of material such as legal periodicals. In the illustrations above note that you need to identify the court that made the cited decision whenever its identity is not suggested by the source being cited. Since only decisions of the United States Supreme Court are reported in the United States Reports it is unnecessary to identify the court when referring to this service. This is not the case, however, with the Federal Reporter or the Southern Reporter, each of which publish the opinions of several courts. For class papers you may cite Supreme Court decisions in either the *U.S. Reports*, the *Lawyer’s Edition*, or the *Supreme Court Reporter*, but when preparing a paper for publication it is always preferable to cite consistently to the *U.S. Reports*.

Early in the Supreme Court’s history, cases were identified by the recording clerk’s name rather than a source title:

*Marbury v. Madison.* 1803. 1 Cranch 137.


*In the above example, “trans.” indicates who translated the work.*

10. Magazine articles.


*For popular magazines (e.g., *Time* and *Newsweek*), refer to the author, year, article title,*
magazine title, month and/or day (for a weekly or bimonthly magazine), and pages.

11. Newspaper article.


*You may wish to include the edition of the paper (e.g., western edition) if the pagination varies from edition to edition.*

12. Unsigned magazine or newspaper articles.


*If you have several unsigned magazine or newspaper articles in your bibliography, place them in chronological order with the earliest publication coming first. The dash means that the article was published by the first entry in the series.*

13. Book reviews.

*If the book review is titled, include that title in quotation marks; then cite the author and book being reviewed:*


*If the book review is untitled, simply put the author and book being reviewed in quotation marks:*


14. Electronic Sources.

*Basic form for compact discs:*

Author or editor. Year. *Title*, edition, type of medium. Producer (optional). Available: supplier or database identifier or number (access date).


### II. THE COMPLETED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Let us assume that you wrote a paper using all of the sources cited above. Your completed bibliography would look like the following. Remember, the bibliography is placed at the end of your essay on a separate sheet of paper. The bibliography can only contain the sources you actually cited in your paper.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Brunig v. Witcome. 125 F. 225 (2d Cir. 1902).


Marbury v. Madison. 1803. 1 Cranch 137.


### III. CITATIONS: SOME GENERAL REMARKS

There are roughly two types of sources that you will cite in your research paper or essay: primary sources (which are original speeches, documents, and/or manuscripts) and secondary sources (books and journal articles by scholars and other experts discussing or commenting on those primary sources). In general, you will cite a primary or secondary source in your essay when you (1) quote some phrase or passage directly; (2) owe an idea or point to some other source; (3) when a source confirms or supports what you are saying; or (4) when you want to inform the reader of other material that is relevant to the issue(s) you are discussing.
The importance of learning when, why, and how to cite primary and secondary sources cannot be underestimated. In the first place, if you fail to tell your reader that you are quoting something directly from another source, you may be suspected of plagiarism (see below, section XIII). Indeed, if you repeatedly borrow ideas and phrases from other authors without giving them credit for those ideas and phrases in the citations, you may be suspected of cheating—of trying to pass off the ideas and words of someone else as your own. In the second place, by correctly citing primary and secondary sources in your essay or research paper you will make your work that much stronger. In general, students who refer to a wide range of experts in their papers present more convincing and well-developed arguments. The reader is able to see first hand that you have read and digested a wide range of information, and that you have presented that information cogently and professionally. In sum, the proper use of citations will not only prevent you from being accused of plagiarism and other serious academic offenses, but it will also improve the quality of your argument(s) and make your paper look like a genuine piece of scholarship.

There are two general ways to cite primary and secondary material: footnotes or endnotes (where the references are placed at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper); and internal citations (where the references are contained in parentheses in the body of the essay). Let us first discuss footnotes and endnotes.

Whichever method you choose to employ, you must always include a bibliography at the end of your paper.

IV. FOOTNOTES AND ENDNOTES

As mentioned above, footnotes and endnotes are placed in one of two places: they can be located either at the bottom (or “foot”) of the page (footnotes), or they can be located at the end of the essay but before the bibliography (endnotes). It is more or less a matter of personal preference which method you decide to use: most word processing programs (e.g., Word Perfect, MS Word) are equipped to place your notes at the bottom of the page or at the end of the essay. You may wish to check with your professor to see if s/he has any particular requirements. Also be aware that you CANNOT use both footnotes AND endnotes in the same paper: if you choose to use footnotes, you cannot use endnotes as well; and if you choose to use endnotes, you cannot use footnotes.

Regardless of which method you choose, the most important thing to remember is that the footnotes and endnotes will contain the complete primary or secondary source citation for material from which you are quoting or to which you are referring. But footnotes and endnotes are not limited merely to giving source citations. Footnotes and endnotes may also (1) provide an explanation of the way you are using a certain word or idea; (2) refer the reader to other sources which support the point you are trying to make; (3) refer the reader to sources which provide a contrary point of view; or (4) present material that is relevant but tangential to your
Many students have problems deciding when they should include a footnote or endnote in their papers. A good rule of thumb is the following: if you did not know the idea or fact you are discussing, then you probably need to include a footnote or endnote to show where you acquired knowledge of that idea or fact. For example, you do not need to footnote or endnote things that most everyone knows, e.g., that the United States has 50 states; that Baton Rouge is the capital of Louisiana; or that George Washington was the first President of the United States. However, you will need to footnote or endnote ideas or facts that are not generally known, e.g., what the Gross National Product (GNP) of the United States was during the Nixon administration; what President Kennedy did during his first 100 days in office; or what advice George Washington gave to his country during his farewell address.

V. FOOTNOTES AND ENDNOTES VERSUS THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The major differences between citing a source in the bibliography and in a footnote or endnote are that the author’s name is not reversed; there are commas between the author’s name, title, and publication information; and that there is a precise reference to the page number(s) being cited. Below are two examples that illustrate these differences:

NOTES


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Please note that although David Stafford’s book was cited before James Power’s article in the notes, in the bibliography the references are placed in alphabetical order.

It also bears repeating that you must include a copy of the bibliography at the end of your paper regardless of whether you use footnotes or endnotes or internal citations.
VI. EXAMPLES OF FOOTNOTES AND ENDNOTES

In order to illustrate the proper form for citing sources in footnotes and endnotes, let us assume that you wrote an essay using some of sources cited in the “BIBLIOGRAPHY” section above. They would appear in the footnotes or endnotes in the following way. The numbers which follow each entry are the particular page number(s) to which you might be referring.


**VII. ADDITIONAL REMARKS REGARDING FOOTNOTES AND ENDNOTES**

1. In general, you will want to single space *within* each note and double space *between* two or more notes.

2. When you cite something in a note, you will often only cite the particular page from which you are quoting or to which you are referring. This is not always the case, however. Sometimes you will want to refer to an entire article and/or book in your notes.

3. You will often find yourself referring to an author and/or book more than once in your research paper. When this occurs, you will want to adhere to the following guidelines:

   (a). The first time you refer to a work in the notes, you must give a complete source citation.

   (b). If you refer to that same work later on in your essay, you need only repeat the author’s last name, the title of the book or article, and the new page number.
(c). If you refer to the same work in a note that immediately follows one in which you gave its source citation, you may use the abbreviation “Ibid.” followed by the page number. “Ibid.” stands for the Latin word *ibidem* and means “in the same place.” This is a shorthand way of saying that the citation is from the same source as the preceding note. If the page number is the same as the previous note, then all you need write is “Ibid.”

*The following example illustrates the above remarks. Notes 1, 2, 4, and 5 refer to the book by John Kessel while notes 3, 8, 9, and 10 refer to the article by Margaret Hermann.*


2. Ibid., 154–56.


5. Ibid.


8. Hermann, “Personality and Foreign Policy,” 211.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 215.
VIII. A SAMPLE PARAGRAPH USING FOOTNOTES

In order to give a concrete example of how and when to use footnotes, we have taken the following introductory paragraph of an essay and documented it using footnotes.

In 1966, Raymond Aron’s *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* first appeared in English.¹ Unlike its almost universal acclaim in France five years earlier, its North American debut received mixed reviews.² Immediate reactions ranged from Henry Kissinger’s claim that Aron had “set a new standard. No book on such a vast subject can be final; but henceforth, international theorizing will require reference to Aron” to Hans Morgenthau’s polite dismissal of the book as “a contribution to the advancement of theoretical knowledge,” although he did admit that it contained “political analysis of the very first order.”³ Longer studies only confirmed the mixed reaction of the initial reviews. Stanley Hoffmann called *Peace and War* “the greatest effort ever made by one man alone to embrace the whole discipline of international relations.” Oran Young countered with the claim that “in terms of the criteria of theory Aron’s book is a clear-cut failure, albeit a failure of heroic proportions.”⁴


IX. A SAMPLE PARAGRAPH USING ENDNOTES

Endnotes follow exactly the same format as footnotes EXCEPT that the notes appear at the end of the essay (rather than at the bottom of the page) but BEFORE the bibliography. In the section entitled “Notes” below, therefore, the endnotes should actually be placed at the top of a new page following the end of the essay (but again, before the bibliography).

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ENDNOTES


X. INTERNAL CITATIONS

The major difference between footnotes and endnotes, and internal citations is that the latter indicates the source citation in parentheses in the body of the text. The citation includes the last name(s) of the author(s), the year of publication, and/or the page number(s). With this information in hand, the reader can then turn to the bibliography to check your citation and/or to consult the work you cite in further detail. Examples of this style would be the following:

(Kessel 1968, 123).
(Sorauf and Beck 1988, 123–89).
(Ball, Farr, and Hanson 1988, 345–59).
(Hermann 1984, 210–18).
(Foucault 1980, 32).
(Aldrich 1980, 659).
(Bronfenbrenner 1985, 15–19).
(Lessard v. Schmidt 1972, 1097).
(Marbury v. Madison 1803, 143).
(Duverger 1954, 89–103).
(Prufer 1964, 20–23).
(Cuff 1985, F2).

When you are citing government documents internally, it is often too cumbersome to cite the entire title of the document and/or statute each time you refer to it. Give the reader enough information in the internal citation so that they can locate that document in the bibliography. Make certain that you also include the year of publication and the page reference.

(Declarations of War with Japan 1941, 34).
(Congressional Record 1966, 1340).


As for unsigned newspaper and magazine articles, use the following method:


(Time 8 December 1986, 25)

(Time 15 December 1986, 10).

If you are citing more than one source in an internal citation, separate the sources using a semi-
colon. The sources should be placed in alphabetical order within the parentheses.


(Simmons 1988, 128; Sorauf and Beck 1962, 178–79).

(Ball, Farr, and Hanson 1988, 345–49; Herman 1984, 234).

If you are citing more than one work by the same author, separate the dates and page numbers
with semicolons.

(Foster 1986; 1988; 1997)

(Franklin 1978, 23; 1988, 56; 1990)

XI. ADDITIONAL REMARKS REGARDING THE USE OF INTERNAL CITATIONS

1. Just because you are using internal citations, this does not mean that you cannot have notes in
your essay. The purpose of such notes, however, would not be to give the source citation;
instead, they would be used to refer the reader to other materials, and/or to explain a point that is
relevant but tangential to the essay as a whole. Such notes can be placed at the bottom of the
page or at the end of the essay.

2. When using internal citations, you may omit the author’s last name and include only the date
of publication and page number(s) when this information immediately follows the author’s name
in the text: “Stanley Hoffmann (1965, 33) called Peace and War the . . .”; or “Oran Young (1969, 143) countered with the claim . . .” As it is clear who is being cited and/or quoted, the name of the author is omitted in the parentheses in order to avoid needless repetition. However, in all other instances, you must include the author’s name so that the reader knows to whom you are referring. When in doubt on what to do, it is always best and safest to include the author’s name.

3. In the event that you cite two (or more) different articles/books from the same author that were published in the same year, they can be distinguished by putting the letters “a,” “b,” “c,” and so on, after the year of publication in the bibliography. For example:


In the essay itself, your references would look something like this: (Aron 1961a, 87), or (Aron 1961b, 127), or (Aron, 1961c, 99).

4. When using internal citations, please be aware that all necessary punctuation comes after the last parenthesis of the citation.

Correct punctuation: “The upcoming election will be the most important of this century” (Johnson 1988, 33). Indeed, the importance of this election . . .

Incorrect punctuation: “The upcoming election will be the most important of this century.” (Johnson 1988, 33) Indeed, the importance of this election . . .
In order to give a concrete example of how and when to use internal citations, we have taken the following introductory paragraph and documented it using internal citations.

Although there continues to be interest in Raymond Aron and his approach to political science (Baverez, 1993; Mahoney, 1992; 1996), Aron’s great work *Peace and War* remains largely ignored by contemporary scholars. On the one hand, neorealists criticize Aron for his “hasty dismissal” of the prospect of developing “a general theory of international relations” (Waltz 1979, 43–49). On the other hand, neoinstitutionalists fault him for his overly pessimistic understanding of human nature and his apparent lack of interest in such things as international organizations and/or economic interdependence (Baldwin 1987, 45–49; Smith 1990; Thomas 1979, 23). Despite the fact that *Peace and War* is often required reading for those pursuing careers in international relations, it is doubtful whether more than a handful of students seriously study this book at all. For all intents and purposes, *Peace and War* is probably “more quoted than read” today (Hall 1981, 164).
V. Academic Honesty
A. Introduction
An essential rule in every class of the University is that all work for which a student will receive a grade or credit be entirely his or her own or be properly documented to indicate sources. When a student does not follow this rule, s/he is dishonest and s/he defeats the purpose of the course and undermines the goals of the University. Cheating in any form therefore can not be tolerated; and the responsibility rests with the student to know the acceptable methods and techniques for proper documentation of sources and to avoid cheating and/or plagiarism in all work submitted for credit, whether prepared in or out of class.

B. Definitions of Cheating and Plagiarism
1. Cheating, in the context of academic matters, is the term broadly used to describe all acts of dishonesty committed in the taking of tests or examinations and in the preparation of assignments. Cheating includes but is not limited to such practices as gaining help from another person or using crib notes when taking a test, relying on a calculator or other aids if such aids have been forbidden, and preparing an assignment in consultation with another person when the instructor expects the work to be done independently. In other words, cheating occurs when a student makes use of any unauthorized aids or materials. Furthermore, any student who provides unauthorized assistance in academic work is also guilty of cheating.

2. Plagiarism is a specific type of cheating. It occurs when a student passes off as his or her own the ideas or words of another person, when s/he presents as a new and original idea or product anything which in fact is derived from an existing work, or when s/he makes use of any work or production already created by someone else without giving credit to the source. In short, plagiarism is the use of unacknowledged materials in the preparation of assignments. Thus, the student must take care to avoid plagiarism in research or term papers, art projects, architectural designs, musical compositions, science reports, laboratory experiments, and the like.

C. Penalties
The University considers both cheating and plagiarism serious offenses. The minimum penalty for a student guilty of either dishonest act is a grade of “zero” for the assignment in question. The maximum penalty is dismissal from the University.

To illustrate plagiarism, here is a condensed passage from the book Faith in Politics, by A. James Reichley, Brookings Institution Press, 2002, pp. 104–105:

Though convinced of the need, both spiritual and political, for religion, most of the founders had at the same time concluded that government, at least at the national level, should be kept largely secular.

The first reason for this conclusion was the practical fact of religious pluralism. Although a substantial majority among citizens of the new nation had
roots in some form of Puritanism, no single denomination approached majority status. Under the circumstances, designation of a single denomination of the established national church was simply out of the question.

Conviction that the national government should remain secular also resulted from concern, derived from direct experience or from study of history. Most had decided that even a multidenominational direct relationship between church and state at the national level would be harmful for both.

Finally, the founders held the belief, that religious liberty is itself a primary religious value within the moral and spiritual tradition from which the United States had grown. Coerced religion, they were persuaded, was an impediment rather than an aid to genuine faith.

Assume the students in a class are assigned to write a term paper about the separation of church and state in the U.S. Constitution, and the students have access to the Reichley passage above. Here are some improper uses of the source material:

Term Paper Excerpt from Student 1:

The people who founded our country did not establish a national religion in our U.S. Constitution. This is because most of the founders had at the time concluded that government, at least at the national level, should be kept largely secular. The founders then added the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gives us our religious freedoms.

THE SECOND SENTENCE IS PLAGIARISM. The source material is quoted from the first sentence of the first paragraph of the aforementioned passage, but no quotation marks and no citation are used to indicate either that the material is quoted or the source of the quote.

Term Paper Excerpt from Student 2:

The people who founded our country did not establish a national religion in our U.S. Constitution. “This is because most of the founders had at the time concluded that government, at least at the national level, should be kept largely secular.” The founders then added the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gives us our religious freedoms.

THE SECOND SENTENCE IS PLAGIARISM. The source material is quoted, and quotation marks are used, but no citation are given to indicate the source of the quote.

Term Paper Excerpt from Student 3:

The people who founded our country did not establish a national religion in our U.S. Constitution. This is because most of the founders had at the time concluded
that government, at least at the national level, should be kept largely secular (Reichley 2002, 104–105). The founders then added the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gives us our religious freedoms.

THE SECOND SENTENCE IS PLAGIARISM. Although a citation is provided, the source material is directly quoted, but no quotation marks are used to indicate the wording is not the student's wording.

**Term Paper Excerpt from Student 4:**

The people who founded our country did not establish a national religion in our U.S. Constitution. This is because a majority of the framers of the Constitution then believed that our national government should remain secular. The founders then added the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gives us our religious freedoms.

THE SECOND SENTENCE IS PLAGIARISM. Although the student has now paraphrased the source material into the student’s own original wording, the factual assertion/idea comes from the source material and not the student, but no citation is provided to indicate the source of the idea.

**XIV. SOME OTHER HELPFUL HINTS**

1. Regardless of which citation method you choose, you must include a bibliography at the end of your paper. The same style is used in the bibliography for both footnotes and internal citations.

2. More often than not, it is better to be too thorough than too lax with your documentation. A 20 page research paper with only 10 notes is probably too sparsely documented; 50 to 60 notes is not necessarily too many.

3. In general, you should use direct quotes sparingly: papers that consist of little more than a long string of quotes from various authors are poorly written and argued. Nonetheless, you may find it necessary to quote some works at length. Any quotation that runs longer than four type written lines must be *indented and single spaced*. As the indentation and single spacing indicate a direct quote, quotation marks are not used. However, you must use quotation marks in all other cases, i.e., in all cases when the quotation is four lines or less.

4. It is often a good idea to write an outline of your paper, briefly detailing what you are going to argue and in what order. This will help you to clarify and organize your thoughts before you begin writing.
5. You can never start writing your essay soon enough, and superior students generally go through several drafts before turning in their final product. One way to see if your essay is well-written is to have several persons proofread it. As well, read your essay out loud and/or have others read it out loud to you. If you or they stumble while reading it, this may mean that it is not written smoothly.

6. “It’s” = it is; “its” is a pronoun, e.g., I never judge a book by its cover.

7. Be wary of paragraphs that run longer than one page or that only contain one sentence.

8. Avoid the use of contractions, e.g., “don’t” should be spelled out as “do not.”

9. Students who wish to use sources posted on the Internet or World Wide Web must check with their professors to see which (if any) sources are permissible to use.