

**Comparative Global Corruption**  
**Political Science 4213G**  
**Winter Term 2023**

Professor Bruce Morrison

Office hours: Wednesday 1:30-2:30, or by appointment

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**Course Description:**

The past few decades have witnessed an enormous surge in interest in political corruption on the part of scholars, politicians, and others. Part of our purpose this term will be to try to determine why this has happened, and whether the enhanced attempt to identify, explain and combat corruption has had a significant impact. Do we know what corruption is, and can we measure it and determine its spread across the globe? Can we speak of countries being more or less corrupt, or are there different types or even syndromes of corruption? What have we learned about the causes of corruption? How was corruption marginalized in much of the west, and when did this happen? Why have some highly developed democracies like Italy not proven able to transcend political corruption? Why has China become more corrupt as it has undergone a remarkable process of development in recent decades? What form has the campaign against political corruption assumed at both the national and international levels? Why have the results of this broad and encompassing effort been so unimpressive? And what should now be done? This seminar will take a detailed and critical look at the state of corruption in the world, the state of our knowledge about corruption, and the story of the attempt to apply our developing knowledge to its eradication. In so doing, we will touch on a remarkably wide array of topics of interest to students of politics.

**Learning Outcomes:**

Students in this course will: (a) master the philosophical and practical issues that arise in association with the attempt to define, identify, and measure corruption; (b) acquire an appreciation of the global and historical spread of corruption; (c) gain a critical understanding of how economic, social, cultural, and institutional factors cultivate and sustain political corruption; (d) become capable of identifying and weighing the strengths and weaknesses of the recent global anti-corruption effort, while developing a sense of the best available anti-corruption paths.

**Course Arrangements:**

This seminar will meet in person each week to discuss a common set of readings. Should public health circumstances undergo a significant change for the worse, we will arrange to meet by Zoom.

**Prerequisites: Political Science 2245E (2545F/G) or 2231E (2531F/G) or 2701E (2704F/G).**

**Requirements and Evaluation:**

- (a) One presentation (10 minutes): 15%
- (b) Two critical commentaries on the assigned readings (3-4 pages each): 20%
- (c) One term paper (12-14 pages): 45%
- (d) Active, informed, and consistent participation: 20%

**Presentation:** Students are expected to find one additional journal article or book segment (roughly 20-25 pages) that sheds fresh light on the relevant week's assigned materials. This additional reading may be drawn from the list of recommended items, or it may be the result of an independent search by the student. The presentation will involve: (a) elaboration upon the question, thesis, argumentation, and evidence in the selected article; (b) discussion of the major points of contact with one or more of the assigned readings; (c) an attempt to spell out the key analytical implications and bases for criticism; and (d) identification of two discussion questions which draw attention to the linkages between the presented and the assigned materials. The presentations will be timed, in order to make all possible accommodation for the subsequent seminar discussion. Please identify the additional reading by 5 pm on the Tuesday of the presentation week, and then submit slides by 9 am on the Wednesday.

**Critical Commentaries:** Students are expected to explore in detailed and critical fashion the arguments presented in at least one of the assigned readings for a given week. A fuller set of criteria for the assignment appears on the OWL site. These papers should be submitted on the OWL site before the beginning of the seminar meeting in question – no later submissions will be accepted. The commentary papers must be submitted in weeks other than the student's presentation week.

**Term Paper:** Students are expected to produce a well-researched and analytically oriented essay featuring a central national case study. The aims will be to: identify the types of corruption that are most significant in the country; establish the scale of the problem; develop an understanding of the available resources and institutional capacity for addressing the problem; identify and evaluate the major alternative approaches to dealing with corruption in such a setting; and provide a set of proposals for successfully mitigating corruption. Comparative analysis featuring more than one national case is also encouraged where desired. Students should demonstrate their ability to use course materials – conceptual, theoretical, and empirical where relevant – to come to terms with the relevant issues. They should rely primarily on additional research (*at least* eight high-quality sources, each one roughly the length of a standard journal article or book chapter) to explore their national case in more detail. Of course, additional research applied to laying the

conceptual and/or theoretical foundations of the paper is also quite welcome. The paper will be due on **April 24, 11:55 pm. Late penalty: 3% per day, no papers accepted after five days.**

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com> ).

**Participation:** Students are expected to attend the seminar regularly and be prepared to participate in discussions of the assigned topics and readings. Participation will be assessed based not just on the frequency of a student's contributions, but more fully on the extent to which they are relevant, well-informed, and at the highest level also insightful. Keep in mind that a good question can reveal the extent of a student's preparation, while also contributing to the progress of the seminar discussion. If you find regular participation particularly challenging, please do consult with me for alternative approaches or arrangements. Any student who fails to attend at least *ten* sessions without well-supported cause for absence may not be permitted to submit the final research paper.

## **SEMINAR READINGS:**

### **Week 1: Introduction** (January 11)

No assigned readings.

### **Week 2: Defining Corruption** (January 18)

Mark Philp, "Conceptualizing Political Corruption," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 41-57.

Oskar Kurer, "Corruption: An Alternative Approach to Its Definition and Measurement." *Political Studies* vol. 53 (2005): 222-39.

Mark Warren, "Political Corruption as Duplicitous Exclusion." *PS: Political Science and Politics* vol. 39, no. 4 (October 2006): 803-7.

Michael M. Atkinson, "Discrepancies in Perceptions of Corruption, or Why is Canada So Corrupt?" *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 126, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 445-64.

*Recommended:*

Bo Rothstein, "What is Quality of Government: A Theory of Impartial Institutions." *Governance* vol. 28, no. 2 (2008).

John Gardiner, "Defining Corruption," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Frank Louis Rusciano, "The Meaning of Corruption in World Opinion," in Jonathan Mendilow and Ilan Peleg, *Corruption in the Contemporary World: Theory, Practice, and Hotspots* (Lexington Books, 2014).

Joseph Poszgai-Alvarez, "The Abuse of Entrusted Power for Private Gain: Meaning, Nature, and Theoretical Evolution." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* vol. 74 (2020).

**Week 3: Changing Conceptions of Corruption**

(January 25)

Carl J. Friedrich, "Corruption Concepts in Historical Perspective," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 15-23.

Koenraad W. Swart, "The Sale of Public Offices," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 95-106.

James C. Scott, "Handling Historical Comparisons Cross-Nationally," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 123-36.

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "Corruption: Diagnosis and Treatment." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 17, no. 3 (July 2006): 86-99.

Bo Rothstein and Davide Torsello, "Bribery in Preindustrial Societies: Understanding the Universalism-Particularism Puzzle." *Journal of Anthropological Research* vol. 70, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 263-84.

*Recommended:*

Rebecca Fiske, "Ancient Democracy and the Modern Era: Why is Corruption So Common These Days?" in Jonathan Mendilow and Ilan Peleg, *Corruption in the Contemporary World: Theory, Practice, and Hotspots* (Lexington Books, 2014).

Jacob van Klaveren, "Corruption as a Historical Phenomenon," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Maryvonne Genaux, "Early Modern Corruption in English and French Fields of Vision," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Bruce Buchan and Lisa Hill, *An Intellectual History of Political Corruption* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Ronald Kroeze, Andre Vitoria, and G. Geltner, eds, *Anticorruption in History: From Antiquity to the Modern Era* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

Mark Philp and Elizabeth David-Barrett, "Realism About Political Corruption." *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 18 (2015).

Cris Shore and Dieter Haller, "Introduction – Sharp Practice: Anthropology and the Study of Corruption," in Dieter Haller and Cris Shore, eds., *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives* (Pluto Press, 2005).

Davide Torsello, "Corruption as Social Exchange: The View from Anthropology," in Peter Hardi, Paul M. Heywood, and Davide Torsello, eds., *Debates of Corruption and Integrity: Perspectives from Europe and the US* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015).

Akhil Gupta, "Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State." *American Ethnologist* vol. 22, no. 2 (1995).

#### **Week 4: Economics, Society, Culture, and Corruption**

(February 1)

Samuel Huntington, "Modernization and Corruption," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 253-63.

Nathaniel H. Leff, "Economic Development Through Bureaucratic Corruption," in *American Behavioral Scientist* vol. 8, no. 3 (1964), pp. 8-14.

Susan Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

Eric M. Uslaner, "Inequality and Corruption," in Peter Hardi, Paul M. Heywood, and Davide Torsello, eds., *Debates of Corruption and Integrity: Perspectives from Europe and the US* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015).

Ling Li, "Performing Bribery in China: Guanxi-practice, Corruption with a Human Face." *Journal of Contemporary China* vol. 20, no. 68 (January 2011): 1-20.

#### *Recommended:*

Andrei Shleifer and Robert W. Vishny, "Corruption." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* vol. 108, no. 3 (August 1993).

Pranab Bardhan, "The Economist's Approach to the Problem of Corruption." *World Development* vol. 34, no. 2 (2006).

Muhammad Faraz Riaz and Uwe Canter, "Revisiting the Relationship Between Corruption and Innovation in Developing and Emerging Economies." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* vol. 73 (2019).

Nicholas Shaxson, "Oil, Corruption, and the Resource Curse." *International Affairs* vol. 83 (2007): 1123-40.

Bo Rothstein and Eric M. Uslaner, "All for All: Equality, Corruption, and Social Trust." *World Politics* vol. 58, no. 1 (October 2005).

Eric M. Uslaner and Bo Rothstein, "The Historical Roots of Corruption: State Building, Economic Inequality, and Mass Education." *Comparative Politics* 48, 2 Jan 2016.

Stephen D. Morris and Joseph L. Klesner, "Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence from Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 43, no. 10 (2010).

Raymond Fisman and Edward Miguel, *Economic Gangsters: Corruption, Violence, and the Poverty of Nations* (Princeton University Press, 2010).

Alena Ledeneva, "Blat and Guanxi: Informal Practices in Russia and China." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 50, no. 1 (2008).

## **Week 5: Institutions and Corruption I: Dictatorship and Democracy**

(February 8)

Eric C.C. Chang and Miriam A. Golden, "Sources of Corruption in Authoritarian Regimes." *Social Science Quarterly* vol. 91, no. 1 (March 2010): 1-20.

Susan Rose-Ackerman and Bonnie J. Palifka, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), chapter 11, pp. 341-46, 349-60, 364-73.

Valeria Brusco, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan C. Stokes, "Vote Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* vol. 39, no. 2 (June 2004): 66-88.

Hung-En Sung, "Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited." *Social Forces* vol. 82, no. 2 (December 2003).

### *Recommended:*

Christopher Carothers, "The Autocrat's Corruption Dilemma." *Government & Opposition* vol. 58, no. 1 (January 2023).

Edmund Malesky, Paul Schuler, and Anh Tran, "The Adverse Effects of Sunshine: A Field Experiment on Legislative Transparency in an Authoritarian Assembly." *American Political Science Review* vol. 106, no. 4 (November 2012).

Vineeta Yadav, "Legislative Institutions and Corruption in Developing Country Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 45, no. 8 (2012).

Frederic Charles Schaffer, "Might Cleaning Up Elections Keep People Away from the Polls? Historical and Comparative Perspectives." *International Political Science Review* vol. 23, no. 1 (2002).

Luigi Manzetti and Carol J. Wilson, "Why Do Corrupt Governments Maintain Public Support?" *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 40, no. 8 (2007).

Mattias Agerberg, "The Lesser Evil? Corruption Voting and the Importance of Clean Alternatives." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 53, no. 2 (2020).

Guillermo Cordero and Andre Blais, "Is a Corrupt Government Totally Unacceptable?" *West European Politics* vol. 40, no. 4 (2017).

Ilan Peleg and Jonathan Mendilow, "Corruption and the Arab Spring: Comparing the Pre- and Post-Spring Situation," in Jonathan Mendilow and Ilan Peleg, *Corruption in the Contemporary World: Theory, Practice, and Hotspots* (Lexington Books, 2014).

Michael Johnston, "Party Systems, Competition, and Political Checks Against Corruption," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Andrew C. Eggers and Jens Hainmueller, "MPs for Sale? Returns to Office in Postwar British Politics." *American Political Science Review* vol. 103, no. 4 (November 2009).

Vineeta Yadav, "Legislative Institutions and Corruption in Developing Country Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 45, no. 8 (2012).

Luis de Sousa and Marcelo Moriconi, "Why Voters Do Not Throw the Rascals Out? – A Conceptual Framework for Analysing Electoral Punishment of Corruption." *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 60 (2013).

Sarah Birch, "Electoral Systems and Electoral Misconduct." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 40, no. 12 (2007).

Eric C.C. Chang and Nicholas Kerr, "An Insider-Outsider Theory of Popular Tolerance for Corrupt Politicians." *Governance* (January 2017): 67-84.

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "Beyond Clientelism: Incumbent State Capture and State Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 41, nos. 4/5 (April 2008).

Obinna Charles Amaechi and Daniel Stockemer, "The Working of Electoral Corruption: The Ekiti Model of Vote Buying." *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 78 (2022).

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Discreet Charm of Formal Institutions: Postcommunist Party Competition and State Oversight." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 39, no. 3 (April 2006).

Lucio R. Renno, "Corruption and Voting," in Timothy J. Power and Matthew M. Taylor, eds., *Corruption and Democracy in Brazil: The Struggle for Accountability* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

Michael Pinto-Duchinsky, "Financing Politics: A Global View." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 13, no. 4 (October 2002).

William R. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics* (Dutton, 1963).

Calla Hummel, John Gerring, and Thomas Burt, "Do Political Finance Reforms Reduce Corruption?" *British Journal of Political Science* vol. 51 (2021).

Monika Bauhr and Nicholas Charron, "Will Women Executives Reduce Corruption? Marginalization and Network Inclusion." *Comparative Political Studies* (2020).

## **Week 6: Institutions and Corruption II: The Structure and Role of the State**

(February 15)

John Gerring and Strom C. Thacker, "Political Institutions and Corruption: The Role of Unitarism and Parliamentarism." *British Journal of Political Science* vol. 34 (April 2004): 295-330.

Carl Dahlstrom, Victor Lapuente, and Jan Teorell, "The Merit of Meritocratization: Politics, Bureaucracy, and the Institutional Deterrents of Corruption." *Political Research Quarterly* vol. 65, no. 3 (2012): 656-68.

Jonathan Hopkin, "States, Markets and Corruption: A Review of Some Recent Literature." *Review of International Political Economy* vol. 9, no. 3 (August 2002), pp. 574-90.

Daniel Berliner, "The Political Origins of Transparency." *The Journal of Politics* vol. 76, no. 2 (April 2014): 479-91.

*Recommended:*

Susan Rose-Ackerman and Bonnie J. Palifka, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), chapter 11, pp. 346-49.

Jonathan Hopkin and Andres Rodrigues-Pose, "'Grabbing Hand' or Helping Hand"? Corruption and the Economic Role of the State." *Governance* vol. 20, no. 2 (April 2007).

John Gerring and Strom C. Thacker, "Do Neoliberal Policies Deter Political Corruption?" *International Organization* vol. 59 (Winter 2005).

Simon Johnson, "The Quiet Coup." *The Atlantic Monthly* (May 2009).

Keith Darden, "The Integrity of Corrupt States: Graft as an Informal State Institution." *Politics and Society* vol. 36, no. 1 (2008).

Daniel Jordan Smith, "The Contradictions of Corruption in Nigeria," in Paul M. Heywood, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 56-66.

## **Week 7: Marginalizing Corruption in Modern Europe**

(March 1)

Mircea Popa, "Elites and Corruption: A Theory of Endogenous Reform and a Test Using British Data." *World Politics* vol. 97, no. 2 (April 2015), read pp. 313-33, 347-49, skim the rest.

Jan Teorell and Bo Rothstein, "Getting to Sweden, Part I: War and Malfeasance." *Scandinavian Political Studies* vol. 38, no. 3 (2015): 217-37.

Bo Rothstein and Jan Teorell, "Getting to Sweden, Part II: Breaking with Corruption in the Nineteenth Century." *Scandinavian Political Studies* vol. 38, no. 3 (2015): 238-54.

Heather Marquette and Caryn Peiffer, "Grappling with the 'Real Politics' of Systemic Corruption: Theoretical Debates Versus 'Real-World' Functions." *Governance* vol. 31 (2018): 499-514.

*Recommended:*

Bo Rothstein, "Curbing Corruption: The Indirect 'Big Bang' Approach," in Bo Rothstein, *The Quality of Government: Corruption, Social Trust, and Inequality in International Perspective* (University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "Becoming Denmark: Historical Designs of Corruption Control." *Social Research* vol. 80, no. 4 (Winter 2013).

Mette Frisk Jensen, "Getting to Denmark: The Process of State Building, Establishing Rule of Law and Fighting Corruption in Denmark 1660-1900." *Quality of Government Institute Working Paper Series*, no. 6 (2014).



Anna Persson, "Why Anti-Corruption Reforms Fail – Systemic Corruption as a Collective Action Problem." *Governance* vol. 26, no. 3 (July 2013): 449-71.

Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell, "Getting the Basic Nature of Systemic Corruption Right: A Reply to Marquette and Peiffer." *Governance*, 32 (2019).

Christopher Kam, "The Secret Ballot and the Market for Votes at 19<sup>th</sup>-Century British Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 50, no. 5 (2017).

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, "Building States – Inherently a Long-Term Process? An Argument from Theory," in Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Thomas Ertman, "Building States – Inherently a Long-Term Process? An Argument from Comparative History," in Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

## **Week 8: The Italian Case: Systemic Collapse and Failed Reform**

(March 8)

Donatella della Porta and Alberto Vanucci, "Corrupt Exchanges and the Implosion of the Italian Party System," in Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002): 717-37.

Donatella della Porta and Alberto Vanucci, "Corruption and Anti-Corruption: The Political Defeat of 'Clean Hands' in Italy." *West European Politics* vol. 30, no. 4 (September 2007): 830-53.

Liza Lanzone and Dwayne Woods, "Riding the Populist Web: Contextualizing the Five Star Movement (M5S) in Italy." *Politics and Governance* vol. 3, issue 2 (2015): 54-64.

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania's Italian-Style Anticorruption Populism." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 29, no. 3 (July 2018): 104-16.

*Recommended:*

Martin Shefter, "Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy." *Politics and Society* vol. 7, no. 4 (January 1977): 403-51.

Eric C.C. Chang, Miriam A. Golden, and Seth J. Hill, "Legislative Malfeasance and Political Accountability." *World Politics* vol. 62, no. 2 (April 2010).

Diego Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection* (Harvard University Press, 1993), especially chapters 1, 4, and 7.

Donatella Della Porta and Alberto Vanucci, "A Typology of Corrupt Networks," in Junichi Kawata, ed., *Comparing Political Corruption and Clientelism* (Ashgate, 2006).

Diego Gambetta, "Why is Italy so Disproportionately Corrupt? A Conjecture," in Kaushik Basu and Tito Cordella, eds., *Institutions, Governance, and the Control of Corruption* (Palgrave, 2018).

James L. Newell, "Organised Crime and Corruption: The Case of the Sicilian Mafia," in Petrus C. Van Duyne, Almir Maljevic, Maarten van Dijk, Klaus Von Lampe and James L. Newell, eds.,

*The Organisation of Crime for Profit: Conduct, Law and Measurement* (Wolf Legal Publishers, 2006).

Alessandra Foresta, "The Rise of Populist Parties in the Aftermath of a Massive Corruption Scandal." *Public Choice* vol. 184 (2020).

Nuria Font, Paolo Graziano, and Myrto Tsakatika, "Varieties of Inclusionary Populism? SYRIZA, Podemos, and the Five Star Movement." *Government and Opposition* vol. 56 (2021).

Lucia Corsi, "When Anti-Politics Becomes Political: What Can the Italian Five Star Movement Tell Us About the Relationship Between Populism and Legalism?" *European Constitutional Law Review* vol. 15, no. 3 (September 2019).

## **Week 9: China Compared: Political Monopoly, Development, and Corruption**

(March 15)

Michael Johnston, *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power, and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 1.

Michael Johnston, "Japan, Korea, the Philippines, China: Four Syndromes of Corruption." *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 49 (2008): 205-23.

Yan Sun and Michael Johnston, "Does Democracy Check Corruption? Insights from China and India." *Comparative Politics* vol. 42, no. 1 (October 2009): 1-19.

Ling Li, "Politics of Anticorruption in China: Paradigm Change of the Party's Disciplinary Regime 2012-2017." *Journal of Contemporary China* vol. 28, no. 115 (2019): 47-63.

### *Recommended:*

Jacob White, "State Capitalism and Corruption: The Case of China," in Jonathan Mendilow and Ilan Peleg, *Corruption in the Contemporary World: Theory, Practice, and Hotspots* (Lexington Books, 2014).

Andrew Wedeman, *The Double Paradox: Rapid Growth and Rising Corruption in China* (Cornell University Press, 2012).

Bo Rothstein, "The Chinese Paradox of High Growth and Low Quality of Government: The Cadre Organization Meets Max Weber." *Governance* vol. 28, no. 4 (October 2015).

David C. Kang, "Bad Loans to Good Friends: Money Politics and the Developmental State in South Korea." *International Organization* vol. 56, no. 1 (Winter 2002).

Shaomin Li and Jun (Judy) Wu, "Why Some Countries Thrive Despite Corruption: The Role of Trust in the Corruption-Efficiency Relationship." *Review of International Political Economy* vol. 17, no. 1 (February 2010).

Robert Harris, *Political Corruption In and Beyond the Nation-State* (Routledge, 2003), chapter 3.

Michael Johnston, "Corruption Control in the United States: Law, Values, and the Political Foundations of Reform." *International Review of Administrative Sciences* vol. 78, no. 2 (2012).

Carolin Kautz, "Power Struggle or Strengthening the Party: Perspectives on Xi Jinping's Anticorruption Campaign." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* vol. 25 (2021).

Qiang Fang, "Xi Jinping's Anticorruption Campaign from a Historical Perspective." *Modern China Studies* vol. 24, no. 2 (2017).

**Week 10: The Global Campaign Against Corruption and the Globalization of Corruption**  
(March 22)

Dan Hough, *Corruption, Anti-Corruption and Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 12-45.

Peter Eigen, "A Coalition to Combat Corruption: TI, EITI, and Civil Society," in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Corruption, Global Security, and World Order* (Brookings Institution, 2009).

Oliver Bullough, "The Dark Side of Globalization." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 29, no. 3 (January 2018): 25-38.

Alexander Cooley, John Heathershaw, and J.C. Sharman, "Laundering Cash, Whitewashing Reputations." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 29, no. 3 (January 2018): 39-53.

*Recommended:*

Wayne Sandholtz and Gray, "International Integration and National Corruption." *International Organization* vol. (2003).

Matthew Bunn, "Corruption and Nuclear Proliferation," in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Corruption, Global Security, and World Order* (Brookings Institution, 2009).

Mlada Bukovansky, "The Hollowness of Anti-Corruption Discourse." *Review of International Political Economy* vol. 13, no. 2 (May 2006).

Elitza Katzarova, "From Global Problems to International Norms: What Does the Social Construction of a Global Corruption Problem Tell Us About the Emergence of an International Anti-Corruption Norm?" *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 70, no. 3 (2018).

Steven Sampson, "The Anti-Corruption Industry: From Movement to Institution." *Global Crime* vol. 11, no. 2 (2010): 261-78.

Jesper Johnsen, *Anti-Corruption Strategies in Fragile States* (Edward Elgar, 2016), pp. 81-116.

Luis de Sousa, "TI in Search of a Constituency: The Institutionalization and Franchising of the Global Anti-Corruption Doctrine," in Luis de Sousa, Peter Larmour, and Barry Hindess, eds., *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption: The New Integrity Warriors* (Routledge, 2009).

Paul M. Heywood and Jonathan Rose, "'Close But No Cigar': The Measurement of Corruption." *Journal of Public Policy* vol. 34, no. 3 (2014).

Paul M. Heywood, "Measuring Corruption: Perspectives, Critiques and Limits," in Paul M. Heywood, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (Routledge, 2015).

Jonathan Rose, "Corruption and the Problem of Perception," in Paul M. Heywood, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (Routledge, 2015).

Elizabeth David-Barrett and Ken Okamura, "Norm Diffusion and Reputation: The Rise of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative." *Governance* vol. 29, no. 2 (April 2016): 227-46.

Staffan Andersson and Paul M. Heywood, "Anti-Corruption as a Risk to Democracy: On the Unintended Consequences of International Anti-Corruption Campaigns," in Luis de Sousa, Peter Larmour, and Barry Hindess, eds., *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption: The New Integrity Warriors* (Routledge, 2009).

Andrew Wedeman, "Does China Fit the Model?" *Journal of Democracy* vol. 29, no. 1 (January 2018).

Brett L. Carter, "Autocrats Versus Activists in Africa." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 29, no. 1 (January 2018).

Sarah Chayes, *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security* (WW Norton & Company, 2015).

George Klay Krieh, Jr., "Political Corruption and Violence in Africa," in Michaelene Cox, ed., *State of Corruption, State of Chaos: The Terror of Political Malfeasance* (Lexington Books, 2008).

## **Week 11: National Anti-Corruption Efforts**

(March 29)

Luis de Sousa, "Anti-Corruption Agencies: Between Empowerment and Irrelevance." *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 53, no. 1 (February 2010): 5-22.

Jon S.T. Quah, "Defying Institutional Failure: From the Experiences of Anti-Corruption Agencies in Four Asian Countries." *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 53, no. 1 (February 2010): 23-54.

Rotimi T. Suberu, "Strategies for Advancing Anticorruption Reform in Nigeria." *Daedalus* vol. 147, no. 3 (2018): 184-201.

Michael Johnston, "Building a Social Movement Against Corruption." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* vol. 18, no. 2 (2012): 57-74.

### *Recommended:*

Patrick Meagher, "Anti-Corruption Agencies: Rhetoric versus Reality." *Journal of Policy Reform* vol. 8, no. 1 (2005).

Daniel Smilov, "Anticorruption Agencies: Expressive, Constructivist and Strategic Uses." *Crime, Law and Social Change* vol. 53, no. 1 (February 2010).

Oliver Nnamdi Okafor, Michael Opara, and Festus Adebisi, "Whistleblowing and the Fight Against Corruption and Fraud in Nigeria: Perceptions of Anti-Corruption Agents (ACAs)." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* vol. 73, no. 2 (2019).

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David Hall-Matthews, "Tickling Donors and Tackling Opponents: The Anti-Corruption Campaign in Malawi," in Sarah I. Bracking, ed., *Corruption and Development* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

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## **Week 12: Cases of Anti-Corruption Success and Failure**

(April 5)

Bruce M. Wilson and Evelyn Villareal, "Costa Rica: Tipping Points and an Incomplete Journey," in Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Michael Johnston, eds., *Transitions to Good Governance: Creating Virtuous Circles of Anti-Corruption* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017).

David Seth Jones, "Combating Corruption in Botswana: Lessons for Policy Makers." *Asian Education and Development Studies* vol. 6, no. 3 (2017): 213-26.

David Sebudubudu, Lina Khatib, and Alessandro Bozzini, "The Atypical Achievers: Botswana, Qatar, and Rwanda," in Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Michael Johnston, eds., *Transitions to Good Governance: Creating Virtuous Circles of Anti-Corruption* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017), pp. 45-53.

Leanid Kazyrytski, "Fighting Corruption in Russia: Its Characteristic and Purpose." *Social and Legal Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (June 2020): 421-43.

Christopher Carothers, "The Autocrat's Corruption Dilemma." *Government & Opposition* vol. 58, no. 1 (January 2023): 22-38.

*Recommended:*

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Michael Johnston, eds., *Transitions to Good Governance: Creating Virtuous Circles of Anti-Corruption* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017), remaining chapters.

Robert I. Rotberg, *The Corruption Cure: How Citizens and Leaders Can Combat Graft* (Princeton University Press, 2017), chapter 6.

Sergio Fernando Moro, "Preventing Systemic Corruption in Brazil." *Daedalus* vol. 147, no. 3 (Summer 2018).

Christopher Carothers, *Corruption Control in Authoritarian Regimes: Lessons from East Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2022).

Joseph Yaw Asomah, "What are the Key Drivers of Persistent Ghanaian Political Corruption?" *Journal of Asian and African Studies* vol. 54, no. 5 (2019).

Marina Zalosnaya, Jennifer Glanville, and William M. Reisinger, "Explaining Putin's Impunity: Public Sector Corruption and Political Trust in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* vol. 38, no. 5 (2022).

Dan Hough, *Corruption, Anti-Corruption and Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), chapters 3-5.

## **APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

### **Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility**

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

### **Essay course requirements**

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

### **Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")**

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning. Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

**Security and Confidentiality of Student Work** (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* <http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>)

**"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

### **Duplication of work**

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

### **Grade adjustments**

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

### **Academic Offences**

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: [http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic\\_policies/appeals/scholastic\\_discipline\\_undergrad.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf)

### **Submission of Course Requirements**

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

**THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.**

### **Attendance Regulations for Examinations**

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations: 1) A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year. 2) Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

## **Absences from Final Examinations**

If you miss the Final Exam, please contact the Academic Counselling office of your Faculty of Registration as soon as you are able to do so. They will assess your eligibility to write the Special Examination (the name given by the University to a makeup Final Exam).

You may also be eligible to write the Special Exam if you are in a "Multiple Exam Situation" (e.g., more than 2 exams in 23-hour period, more than 3 exams in a 47-hour period).

**Note:** Missed work can *only* be excused through one of the mechanisms above. Being asked not to attend an in-person course requirement due to potential COVID-19 symptoms is **not** sufficient on its own. Students should check the Western website to see what directives for Covid are to be followed. Western has been and will continue to follow directives established by the Middlesex-London Health Unit. That directive will state whether students should or should not come to campus/class and any other requirements (e.g., masks are mandatory). Please check on your own and do not email the instructor, the Department Undergraduate Advisor/Coordinator or the Faculty of Social Science Academic Counselling Office.

## **Accommodation and Accessibility**

### **Religious Accommodation**

When a course requirement conflicts with a religious holiday that requires an absence from the University or prohibits certain activities, students should request accommodation for their absence in writing at least two weeks prior to the holiday to the course instructor and/or the



Academic Counselling office of their Faculty of Registration. Please consult University's list of recognized religious holidays (updated annually) at

<https://multiculturalcalendar.com/ecal/index.php?s=c-univwo>.

## **Accommodation Policies**

Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Accessible Education, which provides recommendations for accommodation based on medical documentation or psychological and cognitive testing. The policy on Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities can be found at:

[https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic\\_policies/appeals/Academic Accommodation\\_disabilities.pdf](https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/Academic_Accommodation_disabilities.pdf).

## **Academic Policies**

The website for Registrarial Services is <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>.

In accordance with policy,

[https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/policies\\_procedures/section1/mapp113.pdf](https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/policies_procedures/section1/mapp113.pdf),

the centrally administered e-mail account provided to students will be considered the individual's official university e-mail address. It is the responsibility of the account holder to ensure that e-mail received from the University at their official university address is attended to in a timely manner.

During exams/tests/quizzes, no electronic devices (e.g. a phone, laptop, iPad) are allowed and must be powered down and stored out of reach.

**Scholastic offences** are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

[http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic\\_policies/appeals/scholastic\\_discipline\\_undergrad.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf).

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>).

Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating.

If a course uses remote proctoring, please be advised that you are consenting to the use of this software and acknowledge that you will be required to provide **personal information** (including

some biometric data) and the session will be **recorded**. Completion of a course with remote proctoring will require you to have a reliable internet connection and a device that meets the technical requirements for this service. More information about this remote proctoring service, including technical requirements, is available on Western's Remote Proctoring website at:

<https://remoteproctoring.uwo.ca>.

## Support Services

Please visit the Social Science Academic Counselling webpage for information on adding/dropping courses, academic considerations for absences, appeals, exam conflicts, and many other academic related matters: [Academic Counselling - Western University \(uwo.ca\)](https://www.uwo.ca/academic_counselling/)

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western (<https://uwo.ca/health/>) for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Western is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence and providing compassionate support to anyone who has gone through these traumatic events. If you have experienced sexual or gender-based violence (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at

[https://www.uwo.ca/health/student\\_support/survivor\\_support/get-help.html](https://www.uwo.ca/health/student_support/survivor_support/get-help.html).

To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact [support@uwo.ca](mailto:support@uwo.ca).

Please contact the course instructor if you require lecture or printed material in an alternate format or if any other arrangements can make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Accessible Education at

[http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible\\_education/index.html](http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible_education/index.html)

if you have any questions regarding accommodations.

Learning-skills counsellors at the Learning Development and Success Centre (<https://learning.uwo.ca>) are ready to help you improve your learning skills. They offer presentations on strategies for improving time management, multiple-choice exam preparation/writing, textbook reading, and more. Individual support is offered throughout the Fall/Winter terms in the drop-in Learning Help Centre, and year-round through individual counselling.

Western University is committed to a thriving campus as we deliver our courses in the mixed model of both virtual and face-to-face formats. We encourage you to check out the Digital Student Experience website to manage your academics and well-being: <https://www.uwo.ca/se/digital/>.

Additional student-run support services are offered by the USC, <https://westernusc.ca/services/>.

## Plagiarism:

Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

**Plagiarism Checking:** "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

**Multiple-choice tests/exams:** "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. [https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic\\_policies/index.html](https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html)

### PLAGIARISM\*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

#### **A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.**

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

**B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.**

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991