

Comparative Global Corruption
Political Science 4512F/9766A

Professor Bruce Morrison

Office hours: Thursday 10:30-12 or by appointment

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Course Description:

The past couple of 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? And why have the results of this broad and encompassing effort been so unimpressive? 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 and measure corruption; (b) acquire an appreciation of the global and historical spread of corruption; (c) gain a critical understanding of how cultural, economic, social, and institutional factors cultivate and sustain political corruption; and (d) become capable of identifying and weighing the strengths and weaknesses of the recent global anti-corruption effort.

Requirements and Evaluation:

Active, informed, and consistent participation: 25%

One 15-minute presentation: 15%

Three critical commentaries on the weekly readings, 2-3 pages (3-4 pages for graduate students): 20%

One research paper, 12-15 pages (17-20 pages for graduate students): 40%

SEMINAR READINGS:

Week 1: Introduction

(September 16)

No assigned readings.

Week 2: Defining and Measuring Corruption

(September 23)

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).

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).

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

Daniel Treisman, "What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?" *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 10 (2007), pp. 211-23.

Week 3: Changing Conceptions of Corruption

(September 30)

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.

David D. Bien, "Offices, Corps, and a System of State Credit," in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, Vol. I: The Political Culture of the Old Regime* (Pergamon Press, 1987).

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.

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).

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

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

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

Week 4: Culture and Corruption

(October 7)

Edward Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Free Press, 1958), pp. 83-104.

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

Raymond Fisman and Edward Miguel, *Economic Gangsters: Corruption, Violence, and the Poverty of Nations* (Princeton University Press, 2010), chapter 3.

Bo Rothstein and Davide Torsello, "Is Corruption Understood Differently in Different Cultures?" *Quality of Government Institute Working Paper Series* 2013: 5.

Recommended:

Susan Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 6.

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).

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

Week 5: Economics, Society, and Corruption

(October 14)

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): 8-14.

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

Daniel Treisman, "What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?" *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 10 (2007), pp. 223-8.

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).

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).

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).

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

Week 6: Institutions and Corruption I: Democracy and Dictatorship
(October 21)

Eric 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, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 8.

David Throup, "The Count." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* vol. 2, no. 2 (July 2008): 290-304.

Michael Pinto-Duchinsky, "Financing Politics: A Global View." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 13, no. 4 (October 2002): 69-86.

Recommended:

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).

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).

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).

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

Week 7: Institutions II: The Structure and Role of the State

(October 28)

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 Treisman, "What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?" *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 10 (2007), pp. 228-39.

Recommended:

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).

Week 8: Marginalizing Corruption in Modern Europe

(November 4)

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

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).

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.

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).

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.

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 9: The Italian Case: Systemic Collapse and Failed Reform
(November 11)

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

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).

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).

Recommended:

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).

Week 10: The Chinese Case: Political Monopoly, Development, and Corruption

(November 18)

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

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).

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).

Week 11: The Global Struggle Against Corruption

(November 25)

Dan Hough, *Corruption, Anti-Corruption and Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), chapters 1 and 2.

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).

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).

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).

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).

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 12: National Anti-Corruption Efforts

(December 2)

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.

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).

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

Susan Rose-Ackerman, "Corruption in the Wake of Domestic National Conflict," in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Corruption, Global Security, and World Order* (Brookings Institution, 2009).

Catharina Lindstedt and Daniel Laurin, "Transparency is Not Enough: Making Transparency Effective in Reducing Corruption." *International Political Science Review* vol. 31, no. 3 (2010).

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "Controlling Corruption Through Collective Action." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 24, no. 1 (January 2013).

Michael Johnston, *Corruption, Contention and Reform: The Power of Deep Democratization* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Week 13: Cases of Anti-Corruption Success and Failure: Bangladesh, Kenya, South Korea, Poland, the United Kingdom, and Germany

(December 9)

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