

## CSS Intensive Seminar on Corruption 2020

*Title of Course:* 'Corruption in Europe and Beyond'

*Target Group:* CSS postgraduates

*Format and Duration:* Ten 2 x 55-minute seminars, taught over 2+ weeks from 18 May 2020

*Assessment:* One long essay of 3000 words (inc. notes and references, but excluding bibliography), due no later than **Tuesday 13 October 2020**

*Course teacher:* Prof. Leslie Holmes, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne, Australia – [leslieth@unimelb.edu.au](mailto:leslieth@unimelb.edu.au)

*Language of instruction:* English

*Academic objectives:* The principal aims of this course are to:

- provide an awareness of the problem of corruption in the contemporary world, especially in CEE and the CIS;
- highlight the difficulties involved in analysing corruption, both in empirical terms (measuring it) and in terms of culturally diverse ways of defining it;
- outline the major forms corruption assumes;
- assess the putative functionalities and dysfunctionalities of corruption;
- consider the main theoretical explanations for corruption, including the complex and diverse ways in which globalisation and neo-liberalism might impact upon the phenomenon;
- examine the many ways in which corruption might be combated (public policy implications).

*Learning outcomes:* By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- problematise the concept and study of corruption, especially in a comparative context;
- outline and evaluate the debates on the possible benefits of corruption;
- evaluate each of the methods suggested in the literature for assessing the scale and nature of corruption in particular post-communist countries or regions;
- provide a sophisticated critique of the major contemporary theories of the causes of corruption;
- highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the major methods proposed in the literature for combating corruption;
- make concrete policy proposals for combating corruption in particular contexts.

*Syllabus:*

The study of corruption has become a central focus of political science, public policy, economics, criminology and other social science disciplines in recent years. One reason is that the number of corruption scandals appears to have increased dramatically since the late-1980s. Another – related – reason is that the old notion that corruption was primarily a feature of developing countries has had to be dramatically revised in the light of major corruption scandals in France, Germany, Italy, NATO, the UN, the World Bank and the EU (to name but a few of the Western countries or international organisations to have experienced significant corruption scandals in recent years) since the early-1990s. Before this, corruption was seen as a rare and abnormal phenomenon in most of these countries and organisations. This course examines both practical and theoretical aspects of corruption, and thus combines pure analysis and theorising with an applied, policy-oriented component. While there is an emphasis on Europe (in particular, Central and Eastern Europe, including the CIS), most of the issues apply globally, and students are encouraged to explore other parts of the world that particularly interest them.

*Web-based and reference sources*

In addition to the sources cited in the bibliographies for each seminar, many of which contain numerous examples of corruption, you should make use of the *TI Daily Corruption News* – online at <http://www.transparency.org/news/dcn>. TI has also produced a *Global Corruption Report* (eight general ones – 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009; the subsequent GCRs focus on specific topics, such as climate change) – see <http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr>; it appears to have stopped being produced after 2013, however. For those interested mainly in South-Eastern Europe, do visit <http://rai-see.org/news/south-eastern-europe>. One other useful (British) on-line reference source is Roy Davies' 'Financial Scandals' webpage at <http://www.ex.ac.uk/~RDavies/arian/scandals/political.html>, though this appears to go only to 2012.

See too:

<http://www.corruption.net/>

<http://www.globalintegrity.org/>

<http://www.internationalwhistleblower.com/>

<http://www.interpol.int/Crime-areas/Corruption/Corruption>

<https://www.occrp.org/en>

<http://policy-traccc.gmu.edu/>

<http://www.unicri.it/>

<http://www.unodc.org/>

For more interpretative (and hard copy!) – if by now somewhat dated - material, see R. Williams and R. Theobald (eds.), *Corruption in the Developing World* (2000) and R. Williams, J. Moran and R. Flanary (eds.), *Corruption in the Developed World* (2000).

For what I consider to be the best general introduction to corruption see C. Fletcher and D. Herrmann, *The Internationalisation of Corruption: Scale, Impact and Countermeasures* (2012). Other – though more sophisticated – books are S. Rose-Ackerman and B. Palifka, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (2016) and F. Heimann and M. Pieth, *Confronting Corruption: Past Concerns, Present Challenges and Future Strategies* (2018). For useful books on corruption in Europe generally see D. Della Porta & Y. Mény (eds.), *Democracy and Corruption in Europe* (1997), M. Bull and J. Newell, *Corruption in Contemporary Politics* (2003), and P. Gounev and V. Ruggiero (eds.), *Corruption and Organized Crime in Europe : Illegal Partnerships* (2012) - while the most useful academic sources specifically on CEE and the CIS are L. Holmes, *The End of Communist Power* (1993) (on the communist era), W. Miller, Å. Grødeland & T. Koshechkina, *A Culture of Corruption* (2001), J. Kornai and S. Rose-Ackerman (eds.), *Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition* (2004), R. Karklins, *The System Made Me Do It* (2005), L. Holmes, *Rotten States?* (2006), T. Kostadinova, *Political Corruption in Eastern Europe* (2012) and Marina Zaloznaya, *The Politics of Bureaucratic Corruption in Post-Transitional Eastern Europe* (2017). For highly critical analyses of most of the rest of the literature and the ‘anti-corruption profession’ see S. Kotkin and A. Sajó (eds.), *Political Corruption in Transition: A Sceptic’s Handbook* (2002) and I. Krastev, *Shifting Obsessions* (2004). For those with Polish, see J. Kurczewski and Beata Łacziak (eds.), *Korupcja w życiu społecznym* (2000). For readers of German, see J. Borchert, S. Leitner, and K. Stolz (eds.), *Politische Korruption* (2000). On Bulgaria, see the Center for the Study of Democracy’s (CSD) website (esp. under Coalition 2000) at <http://www.csd.bg/>.

An invaluable reference book is A. Graycar and R. Smith (eds.), *Handbook of Global Research and Practice in Corruption* (2011), while there are also useful entries in P. Heywood (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (2018).

Of the academic journals, the most useful is *Crime, Law and Social Change*.

### Part One – Definitions, Taxonomies and Typologies

**1. Definitional Aspects of Corruption** (including consideration of the cultural biases inherent in definition; Heidenheimer's black, gray and white corruption; grass-eating vs. meat-eating; active vs. passive, etc.), and the boundaries of the concept. The latter will include consideration of the concepts of white-collar crime, organised crime, lobbying, and gift-giving.

#### Reading

M. Philp in R. Williams (ed.), *Explaining Corruption* (2000), ch.22  
(originally in *Political Studies*, 45 [3], 1997: 436-62)

and

K. Sass Mikkelsen in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 60 (4), 2013: 357-74

#### Also Recommended

D. Della Porta & A. Vannucci *Corrupt Exchanges* (1999)

A. Edwards & P. Gill in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (3), 2002: 203-23

F. Goldberg in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 70 (2), 2018: 197-215  
(compares corruption and lobbying)

M. Granovetter 'The Social Construction of Corruption' (2005),  
available free online

A. Heidenheimer (ed.) *Political Corruption* (1989), chs. 1-3 and 11 (by Friedrich;  
van Klaveren; Lowenstein; Gibbons)

P. Heywood in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 417-35 (esp. 421-6)

P. Heywood in T. Landman and N. Robinson (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook  
of Comparative Politics* (2009): 362-78

L. Holmes (ed.) *Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption: Networks and  
Linkages* (2007), ch.1 (by Holmes)

Hough, D. *Analysing Corruption* (2017): 33-47

J. Kawata (ed.) *Comparing Political Corruption and Clientelism* (2006)

O. Kurer in P. Heywood (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Political  
Corruption* (2018): 30-41

- M. Levi in *The Howard Journal*, 37 (4), 1998: 335-45
- R. Miller *The Erotics of Corruption* (2008) (a very different approach!)
- D. Nelken (ed.) *White Collar Crime* (1994)
- S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), ch.6 (bribes and gifts)
- S. Rose-Ackerman & B. Palifka *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (2016): 3-38
- A. Sajó in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 40 (2-3), 2003: 171-94
- E. Sutherland *White Collar Crime* (1949)
- R. Theobald *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment* (1990): 1-18
- (Various authors) in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (2), 2002 (esp. chs. by Ruggiero; Edwards and Gill; Griffin; Vande Walle; and Rawlinson)
- S. Werner in R. Williams (ed.), *Explaining Corruption* (2000), ch.11 (also in *Public Administration Review*, 43 (2): 146-54)

**2. Towards a Taxonomy and Typology of Corruption.** In this seminar, the focus is on the difficulties involved in creating taxonomies and typologies of corruption.

### Reading

- S. Pradhan et al. *Anticorruption in Transition* (2000): xiv-xxi and 1-17  
and
- R. Karklins in *Problems of Post-Communism* 49 (4), 2002: 22-32  
<http://www.colbud.hu/honesty-trust/karklins/pub02.pdf>

### Also Recommended

- J. Bussell in S. Rose-Ackerman and P. Lagunes (eds.), *Greed, Corruption, and the Modern State* (2015): 21-45
- A. Czarnota in L. Holmes (ed.), *Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption* (2007): 155-69 (ch.8)
- D. Della Porta & Y. Mény (eds.) *Democracy and Corruption in Europe* (1997)
- A. Heidenheimer et al. (eds.) *Political Corruption* (1989), chs. 9 and 10 (by Scott; Heidenheimer) [or 2002 edition of this book, if available to you]

- L. Holmes *The End of Communist Power* (1993): 78-90
- L. Holmes *Rotten States?* (2006): 31-43
- R. Karklins *The System Made Me Do It* (2005)
- J. Kawata (ed.) *Comparing Political Corruption and Clientelism* (2006), ch. 2 (by D. Della Porta and A. Vannucci)
- J. Kornai & S. Rose-Ackerman (eds.) *Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition* (2004), chapter by C. Offe
- J. Scott *Comparative Political Corruption* (1972)
- Transparency International *Global Corruption Reports* (free online) there are now several of these on different topics - pick whichever interest you
- (Various authors) in *Transitions*, 5 (3): 1998
- M. Walecki (ed.) *Finansowanie polityki: Wybory, pieniądze, partie polityczne* (2000)
- M. Walecki (2003) in R. Austin and M. Tjernström (eds.), *Funding of Political Parties and Electoral Campaigns* (2003): 71-93
- R. Williams (ed.) *Party Finance and Political Corruption* (2000)

#### Part Two – Cost-Benefit Analyses of Corruption

**3. The Functions of Corruption.** In this seminar, the notion of corruption as inherently ‘bad’ will be problematised, and Joseph Nye’s classic ‘cost-benefit analysis’ of corruption evaluated. Topics include the concept of ‘greasing the cogs’ in very bureaucratic systems; redistribution of wealth in societies with highly skewed income distributions; and improving access to health and educational services.

#### **(Breakout #1)**

##### Reading

- J. Nye in R. Williams (ed.), *Explaining Corruption* (2000), ch.22 (also in Heidenheimer, *Political Corruption* (1989), ch.55; *American Political Science Review*, 61 (2), 1967: 417-27)

and

G. Myrdal in A. Heidenheimer (ed.), *Political Corruption* (1989), ch. 25

Also Recommended

Blackburn, K. & G. Forgues-Puccio in *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 72 (3), 2009: 797-810 (efficient vs. inefficient corruption)

E. Denisova-Schmidt & Y. Prytula in *Business Horizons*, 61 (6), 2018: 867-79 (Mixed findings from Ukrainian firms)

M. Faraz Riaz & U. Cantner in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 73 (4), 2020: 395-416 (corruption can help innovation in developing and emerging economies)

A. Heidenheimer (ed.) *Political Corruption* (1989), chs. 23, 24, 56 (by Huntington; Leff; Johnston) (these are also in later editions)

C-J. Huang in *North American Journal of Economics and Finance*, 35 (2016): 247-56 (corruption helps growth in S. Korea and China)

P. Hutchcroft in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 639-58

S. Huntington *Political Order in Changing Societies* (1968): 59-71

N. Kogan in *Transitions*, 5 (3), 1998: 46-9

T. Lindsey & H. Dick (eds.) *Corruption in Asia* (2002), ch. by Holmes

C. Leys in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 3 (2), 1965: 215-30

L. Manzetti & C. Wilson in *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (8), 2007: 949-70

P-G. Méon & L. Weill in *World Development*, 38 (3), 2010: 244-59 (tests the 'grease the wheels' hypothesis across 69 countries)

G. Xu, D. Zhang & G. Yano in *Economic Systems*, 41 (4), 2017: 622-38 (mixed findings on effects of corruption on Chinese firms)

Yu. Zabyelina & J. Arsovska in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 60 (1), 2013: 1-24 (short-term benefits for peace-building – Kosovo and Chechnya)

**4. The Dysfunctions and Impact of Corruption.** In this seminar, we shall consider ways in which corruption can be harmful – to the state, society, and individuals. Topics addressed include the weakening of the state; discouragement of investment and its many ramifications; environmental damage; international security; and system delegitimation.

Reading

J. E. Campos, D. Lien & S. Pradhan in *World Development*, 27 (6), 1999: 1059-67

and

P. Mauro in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110 (3), 1995: 681-712

Also Recommended

N. Ambraseys & R. Bilham in *Nature*, 469 (7329), 2011: 153-5 (on corruption and building collapse)

D. Della Porta & A. Vannucci in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 516-38

K. Eman *et al.* in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 59 (3), 2013: 341-58 (on green crimes and corruption in SEE)

P. Green in *British Journal of Criminology*, 45 (4), 2005: 528-46 (on corruption and building collapse)

S. Gupta, H. Davoodi & R. Alonso-Terme in *Economics of Governance*, 3 (1), 2001: 23-45

McMenamin, I. *If Money Talks, What Does it Say?* (2013)

S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), ch.2

R. Rotberg (ed.) *Corruption, global security, and world order* (2009) (esp. ch.1)

L. Shelley *Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism* (2014), esp. ch.2

K. Skrivankova, G. Dell, E. Larson, M. Adomeit & S. Albert *The Role of Corruption in Trafficking in Persons* (2011)

T. Søreide & A. Williams (eds.) *Corruption, Grabbing and Development* (2014)

S. Stoecker & R. Shakirova *Environmental Crime and Corruption in Russia* (2014)

R. Theobald *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment* (1990): 107-32

Transparency International *Women, Land and Corruption* (2018) (free on-line)

Part Three – Measuring Corruption

**5. Problems in Measuring Corruption.** Several methods for assessing the level of corruption in particular societies will be considered and evaluated in this seminar. They include official statistics; perception surveys (e.g. the *Corruption Perceptions Index* or CPI); surveys of



enterprise involvement in corruption; and public expenditure tracking surveys (*PETS*). We shall also consider the *Bribe Payers Index* (BPI – since 1999, latest is 2011) and the newer (since 2003) *Global Corruption Barometer* (GCB - latest for our part of the world is 2015-17). One major purpose is to highlight the subjectivity of all forms of measurement – even if one engages in ‘triangulation’, as advocated by Daniel Kaufmann, or multi-angulation.

### Reading

J. Graf Lambsdorff *et al.* Part 3, Chapter 8 in *Global Corruption Report 2008* (available free on-line at Transparency International website)

### **and either**

C. Sampford *et al.* (eds.) *Measuring Corruption* (2006) (see esp. chapter by F. Galtung – *most of this chapter is also available free online*)

### **or**

C. Fletcher & D. Herrmann *The Internationalisation of Corruption* (2012): 15-34

### Also Recommended

A. Alvazzi del Frate *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 10 (2-3), 2004: 137-61

S. Andersson & P. Heywood *in Political Studies*, 57 (4), 2009: 746-67

J. Anderson *Governance and Service Delivery in the Kyrgyz Republic – Results of Diagnostic Surveys* (2002) (online at World Bank site)

J. Anderson *et al.* *Diagnostic Surveys of Corruption in Romania* (2001) (free on-line at World Bank website)

J. Anderson & C. Gray *Anticorruption in Transition 3* (2006): esp. 7-23 (free on-line)

N. Christie *a suitable amount of crime* (2004)

Escresa, L. and Picci, L. *in World Bank Economic Review*, 31 (1), 2017: 196-219 (a new cross-national measure of corruption)

European Commission *Special Eurobarometer 374 – Corruption* (2012) and 470 (2017), free online

C. Fletcher & D. Herrmann *The Internationalisation of Corruption* (2012): 15-33

Freedom House ‘Freedom House Country Ratings’ – on-line at

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings/index.htm>

Freedom House *Nations in Transit* – several eds. - latest (2018), free online

- F. Galtung *et al.* The (original) Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer, free online at [http://www.transparency.org/pressreleases\\_archive/2003/2003.07.03.global\\_corr\\_barometer.en.html](http://www.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2003/2003.07.03.global_corr_barometer.en.html)
- C. Gray, J. Hellman, & R. Ryterman *Anticorruption in Transition 2* (2004)
- J. Hellman *et al.* *Measuring Governance, Corruption and State Capture* (2000), World Bank Policy Research Paper No.2312 – online at [www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/measure.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/measure.pdf)
- L. Holmes in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 42 (2), 2009: 265-87
- D. Hough *Analysing Corruption* (2017): 49-70
- J. Johnsrød, J. & D. Hardoon 'Why, when and how to use the Global Corruption Barometer', *U4 Brief*, July 2012 - <http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/4505-why-when-and-how-to-use-the-global-corruption.pdf>
- R. June *et al.* *A User's Guide to Measuring Corruption* (2008)
- D. Kaufmann *et al.* *Governance Matters III* (2003) (free online, World Bank website)
- S. Kotkin and A. Sajó (eds.), *Political Corruption in Transition: A Sceptic's Handbook* (2002) (see esp. chapters by Sajó and Sík)
- J. Graf Lambsdorff 'Background Paper to the 2004 Corruption Perceptions Index – Framework Document', on-line at [http://www1.transparency.org/cpi/2004/dnld/framework\\_en.pdf](http://www1.transparency.org/cpi/2004/dnld/framework_en.pdf)
- T. Lancaster & G. Montinola in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 27 (3-4), 1997: 185-206
- T. Lancaster & G. Montinola in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36 (3), 2001
- M. Lindelow 'Public Expenditure Tracking and Service Delivery Surveys', online at [www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/11iacc\\_lindelow.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/11iacc_lindelow.pdf) (2003)
- W. Miller, Å. Grødeland & T. Koshechkina *A Culture of Corruption* (2001)
- L. Picci in *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 24 (3), 2018: 289-313 (a new 'Bribe Payers' Corruption Index, different from TI's BPI)

- S. Pradhan *et al.* *Anticorruption in Transition* (2000): 7-9 (free online at World Bank website)
- PwC *Global Economic Crime and Fraud Survey 2018* (online)
- R. Reinikka & J. Svensson 'Survey Techniques to Measure and Explain Corruption', *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3071*, (2003)  
<http://ideas.repec.org/p/wop/wobael/3071.html>  
([econ.worldbank.org/files/27279\\_wps3071.pdf](http://econ.worldbank.org/files/27279_wps3071.pdf)) (2003)
- M. Saisana & A. Saltelli *Corruption Perceptions Index 2012 Statistical Assessment* (2012) - online via  
[http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/jrc/index.cfm?id=1410&obj\\_id=15820&dt\\_code=NWS&lang=en&ori=HLN](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/jrc/index.cfm?id=1410&obj_id=15820&dt_code=NWS&lang=en&ori=HLN) )
- C. Sampford *et al.* (eds.) *Measuring Corruption* (2006)
- K. Schwab *The Global Competitiveness Report 2012/13*, online at  
[http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GlobalCompetitivenessReport\\_2012-13.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitivenessReport_2012-13.pdf)
- A. Schwickerath, A. Varrach & L-L. Smith (eds.) *How to Research Corruption?* (2017) –  
[https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/52393/ssoar-2016-schwickerath\\_et\\_al-How\\_to\\_research\\_corruption\\_Conference.pdf?sequence=3](https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/52393/ssoar-2016-schwickerath_et_al-How_to_research_corruption_Conference.pdf?sequence=3)
- D. Serra & L. Wantchekon *New Advances in Experimental Research on Corruption* (2012)
- E. Sík in A. Sajó and S. Kotkin (eds.), *Political Corruption in Transition* (2002): 91-113
- Transparency International *Bribe Payers Index 2011*, free online
- Transparency International *Corruption Perceptions Index 2019*, free online
- Transparency International *Global Corruption Barometer 2013* (and parts of 2015-17), free online

#### Part Four – Causes of Corruption

**6. Causes of corruption 1 – psycho-social and cultural factors.** This seminar will concentrate on theories that explain corruption primarily in terms of individuals and specific cultural features (inc. religious traditions, and attitudes towards the state).

**(Breakout #2)**Reading

S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), ch. 6 (or 2016 - with B. Palifka), ch. 7

and

A Seleim & N. Bontis in *Journal of Intellectual Capital*, 10 (1), 2009: 165-84 (cross-national empirical testing of 10 hypotheses)

Also Recommended

A. Barr & D. Serra in *Journal of Public Economics*, 94 (11-12), 2010: 862-9 (on culture and corruption, UK example)

Brooks, G. *Criminology of Corruption* (2016), chs. 5, 7, 9 and 10

A. Brown & J. Gray (eds.) *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States* (1977), ch.1 (by Brown)

D. Dollar, R. Fisman & R. Gatti *Policy Research Report on Gender and Development – Working Paper Series No.4* (Washington DC: World Bank, 1999)(online)

K. Dupuy & S. Neset in *U4*, Issue 2, 2018 (cognitive psychology approach)

L. Holmes *The End of Communist Power* (1993): 157-67

L. Harrison & S. Huntington (eds.) *Culture Matters* (2000) (skim-read - but focus on ch. by Lipset and Lenz)

G. Hofstede (Six variable cultural model - 2011) – at

<https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=orpc>

J. Hooker in *Cross Cultural Management*, 16 (3), 2009: 251-67 (rule-based vs. relationship-based cultures)

B. Husted in *Journal of International Business Studies*, 30 (2), 1999: 39-59 (wealth and culture, inc. power distance)

D. Jancsics in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 60 (3), 2013: 319-341 (low-level corruption in CEE)

S. Karstedt in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 36 (3), 2001: 285-308

S. Karstedt in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 40 (2-3), 2003: 295-320

P. Kneen in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 34 (4), 2000: 349-67

- P. Larmour in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 49 (3), 2008: 225-39 (on Pacific Islands, but contains interesting methodological material)
- A. Ledeneva *Russia's Economy of Favours* (1998)
- A. Ledeneva *How Russia Really Works* (2000)
- T. Lindsey & H. Dick (eds.) *Corruption in Asia* (2002), esp. ch. by Gillespie
- S. Lovell *et al.* *Bribery and Blat in Russia* (2000)
- J. Peterson in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 559-78
- B. Rothstein & D. Torsello 'Is Corruption Understood Differently in Different Cultures?', *University of Gothenburg Working Paper*, No.5 (2013), free online
- A. Sajó in D. Trang (ed.), *Corruption and Democracy* (1994): 43-5
- W. Sandholtz & R. Taagepera in *International Review of Sociology*, 15 (1), 2005: 109-31 (communist and post-communist states)
- P. Williams & R. Godson in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (2002): 311-55 (esp. 328-35)
- Yan Sun in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 35 (3), 2001: 245-70 (China)
- H-E. Sung in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58 (3), 2012: 195-219 (gender)
- M. Zaloznaya in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58 (3), 2012: 295-320 (micro cultures – Ukrainian universities)
- M. Zaloznaya in *Sociology Compass*, 8 (2), 2014: 187-202 (for a social psychological approach to corruption)
- J. V. Zhan in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58 (2), 2012: 93-109 (Chinese *guanxi* and corruption)

**7. Causes of corruption 2 – system related (political; legal; social).** In this seminar, the focus is on those dimensions of political, legal, economic and social structures and practices that might help to explain higher (or lower) than average rates of corruption. Are democracies less prone to corruption than dictatorships, and if so, why? Do party financing methods matter? What role should and do judiciaries play? Are the so-called 'transition states' particularly prone to corruption? If so, why? To what extent is corruption socially constructed?

Reading

A. Sajó in *East European Constitutional Review* (on-line), 7 (2), 1998: 37-46

and

E. Hanley in *East European Politics and Societies* 14 (1), 2000: 143-78

Also Recommended

- A. Ades & R. di Tella in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 496-515
- J. Cartier-Bresson in D. Della Porta and Y. Mény (eds.), *Democracy and Corruption in Europe* (1997): 148-65
- M. Clarke (ed.) *Corruption: Causes, Consequences and Control* (1983)
- A. Czarnota in L. Holmes (ed.), *Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption* (2007): 155-69 (ch.8)
- J. Hellman in *World Politics*, 50 (2), 1998: 203-34
- J. Hellman, G. Jones, & D. Kaufmann *World Bank Policy Research Working Papers*, No.2444 (2000) (online)
- L. Holmes *The End of Communist Power* (1993): 174-92 (on communist countries)
- L. Holmes in A. Pravda (ed.), *Leading Russia: Putin in Perspective* (2005): 75-101 (Russia)
- L. Holmes in *Social Research International*, 80 (4), 2013: 1163-86
- J. Hopkin in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 27 (3-4), 1997: 255-74
- M. Johnston *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power and Democracy* (2005)
- M. Johnston & Y. Hao in *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (4), 1995: 80 ff. (on China)
- E. Katzarova *The Social Construction of Global Corruption* (2019)
- D. Kaufmann & P. Siegelbaum in *Journal of International Affairs*, 50 (2), 1997: 419 ff.
- X. Lu in *Comparative Politics*, 32 (3), 2000: 273 ff. (on China)
- P. Mauro in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110 (3), 1995: 681-712
- G. Montinola & R. Jackman in *British Journal of Political Science*, 32 (1), 2002: 147-70
- J. Moran in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 36 (4), 2001: 379-93 (on transition states)

- K. Nassmacher online  
at [http://www.idea.int/publications/funding\\_parties/fpp\\_book.htm](http://www.idea.int/publications/funding_parties/fpp_book.htm)  
(2004)
- S. Saha, R. Gounder, N. Campbell & J. Su in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61 (3), 2014: 287-308 (democracy and corruption)
- A. Sajó in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 40 (2-3), 2003: 171-94
- L. Shelley in *East European Constitutional Review* (on-line), 9 (1-2), 2000: 70-4
- A. Shleifer & R. Vishny *The Grabbing Hand* (1998), esp. ch.5
- D. Smilov in A. Sajó and S. Kotkin (eds.), *Political Corruption in Transition* (2002): 327-51
- H-E Sung in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 38 (2), 2002: 137-60
- D. Trang (ed.) *Corruption and Democracy* (1994), Panel III
- F. Varese in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 579-96
- M. Walecki (ed.) *Finansowanie polityki* (2000)
- R. Williams (ed.) *Party Finance and Political Corruption* (2000)

**8. Causes of Corruption 3 – system-related (economic; ideological; international).** What impact do levels of state intervention and protectionism, policies on marketisation and privatisation, tax regimes, foreign trade policies, inequality and poverty have on corruption? How valid are the arguments of analysts such as Yves Mény who maintain that the spread of neo-liberalism, which in turn is related to globalisation, is a major explanatory factor for the apparent increase in corruption. The theory will also be tested in light of the fact that the post-communist countries that have adopted the most radical economic transition policies have apparently had lower rates of corruption than those that have been more gradualist. We will also consider examples of TNCs that have been accused of corrupt business practices.

#### Reading

- J. Gerring and S. Thacker in *International Organization*, 59 (1), 2005: 233-54  
(neoliberalism deters corruption)

and

- D. Whyte and J. Wiegatz (eds.) *Neoliberalism and the Moral Economy of Fraud* (2016): chs. 1 & 17

Also Recommended

- M. Andreasen *Brussels Laid Bare* (2009)
- F. Anechiarico & J. Jacobs *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity* (1996)
- G. Brooks *Criminology of Corruption* (2016), ch. 11
- J. Cartier-Bresson in D. Della Porta and Y. Mény (eds.), *Democracy and Corruption in Europe* (1997): 148-65
- M. Collier in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 38 (1), 2002: 1-32
- D. Craig & M. Elliott *The Great European Rip-Off* (2009)
- D. Della Porta & Y. Mény (eds.) *Democracy and Corruption in Europe* (1997), Introduction and Conclusion
- J. Girling *Corruption, Capitalism and Democracy* (1997)
- A. Heidenheimer (ed.) *Political Corruption* (1989), ch. 40 (by LeVine)
- J. Hellman in *World Politics*, 50 (2), 1998: 203-34
- B. Kajsu *A Discourse Analysis of Corruption* (2014) (neoliberalism and corruption in Albania)
- I. Krastev in *East European Constitutional Review*, 7 (3), 1998: 56-8
- J. Graf Lambsdorff, M. Taube & M. Schramm (eds.), *The New Institutional Economics of Corruption* (2004)
- J. Graf Lambsdorff *The Institutional Economics of Corruption and Reform* (2008)
- J. L. McCoy & H. Heckel in *International Politics*, 38 (1), 2001: 65-90
- M. Philp in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 36 (4), 2001: 357-77
- S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption: A Study in Political Economy* (1978)
- V. Tanzi *Policies, Institutions and the Dark Side of Economics* (2000), esp. ch.6
- J. Zielonka & A. Pravda (eds.) *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe*, Vol.2 (2001), ch.7 (by Holmes)

Part Five – Combating Corruption

**9. Controlling corruption 1 – the role of the state.** This seminar will consider the numerous ways in which states have attempted and might attempt to reduce corruption levels. These



include legislation; education; shaming; rotation; self-regulation; and encouragement of whistleblowing.

**(Breakout #3)**

Reading

L. de Sousa in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 53 (1), 2010: 5-22

Also Recommended

- A. Alam & V. Southworth *Fighting Corruption in Public Services* (2012) (on Georgia)
- E. Buscaglia & J. van Dijk in *Forum on Crime and Society*, 3 (1-2), 2003: 3-34
- M. Clarke (ed.) *Corruption: Causes, Consequences and Control* (1983), chs. by N. Lampert (268-87) and L. Palmier (207-19)
- L. De Sousa, P. Larmour & B. Hindess (eds.) *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption* (2009)
- C. Fletcher & D. Herrmann *The Internationalisation of Corruption* (2012), ch. 4
- A. Gorta in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 30 (1), 1998: 67-87
- A. Heidenheimer (ed.) *Political Corruption* (1989), chs. 48, 49 (by Quah; von Alemann)
- L. Holmes *Rotten States?* (2006), ch.7
- D. Hough *Corruption, Anti-Corruption and Governance* (2013)
- R. Klitgaard *Controlling Corruption* (1988)
- J. Graf Lambsdorff *The Institutional Economics of Corruption and Reform* (2008)
- L. Liu in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 69 (5), 2018: 615-56 (on why states differ in complying with OECD anti-bribery convention)
- A. Mungiu-Pippidi *The Quest for Good Governance: How Societies Develop Control of Corruption* (2015): Chs.1, 3, 4
- D. Oliver in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 539-58

- J. Pope in R. Stapenhurst & S. Kpundeh (eds.), *Curbing Corruption* (1999): 105-116
- J. Quah in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 22, 1995: 391-414
- S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), chs.8 and 9 or (2016 - with B. Palifka), chs. 6 and 13
- J. Ross in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 29 (4), 1998: 331-40
- D. Schmidt-Pfister & H. Moroff (eds.) *Fighting Corruption in Eastern Europe* (2012)
- D. Singh in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 71 (2), 2019: 197-216 (on fighting corruption in post-conflict and developing states)
- C. Stahl, S. Kassa & C. Baez-Camargo *EARF Corruption, Social Norms and Behaviours in East Africa* (2017) (free online): 21-43 (excellent analysis of impact of various anti-corruption methods)
- R. Stapenhurst & S. Kpundeh (eds.) *Curbing Corruption* (1999)
- H-E. Sung in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58 (3), 2012: 195-219 (women in gov't and corruption)
- R. Theobald *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment* (1990): 133-60
- D. Trang (ed.) *Corruption and Democracy* (1994), Panel V
- (Various authors) in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 29 (3), 1998
- (Various authors) in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 68 (3), 2017 (on national integrity systems for evaluating anti-corruption policies)
- R. Williams & A. Doig (eds.) *Controlling Corruption* (2000) (pick chapters that interest you)
- J. Zimmermann *Curbing Unethical Behaviour in Government* (1994)
- L. Zipparo in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 30 (3), 1999: 273-87

**10. Controlling corruption 2 – the role of civil society, IOs, and TNCs.** Topics covered include the role of the media and NGOs; the impact of codes and guidelines from IOs such as the OECD, World Bank, EU and UN; and the apparently very different approaches of Siemens

and Shell. We shall also discuss the suggestion that anti-bribery regulations ‘imposed’ by international organisations constitute a form of cultural imperialism.

### Reading

- P. Eigen in *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (1), 1996: 158-68  
and  
A. Mungiu-Pippidi in *Journal of Democracy*, 24 (1), 2013: 101-115 (civil society’s role)

### Also Recommended

- M. J. Bull & J. Newell (eds.) *Corruption in Contemporary Politics* (2003), ch.16 (by J. Andvig)
- E. Ceva & M. Bocchiola *Is Whistleblowing a Duty?* (2019) (a philosophical and ethical approach)
- A. Cirtautas in *East European Constitutional Review*, 10 (2-3), 2001: 79-84
- M. Clarke (ed.) *Corruption: Causes, Consequences and Control* (1983), chs. by D. Murphy (58-73) and A. Doig (74-104)
- B. Cooksey in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58 (5), 2012: 521-31 (aid and corruption)
- C. Fletcher & D. Herrmann *The Internationalisation of Corruption* (2012), ch. 5
- J. Girling *Corruption, Capitalism and Democracy* (1997)
- J. Gole ‘The Role of Civil Society in Containing Corruption at the Municipal Level’, *Discussion Paper No. 10*, 1999, Open Society Institute, Budapest
- R. Heeks & H. Mathisen in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58 (5), 2012: 533-49 (aid and corruption)
- F. Heimann & M. Pieth *Confronting Corruption* (2018): 18-22, 25-6 and chs. 7 and 8
- L. Holmes *Rotten States?* (2006), ch.7
- R. Klitgaard, R. Maclean-Abaroa & H. L. Parris *Corrupt Cities: A Practical Guide to Cure and Prevention* (2000)

- C. Lewis in D. Trang (ed.), *Corruption and Democracy* (1994): 179-82
- H. Marquette in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 36 (4), 2001: 395-407
- J. McCoy & H. Heckel in *International Politics*, 38 (1), 2001: 65-90
- Muzila, L., Morales, M., Mathias, M. & Berger, T. *On the Take: Criminalizing Illicit Enrichment to Fight Corruption* (World Bank 2012)
- P. Nichols in *Cornell International Law Journal*, 33(3), 2000: 627-55
- OECD *2018 Data on Enforcement of the Anti-Bribery Convention* (2019)
- J. Pope *Transparency International Sourcebook 2000 – Confronting Corruption: The Elements of a National Integrity System* (2000)
- S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), ch.10 or (2016 – with B. Palifka), chs. 14 and 15
- S. Rose-Ackerman & P. Carrington (eds.) *Anti-Corruption Policy* (2013)
- D. Schmidt-Pfister & H. Moroff (eds.) *Fighting Corruption in Eastern Europe* (2012)
- L. Shelley *Demokratizatsiya*, 10 (1), 2002: 49-67
- R. Stapenhurst & S. Kpundeh (eds.) *Curbing Corruption* (1999), ch. by Kisubi
- R. Theobald in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 27 (3-4), 1997: 299-314
- R. Tiffen *Scandals: Media, Politics and Corruption in Contemporary Australia* (1999), esp. chs. 8 and 9
- Transparency international ‘The Trillion Dollar Question: The IMF and Anti-Corruption One Year On’, 2019, [https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/the\\_trillion\\_dollar\\_question\\_the\\_imf\\_and\\_anti\\_corruption\\_one\\_year\\_on](https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/the_trillion_dollar_question_the_imf_and_anti_corruption_one_year_on) (on recent changes in IMF’s attitude to corruption)
- L. Tucker in D. Trang (ed.), *Corruption and Democracy* (1994): 185-9
- UNODC *State of Implementation of the United Nations Convention against Corruption* (2017), online [https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/corruption/tools\\_and\\_publications/state\\_of\\_uncac\\_implementation.html](https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/corruption/tools_and_publications/state_of_uncac_implementation.html)

- Various authors in *Crime, Law & Social Change* (whole issue), 69 (2), 2018 (on FATF)
- R. Vaughn *The Successes and Failures of Whistleblower Laws* (2012)
- S. Verdenicci & D. Hough in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 64 (1), 2015: 23-35 (limits of what individuals can do)
- F. Vogl *Waging War on Corruption* (2012) (feisty analysis of corruption and the role of CS in combating it by a TI founder)
- World Bank *Helping Countries Combat Corruption* (2000)

Leslie Holmes – May 2020