

# Political Corruption

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Office Hours: 9:00-12:00 M-F

Fall 2009  
2:40 - 4:05 TR  
Business/Aerospace S 113  
Course website: <http://elearn.mtsu.edu>

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Though bribery and extortion have always been around, corruption has recently become a hot topic at both the national and international levels. Throughout the world, governments of every stripe have been shaken by recent revelations of deep-seated corruption and the role money plays in politics; non-governmental organizations have sprung up to coordinate efforts to combat corruption; a new wave of empirical research has rejuvenated the scholarly debate on the causes and consequences of corruption; international organizations like the U.N., the World Bank, the OECD and the OAS, among others, have begun to address the issue in a cooperative way; and the perception of rotten politics weighs heavy on public views of politics.

The phenomenon of political corruption spans the many sub-fields of political science, touching on comparative/international relations, American politics, political theory, public administration and criminal justice. The topic is quite broad and touches on the basic nature of political authority, the influence of money in politics, the boundaries separating the public from the private, and fundamental political questions about right and wrong.

This course or seminar will provide an overview of the study of political corruption. We will explore concepts and theories of corruption, review recent analyses, and examine recent efforts to combat corruption. To accommodate our varied interests, we will focus on corruption in different settings and the course will allow you to focus specifically on your area of interest.

As a seminar, the course centers on the active participation and discussion of everyone. We all have a role to play in the course. We will work cooperatively to cover a range of materials, while focusing more specific attention to your area of interest.

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## TEXTS / READINGS

- All readings will be made available through the course web site and/or on reserve in the library.

## ASSIGNMENTS / METHODS

### **I. Participation.**

Students are expected to attend class, complete the assigned readings, and participate in class discussion. Much of the course will be conducted like a seminar. This means that we will devote time to discuss the readings, so everyone must be involved. Absences will affect your grade for participation.

### **II. Optional Assignments and the Accumulation of POINTS**

**A. Consulting the Web** Some discussions will come from web sites that contain a wealth of information, reports and short articles. These are designated with an \*. It is impossible to know and reward this activity without getting some feedback from you. After you consult the web for a particular assignment, you should submit a *web research review form* (last page of this syllabus). The form should be turned in on the day of class for which the web assignment is listed.

*You can receive a maximum of 10 points for each depending on the amount and quality of the work demonstrated.*

**B. Complementary Article Analysis.** In an effort to go beyond the normal readings, everyone will be responsible for preparing brief (1 page) summaries of additional readings. These need not be overly detailed, nor must you read the entire article end-to-end. Similar to the Web exercise, the summary should be turned in on the day of class for that section.

*You can receive a maximum of 10 points for each depending on the amount and quality of the work demonstrated.*

**C. News Reports/NPR Stories.** Provide a brief summation to the class along with a ½ page summary of a news report or NPR story on a case of corruption or similarly related story.

*You can receive a maximum of 5 points for this task depending on the amount and quality of the work demonstrated.*

**D. Essay.\*** A short research paper (10 pages max) on a topic of your choosing. You can draw on a particular area and describe the state of knowledge in that area or examine in some detail a recent case of corruption, relating it to the class. This paper is not due until the last week of class.

*You can receive a maximum of 40 points for this task depending on the amount and quality of the work demonstrated.*

**E. Book Review.\*** A standard 3-4 page review of a recent book on the topic of political corruption. The review should provide a discussion of the books approach, methodology, and conclusions, and a critique. This paper is not due until the last week of class.

*You can receive a maximum of 20 points for this task depending on the amount and quality of the work demonstrated.*

**F. Final Out-of-Class Essay Exam.\*** In addition to the regular final exam, there will be an out-of-class final containing optional essay questions provided early on in the course.

You can receive a maximum of 20 points for this task depending on the amount and quality of the work demonstrated.

<b>Summary</b>	
Web Review	= 10 points
Article Analysis	= 10 points
NPR Stories/News Items	= 5 points
Essay	= 40 points
Book Review	= 20 points



YOU NEED TO GET **100 POINTS** FROM THESE ASSIGNMENTS

**RULE: EVERYONE MUST DO AT LEAST ONE OF THESE \*( ESSAY, BOOK REVIEW, OR OUT-OF-CLASS FINAL ESSAY).**

**III. Exams.** They have to be in here somewhere! Two exams: a mid-term and a final. Both will entail short-answer essays.

## **GRADING**

- Participation = 20%  
(includes attendance, in class-performance, discussions) Case Analysis = 25%  
(includes both papers)
- Assignments = 40%
- Exams = 40%  
(includes mid-term, and in-class portion of the final)

## **OTHER**

Since all classes do not progress at the same rate, the instructor may wish to modify the above requirements or their timing as circumstances dictate. For example, the instructor may wish to change the number and frequency of exams, or the number and sequence of assignments. However, the students must be given adequate notification. Moreover, there may be non-typical classes for which these requirements are not strictly applicable in each instance and may need modification. If such modification is needed, it must be in writing and conform to the spirit of this policy statement.

### **Inclement Weather and Class Cancellation Policy**

If Rutherford County Schools are closed (closings are posted by 6:00 a.m. and can be found on all local networks and at <http://newschannel5.com/snow/closings.html>), check your email before coming to campus. I will announce class cancellations via email only. If you do not hear from me, we will meet as scheduled. If the university is closed for any reason, we will not have class.

### **Withdrawal and Drop Policy**

The deadline to drop this course without a grade is September 11. Scholarship recipients need to be especially cognizant of the impact of dropping a course on scholarship eligibility (see below).

**ADA Accommodation Policy**

If you have a disability that may require assistance or accommodation, or you have questions related to any accommodation for testing, note takers, readers, etc., please contact the Office of Disabled Student Services (898-2783) with questions about such services.

**Tennessee Lottery Scholarship**

To retain Tennessee Education Lottery Scholarship eligibility, you must earn a cumulative TELS GPA of 2.75 after 24 and 48 attempted hours and a cumulative TELS GPA of 3.0 thereafter. You may qualify with a 2.75 cumulative GPA after 72 attempted hours (and subsequent semesters), if you are enrolled full-time and maintain a semester GPA of at least 3.0. A grade of C, D, F, or I in this class may negatively impact TELS eligibility. Dropping a class after 14 days may also impact eligibility; if you withdraw from this class and it results in an enrollment status of less than full time, you may lose eligibility for your lottery scholarship. Lottery recipients are eligible to receive the scholarship for a maximum of five years from the date of initial enrollment, or until a bachelor degree is earned. For additional Lottery rules, please refer to your Lottery Statement of Understanding form, review lottery requirements on the web at <http://scholarships.web.mtsu.edu/telsconteligibility.htm>, or contact the Financial Aid Office at 898-2830.

**Should the information in this paragraph conflict with the information provided by the State, the latter should be considered accurate and binding.**

**D2L**

This course has an accompanying Desire to Learn (D2L) site where you can access the course documents, assigned readings, and internet links. You can access the course page by logging in with you Pipeline ID at <http://elearn.mtsu.edu>.

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**COURSE ORGANIZATION / DATES/ TOPICS / READINGS / CONSULTS**

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**I. Overview and the Study of Political Corruption**

**Week 1 – Sept 1, 3**

- The “New” Politics of Corruption.
- A Framework for Analysis (Handout)

**READINGS:**

- Heywood, “Political Corruption: Problems and Perspectives” *Political Studies* XLV, 1997: 417-435 (only pages 417 -421)
- Svensson (2005) “Eight Questions about Corruption” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19 (3): 19-42.
- Find a news story

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**II. Handling Slippery Objects: From Definition to Measurement**

**Week 2 – Sept 10, 12**

- Definition and Conceptualization

**READINGS:**

- Johnston (2004) “Keeping the Answers and Changing the Questions”.
- Warren (2004) “What Does Corruption Mean in a Democracy?” *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 328-343.

**Week 3 – Sept 15, 17**

- Measuring the Unmeasurable

**READINGS:**

- Galtung, “Measuring the Immeasurable: Boundaries and Functions of (Macro) Indicies.” In Galtung and Sampford, eds. *Measuring Corruption*. London: Ashgate.
- OR**
- Soreide (2006) “Is it wrong to rank? A critical assessment of corruption indices” CMI Working Paper 2006:1, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

**CONSULT:**

- TI – CPI 2009
  - TI – Global Corruption Barometer 2009
- Perception vs Participation vs Patterns

**READINGS:**

- Morris (2008), “Disaggregating Corruption” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27 (3), 2008: 388-409 (initial theoretical discussion – not empirical section)
- OR**
- Weber (2007) “How Much Do Perceptions of Corruption Really Tell Us?” Economics Discussion Papers 2007-19.

- Rose and Mishler (2008) “Bridging the gap between the experience and the perception of corruption.” TI’s *Global Corruption Report*: 328-332.
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### *III. The Why and the So? The Causes and Consequences of Corruption*

#### **Weeks 4 & 5 – Sept 22, 24, 29**

#### ➤ **The Causes of Political Corruption.**

#### **READINGS:**

- Triesman, Daniel (2007) “What Have We Learned about the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 211-244

#### **PICK 2 of these:**

- Bardhan, “The Economist’s Approach to the Problem of Corruption.” *World Development* 34 (2): 341-348.
- Chang and Chu (2006) “Corruption and Trust: Exceptionalism in Asian Democracies.” *Journal of Politics* 68 (2): 259-271.
- Johnston (1996), “Public Officials, Private Interests, and Sustainable Democracy: When Politics and Corruption Meet”
- Mocan (2004) “What Determines Corruption? International Evidence from Micro Data.” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 10460.
- Moreno. “Corruption and Democracy: A Cultural Assessment.” *Comparative Sociology* 1 (3-4):
- Morris and Klesner (forthcoming 2010) “Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence from Mexico.” *Comparative Politics Studies*.(just the theoretical discussion)

#### **AND 1 of these:**

- Colombatto (2003) “Why is Corruption Tolerated?” *Review of Austrian Economics* 16 (4): 363-379.
- Manzetti and Wilson (2009) “Why Do Corrupt Governments Maintain Support?” In Blake and Morris, eds. *Corruption and Democracy in Latin America*.

#### **Weeks 5 & 6 – Oct 1, 6, 8**

#### ➤ **The Consequences of Corruption.**

#### **READINGS:**

#### **Pick 3**

- Akcay (2006) “Corruption and Human Development.” *Cato Journal* 26 (1): 29-48.
- Anderson, and Tverdova (2003) “Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes Toward Government in Contemporary Democracies” *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (1): 91-210.
- Della Porta and Vanucci (1997) “The Perverse Effects of Political Corruption.” *Political Studies* XLV: 516-538.
- Johnston, “Public Officials, Private Interests, and Sustainable Democracy: When Politics and Corruption Meet.” From Elliott (ed.), *Corruption and the Global Economy*.
- Johnston (1993) “The Political Costs of Corruption”
- Khan, “Patron-Client Networks and the Economic Effects of Corruption in Asia.” H&J: 467-488.
- Mauro, “The Effects of Corruption on Growth, Investment and Government Expenditure: A Cross-Country Analysis” H&J: 339-352.
- Rose-Ackerman, “When is Corruption Harmful?” H&J: 353-374.

- Theobald (1999) "So what really is the problem about corruption" *Third World Quarterly* 20 (3): 491-502.
  - Yan Sun (1999) "Reform, State, and Corruption: Is Corruption Less Destructive in China than in Russia?" *Comparative Politics* 31 (4): 1-21.
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### **Week 7 – Oct 13, 15**

#### **➤ REVIEW and MID-TERM EXAM**

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## **IV. Anti-Corruption**

### **Week 8 & 9 – Oct 22, 27, 29**

#### **➤ Domestic Efforts to Curb Corruption.**

#### **READINGS:**

- TI's *Source Book*.
- Johnston and Kpundeh (2002) "Building a Clean Machine: Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Sustainable Reform."
- Pope (2007-08) "The Third Phase in the Fight Against Corruption." *Public Integrity* 10 (1): 75-83.

#### **CONSULT:**

- TI's Anti-corruption toolkit (pick out one tool)
- 'Solutions' in TIRI

### **Week 10 – Nov 3, 5**

#### **• International Efforts to Curb Corruption.**

#### **READINGS:**

- KPMG (2008) "Overseas Bribery and Corruption Survey" KPMG International.
- Sampson (2005) "Integrity Warriors: Global Morality and the Anti-corruption Movement in the Balkans." In Haller, Dieter and Cris Shore, eds *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*. London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

#### **CONSULT**

- World Bank Institute Governance and Anti-corruption Program
  - UN Treaty and Anti-Corruption Programs
  - US Government – State Department programs on corruption
  - OECD Anti-Bribery Treaty
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## **V. Challenging Mainstream Views on Corruption**

### **Week 11 – Nov 10, 12**

#### **READINGS:**

**PICK 2**

- Brown and Cloke (2004) “Neoliberal Reform, Governance and Corruption in the South: Assessing the International and Anti-Corruption Crusade” *Antipode* 36 (2): 272-294.
  - Bukovansky, Mlada (2006) “The hollowness of anti-corruption discourse” *Review of International Political Economy* 13 (2): 181-209.
  - Hindness (2005) “Investigating International Anti-Corruption.” *Third World Quarterly* 26 (8): 1389-1398.
  - Marquette (1999) “Corruption Eruption: Development and the International Community.” *Third World Quarterly* 20 (6): 1215-1220.
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## VI. Cases

### Week 12 – Nov 17, 19

#### ➤ **Corruption and U.S. Politics and Video: *Capitol Crimes***

#### **READINGS:**

- *Broken Government*. Center for Public Integrity 2008.

#### **AND 1 of the following:**

- Faccio (2006) “Politically Connected Firms.” *American Economic Review* 96 (1): 369-386.
- Hill (2003) “Democratization and Corruption: Systematic Evidence from American States.” *American Politics Research* 31 (6): 613-631.
- Johnston (2005) *Syndromes of Corruption*, Chapter 4.

#### **CONSULT**

- TI-USA
- Center for Public Integrity

### Week 13 – Nov 24

#### ➤ **Corruption and Anti-corruption in Mexico**

### Week 14 – Dec 1, 3

#### ➤ **Reports from other countries, International Corruption, Video: *Illicit***

#### **CONSULT:**

- a developing country or regional report from TI’s *Global Corruption Report*
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### Week 15 and beyond -- Dec 8, 15

- **Review**
  - **Final Exam Tuesday 12/15 @ 3:30**
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## Web Links

### **CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY**

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

This site concentrates on the influence of money on U.S. politics through elections, lobbying and conflict of interest. It provides news reports and detailed studies of campaign financing, corporate lobbying, disclosure laws, etc. The site also contains information on state governments and prosecutors.

### **CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESOURCES: Police Corruption - Police Integrity**

This site contains links to articles and other information on police corruption.

<http://www.lib.msu.edu/harris23/crimjust/polcorr.htm>

### **TI [TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL]**

This is the Berlin-based organization created in 1994 that has played such a dominant role in forging the “new” politics of corruption. Patterned on Amnesty International and its success at putting human rights on the global agenda, TI has created a global network of activists dedicated to exposing and fighting corruption. TI has been behind efforts by national and international organizations to create anti-corruption reforms, and its pioneering effort to create a cross-national measure of political corruption has played a critical role in shaping empirical research on corruption.

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

- Corruption Perceptions Index 2008 [Measures perceptions of corruption among experts]  
[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/surveys\\_indices/cpi/2008](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2008)
- Global Corruption Barometer 2007 [Measures perceptions of corruption among the public, detailing particular areas]  
[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/surveys\\_indices/gcb/2007](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/gcb/2007)
- Bribe Payers Index 2008 [Ranks the likelihood of firms from 22 top exporting countries to bribe abroad].  
[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/surveys\\_indices/bpi/bpi\\_2008](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/bpi/bpi_2008)
- Global Corruption Report 2009 [Brings together leading scholars, business practitioners and civil society experts to examine a broad range of persistent and emerging corruption risks for business, assess the efficacy of existing remedies, and propose practical and innovative measures to strengthen and future-proof corporate integrity.]  
<http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr>
- TI National Integrity Systems Assessments [Framework anti-corruption organizations can use to analyze the extent and causes of corruption as well as the effectiveness of national anti-corruption efforts]  
[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/nis](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/nis)
- Corruption Fighters' Tool Kit [A compendium of practical civil society anti-corruption experiences developed and implemented by TI National Chapters and other civil society organizations from around the world]  
[http://www.transparency.org/tools/e\\_toolkit](http://www.transparency.org/tools/e_toolkit)

- **TI Anti-Corruption Handbook (ACH)** [A practical guide which aims to assist the process of designing and applying anti-corruption measures]  
[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/ach](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/ach)

**TI-USA** [US Chapter of Transparency International]  
<http://www.transparency-usa.org/>

**TIRI** – An off-shoot of TI established in 2003 by Galtung and Pope, Tiri is an independent non-governmental organization that works with governments, business and civil society to find practical solutions to making integrity work. It tends to emphasis integrity training rather than the straight institutional approach of TI. It operates such programs as governance-access-learning network and the Public Integrity Education Network.  
[check the YOUTUBE features]

**WORLD BANK – Anticorruption** [projects, research, regional approaches]  
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPUBLICSECTORANDGOVERNANCE/EXTANTICORRUPTION/0,,menuPK:384461~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:384455,00.html>

-- Sections on: Topics, Tools and Data, Regional and Country Approaches,

**WORLD BANK – Governance and Anticorruption**  
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGOVANTICORR/0,,menuPK:3036107~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:3035864,00.html>

**UNITED NATIONS**  
– **UNDP – Public administration reform and anti-corruption**  
<http://www.undp.org/governance/sl-par.htm>

-- **Anticorruption Treaty**  
<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC/index.html>

**US DEPT OF STATE – anticorruption initiatives**  
<http://www.state.gov/p/inl/crime/corr/index.htm>

**WEB RESEARCH REVIEW FORM**

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

- Name of the Web Site Consulted \_\_\_\_\_  
& address www. \_\_\_\_\_
- Nature of the review. What did you do while visiting the site? Did you... (Check one)
  - Review the various parts of the site?
  - Read a report or an article on a particular problem or case?
  - Review the mission statement and what the organization does?
  - Review a country report?
  - Review a list or view of activities of the organization?
- Briefly describe in the space below what you learned from the site
  - If you reviewed the various parts of the site, describe the type of information the web site contains. How useful is it? Who might want to use it?
  - If you read an article or a report, summarize what you discovered. What is the author's major conclusion and how does she arrive at it?
  - If you explored the organization, briefly explain who they are and what they do. Where does their funding come from? What types of activities are they engaged in?
  - If you examined a country or regional report, briefly describe TI's assessment of corruption in the country or the region. What type of corruption is highlighted? Is corruption worse or better than in the past? What types of measures are being taken to fight corruption? Are they working?
  - if you reviewed a particular anti-corruption activity, briefly explain the nature of the program and how it seeks to curb corruption. Who is involved in the anti-corruption effort? Is it working? How do we know that?
- Approximate amount of time spent reviewing the web site: \_\_\_\_\_

**Summary:**

*PS 4390 Special Topics: Political Corruption*

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**Course Queries**

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- 1) How is corruption defined and what are some of the problems we face in defining it?
- 2) Why has corruption become the focus of political and scholarly attention in recent years? Why was the study of corruption so neglected in the past?
- 3) What are meant by “moralist,” “revisionist” and “functionalist” approaches? And why are they considered less important now (or no longer valid)? What approaches can we identify now?
- 4) How is corruption measured? And what are some of the problems associated with these measures?
- 5) What is the Principal-Agent approach to political corruption?
- 6) Elaborate on Klitgaard’s formula:  $C = M + D - A$ . What do these terms mean?
- 7) Describe the different typologies of corruption. What criteria can we use to differentiate the various forms of corruption?
- 8) Based on theory and empirical studies, describe the cultural, economic and political factors associated with corruption.
- 9) Describe how specific political institutions facilitate or inhibit corruption.
- 10) What is the link between corruption and democracy?
- 11) What does empirical research show regarding the economic and political consequences of corruption?
- 12) Describe various anti-corruption initiatives?
- 13) What is TI and what type of activities are they involved in? What types of initiatives are TIRI and the World Bank sponsoring?
- 14) How has the mainstream approach to corruption been criticized in recent writings?
- 15) What conclusions can you draw regarding corruption in the US?
- 16) What impact does corruption have at the international level?