

PSCI 384w Seminar in International Politics
Corruption and Governance: Domestic and International

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This course satisfies the requirement of the political science major for a research focused seminar, with one extra credit for the writing requirement. Towards these purposes we will do more reading and discussion than in a regular class, and will spend time honing writing skills. Thematically we will proceed from where most of you are more familiar with, the U.S. and the developed world, before moving to the developing and transitional countries. Requirements include attendance, completion of weekly writing practices (30%), presentation of one reading (10%), reporting of your research progress in class (10%), and a final paper (50%).

Paper topics: (1) identify a corruption problem in a national or international context and argue if it was or is being successfully addressed; (2) identify a corruption problem and argue how it should be addressed; (3) compare anti-corruption strategies in two contexts and argue which one has been more effective and why; (4) identify a corruption problem and make arguments about its causes, harms and cures. The paper should be research based, 10-15 pages, with at least ten credible sources.

Weekly writing practices: (1) Due in every class for all students - a summary of one reading (marked with an * under "Readings") in the form of an outline, including the following elements: (a) author's main argument; (b) supporting arguments and evidence; (c) organizational structure; (2) Optional: present in class one written summary of one reading in the above form (choose from the list under "Presentation"); (3) Discussion of your paper topics, arguments, outlines, structures and sources on a mandatory and/or voluntary basis weekly.

Books available at the bookstore:

Seymour P. Lachman, *Three Men in a Room: The Inside Story of Power and Betrayal in an American Statehouse* (New Press, 2006)

Daniel Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton 2007)

Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak out* (3rd ed., 2003) (either this or Segal below)

Books to purchase online: (also available in the reserve library)

Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment* (Duke 1990)

Cecil Heftel, *End Legalized Bribery* (Seven Locks, 1998) (under \$1 +shipping)

(Optional) Lydia G. Segal, *Battling Corruption in America's Public Schools*

(Tentative) Marshall Goldman, *The Piratization of Russia* (Routledge 2003)

Guide to research writing:

Booth, Williams, and Colomb, eds., *The Craft of Research*, 2nd edition

1. 1/31 Introduction: How do you write a research paper?

Discussion questions: Where do you begin? How do you formulate an argument or a thesis statement? How do you build up sub-arguments and evidence? How do you organize your paper effectively? What is a primary and secondary source? What is your general idea of what corruption is? Are there some broad and major patterns? What is your general impression of corruption domestically and abroad? How do you measure corruption? Do you know how to access the library e-periodicals?

Readings:

Handouts on thesis statements, outlines, organizational structures.

*TI Corruption Perception Index and Barometer, www.transparency.org

*WB Governance Indicators, <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi2007/>

*WB and ERDB Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Surveys, <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/beeps/>

*UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, International Crime Victims Surveys, <http://www.unicri.it/wvd/analysis/icvs/statistics.php>

Practice accessing the library e-periodical:

James A. McCann and David P. Redlawsk, "As Voters Head to the Polls, Will They Perceive a Culture of Corruption?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* Vol.39, No.4 (Oct. 06), pp.797-802

Mark Warren, "Political Corruption as Duplicitous Exclusion," in *ibid.*, pp.803-07

I. Definitions, Causes and Consequences

2. 2/7 Causes: Structural versus Cultural

Discussion questions: universal vs. context-specific causes of corruption?

Readings:

Daniel Treisman, "The causes of corruption: a cross-national study," *Journal of Public Economics*, Vol. 76, No.3 (June 2000), pp.399-457 (ignore the graphs)

Ray Fisman and Edward Miguel, "Cultures of Corruption: Evidence from Diplomatic Parking Tickets," <http://www.cid.harvard.edu/bread/papers/working/122.pdf> pp. 1-21, 23-25.

Presentation:

Robin Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, chapter 1

3. 2/14 Causes: Historical Impact

Discussions questions: What is patrimonialism? As a historical cause of corruption? How is it impacted by modernization, or lack thereof?

*Robin Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, ch. 2, 4 (Please purchase at amazon.com, or find in the Reserve Library)

Presentation:

Samuel Huntington, *Modernization and Corruption*, in Heidenheimer & Johnston, *Political Corruption* (2001), 253-263

Susan Rose-Ackerman, "Political corruption and democratic structures," in A. K. Jain, ed., *The Political Economy of Corruption*

4. 2/21 Consequences: Detrimental and/or Divergent

Discussion questions: economic, political and social effects of corruption? Does the type of corruption make a difference?

Readings:

*Robin Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, chapter 5
Andrew Wedeman, "Looters, Rent-scrappers, and Dividend-collectors:

Corruption and Growth in Zaire, South Korea, and the Philippines," *Journal of Developing Areas*, 31:4 (Summer 1997): 457-78.

Mitchell A. Seligson, "The Impact of Corruption on Regime Legitimacy: A Comparative Study of Four Latin American Countries," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 64, No. 2. (May, 2002), pp. 408-433.

Presentation:

Paulo Mauro, "The Effects of Corruption on Growth, Investment and Government Expenditure: A Cross-Country Analysis," in Kimberly Ann Elliott, ed., *Corruption and the Global Economy* (Institute for International Economics 1997), 83-107

Peter Evans and James Rauch, "Bureaucracy and Growth: A Cross-National Analysis of the Effects of "Weberian" State Structures on Economic Growth," *American Sociological Review*, 64/5 (Oct. 1999)

Discussion of possible paper topics for your research paper

II. Corruption in the Developed World

5. 2/28 Why Is There Still Corruption in Developed Countries?

Discussion questions: Why is there still corruption in an affluent and democratic country? How is it different from what you may have known from a different country on the one hand and from the days of "Gangs of New York" on the other? Does the evolution give you hope? What are the incentives for corruption in a democratic system?

Readings:

*Seymour P. Lachman, *Three Men in a Room: The Inside Story of Power and Betrayal in an American Statehouse* (New Press, 2006)

Presentation:

Oskar Kurer, "Why do voters support corrupt politicians," in A. K. Jain, *Political Economy of Corruption* (Routledge, 1998). pp.63-83

Bronars and Lott, "Do Campaign Funds Alter How a Politician Votes? Or, Do Donors Support Candidates Who Value the Same Things that They Do?" *Journal of Law and Economics* 40 (1997), 317-350

6. 3/06 Campaign Financing: What Does It Corrupt?

Discussion questions: What is the difference between procedural and deliberative democracy? Does campaign financing undermine one or both? Why are major political parties forced to pursue campaign financing? Have business interests captured the U.S. legislative process? What do they gain in return? Do these gains harm public interests? How do you evaluate Congressman Heftel's proposal to end it?

Readings:

*Cecil Heftel, *End Legalized Bribery*, all

Presentation:

Thomas Burke, "The Concept of Corruption in Campaign Finance Law," in Heidenheimer and Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption* (2001)

TI, *Global Corruption Report 2004: Special Focus - Political Finance*, ch.2: 6-37(TI's website)

7. 3/13 Choose one of the options for this week

(1) Non-Business Interest Lobbying: Does It Corrupt?

Discussion questions: Why do some of you feel that some groups are politically more powerful than others, in securing city benefits in NYC? Is non-business lobbying different from business lobbying, from issue advocacy to Christian Action Network, from RNC to AIPAC, and from Teamsters to Non-profits? Does the undue influence of a small minority in determining policy for the vast majority constitute parochial capture of the democratic process? Or is it simply pluralistic politics?

Reading:

Lobby database at:

<http://www.opensecrets.org/lobbyists/overview.asp?txtindextype=1>

Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak out: People and Institutions against Israel's Lobby*, 3rd edition (Lawrence Hill, 2001)

*John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israeli Lobby," *London Review of Books*, March 2006; at http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/print/mear01_.html

(2) Corruption in the Public Sector

From law enforcement to health care, from public education to public construction, from the military to government agencies, are public sectors particularly prone to waste, fraud and corruption? How are services affected? Where and how does accountability fail?

Readings:

Lydia Segal, *Battling Corruption in America's Public Schools* (Harvard 2005)

*Weekly summary – is political decentralization responsible for the problem?

Presentation:

R.T. Naylor, "Corruption in the modern arms business: Lessons from the Pentagon Scandals," in A. K. Jain ed., *Economics of Corruption* (Springer, 1998)

TI, *Global Corruption Report 2006: Special Focus – Health Care* (2006), pp.1-22, http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2006

Discussion of your paper outlines.

III. Corruption in the Developing World

8. 3/20 Kleptocracy I

Discussion questions: Causes, patterns and effects of kleptocracy?

Readings:

TI's list of the world's worst kleptocrats, 2004; click on *Reference #2* at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kleptocracy>

Daniel Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton 2007), chapters 1-3, skim Introduction

Weekly summary: none.

Presentation:

“From the Kleptocratic to the Felonious State?” in Jean-Francois Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou, *The Criminalization of the State in Africa* (Indiana University, 1999), 1-32 (packet)

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder As Political Instrument* (Indiana U Press 1999), chs 7-9

9. 3/27 Kleotocracy II

Discussion questions: how does kleptocracy affect governance and development?

Readings:

Daniel Smith, *A Culture of Corruption*, chapters 4-7, skim conclusion.

Weekly summary: none;

Presentation:

Stephen Knack, “Aid Dependence and the Quality of Governance: Cross-Country Empirical Tests,” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol 68/2 (2001), pp. 310-329

Bruce Berman, “Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State,” *African Studies* 97 (1998): 305-41

Chapters from the two books listed for presentation last week.

Detailed outlines of your paper due

10. 4/03 The Patrimonial State

Discussion questions: How is the source of corruption different from kleptocracy?

Readings:

(Review Theobald’s chapters 2 and 4, from Week 3).

*Robert Wade, “The Market for Public Office: Why the Indian State is not Better at Development,” *World Development* 13 (1985), 467-97 (Please request from ILL)

Botello, Rivera and Redding, “Everything in This Job Is Money: Inside the Mexican Police,” *World Policy Journal*, vol.17 (3) (2000): 61-71

Jorge Nef, “Government Corruption in Latin America,” available at http://www.respondanet.com/ENGLISH/anti_corruption/reports/chapter12.pdf

Presentation:

Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines* (Cornell, 1998), Introduction

Benedict Anderson, “Cacique Democracy in the Philippines,” in *The Specter of Comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*

11. 4/10 Liberalizing and Transitional Economies/Polities

Discussion questions: why does liberalization increase rather than decrease corruption, at least in the short run?

Readings:

*Kurt Weyland, “The Politics of Corruption in Latin America,” *Journal of Democracy*, 9/2 (1998): 108-121

One of the following:

Marshall Goldman, *The Piratization of Russia* (Routledge, 2003), chs. 5-9;

OR:

Daniel Treisman, “Decentralization and the Quality of Government,” available at

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/seminar/2000/fiscal/treisman.pdf>

Yan Sun, "Reform, State and Corruption: Is Corruption less destructive in China than in Russia?" *Comparative Politics*, Oct. 1999, 1-20

Presentation:

Tat Yan Kong, "Corruption and the effect of regime type: the case of Taiwan," *New Political Economy* 9 (3) (2004), 341-364

Discussion of your argument, outlines, sources.

IV. What To Do about Corruption

12. 4/17 Anti-bribery conventions at global levels

Discussion questions: has the FCPA been effective against corruption? Has it hindered American businesses overseas?

Readings:

*Sheffett, Mary Jane. "The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act and the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988: Did They Change Corporate Behavior?" *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 14 Issue 2 (Fall 1995), pp.290-300,

Beck et al., "The Impact of Foreign Corrupt Practices Act on US Exports," *Managerial and Decision Economics*, Vol. 12 (1991), 295-303

Moran, Jon., "Bribery and Corruption: the OECD Convention on Combating the Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions," *Business Ethics: A European Review*, Vol. 8 Issue 3 (July 1999), pp.141-150

Presentation:

William F. Pendergast, "Foreign Corrupt Practices Act: An Overview of Almost Twenty Years of Foreign Bribery Prosecutions," *International Quarterly*, 7/2 (1995), 187-217

Robert Harris, *Political Corruption: In and Beyond the Nation State* (Routledge, 2003), chs. 5, 6 (on international finance, organized crime, smuggling and drug trade)

H. Richard Andreas and Peter Friman, eds, *The Illicit Global Economy and State Power* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), chs. 2, 3, 5 or 6

Discussion of the research and writing of your paper during the spring break.

Spring Break

13. 5/1 Democratic and Civil Service Reforms

Discussion questions: the incentive and checking mechanisms in each reform?

Readings:

*Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, chapter 6

Bohara, Alok K.; Mitchell, Neil J.; Mittendorff, Carl F., "Compound Democracy and the Control of Corruption: A Cross-Country Investigation," *Policy Studies Journal* 32/4 (2004), pp. 481-499

Caroline Van Rijckeghem and Beatrice Weder, "Bureaucratic corruption and the rate of temptation: do wages in the civil service affect corruption, and by how much?" *Journal of Development Economics*, 65/2 (2001), pp.307-31

Presentation:

Rafael RD Di Tella, Ernesto ES Schargrodsy, "The Role of Wages and Auditing

during a Crackdown on Corruption in the City of Buenos Aires,” *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 46/1 (April 2003), pp. 269-292 (please request this paper through the interlibrary loan)

L. S. Guan, “Sustaining Excellence in Government: The Singapore Experience.” *Public Administration and Development* 17(1) (1997)

14. 5/8 Anti-corruption Agencies, Transparency and Mass Media

Discussion questions: why are anti-corruption agencies not always effective?
Why is a free press bad news for corruption?

Readings:

Patrick Meagher, “Anti-corruption agencies: Rhetoric versus Reality,” *Journal of Policy Reform*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2005): 69-103

Anne Brunetti and Beatrice Weber, “A free press is bad news for corruption,” *Journal of Public Economics*, 87/7-8 (2003), pp. 1801-1824

Roumeen Islam, “Does more transparency go along with better governance?” *Journal of Economics and Politics*, 18/2 (2006), pp. 121-67

Present a summary of your finished paper.

For your reference:

Week 1-4 General Concepts

Arnold Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Books, 2001)

Michael Johnston, *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power and Democracy* (Cambridge, 2005)

_____, “The definitions debate,” in A. K. Jain ed., *The Political Economy of Corruption* (Routledge, 2001), 11-29

John A. Gardiner, “Defining Corruption,” *Corruption and Reform* 7/2 (1993): 111-124; reprinted in Heidenheimer and Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption*.”

Paolo Mauro, “Corruption and Growth”, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, CX, 3, (Aug. 1995), 681–712 (don’t worry if you don’t understand the figures)

Paolo Mauro, “Corruption and the Composition of Government Expenditure”, *Journal of Public Economics*, 69/2 (1998), 263–279 (don’t worry about the figures)

Week 5-7 Corruption in the Developed World

Campaign financing:

TI, *Global Corruption Report 2004: Special Focus - Political Finance*, ch.2: 6-37(TI’s web site)

Dan Clawson, Alan Neustadt and Mark Weller, eds., *Dollars and Votes: How Business Campaign Contributions Subvert Democracy* (Temple U, 1998)

Kozsucz, “Non-stop Pursuit of Campaign Funds Increasingly Drives the System,” *Congressional Quarterly* April 5/1997, 770-774 (online)

Michael Johnston, Johnston, “Votes, Money and Good Politics: The Ground Rules of American Political Finance,” www.departments.colgate.edu/polisci/papers

Pujas and Rhodes, “Party Finance and Political Scandal, Comparing Italy, Spain and France,” in H and J

Darrel West, *Checkbook Democracy* (Northeastern, 2000)
Elizabeth Drew, *The Corruption of American Politics: What went wrong and why?*
(Overlook TP, 1998)

Defense sector:

Sanjeev Gupta et al., “Corruption and Military Spending,” George T. Abed and Sanjeev Gupta, eds., *Governance, Corruption, and Economic Performance* (IMF, 2003)
TI, *Global Corruption Report 2004: Special Focus - Political Finance*, 59-75
(defense and military sectors)

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (Owl Books, 2004), esp. chs.4-7

Jeffrey St. Clair, *Grand Theft Pentagon: Tales of Corruption and Profiteering in the War on Terror* (Common Courage Books, 2006)

Municipal administration:

Schlesinger and Meier, “Variations in Corruption among the American States,” in H and J, pp. 627-43 (packet)

Bellis, “Political Corruption in Small, Machine-run Cities,” in Herbert E. Alexander and Gerald E. Caiden, eds., *The Politics and Economics of Organized Crime* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1985) (packet)

Roald Goldstock and Thomas Thacher III., *Corruption and Racketeering in the New York City Construction Industry*, first half

Frank Anechiarico and James B. Jacobs, *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity: How Corruption Control Makes Government Ineffective* (University of Chicago, 1998)

TI, *Global Corruption Report: Special Focus – Construction and Post-conflict Reconstruction* (Plutobooks 2005), 9-65

James L. Merriner, *Grafters and Goo Goos: Corruption and Reform in Chicago, 1833-2003* (South Illinois University, 2004)

Public Sector:

Gupta, Davoodi and Tiongson, “Corruption and the Provision of Health Care and Education Services,” George T. Abed and Sanjeev Gupta, eds., *Governance, Corruption, and Economic Performance*

Cook, “Corruption and Racketeering in the New York City School Boards,” in Kelly, Chin and Schatzberg, eds., *Handbook of Organized Crime in the United States* (Greenwood 1994), pp. 269-288 (packet)

Lydia Segal, “The Pitfalls of Political Decentralization and Proposals for Reform: The Case of New York City Public Schools,” *Public Administration Review* vol. 57 (2) 1997, pp.141-149

Sanja Kutnjak Ivkovic, *Fallen Blue Knights: Controlling Police Corruption* (Oxford, 2005)

TI, *Global Corruption Report 2006: Special Focus – Health Care* (2006), 3-117

“Appendix IV: Summaries of Closed Cases Involving INS or Customs Employees Convicted of Drug-Related Crimes, 1992-1997,” from US General Accounting Office, *Drug Control—INS and Customs Can Do More to Prevent Drug-Related Employee Corruption* (GAO, 1999), pp.35-43

Amir Menachem and Eistein Stanley, *Police Corruption: Paradigms, Models and Concepts: Challenges for Developing Countries* (Office of International Criminal Justice 2004)

Week 8-11 Corruption in Developing Countries

Africa:

Carlos Leite and Jens Weidmann, "Does Mother Nature Corrupt? Natural Resources, Corruption, and Economic Growth," in Abed and Gupta, eds., *Governance, Corruption, and Economic Performance*

Matthias Igbaramah, *Kleptocracy in Nigeria: A Journalist's Account of Four Decades of Kleptomania in the World's Most Populous Black Nation* (Authorhouse, Revised Edition, 2003), ch.5

Kempe Ronald Hope, Sr. and Bornwell C. Chikulo, *Corruption and development in Africa : lessons from country case-studies* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 2000)

The King of Kleptocracy: Mobutu Sese Seko, the Curse of Corruption," in Alec Russell, *Big Men, Little People: The Leaders Who Defined Africa* (NYU 2000): 9-40

Peter Evans, "Predatory, Developmental and Other State Apparatus: A Comparative Analysis of Third World States," *Sociological Forum*, 4 (1989): 1-87

Medard, "Corruption in the Neo-Patrimonial State of Sub-Saharan Africa," and Sindzingre, "A Comparative Analysis of African and East Asian Corruption," in H & J, pp. 379-97, and 441-55

Van de Walle, "Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africa's Emerging Party System," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (2003), 297-321

Asia

David Kang,

Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines* (Cornell, 1998)

Ronald Herring, "Embedded Particularism: India's Failed Developmental State," in Woo-Cumings, *The Developmental State* (Cornell 1999), 306-334 (packet)

Robert Wade,

Latin America:

Special issue on Latin America, in *Crime, Law and Social Change* 28/4 (1996/97)

Special issue, in *Third World Quarterly*, 20/3 (1999)

Liberalizing and decentralization:

World Bank, "Decentralization and Corruption: Cross-country Evidence," at [http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/eap/eap.nsf/Attachments/deccorr3/\\$File/deccorr3.pdf](http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/eap/eap.nsf/Attachments/deccorr3/$File/deccorr3.pdf)

De Mello and Barenstein, "Fiscal Decentralization and Governance: A Cross-country Analysis," in Abed and Gupta, *Governance, Corruption and Economic Performance*

George T. Abed and Hamid R. Davoodi, "Corruption, Structural Reforms, and Economic Performance in the Transition Economies," in Abed and Gupta, eds., *Governance, Corruption, and Economic Performance*, 489-37

Raymond Hinesbuch, "The Political Economy of Liberalization in Syria," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27/3 (1995), 305-20

Post-communist transition:

Yan Sun, Corruption and

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Cornell 2002); Or a more lively account:

*David Satter, *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (Yale University Press 2004)

Paul Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin: The Decline of Russia in the Age of Gangster Capitalism* (Harvest 2002)

David E. Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* (Public Affairs 2003)