

CSS Intensive Seminar on Corruption 2019

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 in May 2018

Assessment: One long essay of 3000 words (inc. notes and references, but excluding bibliography), due no later than **Wednesday 9 October 2019 (tbc)**

Course teacher: Prof. Leslie Holmes, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne, Australia – 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>. For those interested mainly in South-Eastern Europe, do visit <http://rai-see.org/news/south-eastern-europe>. One other very useful (British) on-line reference source is Roy Davies' 'Financial Scandals' webpage at <http://www.ex.ac.uk/~RDavies/arian/scandals/political.html>.

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-tracc.gmu.edu/>

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

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

For more interpretative (and hard copy!) 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). For the two most useful books on corruption in Europe generally see D. Della Porta & Y. Mény (eds.), *Democracy and Corruption in Europe* (1997) and M. Bull and J. Newell, *Corruption in Contemporary Politics* (2003) - while the most useful academic sources 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), and T. Kostadinova, *Political Corruption in Eastern Europe* (2012). 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/>.

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
- 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 'Networks and Linkages: Corruption, Organised Crime,
Corporate Crime and Terrorism', paper presented at the
12th International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC),
Guatemala City, November 2006 (available online at
http://www.12iacc.org/archivos/WS_4.2_HOLMES.PDF)
- L. Holmes (ed.) *Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption: Networks and
Linkages* (2007), ch.1 (by Holmes)
- J. Kawata (ed.) *Comparing Political Corruption and Clientelism* (2006)
- 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)
- 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-

- (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

- 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)
- A. Heidenheimer (ed.) *Political Corruption* (1989), chs. 23, 24, 56 (by Huntington; Leff; Johnston) (these are also in later editions)
- 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)
- 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)
 A. Shleifer & R. Vishny in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 108(3), 1993: 599-617
 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 (latest is 2013). 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), online at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_374_en.pdf
- 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 editions - latest (2017) on-line at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/nations-transit>
- F. Galtung *et al.* The (original) Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer, on-line at 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
- L. Holmes in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 42 (2), 2009: 265-87
- Johnsøn, 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>
- June, R. *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. Kurczewski (paper presented at Budapest Conference, Oct. 1999), on-line at <http://www.coc.ceu.hu/>

- J. Graf Lambsdorff 'Background Paper to the 2004 Corruption Perceptions Index – Framework Document', on-line at http://ww1.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 (2003)
- W. Miller, Å. Grødeland & T. Koshechkina *A Culture of Corruption* (2001)
- Picci, L. 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*, online at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/wop/wobael/3071.html> (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)
- 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
- Schwickerath, A., Varraich, A. & Smith, L-L. (eds.) *How to Research Corruption?* (2017) – available online at 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*, online at <http://www.transparency.org/research>
- Transparency International *Corruption Perceptions Index 2016*, online at https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016
- Transparency International *Global Corruption Barometer 2013* (and parts of 2015-16), online at <http://www.transparency.org/research>
- UNODC *Results of a Pilot Survey of Forty Selected Organized Criminal Groups in Sixteen Countries* (2002) (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

Barr, A. & Serra, D. 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)
- 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)
- J. Hooker in *Cross Cultural Management*, 16 (3), 2009: 251-67 (rule-based vs. relationship-based cultures)
- 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)
- 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
- 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 (free online at <http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~wsandhol/Sandholtz-Taagepera-IRS-3-05.pdf>) (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)
- 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? What impact do levels of state intervention and protectionism, policies on marketisation and privatisation, tax regimes, foreign trade policies, and inequality have on corruption? Are the so-called ‘transition states’ particularly prone to corruption? If so, why?

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)
- 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
(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)
- D. West *Checkbook Democracy* (2000) (on USA)
- R. Williams (ed.) *Party Finance and Political Corruption* (2000)

8. Causes of Corruption 4 – system-related (economic; ideological; international). This seminar builds on previous ones, and focuses primarily on 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. This argument will be compared with the findings of Transparency International, which suggest that New Zealand (a country that has adopted highly neo-liberal policies) is one of the world's least corrupt countries. Is this the exception that proves the rule? 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 apparently have lower rates of corruption than

those that have been more gradualist. The suggestion that the end of the Cold War is another reason for the apparent 'boom' in corruption over the past decade will also be examined. A final dimension of the international explanation to be considered is the impact of colonialism and neo-colonialism (Reno is interesting on this).

Reading

L. Holmes Paper presented at the Princeton University – Central European University Joint Conference on Corruption, Budapest, 29 October – 6 November 1999, esp. 12-23
Online at
http://9iacc.org/papers/day1/ws2/dnld/d1ws2_lholmes.pdf

and

M. Philp in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 36 (4), 2001: 357-77

Also Recommended

M. Andreassen *Brussels Laid Bare* (2009)
F. Anechiarico & J. Jacobs *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity* (1996)
Brooks, G. *Criminology of Corruption* (2016), ch. 11
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
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
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)

- 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)
- C. Stahl, S. Kassa & C. Baez-Camargo *EARF Corruption, Social Norms and Behaviours in East Africa* (2017) (free on-line): 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
- 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)
- 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)
- Crime, Law & Social Change Whole issue, 69 (2), 2018 (on FATF)
- M. Fuszara (paper presented at Budapest Conference, Oct 1999), on-line at <http://www.coc.ceu.hu/>
- 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)
- 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 *2015 Data on Enforcement of the Anti-Bribery Convention* (2016)
- 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), ch. 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’, 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
- Vaughn, R. *The Successes and Failures of Whistleblower Laws* (2012)
- World Bank *Helping Countries Combat Corruption* (2000)