

**CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY
2023-24**

**CORRUPTION, CORRUPTION CONTROL
AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

Instructor:	Professor Agnes Batory (batorya@ceu.edu)	
Class times:	Tuesdays 8.50	
Credits:	2 CEU credits (4 ECTS credits)	
Requirements:	Seminar participation	20%
	Seminar presentation	30%
	Final paper (in class)	50%

INTRODUCTION AND COURSE OBJECTIVES

This interdisciplinary course is an introduction to the study of corruption and corruption control on multiple levels, international, national and local, in the context of (the contested notion of) global governance.

The pervasiveness of corruption imposes substantial and widespread societal costs, impeding economic development, limiting the efficiency of public services, and weakening political institutions by undermining trust in government. The term 'corruption' is understood in ways that are sometimes culturally specific, and cover a broad range of practices. The causes and consequences of corruption have been contested in various literatures.

The purpose of this course is to subject the topic to systematic study, combining insights from several different disciplinary perspectives, including political science, international relations, economics, sociology, and public management. The course will also explore corruption containment and control strategies by examining examples from international practice and case studies. Discussions will engage with the role of government, international organisations and civil society actors, questioning the effectiveness and legitimacy of various interventions be that at the international, national or local level.

The substance of the course spans three main areas:

- The nature, causes and consequences of corruption. The types of questions classroom discussion will address include: Is corruption a result of weak institutions? Is it an inevitable by-product of poverty and low levels of economic development? Can it be a cause? Does it result from weakness or absence of appropriate judicial systems, legal instruments or enforcement?
- Measurement and analytical methods for determining the severity of corruption problems, including a critical assessment of existing measurement tools.
- Mechanisms of control: Corruption harms the poor and disadvantaged most, but some scholars have claimed that its effects are not equally, or exclusively, negative across society. Whether, when and to what extent corruption can, and should, be controlled – and by whom – is therefore another important set of questions.

The most important learning outcome from the course should be the integration of disciplinary perspectives and conceptual frameworks for the analysis of corruption, and familiarity with common control strategies and their applications and limitations in a range of contexts discussed in the classroom.

SEMINAR PARTICIPATION AND READINGS

Seminars will be discussion-based, and their success will therefore depend on participants' contributions to the debate. Each class will involve a presentation prepared by a student or a team of students, depending on class size.

Students will be asked to sign up for seminar presentations in the first week of the course. It is expected that course participants read the assigned literature prior to each class. The 'further readings' listed for each class below will provide additional guidance for presentations and essays, but need not be read for class.

ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

Assessment is based on:

Seminar participation: 20%.

Participation will be assessed on the basis of seminar attendance, demonstration of engagement with the assigned readings, quality of contributions showing analytical insight.

Seminar presentation: 30%.

Seminar presentations, delivered either by individual students or as group presentations (depending on class size) will refer to (but not summarise!) the readings assigned for the class, and utilise and apply them to a particular case or problem the student/s elect/s to discuss. The presentations are intended to start the discussion by providing a practical illustration of the matter at hand.

A list of possible presentation topics will be circulated in week 1, but students will have the possibility to identify other interesting cases for discussion, subject to approval from the instructor. A presentation should take no more than 20 minutes (unless some special interactive presentation idea would require more time in which case the instructor should be consulted in advance). The main aim of the presentation is to start the discussion; the presenters will therefore be expected to prepare an outline and questions for classroom discussion. NOTE: Presenters are required to submit their presentation outline by Monday morning before the class for feedback.

Presentations are assessed on the clarity, quality and originality of arguments, use of additional research and readings, the delivery of the presentation, the degree to which it generates comments and questions, and time keeping. A sample evaluation form is uploaded to e-learning.

c) Final paper: 50%.

A final paper will be an in-class assignment in week 12. Possible topics include

the questions suggested below for each class. The format of the paper should be a standard academic essay. The paper will be assessed on the basis of the structure, focus on the research question, quality of analysis/interpretation; awareness of relevant literature covered, clarity of writing, grammar, style and presentation.

OVERVIEW OF SESSIONS

THE FOUNDATIONS

- 1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINING CORRUPTION
- 2 MEASURING CORRUPTION

DISCIPLINARY APPROACHES AND KEY DEBATES

- 3 SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY: CORRUPTION AND CULTURE
- 4 POLITICAL SCIENCE: CORRUPTION AND DEMOCRACY
- 5 ECONOMICS: CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT

CONTROLLING CORRUPTION: SOME TOOLS AND STRATEGIES

- 6 APPROACHES TO CORRUPTION CONTROL
- 7 COMBATING CORRUPTION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW
- 8 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS: AID CONDITIONALITY AND POLITICAL PRESSURE
- 9 GOVERNMENT RESPONSES: SETTING UP ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCIES
- 10 ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSES: PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND ETHICS MANAGEMENT
- 11 CSO INITIATIVES: USING THE RIGHT TO INFORMATION
- 12 CONCLUSION

1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINING CORRUPTION

- overview of the course
- various definitions of corruption and their implications for analysing and confronting the problem

Required readings:

Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Michael Johnston & Victor de LeVine, 'Terms, Concepts and Definitions: An Introduction', in Heidenheimer, Johnston & de LeVine (eds), *Political Corruption: A Handbook* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1989/1993), pp. 389-404.

Jens Andvig, Odd-Helgee Fjeldstad, Inge Amundsen, Tone Sissener & Tina Soreide, 'Research on corruption: A policy oriented survey'; commissioned by Norad, December 2000, particularly pp. 10-21.

Robert Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988/1991), pp. 69-73.

Further reading:

Goldberg, F. (2018) Corruption and lobbying: conceptual differentiation and gray areas
Crime Law Soc Change 70: 197.

Diego Gambetta, 'Corruption: An Analytical Map', in Stephen Kotkin & Andras Sajo (ed), *Political Corruption in Transition: A Skeptic's Handbook* (Budapest/New York: CEU Press, 2002), pp. 33-56.

Stephen Kotkin, 'Liberalism, Geopolitics, Social Justice', in Kotkin & Sajo, *Political Corruption in Transition*, pp. 33-56.

Kilkon Ko & Cuifen Weng (2011) Critical Review of Conceptual Definitions of Chinese Corruption: a formal-legal perspective, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20:70, 359-378,

Michael Johnston, 'The Search for Definitions: The Vitality of Politics and the Issue of Corruption', in Robert Williams (ed), *Explaining Corruption* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), pp. 280-94.

Rasma Karlkins, 'Capitalism, Corruption, and Something Else: Typology of Post-communist Corruption', *Problems of Post-Communism*, July/August 2002.

Mark Philp, 'Defining Political Corruption', in Paul Heywood (ed), *Political Corruption* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1997), pp. 21-46.

Jeremy Pope, *TI Source Book 2000. Confronting Corruption: The Elements of a National Integrity System* (Transparency International).

Larry J. Sabato & Glenn R. Simpson, *Dirty Little Secrets: The Persistence of Corruption in American Politics* (New York: Random House/Times Books, 1996), especially pp. 18-27.

Glossary of key terms at the U4 Utstein Anti-Corruption Resource Centre.

Ang, Yuen Yuen, 'Beyond Weber: Conceptualizing an alternative ideal type of bureaucracy in developing contexts', *Regulation & Governance* 2016 (early view).

2 MEASURING CORRUPTION

- Can corruption be measured?
- What are the principal strengths and weaknesses of existing survey-based quantitative measures?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative assessments, as compared to quantitative methods, for indicating the severity of corruption in a country?

Required readings:

Gnaldi, M., Del Sarto, S., Falcone, M., & Troia, M. (2021). Measuring Corruption. In *Understanding and Fighting Corruption in Europe* (pp. 43-71). Springer, Cham.
https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-82495-2_4

Beschel R.P. (2018) Measuring Governance: Revisiting the Uses of Corruption and Transparency Indicators. In: Malito D., Umbach G., Bhuta N. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Indicators in Global Governance*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Transparency International, *Corruption Perceptions Index and Bribe Payers Index*
<http://www.transparency.org/research>
World Bank Worldwide Governance Indicators
<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wqi/index.aspx#home>

Further reading:

Jesuit, D. (2022, November). Measuring Corruption in Europe and the USA: Toward an Integrated Approach?. In *Scandal and Corruption in Congress* (pp. 261-280). Emerald Publishing Limited.

<https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/978-1-80117-119-920221020/full/html>

Fazekas, M., Cingolani, L., & Tóth, B. (2018). Innovations in objectively measuring corruption in public procurement. *Governance indicators. Approaches, progress, promise*, 154-185.

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Mihaly-Fazekas/publication/330171233_Innovations_in_Objectively_Measuring_Corruption_in_Public_Procurement/links/5c311be7458515a4c7109b38/Innovations-in-Objectively-Measuring-Corruption-in-Public-Procurement.pdf

Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A., & Mastruzzi, M. (2007). Measuring corruption: myths and realities.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/9576/396030measurin1ion0find27301public1.pdf?sequence=1>

Fazekas, M., Tóth, I.J. & King, L.P. An Objective Corruption Risk Index Using Public Procurement Data, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* (2016) 22: 369.

Alina Mungiu Pippidi (ed), *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research Special Issue: Measuring Corruption In Europe And Beyond*. Volume 22, Issue 3, September 2016

Urueña R. (2018) Activism Through Numbers? The Corruption Perception Index and the Use of Indicators by Civil Society Organisations. In: Malito D., Umbach G., Bhuta

- N. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Indicators in Global Governance*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham
- Brown, A.J. & Heinrich, F. *Crime Law and Social Change*, special issue on National Integrity Systems – An evolving approach to anti-corruption policy evaluation (2017) 68: 283.
- Fredrik Galtung, 'Measuring the Immeasurable: Boundaries and Functions of (Macro) Corruption Indices', in Charles Sampford, Fredrik Galtung, Arthur Shacklock and Carmel Connors (eds), *Measuring Corruption* (Ashgate, 2006).
- Jeremy Pope, *TI Sourcebook 2000*, ch. 4 'The National Integrity System', and *National Integrity System Country Studies*
- Stephen Knack, *Measuring Corruption in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: A critique of the cross-country indicators*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3968, 2006.
<http://www.u4.no/pdf/?file=/document/literature/Knack%20Measuring%20Corruption.pdf>
- Alan Doig & Stephanie McIvor, 'Qualitative versus quantitative corruption measurement: The National Integrity Systems approach', Teeside Business School draft paper at
- Endre Sik, 'The Bad, the Worse and the Worst: Guesstimating the Level of Corruption', in Kotkin & Sajo, *Political Corruption in Transition*, pp. 91-115.
- United Nations Development Programme, *Governance Indicators: A Users' Guide* (New York/Oslo: UNDP, 2004)
- World Bank & European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey*
- Daniel Kaufmann, Aart Kraay & Massimo Mastruzzi, 'Governance matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996-2004', *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* No 3630 (2005).

3 ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY: CORRUPTION, VALUES AND CULTURE

- To what extent is corruption 'universal' as opposed to contextually (culturally) defined?
- Are some cultures more prone to corruption than others?
- Is corruption more likely/prevalent/accepted in the 'South' than the 'North', in the 'East' than the 'West'?
- Can corruption serve a useful social function?
- How does corruption affect different groups in society? What social groups are most likely to be worst affected?

Required reading:

Akhil Gupta, 'Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State', *American Ethnologist* 22 (1995): 2, pp. 375-402.

Torsello, D., & Venard, B. (2016). The Anthropology of Corruption. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 25(1), 34–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492615579081>

Further reading:

- Muir, S., & Gupta, A. (2018). Rethinking the anthropology of corruption: An introduction to supplement 18. *Current Anthropology*, 59(S18), S4-S15.
<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/696161>
- Smith, D. J. (2018). Corruption and “culture” in anthropology and in Nigeria. *Current Anthropology*, 59(S18), S83-S91.
<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/695714>
- Bautista-Beauchesne, 'Corruption and anti-corruption: a folklore problem?'. *N. Crime Law Soc Change* (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-019-09856-3>
- Lee, T.C. (2018) 'Pernicious custom? Corruption, culture, and the efficacy of anti-corruption campaigning in China', *Crime Law Soc Change* 70: 349.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-017-9735-x>
- Jancsics, D. (2013) 'Petty corruption in Central and Eastern Europe: the client's perspective', *Crime Law Soc Change* 60: 319. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-013-9451-0>
- Smart, A. (2018). The unbearable discretion of street-level bureaucrats: corruption and collusion in Hong Kong. *Current Anthropology*, 59(S18), S37-S47.
<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/695694>
- Marcus Marktanner and Maureen Wilson (2018) 'Wasta in the Arab World – An Overview' in Barney Warf (ed) *Handbook on the Geographies of Corruption*. Edward Elgar, 2018.
- Adam Graycar & David Jancsics (2016): Gift Giving and Corruption, *International Journal of Public Administration* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2016.1177833>
- Dieter Haller and Cris Shore (eds), *Corruption : anthropological perspectives*. London : Pluto, 2005
- William L. Miller, Ase Grodeland, & Tatyana Y. Koshechkina, *A Culture of Corruption: Coping with Government in Post-Communist Europe* (Budapest/New York: CEU Press, 2001)
- Jean Cartier-Bresson, 'Corruption Networks, Transaction Security and Illegal Social Exchange'. *Political Studies*, 1997, vol. 45, issue 3, pages 463-476
- Jyoti Khanna & Michael Johnston, 'India's middlemen: connecting by corrupting?' *Crime Law Soc Change* (2007) 48:151–168
- Seymour M Lipset & Gabriel S Lenz, 'Corruption, Culture and Markets', in Lawrence E. Harrison & Samuel Huntington (eds), *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), pp. 112-24.
- Nelson Arteaga Botello & Adrián López Rivera, "Everything in This Job Is Money": Inside the Mexican Police', *World Policy Journal* 17 (2000): 3, pp. 61-70.
- Alena Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchanges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Anna Waiguru, 'Corruption and patronage politics: 'Harambee' in Kenya', in Sampford et al, *Measuring corruption*.
- Alejandro Moreno, 'Corruption and Democracy: A Cultural Assessment', *Comparative Sociology* 1 (2002): 3-4, pp. 497-507.
- Bo Rothstein and Davide Torsello, 'Bribery in preindustrial societies: understanding the universalism-particularism puzzle'. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 70, 2014.

- Are democracies less prone to corruption than non-democratic systems? If so, why?
- How does democratisation affect corruption? Is corruption in a transition setting a by-product of rapid change and instability, or a legacy of previous non-democratic regimes?
- What are the principal normative problems posed by corruption for the quality of democracy?

Required readings:

Monika Bauhr, Nicholas Charron, 'Insider or Outsider? Grand Corruption and Electoral Accountability', *Comparative Political Studies* Vol 51 (2017), Issue 4, pp. 415 - 446

Samuel P Huntington, 'Modernization and Corruption', in Heidenheimer et al, *Political Corruption*, pp. 389-404. (originally in *Political order in changing societies* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 59-71.

Further reading:

Bauhr, M., & Grimes, M. (2021). *Democracy and the quality of government. The Oxford Handbook of the Quality of Government*, 181.

Kubbe, I. (2018) "Europe's "democratic culture" in the fight against corruption', *Crime Law Soc Change* (2018) 70: 217. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-017-9728-9>

Saha, S., Gounder, R., Campbell, N. et al. (2014) *Crime Law Soc Change* 61: 287

de Sousa, L. & Moriconi, (2013) Why voters do not throw the rascals out?—A conceptual framework for analysing electoral punishment of corruption, *M. Crime Law Soc Change* 60: 471. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-013-9483-5>

Bågenholm, A. 'Throwing the rascals out? The electoral effects of corruption allegations and corruption scandals in Europe 1981–2012'. *Crime Law Soc Change* (2013) 60: 595. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-013-9482-6>

J. Moran, 'Democratic transitions and forms of corruption', *Crime, Law and Social Change* 36 (2001) 4, pp. 379-93.

Lagunes, P. F. (2012), Corruption's Challenge to Democracy: A Review of the Issues. *Politics & Policy*, 40: 802–826. [doi:10.1111/j.1747-1346.2012.00384.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-1346.2012.00384.x)

Kim Q. Hill, 'Democratization and corruption: Systematic evidence from the American states', *American Politics Research* 31 (2003): 6, pp. 613-31.

Mark E. Warren, 'What Does Corruption Mean in a Democracy?', *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2004): 2, pp. 328-43.

Christopher J. Anderson, 'Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes toward Government in Contemporary Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2003): 1, 91-109.

Oskar Kurer, 'Corruption: An Alternative Approach to its Definition and Measurement', *Political Studies* 53 (2005), pp. 222-39.

Alok K. Bohara, Neil Mitchell, and Carl Mittendorf, 'Compound Democracy and the Control of Corruption: A Cross-Country Investigation', *The Policy Studies Journal* 32 (2004): 4, pp. 481-99.

Joseph S. Nye, 'Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis', in Heidenheimer et al, *Political Corruption*, pp. 963-83.

- Susan Rose-Ackerman, 'Democracy and 'Grand' Corruption', in Williams, *Explaining Corruption*, pp. 365-378.
- James E Alt & David D. Lassen, 'The Political Economy of Institutions and Corruption in American States', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15 (2003): 3, pp. 341-65.
- Kunicová, J. (2006) 'Democratic institutions and corruption: incentives and constraints in politics', in Rose-Ackerman, *International Handbook on the Economics of Corruption* (Edvard Elgar, 2006).
- Rothstein, B. (2011) *The quality of government : corruption, social trust, and inequality in international perspective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

5 ECONOMICS: CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT

- Does poverty breed corruption? What is the link between levels of economic development and corruption?
- Is there a relationship between levels of corruption and the 'size' of government? (Is corruption caused by 'big government')? What are the implications of this assumption for anti-corruption policy prescriptions?
- Under what conditions is 'state capture' most likely to occur?

Required readings:

Toke S. Aidt, Corruption, institutions, and economic development, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Summer 2009, Pages 271–291, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grp012>

Jonathan Hopkin, 'States, Markets, and Corruption: A Review of Some Recent Literature', *Review of International Political Economy* 9 (2003): 3, pp. 574-90.

Further reading:

Shrabani Saha, Mohamed Sami Ben Ali, Corruption and Economic Development: New Evidence from the Middle Eastern and North African Countries":

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0313592616301400>

Leff, N. H. (1964). Economic Development Through Bureaucratic Corruption. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 8(3), 8–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000276426400800303>

Campos, Nauro F. and Dimova, Ralitzka D. and Saleh, Ahmad, Whither Corruption? A Quantitative Survey of the Literature on Corruption and Growth (December 2010). IZA Discussion Paper. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp5334.pdf>

Toke S. Aidt; Corruption, institutions, and economic development. *Oxf Rev Econ Policy* 2009; 25 (2): 271-291. doi: 10.1093/oxrep/grp012

Nathaniel H. Leff, 'Economic Development Through Bureaucratic Corruption', in Heidenheimer et al, *Political Corruption*, pp. 389-404.

Daniel Kaufmann & Aart Kraay, 'Governance and Growth: Causality Which Way?', *World Bank Working Paper* 2003.

William Easterly, *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), chapter on Corruption and Growth.

Joel S. Hellman, Geraint Jones & Daniel Kaufmann, "Seize the state, seize the day": State capture, corruption, and influence in transition', *World Bank Policy Research Paper* No. 2444 (2000).

- Susan Rose-Ackerman, 'Governance and Corruption', in Bjorn Lomborg (ed), *Global Crises, Global Solutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 301-45.
- Susan Rose-Ackerman, 'The political economy of corruption', in Kimberly A. Elliott (ed), *Corruption and the global economy* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics, 1997), pp. 31-60.
- Ting Gong, 'Forms and Characteristics of China's Corruption in the 1990s: Change with Continuity', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30 (1997): 3, pp. 277-88, reprinted in Robert Williams & Robin Theobald (eds), *Corruption in the Developing World* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000).
- Alan Doig & Stephanie McIvor, 'Corruption and Its Control in the Developmental Context: An Analysis and Selective Review of the Literature', *Third World Quarterly* 20 (1999): 3, pp. 657-76.
- Paolo Mauro; Corruption and Growth. *Q J Econ* 1995; 110 (3): 681-712. doi: 10.2307/2946696
- Aidt, T. S. (2003), Economic analysis of corruption: a survey*. *The Economic Journal*, 113: F632–F652. doi:10.1046/j.0013-0133.2003.00171.x
- Michael T. Rock and Heidi Bonnett (2004), *The Comparative Politics of Corruption: Accounting for the East Asian Paradox in Empirical Studies of Corruption, Growth and Investment*, *World Development* Volume 32, Issue 6, June 2004, Pages 999-1017

6 APPROACHES TO CORRUPTION CONTROL

- Can, and should, corruption be controlled?
- Is there an 'acceptable' level of corruption? If yes, how could one determine what that level is in a given society?
- What are the major approaches to corruption control, and what are their principal strengths and weaknesses?

Required readings:

Robert Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988/1991), pp. 74-97.

Rothstein, B. (2021). 'A New Strategy for Anti-Corruption' In *Controlling corruption: The social contract approach*. Oxford University Press, USA.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192894908.003.0001>

Further reading:

Bo Rothstein (2011): Anti-corruption: the indirect 'big bang' approach, *Review of International Political Economy*, 18:2, 228-250

Di Donato L. Behavioural research and corruption: A new promise for governments?. *European Law Journal*. 2018;1–14.

Moene, K., & Søreide, T. (2016). Corruption control. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 66(2), 147-163.
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10611-016-9618-6>

- Persson, Anna Bo Rothstein, Jan Teorell (2013) Why Anticorruption Reforms Fail— Systemic Corruption as a Collective Action Problem, *Governance: 26: 3, 449–471*
- Marquette H, Peiffer C. Grappling with the “real politics” of systemic corruption: Theoretical debates versus “real-world” functions. *Governance*. 2018;31:499–514.
- Frank Anechiarico & James B. Jacobs, *The pursuit of absolute integrity: How corruption control makes government ineffective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 18-28.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. "Becoming Denmark: Historical Designs of Corruption Control." *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, vol. 80 no. 4, 2013, p. 1259-1286. Project MUSE muse.jhu.edu/article/541995.
- Karlkins, *The system made me do it*, Chapters 9 and 10.
- Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, 'Corruption: Diagnosis and treatment', *Journal of Democracy* 17 (2006): 3, pp. 86-99.
- Agnes Batory, 'Why do anti-corruption laws fail in Central Eastern Europe? A target compliance perspective', *Regulation & Governance* 6 (2012): 6.
- Steven Sampson, 'Integrity Warriors: Global morality and the anti-corruption movement in the Balkans, in Haller and Shore, *Corruption: Anthropological perspectives*, pp. 103-30.
- de Sousa, Luis, Peter Larmour and Barry Hindess (eds) (2009) *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption The New Integrity Warriors* (Routledge)
- Hans Krause Hansen & Agata Stachowicz-Stanusch, 'Varieties of corruption control: Introduction to special issue', *Crime Law Soc Change* (2013) 60:115–126

7 COMBATING CORRUPTION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL LAW

Guest lecturer: TBC

Reading material will be uploaded prior to the class.

8 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS: POLITICAL PRESSURE AND CONDITIONALITY

- Does corruption call for a global/international response?
- How effective has the 'international community' been in fighting corruption?
- What are the principal advantages and disadvantages of aid/loan/membership conditionality as a tool for combating corruption?
- Under what conditions can conditionality be an effective tool to fight corruption?

Required readings:

Richter, S., & Wunsch, N. (2020). Money, power, glory: the linkages between EU conditionality and state capture in the Western Balkans. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27(1), 41-62.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13501763.2019.1578815>

Carlos Santiso, 'Development finance, governance and conditionality: Politics matters', *International Public Management Journal*, 7(1), (2004) 73–100

Further reading:

Mihály Fazekas and Lawrence Peter King (2018) Perils of development funding? The tale of EU Funds and grand corruption in Central and Eastern Europe', *Regulation and Governance*.

Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., & Stubbs, T. (2021). Creating crony capitalism: neoliberal globalization and the fueling of corruption. *Socio-Economic Review*, 19(2), 607-634. <https://academic.oup.com/ser/article/19/2/607/5566436>

Ekwueme, E. (2021). Modulating corruption and money laundering through the Bretton Woods Institutions: the case of less developed countries (LDCs). *Journal of Money Laundering Control*. <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JMLC-03-2021-0026/full/html>

Reinsberg, B. , Stubbs, T. , Kentikelenis, A. and King, L. (2019), Bad governance: How privatization increases corruption in the developing world. *Regulation & Governance*. doi:10.1111/rego.12265

Vachudova, M. A. (2009), Corruption and Compliance in the EU's Post-Communist Members and Candidates. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47: 43–62. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2009.02013.x

Tanja Borzel, Andreas Stahn and Yasemin Pamuk, 'The EU and the fight against corruption in its near abroad: can it make a difference?' *Global Crime*, 11/ 2, 2010: 122-44.

Luis de Sousa, Peter Larmour and Barry Hindess (eds) (2009) *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption The New Integrity Warriors* (Routledge)

Dimitrova, Antoaneta L.(2010) 'The new member states of the EU in the aftermath of enlargement: Do new European rules remain empty shells? ', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17: 1, 137 — 148

Global Crime, Volume 11 Issue 2, 2010, special issue on Anti-Corruption for Eastern Europe, edited by Holger Moroff; Diana Schmidt-Pfister.

Agnes Batory, 'Post-accession malaise? EU conditionality, domestic politics and anti-corruption policy in Hungary', *Global Crime* 11 (2010): 2, pp. 164 — 177.

Alan Doig and Heather Marquette, 'Corruption and democratisation: the litmus test of international donor agency intentions?' *Futures* 37 (2005) 199–213

George T. Abed & Sanjeev Gupta, 'The Economics of Corruption: An Overview', in Abed & Gupta, *Governance, Corruption, and Economic Performance* (International Monetary Fund 2002) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/nft/2002/govern/>

Arye L. Hillman, 'Corruption and Public Finance: An IMF Perspective', *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2004): 1067-77.

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Susan Hawley, 'Financing corruption? The Role of Multilateral Development Banks and Export Credit Agencies', in Transparency International, *Global Corruption Report 2005*, 55-64.

Ed Brown & Jonathan Cloke, 'Neoliberal Reform, Governance and Corruption in the South: Assessing the International Anti-Corruption Crusade', *Antipode* (2004), 273-97.

- Mushtaq H. Khan 'Corruption and Governance in Early Capitalism: World Bank Strategies and their Limitations' in Pincus, J. and Winters, J. (eds) *Reinventing the World Bank*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2002
- Heather Marquette, 'The Creeping Politicisation of the World Bank: The Case of Corruption', *Political Studies* 52 (2004), pp. 413-30.
- Jens Christopher Andvig, 'Perspective Paper 6.1', in Lomborg, *Global Crises*, pp. 345-54.

9 GOVERNMENT RESPONSES: SETTING UP AND EMPOWERING ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCIES

- What were the conditions for the Hong Kong ICAC's success?
- Can the Hong Kong model be replicated? Or are successful institutional responses necessarily 'home-grown'?
- Why and how are anti-corruption agencies set up? What is the 'life-cycle' of institutional responses to corruption?
- Can a national anti-corruption agency actually make matters worse?

Required readings:

Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, Chapter 4: 'Graft Busters: When and How to Set up an Anticorruption Agency.

Amundsen, I., & Jackson, D. (2021). Rethinking anti-corruption in de-democratising regimes. *U4 Anti-corruption Resource Center. CHR. Michelsen Institute*.
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Further reading:

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- Agnes Batory (2012) 'Political cycles and organisational life cycles: Delegation to anti-corruption agencies in Central Europe', *Governance* 25 (2012): 4
- Moshe Maor, 'Feeling the Heat? Anticorruption Mechanisms in Comparative Perspective', *Governance* 17 (2004): 1, pp. 1-28.
- Quah, J.S. (2010) 'Defying institutional failure: learning from the experiences of anti-corruption agencies in four Asian countries' *Crime Law Soc Change* (2010) 53: 23. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-009-9213-1>
- Krajewska, A. & Makowski, (2017) 'Corruption, anti-corruption and human rights: the case of Poland's integrity system', *G. Crime Law Soc Change* (2017) 68: 325. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-017-9710-6>

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- Gabriel Kuris (2015) Watchdogs or guard dogs: Do anti-corruption agencies need strong teeth?, *Policy and Society*, 34:2, 125-135
- Luís de Sousa, 'Anti-corruption agencies: between empowerment and irrelevance', *Crime Law and Social Change* 53: (2010) 5–22
- Patrick Meagher, 'Anti-corruption Agencies: Rhetoric versus Reality', *Journal of Policy Reform* 8 (2005): 1, pp. 69-103.
- Alan Doig, David Watt & Robert Williams, 'Measuring 'success' in five African Anti-Corruption Commissions', 4U – Utstein Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 2005
- Michael Johnston, 'A Brief History of Anti-Corruption Agencies', and Jon S. T. Quah, 'Combating Corruption in South Korea and Thailand', both in Schedler et al, *The Self-reinstating State*, pp. 217-26, and 245-57, respectively.
- Jeremy Pope, 'The Need for, and Role of, an Independent Anti-Corruption Agency', Transparency International Working Paper 1999.
- Salvatore Sberna, Alberto Vannucci, "It's the politics, stupid!". The politicization of anti-corruption in Italy. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, December 2013, Volume 60, Issue 5, pp 565-593

10 GOVERNMENT AND ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSES: PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND ETHICS MANAGEMENT

- Does ethical climate in an organisation matter for individuals' propensity to engage in corruption, and if so how?
- Can an ethical climate be fostered in organisations? Can personal ethics be 'managed'? Should it be?
- What are the principal public management approaches and measures for combating corruption in public sector organisations?

Required readings:

Maesschalck Jeroen (2005), "Approaches to ethics management in the public sector: a proposed extension of the compliance-integrity continuum." *Public Integrity*. 7 (1), pp. 21-41.

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Recommended readings:

Kolthoff, E. (2020). Criminological responses to corruption. In *Handbook on corruption, ethics and integrity in public administration* (pp. 434-448). Edward Elgar Publishing.
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- Andreea Năstase (2013) *Managing Ethics in the European Commission Services*, *Public Management Review*, 15:1, 63-81, DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2012.664016
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- Graeff, P. (2016). Ethics and Corruption: An Introduction to the Special Issue. *German Law Journal*, 17(1), 1-6. doi:10.1017/S2071832200019647
- Maesschalck, J., Bertok, J. (2009), *Towards a sound integrity framework: instruments, processes, structures and conditions for implementation*. Paris: OECD.
- Lawton, A. and Doig, A. 2005. *Researching Ethics for Public Service Organisations: The View from Europe*. *Public Integrity*, 8(1): 11–33
- Maesschalck, J. 2004. The impact of New Public Management reforms on public servants' ethics: towards a theory. *Public Administration*, 82(2): 465–89
- Menzel, D. C. 2001. “Ethics Management in Public Organizations: What, Why and How?”. In *Handbook of Administrative Ethics*, Edited by: Cooper, T. L. 355–66. New York and Basel: Marcel Dekker
- Behnke N, and J Maesshalk. “Integrity systems at work: Theoretical and empirical foundations” *Public Administration Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 3/4, 2006, pp. 263–272
- Horton S (2006) *New Public Management: Its impact on public servant’s identity*. An introduction to this symposium. *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 19(6): 533–542

11 LOCAL CSO INITIATIVES: USING THE RIGHT TO INFORMATION

- What are the principal opportunities and limitations of using the right to information in the fight against corruption?
- What sort of conditions are necessary for making local civil society initiatives successful? What factors would cause them to fail?

Required readings:

Aruna Roy & Nikhil Dey, ‘Fighting for the Right to Know in India’.
<http://www.freedominfo.org/documents/rtiessay.pdf>

Donatella della Porta (2017) ‘Anti-corruption from below: Social movements against corruption in late neoliberalism’, *PACO*, Issue 10(3) 2017: 661-692

Further reading:

Verdenicci, S. & Hough, D. (2015) ‘People power and anti-corruption; demystifying citizen-centred approaches’ *Crime Law Soc Change* 64: 23.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-015-9585-3>

Kolthoff, E. (2020). *Criminological responses to corruption*. In *Handbook on corruption, ethics and integrity in public administration* (pp. 434-448). Edward Elgar Publishing.
https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Emile-Kolthoff/publication/351067373_Criminological_responses_to_corruption/links/6082a73d8ea909241e1b29ae/Criminological-responses-to-corruption.pdf

- Pirro, A. L., & Della Porta, D. (2021). On corruption and state capture: the struggle of anti-corruption activism in Hungary. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73(3), 433-450.
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09668136.2020.1798684>
- Pereyra, S. (2019). Corruption scandals and anti-corruption policies in Argentina. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 11(3), 348-361.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1866802X19894791>
- Benjamin A. Olken, "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia," *Journal of Political Economy* 115, no. 2 (April 2007): 200-249.
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- Rob Jenkins and Anne Marie Goetz, 'Accounts and accountability: Theoretical implications of the right-to-information movement in India', *Third World Quarterly* 20 (1999): 3, pp. 603-22.
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- Peisakhin L, Pinto P (2010) Is transparency an effective anti-corruption strategy? Evidence from a field experiment in India. *Regulation and Governance* 4, 261–280.
- Roberts, A. (2010), A Great and Revolutionary Law? The First Four Years of India's Right to Information Act. *Public Administration Review*, 70: 925–933.
 doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2010.02224.x
- Themudo, Nino (2013), 'Reassessing the Impact of Civil Society: Nonprofit Sector, Press Freedom, and Corruption', *Governance* 26 (2013): 1, pp 1468-0491
- Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, 'Corruption control through collective action', *Journal of Democracy* 24 (2013): 1, pp 1-1-116
- Alexander Kashumov & Kiril Terziiski, *Access to Information Litigation in Bulgaria: Selected Cases* (Sofia: Access to Information Programme Bulgaria, 2004).
- Peter Eigen, 'The Role of Civil Society', in UNDP, *Corruption and Integrity Initiatives in Developing Countries*
- Transparency International, *Global Corruption Report 2003: Access to Information*
<http://www.globalcorruptionreport.org/gcr2003.html>
- Susan Coté-Freeman, 'What NGOs Can Do Against Corruption', *Transparency International Working Paper* (1999).

12 CONCLUSION

No new reading for this class.