

**Colgate University – Department of Political Science**  
**Pol Sci 313: Political Corruption Fall, 2008**  
**MWF 9:20-10:10, 109 Persson Hall**

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Ofc hrs MWF 11:20-12:30 or by appointment

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What are the acceptable ways to use, pursue, and exchange wealth and power—and what is unacceptable? Over the past generation corruption in its various forms has received long-overdue attention as a problem of development and justice. Corruption is often discussed in the kinds of language and symbolism reserved for life-threatening diseases. Often, however, it becomes deeply entrenched and can survive for a very long time. It occurs in a variety of forms reflecting important aspects of the historical and social setting; thus, generalizations that hold true, and reforms that offer benefits, in one society may be completely wrong in another. Much discussion has focused on corruption in developing countries, with affluent market democracies advocating their own institutions and experiences as models for reform, but we must remember that we have corruption problems too, and that our actions and institutions help shape the corruption problems of third-world countries.

Corruption is a form of political influence and at one level can be studied much as we would any other. In another sense, though, it can be a symbol of deeper political, economic, and developmental problems. Corruption is also difficult to define; looked at one way, it involves the breaking of laws and institutional rules, but in other ways it is what people think it is and exists where they think they see it. Thus, in most societies there are gray areas where the rules applying to connections between wealth and power are changing and hotly contested. Perhaps most important, corruption usually benefits the "haves" at the expense of the "have-nots"; it is one reason why poor and undemocratic countries remain poor and undemocratic. Thus, while there is no reason why we should not compare and criticize corruption problems in a wide range of countries, our task is to analyze, not just condemn. This we will do in comparative fashion, looking at the United States at times but also taking up a number of other cases, international development issues, and possible reforms.

The following texts have been ordered through the bookstore:

Anechiarico and Jacobs, *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity*

Heidenheimer and Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (3d ed.)

Johnston (ed.), *Civil Society and Corruption*

Johnston, *Syndromes of Corruption*

Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*

Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption and Government*

Warner, *The Best System Money Can Buy*

Other items marked "@" will be available on the class web site, either in full text or as links.

Term Papers and Data: As noted below, you'll write a term paper as part of the course requirements. But we will set up that task in a somewhat different way: each student will be a member of a 3-5 person research group working on a common theme: corruption and poverty, cultural issues, and South American cases are just a few examples. We'll say more about possible themes later in the term, and suggestions are welcome. Each member of the group will write his or her own paper on some aspect of the group theme, but groups will also meet to discuss

common issues, share and discuss readings and, where possible, settle on some common sub-themes and conclusions. I will meet with and advise groups as much as they wish. Toward the end of the term we will have a symposium of sorts, in one or two evening sessions featuring various amounts of unhealthy food, at which every student and group will briefly present research and findings for discussion by the whole class. Each paper will be graded separately, so you will not suffer if another member of your group performs below expectations. However, members of groups achieving superior levels of quality and coherence will receive grade bonuses worth up to ten per cent of the course grade.

If you are statistically inclined, or would just like to learn a bit of basic statistics while illustrating points in your term paper, I have many datasets I will gladly make available—see me for suggestions and details. Our website will also have links to a variety of data sources. Finally, a veritable ocean of statistical data, case studies, and official reports are out there on the net.—I'll be happy to make suggestions

Role-playing exercise: We will also have a group role-playing exercise exploring some of the corruption problems arising as businesses get involved in developing nations. That will likely also be an evening session. Stay tuned for details; if you've ever wanted to be a company director, consultant, stockholder, or CEO, you'll enjoy this exercise.

Your obligations: Requirements include regular attendance and active participation in class discussion (15%); take-home midterm (20%, due October 17) and final (25%, due 11AM on December 16) exams, and a research paper (40%, to be presented after Thanksgiving break and due on December 8). Questions for the exams, and a style guide for all written work, will be posted on our website at times to be announced in class. Written assignments must be submitted in hard-copy form according to procedures to be specified in class; no email or other electronic submissions will be accepted. Quizzes may be given at any time, and cannot be made up if missed. Also, important statements on computer use, electronic equipment, and writing appear at the end of this syllabus; please read them carefully.

Here is an approximate schedule of topics and readings:

**Sept. 1                      Introduction**

**Sept. 3-8                  What is Corruption?**

Required:            @ Johnston, "Keeping the Answers and Changing the Questions"  
                             Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, Ch. 1  
                             Heidenheimer and Johnston (hereafter, "H&J"):  
   Introduction to Part I, pp. 3-14  
   Gardiner, "Defining Corruption", pp. 25-40  
   Peters and Welch, "Gradients of Corruption in Perceptions of American  
   Public Life", pp. 155-172

Recommended: Johnston, "Right and Wrong in American Politics", pp. 173-191  
                             Philp, "Conceptualizing Political Corruption", pp. 41-57

**Sept. 10, 12 From Classical to Modern Concepts: Wealth, Power, and the Emergence of a Public Domain**

- Required: H&J:  
Heidenheimer, "Perspectives on the Perception of Corruption", pp. 141-154  
Friedrich, "Corruption Concepts in Historical Perspective", pp. 15-23  
van Klaveren, "Corruption as a Historical Phenomenon", pp. 83-94
- Recommended: Genaux, "Early Modern Corruption in English and French Fields of Vision", pp. 107-121  
Clayton Roberts, *The Growth of Responsible Government in Stuart England*  
Linda L. Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*

**Sept. 15-19 Comparisons and Measurement**

- Required: Johnston, *Syndromes of Corruption*, Ch. 1,2  
Scott, "Handling Historical Comparisons Cross-Nationally", pp. 123-136  
@ Johnston, "Bringing the Metrics Down to Earth"  
H&J: Johnston, "Measuring the New Corruption Rankings", pp. 865-884  
@ Transparency International, 2007 Corruption Perception Index  
(see External Links" area of our website, or  
[http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/surveys\\_indices/cpi/2007](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2007)
- Recommended: @Abramo, "How Much Do Perceptions of Corruption Really Tell Us?"  
@Arndt, Christiane, and Charles Oman. 2006. *Uses and Abuses of Governance Indicators*. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Development Centre Series.  
@Cameron, Lisa A., Ananish Chaudhuri, Nisvan Erkal and Lata Gangadharan. 2005."Do Attitudes toward Corruption Differ across Cultures? Experimental Evidence from Australia, India, Indonesia and Singapore."  
[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=778464](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=778464)  
@Kaufmann, D, and A. Kraay. 2008. *Governance Indicators: Where Are We, Where Should We Be Going?* World Bank Institute Policy Research Paper 4370. Available at  
[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1019685](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1019685)  
@Sampford, Charles, Arthur Shacklock, Carmel Connors, and Fredrik Galtung, eds. 2006. *Measuring Corruption*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

**Sep. 22-29 Political and Economic Development Issues**

- Required: @Yan Sun, "Reform, State, and Corruption: Is Corruption Less Destructive in China than in Russia?" *Comparative Politics*, 1999
- H&J:  
Leys, "What is the Problem about Corruption?", pp. 59-73  
Huntington, "Modernization and Corruption", pp. 253-263  
Nye, "Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis", pp. 281-300  
Leff, "Economic Development through Bureaucratic Corruption", pp. 307-320  
Bardhan, "Corruption and Development: A Review of Issues", pp. 321-338  
Rose-Ackerman, "When is Corruption Harmful?" pp. 353-371  
@ Sun and Johnston, "Does Democracy Check Corruption? Insights from China and India"

Recommended: H&J:

Khan, "Patron Client Networks and the Economic Effects of Corruption in Asia", pp. 467-488

Mauro, "The Effects of Corruption on Growth and Public Expenditure", pp. 339-352

**Oct. 1-10 Four Syndromes of Corruption**

Required: Johnston, *Syndromes*, Ch. 3-7

Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 6

H&J:

Médard, "Corruption in the Neo-Patrimonial States of Sub-Saharan Africa", pp. 379-402

Sindzingre, "A Comparative Analysis of African and East Asian Corruption" pp. 441-460

Hutchcroft, "The Politics of Privilege: Rents and Corruption in Asia", pp. 489-512

Recommended: H&J:

DiFranceisco and Gitelman, "Soviet Political Culture and Modes of Covert Influence", pp. 539-558

Hao, Johnston "Corruption and the Future of Economic Reform in China" pp. 583-604

Werner, "The Development of Political Corruption in Israel", pp. 199-220

Lodge, "Political Corruption in South Africa", pp. 403-424

**Oct. 13-17, 22, 24 Corruption in America I: Machines and the Dubious Legacy of Reform**

Required: Anechiarico and Jacobs, Parts I, II (Ch. 1-5)

H&J:

Swart, "The Sale of Public Offices", pp. 95-106

Scott, "Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change", pp. 221-231

Etzioni-Halevy, "Exchanging Material Benefits for Political Support", pp. 233-248

Schlesinger, Meier, "Variations in Corruption among the American States", pp. 627-644

**October 17 TAKE-HOME MIDTERM DUE, IN CLASS**

October 20 Fall Recess

**Oct. 27, Nov5 Corruption in America II: Watergate and Campaign Finance Reform**

Required: @ Brookings Institution, *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook*,

Ch. 1-3, 6-8, 10 (other chapters recommended):

<http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/newsourcebk.htm>

H&J:

Burke, "Corruption Concepts and Federal Campaign Finance Law", pp. 645-664

Moroff, "American and German Fund-Raising Fiascoes and their Aftermath" pp. 687-710

Della Porta and Vannucci, "Corrupt Exchanges and the Implosion of the Italian Party System", pp. 717-737

Pujas and Rhodes, "Party Finance and Political Scandal: Comparing Italy, Spain, and France", pp. 739-760

### **Nov. 7-14 Corruption Control I: Adaptation and Response**

Required: Johnston (ed.), *Civil Society and Corruption*, Ch. 1-4, 9

Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 1-3, 7, 8

H&J:

Alam, "A Theory of Limits on Corruption and Some Applications", pp. 819-833

Pharr, "Public Trust and Corruption in Japan", pp. 835-859

Miller *et. al.*, "Bribery and Other Ways of Coping with Officialdom in Post-Communist Eastern Europe", pp. 559-581

Whitehead, "High Level Political Corruption in Latin America: A 'Transitional' Phenomenon?", pp. 801-817

### **Nov. 17-24 Controlling Corruption II: Analysis**

Required: Anechiarico and Jacobs, Parts III-V (Ch. 6-12)

Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 4, 5, 9

Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, Ch. 2-5

Warner, *The Best System Money Can Buy*, Ch. TBA

H&J:

Blankenburg, "Judicial Anti-corruption Initiatives", pp. 911-923

Elliott, "Corruption as an International Policy Problem", pp. 925-941

Heidenheimer and Moroff, "Controlling Business Payments to Foreign Officials: The OECD Anti-Bribery Convention", pp. 943-959

### **Dec. 1-5 Controlling Corruption III: Cases**

Required: Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 10-12

Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, Ch. 6-conclusion

Warner, *The Best System Money Can Buy*, Ch. TBA

Johnston (ed.), *Civil Society and Corruption*, Ch. 5-8

Recommended: H&J:

Kpundeh, "The Institutional Framework for Corruption Control in Uganda", pp. 425-440

Quah, "Responses to Corruption in Asian Societies", PP. 513-532

### **Dec 8, 10 The Long View: Corruption and Deep Democratization**

Required: Johnston, *Syndromes*, Ch. 8

@Johnston, "Political Finance Policy, Parties, and Democratic Development"

### **December 8: TERM PAPER DUE, IN CLASS**

### **Dec. 12 Conclusions and Review**

**December 16 (Tuesday), 11 AM: TAKE-HOME FINAL due** (details for submitting exams to be announced in class)

### IMPORTANT NOTICES:

Computing: Responsible computer use includes making backup copies of your work sufficient to prevent its being lost because of hardware or software problems, accidents, or theft, and scheduling your work so you do not run into problems of last-minute access to equipment. In this connection, you are advised that in this course, no computing problem of any sort will be accepted as an excuse for missing a deadline, or for problems in the content or presentation of your work.

Writing: For all of your written assignments, the quality of your writing will be a component of your grade. This includes considerations such as spelling and punctuation, sentence structure, and presentation, as well as organization and precision of your writing. I will post a style sheet to use in preparing your paper. For help with these matters, please consult with me and/or with the writing center.

Electronic devices: No electronic equipment of any form may be used during class unless explicitly authorized by me. This includes, but is not limited to, computers, PDAs, and cellular telephones. Cell phones must be turned off for the duration of class. If your phone rings in my class, you will wish it hadn't.