

Colgate University – Department of Political Science
Pol Sci 313: Political Corruption Fall, 2006
MWF 9:20-10:10, 109 Persson Hall

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Ofc hrs MWF 10:30-Noon
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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*
Klitgaard et. al., *Corrupt Cities*
Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption and Government*

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

Your obligations: Requirements include regular attendance and active participation in class discussion (15%); take-home midterm (20%, due October 6) and final (25%) exams, and a research paper (40%, due Nov. 17) on a topic to be negotiated with me. Questions for the exams, a style guide for all written work, and an assignment sheet for the paper 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:

Aug. 28 Introduction

Aug. 30-Sep. 4 What is Corruption?

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

**Sep. 6, 8 From Classical to Modern Concepts: Wealth, Power, and the Emergence of
a "Public" Domain**

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
Genux, "Early Modern Corruption in English and French
Fields of Vision", pp. 107-121

Sep. 11-18 Political and Economic Development Issues

Johnston, *Syndromes*, Ch. 1-3
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
Mauro, "The Effects of Corruption on Growth and
Public Expenditure", pp. 339-352
Rose-Ackerman, "When is Corruption Harmful?", pp. 353-371
Khan, "Patron Client Networks and the Economic Effects of Corruption in
Asia", pp. 467-488
Hutchcroft, "The Politics of Privilege: Rents and Corruption in Asia",
pp. 489-512

Sep. 20-Oct. 2 Comparative Cases

Johnston, *Syndromes*, Ch. 4-7

Yan Sun, "Reform, State, and Corruption: Is Corruption Less Destructive in China than in Russia?" *Comparative Politics*, 1999 (on reserve or available from JSTOR at <http://www.jstor.org/view/00104159/ap020127/02a00010/0>)

Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 6

H&J:

Scott, "Handling Historical Comparisons Cross-Nationally", pp. 123-136

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

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

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

Johnston, "Measuring the New Corruption Rankings", pp. 865-884

(Recommended: Werner, "The Development of Political Corruption in Israel", pp. 199-220)

(Recommended: Lodge, "Political Corruption in South Africa", pp. 403-424)

@ Transparency International, "Corruption Perceptions Index, 2005" online at http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2005 (also linked through our website)

Oct. 4-13 Patronage, Machine Politics, and the Dubious Legacy of Reform

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

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

October 6 TAKE-HOME MIDTERM DUE, IN CLASS

October 16 Fall Recess

Oct. 18-27 Watergate and Campaign Finance Reform

@ Brookings Institution, *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook*, Ch. 1-3, 6-8, 10 (other chapters recommended):

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

H&J:

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

Moroff, "American and German Fund-Raising Fiascos 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

Oct. 30-Nov 6 Adaptation and Response: Political, Economic, and Social

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

H&J:

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

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

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

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

Nov. 8-20 Controlling Corruption I: Analysis

Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 4, 5, 9

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

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

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

November 17: TERM PAPER DUE, IN CLASS

Nov. 27-Dec. 4 Controlling Corruption II: Cases

Rose-Ackerman, Ch. 10-12

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

Klitgaard *et. al.*, *Corrupt Cities*

H&J:

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

Quah, "Responses to Corruption in Asian Societies"

Moroff and Blechinger, "Corruption Terms in the World Press: How Languages Differ", pp. 885-905

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

Dec 6, 8 Conclusion: Corruption and Deep Democratization

Johnston, *Syndromes*, Ch. 8

Johnston, "Political Finance Policy, Parties, and Democratic Development" (in the Course Documents section of our website)

TAKE-HOME FINAL due no later than 5PM, Thursday, December 14

IMPORTANT NOTICES:

Computing: If, as most students do, you use a computer or word processor to prepare your work for this course, remember that 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 includes 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 give you 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.