

CSS Intensive Seminar on Corruption 2009

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 June and July 2010

Assessment: One long essay of 3000 words, due no later than **11 October 2010**

Course teacher: Prof. Leslie Holmes, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne, Australia

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;
- analyse the role of the mass media in 'constructing' the problem 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.

Syllabus:

The study of corruption has become a central focus of political science in recent years. One reason is that the number of corruption scandals appears to have increased dramatically since

the 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 and the EU (to name but a few of the Western countries or organisations to have experienced major 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 Newsletter* or *Transparency Watch* – online at <http://www.transparency.org/publications/newsletter>. TI also produces a *Global Corruption Report* (so far eight – 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009) – see <http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr>. One other very useful (British) on-line reference source can be found on Roy Davies' 'Financial Scandals' webpage at <http://www.ex.ac.uk/~RDavies/arian/scandals/political.html>

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).

Of the journals, arguably the most useful is *Crime, Law and Social Change*. 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) and L. Holmes, *Rotten States?* (2006). For highly critical analyses of most of the rest of the literature and 'ant-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/>.

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, gift-giving – and crime generally.

Reading

M. Philp in R. Williams (ed.), *Explaining Corruption* (2000),
ch.22 (originally in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 436-62)

and

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)

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)
- 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
- D. Nelken (ed.) *White Collar Crime* (1994)
- 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): 1-18
- (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 Report 2009* (2009) (online) (for current examples of corruption)
- (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, and its Connections with Organised Crime

3. The Functions and Dysfunctions of Corruption. In the first part of 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. There will also be a brief consideration of ‘rational choice’ approaches to corruption. In the second part of the seminar, we will consider ways in which corruption can be harmful – to the state, society, and individuals. Topics addressed will include the weakening of the state; discouragement of investment and its many ramifications; environmental damage; and system delegitimation.

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

- D. Della Porta & A. Vannucci in *Political Studies*, 45 (3), 1997: 516-38
- 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
- N. Kogan in *Transitions*, 5 (3), 1998: 46-9
- T. Lindsey & H. Dick (eds.) *Corruption in Asia* (2002), ch. by Holmes
- S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), ch.2
- R. Rotberg (ed.) *Corruption, global security, and world order* (2009)

- A. Shleifer & R. Vishny in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 108(3), 1993: 599-617
 R. Theobald *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment* (1990):
 107-32

4. Linkages between Corruption and Organised Crime. There is increasing awareness that organised crime is as successful as it appears to be in part because of the involvement of corrupt officials. Moreover, it is clear from survey data that one of the phenomena that most upsets citizens of the post-communist transition states is perceived collusion between state officials and organised crime gangs. Sometimes, such involvement is of an essentially passive (though *not* benign) nature, as in ‘turning a blind eye’ in return for paybacks. Often, it is of a more active nature, whereby officials are directly involved in the kinds of activities in which crime syndicates mostly engage – including drug-trafficking; weapons-trafficking; human-trafficking; prostitution; gambling; money-laundering; and protection rackets. Officials may also be involved in the corrupt provision of documentation to criminal gangs. Sometimes, politicians will even seek to influence legislation on behalf of criminal gangs. In this seminar, we shall consider examples of the interface between corruption and organised crime, and then examine the overtly political aspects of this, including its delegitimising effects on the state, and the relationship with terrorism.

Reading

- P. Williams & R. Goodson in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (4), 2002: 311-55
 And
 L. Holmes in L. Holmes (ed.), *Terrorism, Organised Crime and
 Corruption* (2007/2010): 84-108 (ch.5)

Also Recommended

- H. Abadinsky *Organized Crime* (2009): chs. 6 (Russia) and 9 (Italy &
 Albania)
 F. Allum & R. Siebert (eds.) *Organized Crime and the Challenge to Democracy* (2003)
 M. Beare (ed.) *Critical Reflections on Transnational Organized Crime,
 Money-Laundering and Corruption* (2003)
 T. Bezlov & E. Tzenkov *Organized Crime in Bulgaria* (2007) (available free
 online at CSD website)
 A. Block (ed.) *Perspectives on Organized Crime* (1991)
 A. Edwards & P. Gill in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (3), 2002: 203-23

- A. Edwards & P. Gill *Transnational Organised Crime: Perspectives on Global Security* (2003)
- J. Finckenauer & Yu. Voronin *The Threat of Russian Organized Crime* (2001)
- G. Fiorentini & S. Peltzman (eds.) *The Economics of Organized Crime* (1995)
- C. Freeland *Sale of the Century: Russia's Wild Ride from Communism to Capitalism* (2000)
- B. Freemantle *The Octopus: Europe in the Grip of Organised Crime* (1995)
- C. Friesendorf (ed.) *Strategies Against Human Trafficking: The Role of the Security Sector* (2009), ch. 2 (by Holmes)
<http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/kms/details.cfm?lng=en&id=110003&nav1=5>
- T. Frisby in *Europe-Asia Studies*, 50(1), 1998: 27-49 (Russia)
- M. Galeotti (ed.) *Russian and Post-Soviet Organized Crime* (2002)
- M. Galeotti (ed.) *Global Crime Today* (2005): chs. 4 (by Galeotti, Russia) and 5 (Hignett, Central Europe)
- M. Glenny *McMafia: Seriously Organised Crime* (2008), esp. Pt.1 and ch.14
- D. Hoffman *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* (2002)
- L. Holmes in J. Zielonka and A. Pravda (eds.), *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe: International and Transnational Factors*, Vol.2 (2001): 192-230
- L. Holmes (ed.) *Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption: Networks and Linkages* (2007), ch.5 (by Holmes)
- D. Kaufmann & F. Recanatini 'New Empirical Frontiers in Measuring and Evaluating Governance: Illustrations and Issues for Discussion', paper delivered at the Carter Center, 30 October 2001, World Bank website
- M. Łoś in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 40 (2-3), 2003: 145-69
- M. Łoś & A. Zybertowicz *Privatizing the Police-State: The Case of Poland* (2000)
- M. Lyman & G. Potter *Organized Crime* (1999)
- J. Nikolov in *East European Constitutional Review*, 6 (4), 1997: 80-84 (Bulgaria)
- L. Paoli in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (1), 2002: 51-97
- V. Ruggiero *Organised and Corporate Crime in Europe* (1996)
- P. Ryan & G. Rush (eds.) *Understanding Organized Crime in Global Perspective* (1997)

- D. Satter *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (2003)
- V. Sergeyev *The Wild East: Crime and Lawlessness in Post-communist Russia* (1998)
- L. Shelley in *Problems of Post-Communism*, 42(1), 1995: 56-60 (former Soviet Union)
- C. Sterling *Crime without Frontiers* (1995)(global)
- Yu. Tsyganov in L. Holmes (ed.), *Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption* (2007): 130-54 (ch.7)
- P. C. Van Duyne *et al.* *Cross-Border Crime in a Changing Europe* (2001)
- F. Varese *The Russian Mafia* (2001)
- E. Viano (ed.) *Global Organized Crime and International Security* (1999)
- V. Volkov *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (2002)
- W. Webster (ed.) *Russian Organized Crime: Global Organized Crime Project* (1997): 23-4
- P. Williams (ed.) *Russian Organized Crime: The New Threat?* (1997)
- P. Williams in B. White, R. Little and M. Smith (eds.), *Issues in World Politics* (2001): 232-51
- P. Williams & R. Goodson in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37 (4), 2002: 311-55
- P. Williams & J. Picarelli *Organized Crime in Ukraine: Challenge and Response* (free on web)

Part Three – Measuring Corruption

5. Problems in Measuring Corruption. A total of seven methods for assessing the level of corruption in particular societies will be considered and evaluated in this seminar. They include official statistics; perception surveys; surveys of enterprise involvement in corruption; and public expenditure tracking surveys (PETS). We shall also consider the Bribe Payers Index (BPI – latest is 2008) and the newer (since 2003) Global Corruption Barometer (latest is 2009). 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

C. Sampford *et al.* (eds.) *Measuring Corruption* (2006)(see esp. chapter by F. Galtung – most of this chapter is also available free online)

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)
- N. Christie *a suitable amount of crime* (2004)
- Freedom House ‘Freedom House Country Ratings’ – on-line at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings/index.htm>
- Freedom House *Nations in Transit – 1998* (1999) and *2000*, on-line at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/nattransit.htm>
- Galtung, F. *et al.* The Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer, on-line at http://www.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2003/2003.07.03.global_corr_barometer.en.html
- Gray, C., Hellman, J. & Ryterman, R. *Anticorruption in Transition 2* (2004)
- Hellman, J. *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
- Holmes, L. *in Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 42 (2), 2009, 265-87
- Kaufmann, D. *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 Sik)
- 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://www1.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)
- S. Pradhan *et al.* *Anticorruption in Transition* (2000), 7-9 (free online at World Bank website)
- 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)
- C. Sampford *et al.* (eds.) *Measuring Corruption* (2006)(see esp. chapter by Galtung)
- E. Sík in A. Sajó and S. Kotkin (eds.), *Political Corruption in Transition* (2002): 91-113
- Transparency International *Bribe Payers Index 2008*, online at http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/bpi
- Transparency International *Corruption Perceptions Index 2009*, online at http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi
- Transparency International *Global Corruption Barometer 2009* http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/gcb/2009
- 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 – psychological 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).

Reading

- S. Rose-Ackerman *Corruption and Government* (1999), ch. 6

Also Recommended

- 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)
- 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 much 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
- 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

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* (online), 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
- J. Hopkin in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 27 (3-4), 1997, 255-74
- 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)
- A. Sajó in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 40 (2-3), 2003, 171-94
- L. Shelley in *East European Constitutional Review* (online), 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 much 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://www.transparency.org/iacc/9th_iacc/papers/day1/ws2/d1ws2_lholmes.html

and

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

Also Recommended

- M. Andreasen *Brussels Laid Bare* (2009)
 F. Anechiarico & J. Jacobs *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity* (1996)
 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.

Reading

- L. de Sousa in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 53 (1), 2010: 5-22

Also Recommended

- Buscaglia, E. and van Dijk, J. 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)
- 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
- 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. Staphenurst & 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
- J. Ross in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 29 (4), 1998, 331-40
- R. Staphenurst & S. Kpundeh (eds.) *Curbing Corruption* (1999)
- 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 and 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

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)
- M. Fuszara (paper presented at Budapest Conference, Oct 1999), on-line at <http://www.coc.ceu.hu/>
- 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
- 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
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- P. Nichols in *Cornell International Law Journal*, 33(3), 2000: 627-55
- 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
- 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
- L. Tucker in D. Trang (ed.), *Corruption and Democracy* (1994): 185-9
- World Bank *Helping Countries Combat Corruption* (2000)

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