This course satisfies the requirement of the political science major for a research focused seminar, with one extra credit for the writing requirement. Towards these purposes we will do more reading and discussion than in a regular class, and will spend time honing writing skills. Thematically we will proceed from where most of you are more familiar with, the U.S. and the developed world, before moving to the developing and transitional countries. Requirements include attendance, completion of weekly writing practices (30%), presentation of one reading (10%), reporting of your research progress in class (10%), and a final paper (50%).

**Paper topics:** (1) identify a corruption problem in a national or international context and argue if it was or is being successfully addressed; (2) identify a corruption problem and argue how it should be addressed; (3) compare anti-corruption strategies in two contexts and argue which one has been more effective and why; (4) identify a corruption problem and make arguments about its causes, harms and cures. The paper should be research based, 10-15 pages, with at least ten credible sources.

**Weekly writing practices:** (1) Due in every class for all students - a summery of one reading (marked with an * under “Readings”) in the form of an outline, including the following elements: (a) author’s main argument; (b) supporting arguments and evidence; (c) organizational structure; (2) Optional: present in class one written summery of one reading in the above form (choose from the list under “Presentation”); (3) Discussion of your paper topics, arguments, outlines, structures and sources on a mandatory and/or voluntary basis weekly.

**Books available at the bookstore:**
Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak out* (3rd ed., 2003) (either this or Segal below)

**Books to purchase online: (also available in the reserve library)**
Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment* (Duke 1990)
Cecil Heftel, *End Legalized Bribery* (Seven Locks, 1998) (under $1 +shipping)

**Guide to research writing:**
1. 1/31 Introduction: How do you write a research paper?

**Discussion questions**: Where do you begin? How do you formulate an argument or a thesis statement? How do you build up sub-arguments and evidence? How do you organize your paper effectively? What is a primary and secondary source? What is your general idea of what corruption is? Are there some broad and major patterns? What is your general impression of corruption domestically and abroad? How do you measure corruption? Do you know how to access the library e-periodicals?

**Readings:**
- Handouts on thesis statements, outlines, organizational structures.
- TI Corruption Perception Index and Barometer, [www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org)

**Practice accessing the library e-periodical:**
- James A. McCann and David P. Redlawsk, “As Voters Head to the Polls, Will They Perceive a Culture of Corruption?” *PS: Political Science and Politics* Vol.39, No.4 (Oct. 06), pp.797-802
- Mark Warren, “Political Corruption as Duplicitous Exclusion,” in *ibid.*, pp.803-07

I. Definitions, Causes and Consequences

2. 2/7 Causes: Structural versus Cultural

**Discussion questions**: universal vs. context-specific causes of corruption?

**Readings**:

**Presentation**:
- Robin Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, chapter 1

3. 2/14 Causes: Historical Impact

**Discussion questions**: What is patrimonialism? As a historical cause of corruption? How is it impacted by modernization, or lack thereof?

*Robin Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, ch. 2, 4 (Please purchase at amazon.com, or find in the Reserve Library)

**Presentation**:
- Susan Rose-Ackerman, “Political corruption and democratic structures,” in A. K. Jain, ed., *The Political Economy of Corruption*

4. 2/21 Consequences: Detrimental and/or Divergent
Discussion questions: economic, political and social effects of corruption? Does the type of corruption make a difference?

Readings:
* Robin Theobald, *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, chapter 5

Presentation:

Discussion of possible paper topics for your research paper

II. Corruption in the Developed World

5. 2/28 Why Is There Still Corruption in Developed Countries?

Discussion questions: Why is there still corruption in an affluent and democratic country? How is it different from what you may have known from a different country on the one hand and from the days of “Gangs of New York” on the other? Does the evolution give you hope? What are the incentives for corruption in a democratic system?

Readings:

Presentation:

6. 3/06 Campaign Financing: What Does It Corrupt?

Discussion questions: What is the difference between procedural and deliberative democracy? Does campaign financing undermine one or both? Why are major political parties forced to pursue campaign financing? Have business interests captured the U.S. legislative process? What do they gain in return? Do these gains harm public interests? How do you evaluate Congressman Heftel’s proposal to end it?

Readings:
* Cecil Heftel, *End Legalized Bribery*, all

Presentation:
TI, Global Corruption Report 2004: Special Focus - Political Finance, ch.2: 6-37(TI’s website)

7. 3/13
   Choose one of the options for this week
   (1) Non-Business Interest Lobbying: Does It Corrupt?
      **Discussion questions:** Why do some of you feel that some groups are politically more powerful than others, in securing city benefits in NYC? Is non-business lobbying different from business lobbying, from issue advocacy to Christian Action Network, from RNC to AIPAC, and from Teamsters to Non-profits? Does the undue influence of a small minority in determining policy for the vast majority constitute parochial capture of the democratic process? Or is it simply pluralistic politics?
      **Reading:**
      Paul Findley, They Dare to Speak out: People and Institutions against Israel’s Lobby, 3rd edition (Lawrence Hill, 2001)

   (2) Corruption in the Public Sector
   From law enforcement to health care, from public education to public construction, from the military to government agencies, are public sectors particularly prone to waste, fraud and corruption? How are services affected? Where and how does accountability fail?
   **Readings:**
   Lydia Segal, Battling Corruption in America’s Public Schools (Harvard 2005)
   *Weekly summary – is political decentralization responsible for the problem?
   **Presentation:**
   **Discussion of your paper outlines.**

III. Corruption in the Developing World

8. 3/20
   **Kleptocracy I**
   **Discussion questions:** Causes, patterns and effects of kleptocracy?
   **Readings:**
   Weekly summery: none.
Presentation:
"From the Kleptocratic to the Felonious State?" in Jean-Francois Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou, *The Criminalization of the State in Africa* (Indiana University, 1999), 1-32 (packet)
Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder As Political Instrument* (Indiana U Press 1999), chs 7-9

9. 3/27  Kleptocracy II
**Discussion questions:** how does kleptocracy affect governance and development?

**Readings:**
Daniel Smith, *A Culture of Corruption*, chapters 4-7, skim conclusion.
Weekly summary: none;

**Presentation:**

Chapters from the two books listed for presentation last week.

**Detailed outlines of your paper due**

10. 4/03  The Patrimonial State
**Discussion questions:** How is the source of corruption different from kleptocracy?

**Readings:**
(Review Theobald’s chapters 2 and 4, from Week 3).


**Presentation:**

Benedict Anderson, “Cacique Democracy in the Philippines,” in *The Specter of Comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*

11. 4/10  Liberalizing and Transitional Economies/Polities
**Discussion questions:** why does liberalization increase rather than decrease corruption, at least in the short run?

**Readings:**

One of the following:

Marshall Goldman, *The Piratization of Russia* (Routeledge, 2003), chs. 5-9;

OR:

Daniel Treisman, “Decentralization and the Quality of Government,” available at
Yan Sun, “Reform, State and Corruption: Is Corruption less destructive in China than in Russia?” *Comparative Politics*, Oct. 1999, 1-20

**Presentation:**

**Discussion of your argument, outlines, sources.**

IV. What To Do about Corruption

12. 4/17 Anti-bribery conventions at global levels

**Discussion questions:** has the FCPA been effective against corruption? Has it hindered American businesses overseas?

**Readings:**


**Presentation:**

Robert Harris, *Political Corruption: In and Beyond the Nation State* (Routeledge, 2003), chs. 5, 6 (on international finance, organized crime, smuggling and drug trade)

H. Richard Andreas and Peter Friman, eds, *The Illicit Global Economy and State Power* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), chs. 2, 3, 5 or 6

**Discussion of the research and writing of your paper during the spring break.**

Spring Break

13. 5/1 Democratic and Civil Service Reforms

**Discussion questions:** the incentive and checking mechanisms in each reform?

**Readings:**
*Theobald, Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, chapter 6


**Presentation:**
Rafael RD Di Tella, Ernesto ES Schargrodsky, “The Role of Wages and Auditing
during a Crackdown on Corruption in the City of Buenos Aires,” *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 46/1 (April 2003), pp. 269-292 (please request this paper through the interlibrary loan)


14. 5/8 Anti-corruption Agencies, Transparency and Mass Media

**Discussion questions:** why are anti-corruption agencies not always effective?

Why is a free press bad news for corruption?

**Readings:**


**Present a summary of your finished paper.**

For your reference:

Week 1-4 General Concepts


Week 5-7 Corruption in the Developed World

**Campaign financing:**

TI, *Global Corruption Report 2004: Special Focus - Political Finance*, ch.2:

6-37(TI’s web site)


Koszech, “Non-stop Pursuit of Campaign Funds Increasingly Drives the System,” *Congressional Quarterly* April 5/1997, 770-774 (online)


Pujas and Rhodes, “Party Finance and Political Scandal, Comparing Italy, Spain and France,” in H and J
Darrel West, *Checkbook Democracy* (Northeastern, 2000)


**Defense sector:**
- TI, *Global Corruption Report 2004: Special Focus - Political Finance*, 59-75 (defense and military sectors)
- Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (Owl Books, 2004), esp. chs.4-7

**Municipal administration:**
- Schlesinger and Meier, “Variations in Corruption among the American States,” in H and J, pp. 627-43 (packet)
- Roald Goldstock and Thomas Thacher III., *Corruption and Racketeering in the New York City Construction Industry*, first half

**Public Sector:**
- Gupta, Davoodi and Tiongson, “Corruption and the Provision of Health Care and Education Services,” George T. Abed and Sanjeev Gupta, eds., *Governance, Corruption, and Economic Performance*
Week 8-11  Corruption in Developing Countries

Africa:
Kempe Ronald Hope, Sr. and Bornwell C. Chikulo, Corruption and development in Africa : lessons from country case-studies (New York : St. Martin's Press, 2000)

Asia
David Kang,
Robert Wade,
Latin America:
Special issue, in Third World Quarterly, 20/3 (1999)
Liberalizing and decentralization:
De Mello and Barenstein, “Fiscal Decentralization and Governance: A Cross-country Analysis,” in Abed and Gupta, Governance, Corruption and Economic Performance

Post-communist transition:
Yan Sun, Corruption and
Vadim Volkov, Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism (Cornell 2002); Or a more lively account:

Paul Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin: The Decline of Russia in the Age of Gangster Capitalism* (Harvest 2002)

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