

## POLS Y200: Politics of Corruption

Tu/Th 2:30–3:45 PM  
Woodburn Hall (WH) 121

**Instructor: Timothy Model**

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*Office:* Woodburn Hall (WH) 409

*Office Hours:* Tu/Th 12:45–2:15 PM or by appointment

### Course Description

This class explores the dark “underbelly” of politics: corruption. The course will introduce students to the ways in which people around the world evade rules through corruption. The course will begin with defining corruption, presenting competing origin explanations for corruption, and discussing how corruption operates at different levels. We will then expose three political manifestations of corruption: cronyism, political machines, and organized crime. We will finish the course with an overview of anti-corruption strategies. Lectures and films will compare corrupt activities across Russia, China, Italy, and the United States, among other countries. Students will leave the class with knowledge of corruption and its implications, as well as an appreciation of the importance of studying this political “underbelly.”

### Required Text(s)

All required readings are posted on Canvas or are available as links on the syllabus.

### For Reference

Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999). *Corruption and Government: Causes Consequences and Reform*. Yale University Press.

Ledeneva, Alena (1998). *Russia’s Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking, and Informal Exchange*. Cambridge University Press.

Gambetta, Diego (1993). *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Harvard University Press.

Johnson, Michael (2005). *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

### Grading

Grading Item	% of total grade	Due date
Class Participation/Attendance	15%	
In-Class Assignments	10%	
Section Paper	15%	1 week after last day of section
Film Reactions x 2	20%	1 week after film shown
Final Project		
Group Presentation	10%	During last two weeks of class
Presentation Writeup	30%	4:45 PM on May 2

## Letter Grade Distribution

A+	98+	B+	88+	C+	78+	D+	68+	F	59 and below
A	94-97	B	84-87	C	74-77	D	64-67		
A-	90-93	B-	80-83	C-	70-73	D-	60-63		

## Course Policies

### • General

- Lectures and PowerPoints will be posted, but these slides should be considered an outline of lectures. It is the student's responsibility to take notes.
- Feedback will not be provided on assignments before assignment due date unless otherwise noted.
- Course communications will be sent via Canvas. It is your responsibility to check your Canvas messages to stay updated on announcements, assignments, grades, feedback, and other instructor communications.
- Please let the instructor know if you require special accommodations prior to the first assignment's deadline.
- Any concerns with grades should be discussed with the instructor in person during office hours rather than through email.
- Academic integrity is an important component to political science research, and therefore, cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Please review Indiana University's *Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities and Conduct*.
- Please mute all electronic devices and avoid using cell phones during class.
- Studies show that students retain more information when taking notes by hand (e.g. Mueller and Oppenheimer (2014)). Nevertheless, laptops may be used in class but only for the purposes of taking notes and other class-related exercises.
- Assignments submitted through Canvas must be submitted in .pdf, .doc, or .docx format. Other file formats will not be accepted.

### • Attendance, Absences, and Late Assignments

- Attendance is expected and will be taken randomly throughout the semester. Attendance comprises a portion of the Class Participation/Attendance grade.
- Two unexcused absences will be allowed per student without penalty.
- Students are responsible for making up any missed work, regardless of the reason for their absence. It is also the absentee's responsibility to gather missing notes or materials.
- Unexcused late work will receive a deduction of a letter grade for every 24 hours after the deadline.
- Please email the instructor with proof of reason for an excused absence or late work, such as illness, among other reasons. Students are encouraged to contact the Student Advocates Office for any questions regarding absences.

**Course Sections:**

*Below is a broad overview of the tentative schedule of course sections and topics covered within those sections. Sections with a \* are ones on which you may choose to write your section paper. The schedule may be modified throughout the course to match the class' progress. A new syllabus will be made available on Canvas if such changes occur.*

<b>Dates</b>	<b>Section</b>	<b>Broad Topics Covered</b>
Jan 10-Jan 12	Course Fundamentals	Course Approach Formal and Informal Institutions
Jan 17-Feb 21	Corruption*	Defining Corruption Measuring Corruption Corruption: Good or Evil? Origins of Corruption Corrupt Actors
Feb 23-Mar 28	Political Manifestations of Corruption*	Cronyism Political Machines Organized Crime
Mar 30-Apr 13	Fighting Corruption*	Foreign Intervention State Intervention Civil Society Gender Is the U.S. Corrupt?
Apr 18-Apr 27	Group Presentations	

**Assignment Instructions****Section Paper**

Students will use their section paper to elaborate on *one topic* covered within one of the following three sections: corruption, political manifestations of corruption, and fighting corruption. A section paper should not be summary of an entire section. Rather, a section paper should focus on a single aspect within a section (see “broad topics covered” for ideas). The paper must incorporate relevant assigned readings on the topic in addition to lecture materials. All sources used must be cited in MLA, Chicago, or APA format, as well as listed in a bibliography. Outside sources may be used to supplement course readings and lecture materials. The paper should be double-spaced with 1-inch margins and no longer than 1,000 words, not including the bibliography. The section paper must be submitted on Canvas one week from the last day of the section by midnight.

**Film Reaction x 2**

Students will use their two film reactions to either elaborate on *one topic* covered within two of the films and documentaries shown during the semester or provide a thoughtful reaction to the material presented in the films and documentaries. Film reactions should not be summaries of the films or documentaries. Rather, film reactions should focus on a single aspect within a film or documentary. Although reaction papers are not required to incorporate course readings, outside readings, or lecture materials, students may include such sources. Any sources used must be cited in MLA, Chicago, or APA format, as well as listed in a bibliography. Papers should be double-spaced with 1-inch margins and no longer than 700 words. Film reactions must be submitted on Canvas one week from the date that the film or documentary was shown by midnight.

## Group Presentation

The group presentation makes up the first portion of the final project. Students will be assigned to groups of approximately 3-5 persons, depending on the class size. Groups will select a country or organization that must be approved by the instructor. Groups will then choose whether to present on corruption or one of the political manifestations of corruption (cronyism, political machines, or organized crime) in that country or organization. Each group will have the same amount of time to present on their country and topic in the last two weeks. Each group member must present for an approximately equal amount of time during the group presentation. Further information on group sizes, group assignments, and allotted presentation time will be provided during the semester.

## Presentation Writeup

The presentation writeup constitutes the second portion of the final project. In the writeup, each student will use their group's prior research and assigned course content to develop a paper that expands upon their group's presentation. Papers should conclude with a discussion of recommendations for fighting corruption in their selected country or organization. Papers should be double-spaced with 1-inch margins and no longer than 1,800 words. Each student will submit their own, original paper, though students may consult with one another for peer feedback. Instructor feedback will also be available until Tuesday, April 25 at midnight. The submission deadline for the writeup is May 2 by 4:45pm. Further information on the presentation writeup will be provided during the semester.

## The Fundamentals

Tuesday, January 10

Course Introduction

Thursday, January 12

Formal and Informal Institutions

- Read: North, Douglass (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 1-10. CANVAS.
- Read: Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky (2004). "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics*. Pgs. 725-733. CANVAS.
- Read: Rauch, Jonathan (2016). "How American Politics Went Insane." *The Atlantic*. LINK.

## Corruption

Tuesday, January 17

Defining Corruption

- Read: Svensson, Jakob (2005). "Eight Questions about Corruption." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. CANVAS.
- Read: Kaufmann, Daniel (1997). "Corruption: The Facts." *Foreign Policy*. CANVAS.
- Read: World Bank, The. Corruption and Economic Development. LINK.

Thursday, January 19

Measuring Corruption

- Read: June, Raymond et al (2008). "A Users Guide to Measuring Corruption." United Nations Development Programme. 1-46. CANVAS.
- Read: Galtung, Frederik (2006). "Measuring the Immeasurable: Boundaries and Function of (Macro) Corruption Indices," in *Measuring Corruption*. CANVAS.

Tuesday, January 24

Corruption: Good or Evil?

- Read: Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999). *Corruption and Government*. Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 1-6. CANVAS.
- Read: Houston, Douglas A (2007). “Can Corruption Ever Improve an Economy?” Cato Institute. CANVAS.
- Read: Frye, Timothy and Andrei Shleifer (1997). “The Invisible Hand and the Grabbing Hand.” *The American Economic Review*. CANVAS.

Thursday, January 26

Cultural Origins of Corruption

- Read: Putnam, Robert (1993). *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 5. CANVAS.
- Read: Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999). *Corruption and Government*. Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 91-110. CANVAS.

Tuesday, January 31

Institutional Origins of Corruption

- Read: Larsson, Tomas (2006). “Reform, corruption, and growth: Why corruption is more devastating in Russia than in China.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. CANVAS.
- Read: Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999). *Corruption and Government*. Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 127-142. CANVAS.

Thursday, February 2

The Corrupt Individual

- Read: Rivkin-Fish, Michele (2005). “Bribes, gifts and unofficial payments: Rethinking corruption in post-Soviet Russian health care,” in *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*. CANVAS.
- Read: Wan, William (2013). “In China, parents bribe to get students into top schools, despite campaign against corruption.” *The Washington Post*. LINK.
- Begin film: Alexei Balabanov’s *Brother*

Tuesday, February 7

The Corrupt Individual: Russia Case Study

- Read: Gogol, Nikolai. *Dead Souls*. Chs. 1-2. Translated by D.J. Hogarth. CANVAS.
- End film: Alexei Balabanov’s *Brother*

Thursday, February 9

The Corrupt State

- Read: Darden, Keith (2008). “The Integrity of Corrupt States: Graft as an Informal State Institution.” *Politics & Society*. CANVAS.
- Read: Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999). *Corruption and Government*. Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 27-38. CANVAS.

Tuesday, February 14

The Corrupt State: Russia Case Study

- Read: Dawisha, Karen (2011). “Is Russia’s Foreign Policy That of a Corporatist-Kleptocratic Regime?” *Post-Soviet Affairs*. CANVAS.
- Read: Milov, Vladimir, Boris Nemtsov, Vladimir Ryzhkov, and Olga Shorina (2001). “Putin. Corruption. An independent white paper.” LINK.
- Film

Thursday, February 16

The Corrupt, Connected World

- Read: Cooley, Alexander and J.C. Sharman (2015). “Blurring the line between licit and illicit: transnational corruption networks in Central Asia and beyond.” *Central Asian Survey*. CANVAS.
- Read: Soreide, Tina (2006). “Corruption in international business transactions: the perspective of Norwegian firms,” in *International Handbook on the Economics of Corruption*. CANVAS.

Tuesday, February 21

The Corrupt, Connected World: Panama Papers Case Study

- Read: Harding, Luke (2016). “What are the Panama Papers? A guide to history’s biggest data leak.” *The Guardian*. [LINK](#).
- Read: Harding, Luke (2016). “Sergei Roldugin, the cellist who holds the key to tracing Putin’s hidden fortune.” *The Guardian*. [LINK](#).
- Read: Harding, Luke (2016). “Iceland’s PM faces calls for snap election after offshore revelations.” *The Guardian*. [LINK](#).
- Film

## Political Manifestations of Corruption

Thursday, February 23

Cronyism

- Read: Pei, Minxin (2016). *China’s Crony Capitalism: The Dynamics of Regime Decay*. Harvard University Press. Pgs. 1-22. CANVAS.
- Read: Karmatz, Laura, Andrew Goldstein, and Joan Levinstein (1999). “How to Become a Top Banana.” *Time*. CANVAS.

Tuesday, February 28

Political Machines

- Read: Golosov, Grigorii V. (2013). “Machine Politics: The Concept and Its Implications for Post-Soviet Studies.” *Demokratizatsiya*. CANVAS.
- Read: Baker, Kevin (2016). “The Soul of a New Machine.” *The New Republic*. [LINK](#).

Thursday, March 2

Political Machines: Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall Case Study

- Read: Golway, Terry (2014). The Forgotten Virtues of Tammany Hall. *The New York Times*. [LINK](#).
- Read: Plunkitt, George W. (1905). *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*. Chs. 1, 9, 23. [LINK](#).
- Film: *Gangs of New York*

Tuesday, March 7

Defining Organized Crime

- Read: Gambetta, Diego (1993). *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Harvard University Press. Pgs. 1-11. CANVAS.
- Read: Albanese, Jay S. (2015). *Organized Crime in Our Times*. Routledge. Pgs. 1-18. CANVAS.
- Read: Abadinsky, Howard (2013). *Organized Crime*. Wadsworth. Pgs. 1-16. CANVAS.

Thursday, March 9

Origins of Organized Crime

- Read: Anderson, Annelise (2001). "The Red Mafia: A Legacy of Communism," in *Economic Transition in Eastern Europe and Russia: Realities of Reform*. CANVAS.
- Read: Gambetta, Diego (1993). *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Harvard University Press. Pgs. 75-99. CANVAS.

Tuesday, March 14 &amp; Thursday, March 16

Spring Break

Tuesday, March 21

Organized Crime Abroad

- Read: Albanese, Jay S. (2015). *Organized Crime in Our Times*. Routledge. Pgs. 210-242. CANVAS.
- Read: Sanderson, Thomas M.(2004). "Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines." *SAIS Review*. CANVAS.

Thursday, March 23

Organized Crime Abroad: Russian Mafia Case Study

- Read: Schreck, Carl (2014). "Russian Gangs Of New York." Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. LINK.
- Read: Galeotti, Mark (2005). "The Russian 'Mafiya': Consolidation and Globalisation," in *Global Crime Today: The Changing Face of Organised Crime*. CANVAS.
- Film: *The World History of Organized Crime: The Russian Mafia*

Tuesday, March 28

Old vs. New Organized Crime

- Read: Albanese, Jay S. (2015). *Organized Crime in Our Times*. Routledge. Pgs. 181-203. CANVAS.
- Read: Galeotti, Mark (2005). *Global Crime Today: The Changing Face of Organised Crime*. PUBLISHER. Pgs. 1-7. CANVAS.
- Read: Grabosky, Peter (2004). "The Global Dimension of Cybercrime." *Global Crime*. CANVAS.

## Fighting Corruption

Thursday, March 30

Foreign Intervention

- Read: Bukovansky, Mlada (2006). "The hollowness of anti-corruption discourse." *Review of International Political Economy*. CANVAS.
- Read: Hewitt, Duncan (2016). "How Chinas Anti-Corruption Campaign Is Putting Pressure On A Slowing Economy." *International Business Times*. LINK.
- Read: Noble, Josh (2015). "Investors grapple with China corruption risks." *Financial Times*. LINK.

Tuesday, April 4

State Intervention

- Read: Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1996). "Redesigning the State to Fight Corruption." The World Bank. CANVAS.
- Read: Gillespie, Kate and Gwenn Okruhlik (1991). "The Political Dimensions of Corruption Cleanups: A Framework for Analysis." *Comparative Politics*. CANVAS.

Thursday, April 6

The Role of Civil Society

- Read: Rothstein, Bo (2013). “Corruption and Social Trust: Why the Fish Rots from the Head Down.” *Social Research*. CANVAS.
- Read: Wike, Richard and Kathleen Holzwart (2008). “Where Trust is High, Crime and Corruption are Low.” Pew Research. LINK.
- Read: Karklins, Rasma (2005). *The System Made Me Do It: Corruption in Post-Communist Societies*. Routledge. Pgs. 39-57. CANVAS.

Tuesday, April 11

The Role of Gender

- Read: Dollar, David, Raymond Fisman, and Roberta Gatti (1999). “Are Women Really the Fairer Sex? Corruption and Women in Government.” The World Bank. CANVAS.
- Read: Esarey, Justin and Gina Chirillo (2013). “Fairer Sex’ or Purity Myth? Corruption, Gender, and Institutional Context.” *Politics & Gender*. CANVAS.
  - For a brief summary: ScienceDaily on Esarey and Chirillo (2013). LINK.

Thursday, April 13

Is the U.S. Corrupt?

- Read: Gilens, Martin and Benjamin I. Page (2014). “Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens.” *Perspectives on Politics*. CANVAS.
- Read: Matthews, Dylan (2016). “Remember that study saying America is an oligarchy? 3 rebuttals say it’s wrong.” *Vox*. LINK.
- Read: Teachout, Zephyr (2014). *Corruption in America: From Benjamin Franklin’s Snuff Box to Citizens United*. Harvard University Press. Introduction. CANVAS.
- Read: Medvic, Stephen K. (2016). “The U.S. political system is flawed but not corrupt.” *The Washington Post*. LINK.

## Presentations and Writeup

Tuesday, April 18 – Thursday, April 27

Group Presentations

Tuesday, May 2 at 4:45 PM

Presentation Writeup Deadline