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How to conceptualize corruption?

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Anna K. Schwickerath

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content

The role of data: How can indicators be useful for combatting corruption?

Nils Köbis, University of Amsterdam

Abstract

The workshop shed light on the complex challenges researchers face when attempting to measure corruption using survey and aggregated indices. Besides the conceptual challenge of measuring corruption in different cultural, socio-and spatial contexts, the usefulness of indices to curb corruption globally was discussed. The workshop commenced with the introduction of a novel indicator, the Index of Public Integrity (IPI) aimed at providing a more actionable and objective way to measure public integrity frameworks. Secondly, the question of the interplay between concept and variable in the context of ex-ante harmonization of corruption items was raised, focusing mostly on the example of the index of bribe-giving in public schools in Europe, based on the Global Corruption Barometer, the Life in Transition Survey and the Quality of Government Survey. The final presentation examined at the relationship between corruption and human rights conceptually, but especially in terms of what the data reveals about that relationship - exploring the insights provided by the data, but also questioning whether quantitative analysis of such relationship is good enough to inform policy. By using an overview of conceptualizations of corruption – the newly developed atlas of corruption types – discussions aimed to specific the type of corruption that underlies each specific measurement tool.

Introduction

Due to its secret and often illegal nature, obtaining direct data on corruption poses a big challenge. As a means to meet this challenge international corruption indicators have been developed. These indicators are often comprised of large surveys. Thanks to methodological advances, reliability of the data has steadily improved. Underlying these aggregate measures of corruption lies a conceptual challenge: what type of corruption is actually investigated? Is it possible to compare a corruption score in one country with a corruption score in another country? And how can data quality be ensured both with regards to social desirability concerns and fraudulent data collection procedures?

Even though these conceptual and methodological challenges linger, since the inception of Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (Lambsdorff, 1999), international indicators have been on a steady rise. It is important to note that Transparency International explicitly did not develop the index as an academic measurement but instead sought to use it as a tool to raise awareness about corruption. It appears as though this quest was successful as by now, the annual Corruption Perception Index scores are widely reported in national news outlets. Yet, also well cited academic papers have been published using the CPI as a proxy for country level corruption (e.g. Mauro, 1995). This practice has sparked a lively debate about the academic use the CPI and its systematic measurement distortions. As a result of this debate several new indicators have been developed seeking to meet the conceptual and methodological challenges of providing an international and inter-regional comparative measure of corruption (e.g. Indicator of Public Integrity, Quality of Governance Expert survey). Also, Transparency International has reformed its CPI measurement so as to increase intertemporal comparability.

All in all, capturing corruption around the world with the attempt to provide a comparative measure remains a daunting task. Hence, this workshop focused on these conceptual and methodological intricacies with an attempt to advance the debate on these issues. It also sought to discuss how these indicators can be used to successfully curb corruption around the globe.

Introducing the Index of Public Integrity

Niklas Kossow, European Research Centre for Anti-Corruption and State-Building (ERCAS), Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

The first presentation of the workshop presented the efforts to build a more actionable and objective way to measure public integrity frameworks through the Index of Public Integrity (IPI). This effort was based on the realization that levels of corruption according to classical measurements appear relatively stable over time. Hence a novel framework that provides more actionable insights was developed. The theoretical framework for this work is the distinction between particularism vs. universalism (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2014), posing the essential question who gets what. In countries in which ethical universalism is the norm the credo that everyone should be treated equal exists. Overall, corruption rather marks an exception in these contexts. On the contrary if particularism is the norm, goods are allocated to kinship, friendship or patronage etc., i.e. corruption is the norm. Using this theoretical basis, the IPI consists of the following six dimensions: judicial independence, administrative burden, trade openness, budget transparency, e-citizenship and freedom of the press. Taken together, the index measures the capacity to control corruption, and not corruption itself. After the presentation of the basic tenants of the index, the presentation invited a discussion of the IPI as a tool for researchers. The discussion focused on the similarities and differences with other previously existing indices.

From Concept to Variable: Corruption Items in Cross-national Questionnaires

Ilona Wysmulek, Polish Academy of Science

The second presentation focused interplay between concept and variable in the context of harmonization of corruption items. Data harmonization describes the combination of existing data points from heterogeneous sources into an integrated index. As a topic, the data harmonization techniques concentrated mostly on the example of the index of bribe-giving in public schools in Europe, based on the Global Corruption Barometer, the Life in Transition Survey and the Quality of Government Survey. The talk provided a systematic review of questionnaires and codebooks of international public opinion surveys in search for questions on corruption that can be found via https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/survey_data_on_corruption . This overview illustrated with the concerns about question wording and comparability of such concepts as 'informal payment', 'expensive gift' and 'bribe'. The discussion on this issue showed that achieving inter-national and inter-cultural comparability poses an immense challenge. Certain forms of informal 'motivation fees' in the education system might be considered acceptable in one context

but perceived as unacceptable in others. The ensuing discussion went into depth about the different forms of data harmonization, e.g. illustrating that two main forms exist. While ex-post-harmonization describes data aggregation after data collection whereas input-harmonization describes the pre-defined criteria according to which data will be aggregated that has not yet been collected.

Understanding the relationship between corruption and human rights

Matthew Ayibakuro, University of Birmingham

The third and final looked at the relationship between corruption and human rights conceptually, but especially in terms of what the data reveals about that relationship. The talk explored the insights provided by the data and questioned whether policies could benefit from the quantitative analysis of the relationship between human rights and corruption. The presentation illustrated that direct and indirect effects of corruption on human rights exist. That means, corruption can directly affect human rights, e.g. by forms of extortionary corruption using sexual favours but it can also affect human rights indirectly, e.g. through the erosion of public institution such as courts that ensure the rule of law. One remedy for such human rights violations resulting from corruption lies in litigation. Moreover, the ensuing discussion proposed the application of general human rights principles in anti-corruption efforts, hence framing corruption as a human rights issue.

Conclusion

> The conceptualization and operationalization of corruption poses one of the main challenges when trying to obtain indices that are comparable across different countries, regions and cultures.

> Aggregation of data nonetheless provides useful proxies for corruption, especially when the assessment methodology remains consistent over time. Yet it is at the same important not to draw too strong conclusions from indicators, e.g. by reducing country-level corruption to one single score.

> Conceptual confusion can be met by more systematic distinctions of corruption types

at hand; more systematic distinctions (Köbis & Huss, 2018; Köbis, van Prooijen, Righetti, & Van Lange, 2016; Pinto, Leana, & Pil, 2008) can help to gain new insights about corruption around the globe harnessing the potential of interdisciplinary collaborations and not to draw too strong conclusions from indicators, e.g. by reducing country-level corruption to one single score.

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The impact of international assistance on domestic anti-corruption strategies

Annika Engelbert, Ruhr University Bochum

Abstract

For the last two decades, the fight against corruption is high on the development agenda, which results in a large number of governance programs and institutional reform efforts. However, success stories of these strategies are rare; anti-corruption measures in development cooperation have proven to be rather disappointing and require a review of the reform tools. Against this backdrop, the workshop has focused on two sets of questions: First, which conceptualizations of corruption have evolved over the past 20 years in international assistance and how do they differ among (multilateral and bilateral) donor organizations and partner countries? Second, what are the policy challenges arising out of these conceptualizations and how can we assess the effectiveness of international assistance in the field of anti-corruption? The session included three introductory presentations followed by a plenary discussion on the issues mentioned above: (1) Studying (anti-)corruption in context; (2) Conceptualizing corruption as a human rights violation; and (3) Measuring the effectiveness of international anti-corruption assistance. We eventually tried to identify innovative anti-corruption strategies that go beyond institutional approaches applied to date.

Keywords

Introduction

Since the famous "cancer of corruption" speech of World Bank's former president James Wolfensohn in 1996, the fight against corruption has been high on the agenda of international assistance and has awoken a large number of governance programs and institutional reform efforts. Many practitioners and scientists contest the successful implementation of these strategies; they deplore the lack of evidence that law reforms impact or shape economic growth, or that people change their behavior as envisaged. Reforms of anti-corruption laws and institutions seem not to deliver as intended. Nevertheless, scholarly research still concentrates on institutional solutions to the problem of corruption, and neglects largely the underlying static concepts of corruption that have been carried along through different theoretical considerations on how to fight the phenomenon. But is there actually a common understanding among donor and partner countries on what they aim to combat? Anti-corruption frameworks are grounded in the understanding of corruption that originates and prevails in societies that are, quite ironically, less affected by corruption than the target countries and regions. In turn, the predominance of a universal, normative definition of corruption, especially one that takes as its basis the idea that there are common transcultural perceptions of corruption, may lead to the widespread adoption of blueprint anti-corruption mechanisms that are not context-specific and thus, ineffective.

Studying (anti-)corruption in context: Evidence from Peru

Presentation by Denisse Rodriguez Olivari, HU Berlin / Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB)

It is widely argued that corruption is not only higher in non-Western (poor) countries, but also culturally intrinsic to them. This presentation put forward the question how power and influence of the underlying narrative of the 'Global North' – embodied by International Financial Institutions – shape the assessment of corruption and anti-corruption strategies. Corruption, as well as the applied procedures against it, is shown in the presentation as a textbox example of how Western social constructions continue to reproduce power asymmetries between the 'Global North' and the 'Global South'. This fundamental divide between "rich" and "poor" is too simplistic and not helpful for developing anti-corruption policies, and should be replaced by a post-colonial perspective on the issue.

The presented project is based on a doctoral dissertation, which focuses on the relevance of perceived corruption in the analysis of the effectiveness of anti-corruption efforts in younger democracies. By using evidence from Peru, the project seeks to examine why the fight against corruption – despite decreasing experiences (or incidences) of corruption – does not have an apparent impact on levels of perceived corruption, and the consequences of this experience-perception gap. This gap occurs especially when corruption cases are brought to the attention of the population via mass media and become scandals of public interest, which is – in anti-corruption terms – a desirable outcome. Yet, the more corruption is reported, the more it is felt to be happening. Perception of corruption is also highly dependent on actors who are addressing, interpreting and reporting the issue. For instance, the business community may perceive it differently than other social groups. Different groups compete to shape and dominate the corruption discourse. Researching the effects of the over-estimation of perceived corruption becomes crucial because it affects a country's business climate and creditworthiness and encourages corrupt behavior. In sum, the presentation contested the universal applicability of policy prescriptions and called for more context-sensitive, politically engaged anti-corruption initiatives, where corruption is understood as an evolving concept that is highly context-specific. Anti-corruption policies based on wrong concept assumptions may have adverse effects and worsen the underlying problem.

Discussion

As a starting point, the discussion took up one of the central questions raised in the presentation: Can we conceptualize the misuse of public office as the misuse of public trust? It may allow us to address the incidence-perception gap in corruption measures and overcome a stark distinction between the 'Global North' and 'Global South', as the misuse of public trust is a recent phenomenon occurring also in Western democracies such as the U.S. However, the concern was raised that very broad definitions of this kind may overstretch the concept of corruption. In the end, corruption may become "everything we don't like" – a concept that is rather blurry. As a consequence, we would struggle to tackle corruption and develop meaningful anti-corruption strategies.

A similar problem arises on the theoretical rather than on the policy level when shifting the focus to the very specific contexts of corruption occurrence. If we look at corruption as a particular incidence in a given unique setting (i.e., a confined case study), does it

mean that we need one corruption theory for each context? Does it mean the end of the search for a grand theory of corruption?

Regarding the corruption perception issue, it was highlighted that low moral standards are something very different from corruption (see, for instance, Afrobarometer surveys: http://www.afrobarometer.org/surveys-and-methods). Taking part in corrupt activities may not be regarded as morally wrong, but as a necessity to participate in public life. It remains subject to further discussions how we can tackle the "perception backlash" or "perception-incidence gap".

Eventually, the audience agreed that power relations shape international anti-corruption assistance and that aid conditionality plays an important role in curbing corruption, which is not always instrumental, but rather promoting window-dressing.

How to measure the effectiveness of international anti-corruption assistance in Ukraine?

Presentation by Oksana Nesterenko, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Over the past two years, the Ukrainian government has initiated the most sweeping anti-corruption reform in the history of Ukraine. International actors such as the OECD, the IMF, the World Bank, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and USAID play key roles in this process. Representatives of the international institutions and representatives of the USA, EU and Canada not only support the reforms or are critical about their implementation, but also participate in the process of creation of new anti-corruption agencies and legislation in Ukraine.

Moreover, international institutions very often play a mediator role between the Ukrainian NGOs and representatives of Ukrainian authorities regarding anti-corruption public policy implementation. Therefore, anti-corruption can be termed as a joint effort of CSO and international actors, the latter currently playing a unique role in implementation of the new anti-corruption policy in Ukraine. Yet, the narrative of government politicians disclaims any impact of international assistance on anti-corruption. In this circumstance, the question of the effectiveness of international actors in the anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine arises. The presentation explored: (1) how can the effectiveness of international financial support be estimated; (2) which evaluation criteria should be used to get a correct impression of the impact of international actors and programs on anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine; (3) which indicators can be used to determine the quality of tools and

programs used by international actors?

The presented project has been monitoring the direct and indirect influence of the international actors on anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine for the last two years in order to understand the role of the international actors in the evolution of anti-corruption reforms. In addition, the project determined why certain anti-corruption programs instituted by European institutions and the U.S. government failed in the past. Finally, the research project suggested practical recommendations for quality indicators of tools and programs, which can be used to evaluate the effectiveness of the international programs. It is important to start measuring the progress by defining benchmarks and compare the status before and after the introduced reforms. A useful tool may be an indicator that measures the improvement of quality of life.

Discussion

First of all, it was observed that corruption is generally conceptualized as incompatible with democratic values. The discussion centered around the question on how to assess international assistance, how to justify the involvement of international actors in domestic anti-corruption reforms, and what is anti-corruption success after all. First, one of the most prevalent problems seems to be that there is a lack of data to be provided by the international actors on the projects they are funding. Transparency is, in most of the cases, heavily neglected, and participants called for an open data policy to be implemented by donors. Second, the question was raised whether the current situation is the right pace for reforms. Ukraine may be an example for over speeding. Participants expressed their concerns that aggressive top-down approaches may suddenly become a threat for stability in the country. Third, it was mentioned that donors face an operational dilemma when providing technical or financial assistance to very corrupt countries. On the one hand, there is a strong correlation between corruption and poverty; thus, the most corrupt countries need the strongest support. On the other hand, donors run higher fiduciary, reputational, and developmental risks when operating in corrupt environments. Thus, accountability mechanisms need to be established in the partner country, while donors are accountable to their own constituencies. Other issues raised in the discussion concerned the development of sustainable (cross-country) institutional learning and ownership problems in the adoption of foreign anti-corruption strategies.

Conclusion

In this workshop, we found more questions than answers, identified many policy challenges and a few promising innovative anti-corruption strategies. It did not become apparent in the discussions that we can draw a clear divide between donors' and partner countries' perceptions of corruption. It seems that corruption concepts – despite their plurality – are not treated differently in the 'Global North' and the 'Global South'. The main proposals on how to conceptualize corruption that have been so far neglected in the academic discourse were the following:

> Corruption as a human rights violation

> Corruption as the transformation from a public good into a private good

> Corruption as the opposite of an improvement of quality of life

The following innovative strategies were considered useful by the audience for international anti-corruption assistance and would require further research:

> developing context-specific solutions to corruption

> Applying a human rights-based approach to anti-corruption

> Strengthening civil society, particularly in environments where systemic corruption prevails

How to successfully implement international legal norms in national anti-corruption contexts

Jessica Flakne, Georgetown University Law Center

Abstract

There is a growing consensus that the international anti-corruption efforts that brought best practices and international standards to Eastern Europe, Russia and gradually worldwide following the end to the Cold War have produced little good fruit. International organizations such as the UN or OECD have spear-headed numerous efforts, which have successfully engaged nations from around the globe to implement domestic anti-corruption legislation based on emerging international norms. To the extent that these domestic laws have fallen short of their goals – and many of them arguably have and continue to – contributions to this session aimed to identify areas of weakness in international legal norms as well as deficiencies in the 'one-size-fits-all' approach that has been dominant in the past two decades. Four introductory presentations followed by a plenary discussion on the issue mentioned above were held: (1) A comparative study on the effect of the EU accession process on implementing anti-bribery norms domestically; (2) Fight Against Corruption in Russia: An Analysis of International Norms Implementation; (3) International advances and problems recognizing the relationship between corruption and money-laundering; and (4) Anti-Corruption Measures in Montenegro – Giving Solutions. Participants tried to identify areas for improving the implementation of legal norms into domestic contexts.

Keywords

Introduction

There is a growing consensus that the international anti-corruption effort that brought best practices and international standards to Eastern Europe, Russia and gradually world-wide following the end to the Cold War has produced little good fruit. Many efforts have been championed by international organizations such as the UN or OECD, which have successfully engaged nations from around the globe leading to implementation of domestic anti-corruption laws in many countries. These laws have fallen short of their goals and many of them arguably still do. Hence, this session aims to identify areas of weakness in international legal norms as well as deficiencies in the 'one-size-fits-all' approach that has been dominant the past two decades. One study approaches the question through a case study examining how the EU accession process has affected the implementation of specific anti-bribery norms for asset-confiscation, money-laundering and public procurement, comparing EU and non-EU member states. The second case study examines the important links between corruption and money-laundering in order to show how high-level international recognition of the correlation between the two must be supplemented by citizen awareness in order to design and implement effective policies against money-laundering at the international as well as the local level. A third case study analyses the specific country context of Montenegro and offers a critique of the 'one-size-fits-all' implementation of the country's anti-corruption initiative that arguably fails because it fights corruption as an extracted social phenomenon, rather than as a cross-cutting, deeply embedded social issue. The final case study examines how international anti-corruption norms localized in Russia have come to constitute a field of contestation and of exchange through which different groups of local actors may reinforce their positions on the domestic political level. All four cases thus provide critical insight to how international legal norms have been implemented nationally and to what extent there have been successes and failures.

Evaluating Legislation and Operational Implementation of International Anti-Bribery Legal Norms through the EU Accession Process

Presentation by Kotomi Moriguchi, Institute for International Research on Criminal Policy

The EU accession process has been a significant driver of the adoption of anti-corruption

legal norms in EU accession states. There have, however, been challenges in the effectiveness of this process. Ms. Moriguchi's research evaluates legislation and operational implementation of international legal norms embodied in Council of Europe Conventions, UNCAC and various EU aquis in the Western Balkans, specifically in the selected former Yugoslavian states of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro – two EU member states and two EU enlargement countries. The study focuses on several recently-developed anti-corruption measures including public procurement practices, whistle-blower protection, asset confiscation and anti-money laundering measures. By means of qualitative expert interviews with representatives from the UNODC, Council of Europe, EU, relevant national authorities and local NGOs, Ms. Moriguchi identifies hindrances and obstacles affecting the implementation of these anti-corruption measures at the national level. Furthermore, her study points out lessons learned from the Slovenian and Croatian EU accession experiences with implementing anti-bribery legislation that can and should be shared with the current EU accession states, Serbia and Montenegro.

Interim results presented show that national legislation across the four countries are more or less similar and in alignment with EU directives and the EU aquis, as well applying Council of Europe Conventions and the UNCAC. That said, each country's institutional mechanisms and structure differ, depending on national policy and legal and law enforcement culture. At the same time, some international norms lack clarity and certain ambiguous terms have created problems with implementation. With regards to enforcement, overall the results show a large discrepancy between the legislation and reality, with 'non-legal, cultural' factors being predominantly the reason for this difference. Interim results also show that the shortcomings and obstacles experienced in the four case countries, are to a large extent similar, especially regarding the lack of operational enforcement. For example, with respect to public procurement, however well-composed and well-facilitated the law, its function is impaired due to an environment where culture, people's behavior, mentalities, economic insecurities, etc., outweigh the legal-institutional mechanisms. The research further shows that current EU Member States in this study continue to suffer from corruption issues. This conclusion clearly suggests a need to establish further, high-quality monitoring mechanisms for transposition and enforcement, in addition to the current international and regional monitoring system based on legal-institutional factors alone.

Fight Against Corruption in Russia:
An Analysis of International Norms Implementation

Presentation by Maria Gorkovskaya, Centre for political studies (CEVIPOL) at Université libre de Bruxelles.

For some time, the central authority in Russia refused to implement the international legal norms established by the UN Convention Against Corruption ("UNCAC"), even after Russia became a signatory to the treaty. The anti-corruption norms contained in UNCAC were interpreted by some domestic political actors as opposed to the Russian constitution. Gradually, the principles were implemented and became a centerpiece for national level political jockeying. Ms. Maria Gorkovskaya's research focuses on understanding how these international anti-corruption norms implemented in the national context can constitute a field of political contestation among various local actors. Through her research, she hopes to better understand to what extent domestic political processes can influence the success of adopting international legal norms into the domestic context.

The study's initial findings support the idea that local stakeholders attempt to localize international anti-corruption norms by reinterpreting them to fit into the national context. Thus, a field of contestation over how to interpret and localize these norms emerges among the different actors, each of whom aspires to gain political domination. Ms. Gorkovskaya's research analyses the strategies of various local networks, with greatest focus on the dominant role of the executive branch and especially the presidential administration in implementing anti-corruption legislation as well as on the political and civil society activists who use their anti-corruption expertise to gain a voice in the internal political field. The study's research found that as compared to anti-corruption bills and amendments initiated by the parliament, the majority of which were struck down and not adopted, 100% of the legislation put forward by the Presidential administration was adopted. Furthermore, a close examination of the 2008 adoption of the main anti-corruption law revealed a fierce contest over every letter of the law with various political factions vying for their interpretations to be included. The research also highlighted the specific role of Alexei Navalny as someone exemplifying how activists are pushing their own political agendas vis-à-vis participating in the contest over anti-corruption norm implementation.

International Advances and Problems Recognizing the Relationship Between Corruption and Money-Laundering

Presentation by Wilbert Luna, University of Oxford

The study begins with the hypothesis that whenever there is public corruption involving the reception of a pecuniary or material gain, there is money-laundering, which seems particularly logical given that public corruption enables money-laundering and most of its predicate offenses. Mr. Luna's work asserts, however, that public corruption should not be seen just as another one of the predicate offenses to money-laundering, but should be viewed as a special type because of its nature. The aim of his study is thus to describe the international advances uniquely linking public corruption and money-laundering as corresponding faces of the same, value-destroying coin.

The study explains how what may seem obvious – that corruption is a predicate offense of money-laundering, and as such, the former conduct produces the latter – has not always been so obvious by looking at the evolution of international norms related to money-laundering. The study specifically highlights how the Financial Action Task Force ("FATF") that is the international standard-setter on anti-money laundering did not expressly identify corruption as a predicate offense for money-laundering until 2003, thirteen years after it issued its first standards. The study also discusses the evolution of seeing a public servant solely as someone who could be corrupted, as enshrined in the Vienna Convention, to someone who may commit corrupt acts, as indicated in the later Palermo Convention, and its impact on developing money-laundering standards. This development over time in international standards has thus left some cracks in the 'obvious' link between public corruption and money-laundering, suggesting that to better combat money-laundering, one area to start with is to call out international organizations setting the norms regarding clarifying this relationship and pressuring domestic actors to do the same.

Anti-Corruption Measures in Montenegro – Giving Solutions

Presentation by Maja Markovic, The University of Birmingham

Corruption has been one of the central topics in the context of EU accession and has generally been a big issue throughout the Western Balkans. In Montenegro, 40 laws and

by-laws have been adopted specifically regarding anti-corruption and the country has instituted its third anti-corruption agency after the first two were withdrawn. Great hope has been placed into these agencies, however, they have not been able to solve the problem of a corrupt government. To be successful, the agencies require good governance as well as public trust and legitimacy, however, statistics show public trust in the institution at less than 15%. The study presented thus attempts to answer the question: Does it make sense to fight corruption through the creation of such institutions even though the public does not place its trust in these institutions and they thus lack legitimacy?

The study shows that the 'one-size-fits-all' approach to anti-corruption policies that has often included the establishment of an anti-corruption agency specifically may present risks for duplicating bureaucracy and polarizing society through those agencies, which lack legitimacy. The findings suggest that it may be more useful to combat corruption through targeting, or at least taking into account, social issues. For example, when transposing international anti-corruption policies to the national level, the social norms, culture, and social capital of the domestic context should be taken into careful consideration. Anti-corruption is more than an exercise in administration, but must also address deeply rooted societal problems including education. To support this point, the study point to the success of Hong Kong's anti-corruption organization, which took seriously the role of education and thus produced generational shifts over time. Ms. Markovic's research therefore provides a template for re-thinking the 'one-size-fits-all' approach by designing anti-corruption policies that take into account important national societal factors.

Discussion

The general discussion opened with a question reacting to all of the presentations, namely: So, what is the best way of conceptualizing corruption? And, how do we deal with the hierarchy of norms and contestation? In addition to focusing on contestation, it was suggested that it would also be interesting and important to focus on capacity. The research of Ms. Moriguchi and Ms. Markovic particularly shed light on how it can be observed that the actual transposition of international norms into national jurisdiction is not enough. The example of Uganda was also raised to show how a country may have a perfect anti-corruption legal framework, but no practical effect.
Participants also discussed how the protection of basic human rights plays a role in the adoption of anti-corruption norms. Similar to anti-corruption implementation, the im-

plementation of human rights treaties has also depended largely on the capacity of the state. It has also depended significantly on the nation's ability to adopt the norms into its societal system. Participants cited how authoritarian regimes or former authoritarian regimes tend to need more time to implement standards in order to change the cultural narrative and long-held behaviors. At the same time, in some cases, political will and external pressure can shorten the transition time and countries do not necessarily need decades to adapt. Romania was cited as one such case in which political will and external pressure were effective. Still, even when institutional change may come with time, people need to understand and internalize the norms for them to be adopted.

Based on the research presented, there was broad consensus that before implementing anti-corruption norms, we should be asking whether or not these norms are efficient and effective. The answer is not 'yes' per se. Capacity building should be considered, which includes emphasizing changing culture and behavior.

A specific question regarding money-laundering was raised, namely how to identify beneficial owners? It was explained that in the United Kingdom, a beneficial ownership registry is being created, but that this is not the only answer. At the most basic level, when investigating money-laundering, one should let people tell their story so that we can build a narrative about where the money is coming from (i.e., always follow the money). Furthermore, at the international level, multiple authorities should cross-check each other in their work and thus develop a cooperation in their uses of anti-laundering mechanisms.

A few other questions were left open to the group, including: (1) is there a risk of anti-corruption enforcement pushing the issue to become one for economic contestation (e.g., see enforcement of U.S. FCPA legislation on domestic versus foreign actors); (2) how suitable is the quality of government/democratization at defining the success of anti-corruption measures?; (3) how do we deal with the politicization of anti-corruption legal norms?

Conclusion

> The overall conclusion was that international legal norms have largely helped in the implementation of national anti-corruption policies, however, much more can be done to take into account the national political and socio-economic contexts when implementing these. This can be done both at the international level, especially when international standard-setters consider how the policies will be defined and implemented, but also at the national level when taking into account the various particularities of the political and social context of the country.

The historical roots of corruption

Sofia Wickberg, Sciences Po Paris,
Centre for European Studies (CEE)

Abstract

Where does corruption come from? This question has puzzled corruption scholars for decades and this workshop is an opportunity to introduce a historical perspective in the search for the roots of corruption. Corruption is not a new phenomenon. However, the term 'corruption' has not always designated the same practices and covered the same ideas, nor does it necessarily do so today. Seeing corruption as a phenomenon whose conception is entrenched in the institutions, habits and norms of social groups invites scholars to pause and look back in time to understand how we came to define and explain corruption as we do today.

The presenters of this workshop used historical reasoning to shed light on the origins of corruption, looking at the role of conflicts, political structures and socialisation. The discussions suggest how to use the historical analysis of context and past events to better understand and conceptualise corruption.

Introduction

This workshop on the historical roots of corruption was structured around four presentations starting from different points in time and looking at different parts of the world, which aimed to explain how history and past events shape institutions, interpersonal relations and views on corruption. The red thread of the workshop was the discrepancy between the general (often technical) understandings of corruption and actual experien-

ces and perceptions of corruption. The presentations had different conceptualizations of corruption, ranging from bribery to political corruption, clientelism/patronage and state capture. A central question that came out from the presentations and the subsequent discussions was the relevance of a universal definition of corruption, given its inherent breadth and vagueness.

Explaining corruption in Guatemala through the lens of history

Presentation by Aiken CHEW, Corvinus University

Aiken Chew presented the preliminary results of his Master's thesis on the historical roots of corruption in Guatemala. He started with the observation that Latin America countries and specifically Guatemala have been shaken by a number of political scandals in recent years. Among them the key role has the scandals revealed by the Guatemalan Public Ministry and the United Nations' International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), which sentenced the Head of the executive branch and a number of ministers to prison on corruption charges. Aiken Chew argued that the key to understanding the particular types of corruption that strives in Guatemala today is to look back at history of the country, and in particular, at its military history and structure. In his MA research, Aiken Chew uses archives, media materials and grey literature (think tank reports etc.) combined with face-to-face interviews of public officials to understand how Guatemala ended up as a "co-opted state". The presented study has two parts: firstly, it explores a historical account of the evolution of structures that shaped corruption forms since the late 80s until the turning point of the scandal in 2015. Secondly, it compiles a set of perspectives on how corruption manifestations and perceptions, and explains the role of the CICIG fighting corruption according to key figures of the Guatemalan political landscape. The presenter does not propose a universal conceptualisation of corruption but offers a rich context-specific analysis of one case study. The results of his research show that the 36 year-long armed conflict plays a central role in the analysis of corruption in Guatemala and its current manifestations can be traced to the close ties established by the military elites with the business world that helped the former take control of the state apparatus. The research shows that the impunity is central to the conceptualisation of corruption in Guatemala, as the purpose of corruption in contemporary Guatemala is less the extraction of rents but rather the guarantee of freedom from sanctions. The pre-

sentation also demonstrates the important role played by the international community in the fight against corruption in Guatemala through the UN's CICIG.

The importance of history for understanding corruption in Liberia

Presented by Heather GILBERDS, Carleton University, Accountability Lab

Heather Gilberds presented the context-specific nature of corruption in Liberia, building on the history of the country's independence until contemporary times. Through this historical narrative, Heather offers a critique of current international efforts to fight corruption in this fragile post-conflict state, which do not sufficiently consider the local context and the weight of the national history on current forms of corruption. The presentation gave a detailed account of how Liberia became the new home of the freed slaves and gained independence from the United States. The arrival of this group resulted in the domination of the local population by the newcomers who enslaved them and established segregation policies. Heather further weaved the web of how this socio-political hierarchy generated the new forms of patronage. She drew a parallel between Liberia and many countries in Africa, and in particular West Africa, that have similar histories and have similar entrenched patterns of corruption, which emerged out of colonial power relationships and societal divisions between colonial elites and the indigenous majorities. Referring to personal observations obtained when working in the Accountability Lab in Liberia, Heather pointed out the dynamics of international development aid and anti-corruption efforts in the country. She argued that the concept of corruption tends to be operationalised in a very technical manner in Liberia. That is, efforts to stem corruption largely focus on building the capacity of government departments and on establishing supportive institutions. However, this technical approach often overlooks the political and historical dimensions of corruption, i.e. how long-standing power relationships continue to fuel corruption despite the institutional reforms. The anti-corruption efforts are often led and funded by international donors or multilaterals. To appease donors while maintaining the status quo, the governments in fragile states such as Liberia, who benefit from rampant corruption, set up institutions that are devoid of any real power.

The parallel made between the ignorance of local history and the failures of anti-corruption efforts generated a discussion on the need to tailor anti-corruption aid to the

specific contexts to avoid generating even more corruption. The example of Singapore was used to back the argument.

Inequality and corruption: a comparative analysis of Spanish regions

Presented by Maria del Mar Canizares Espadafor, IC3JM

Maria del Mar Canizares Espadafor presented her analysis of corruption in Spain, aiming to explain differences in levels of political corruption across country regions. The study shows that political corruption is particularly present at the local political level in Spain. Arguing that the institutional and cultural factors do not fully explain the differences in corruption levels and forms in the local contexts, Maria takes a historical perspective to trace the origins of the problems encountered at the local level, such as mainly the state capture and clientelism. The central argument that the presentation followed is that the current level of corruption in Spanish regions could be explain by different timing of the territorial reconquest. The ways that the land was distributed created varying levels of inequality in local communities, which in turn caused corruption. In this project, Maria used historical analysis and process-tracing to draw the parallel trajectories of Spanish regions. The level of corruption is measured in the study by the number of court cases and scandals revealed in the newspapers – which were usually following the opening of a judicial case. The research shows the correlation between the level of inequality of access to the land and the level of political corruption.

The data used to measure corruption in this study sparked a discussion in the group about the validity of court cases and published scandals as corruption measurement. It was discussed that the benefit of this type of data is that it avoids the bias of measuring only bribery, which is usually done through the victimisation studies and which is not appropriate for answering the research questions set in this study. however, it falls into the trap of only looking at what is visible – the tip of the iceberg. The discussants encouraged Maria to think about enriching her analysis with the institutional and socio-cultural literature (Putnam etc.) since there is a strong link between historical developments (such as the reconquest), existing and emerging institutions (such as the Church) and the development of political cultures (including the institutional and interpersonal trust).

The role of socialization in tolerance of corruption

Presented by Patty Zakaria, University Canada West

Patty Zakaria presented her on-going research on the socialization effect of corruption. She is looking at this issue diachronically and from a cross-national perspective, comparing Croatia/Yugoslavia and Mexico. More specifically, this study is interested in the implication of socialization on individual level of trust, acceptance (normalization of corruption within society), and corruption justification, with a particular focus on the socialization and norm-inducing effect of education, building on John Dewey (1950) and Coleman's (1965) work on how the quality of education determines the socialization in society. The initial argument that this study builds on is that the social rejection of corruption is essential for anti-corruption initiatives to yield results. There is indeed a risk of seeing the investments being wasted if there is a social backing of corruption. Understanding tolerance for corruption can provide an important information and tools for developing more effective anti-corruption reforms. Given this understanding of political socialization, the study explores how historical experience with corrupt political parties and government can influence past and future generations with respect to perceiving and tolerating corrupt behaviors. With respect to Croatia/Yugoslavia, the study seeks to understand how individuals under socialist rule were socialized to view and tolerate corruption, and perhaps most importantly, how communist generations differ from their democratic counterparts in the country, who were politically socialized under democratic rule in the 1990s and 2000s. Moreover, the study seeks to understand how individuals under the Institutional Revolutionary Party rule were socialized to view and tolerate corruption, and to determine whether this socialization has influenced current perception and acceptance of corruption in the country.

The presentation fueled a discussion on the stigma of being "clean" or acting properly when corruption is a norm that is widely accepted, which ties into the research on whistleblowers' motives. Another important observation is the role of the socializing agents, such as teachers, elders and parents, - the so-called 'agents of change'. The discussants mentioned that there is some evidence that the integration of women into corrupt organisations had positive impact on the group's behavior and institutional integrity. The question of socialization remains central here: is this a result of women not having been socialised in the corrupt culture or are women fundamentally different in their approach to these issues.

Conclusion

> Whilst the presentations focused on how a country's history shapes the structure of corruption and how individuals perceive and understand the phenomenon, the discussions concentrated mainly on the conceptualisation of corruption, throughout history and countries. Participants agreed on the limits of the mainstream definitions (such as the definitions of the World Bank, the Transparency International) and disagreed on the need for a general definition of corruption and discussed the relevance of such a definition for scholars using historical methods (risks of making ahistorical statements). It was mentioned that corruption is a broad concept that itself relates to other broad concepts that need to be understood in order to grasp the phenomenon. The discussants and presenters tried to move beyond the largely-explored dichotomy between the universal definitions that allow measurement and comparison, and concrete corrupt acts that are more context-specific. Participants argued that social scientists always work with ideal-types, which is also the case for corruption research, but that the conception of corruption can differ from project to project and therefore needs to be explicitly stated.

Conceptualizing Corruption in Fragile States

Anna K. Schwickerath, Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf / GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences

Abstract

Corruption threatens stability and peace. It undermines peoples' trust in institutions and political systems in general. However, defining corruption is a subject of controversy among scholars, particularly in the context of fragile states. In the absence of functional institutions, identifying key elements of existing definitions of corruption, such as public authority or public good, becomes a challenge. Furthermore, due to the lack of rule of law in these countries, detecting violations of social or legal norms is rather complicated. This is especially true for countries affected by violent conflicts.

With a special emphasis on peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations, this workshop focused on the conceptualization of corruption in fragile states. It was meant to develop ideas on how to overcome the above-mentioned shortcomings by discussing concepts of corruption relevant for the peacekeeping/building context in an interdisciplinary setting.

Introduction

Identifying the key components of corruption in the absence of functional institutions is challenging. This is however a pre-condition for research that aims to assess the impact of corruption on (post-)conflict situations. Focusing on the conception of corruption in the context of such situations therefore, the workshop consisted of an introduction followed by two presentations.

The introduction was provided by Anna K. Schwickerath who presented her PhD project which focuses on corruption in the context of peacekeeping operations, by conducting a content analysis of official United Nations documents. As the data-set consists of more than 2700 documents, the analysis includes the creation of a dictionaire to be used for an automated search. For the creation of the dictionaire - a list of terms relevant for the analysis - theoretical approaches must be transferred into concepts of corruption. In doing so, relevant terms and their synonyms are used to identify sections in the data pointing to statements on corruption and related acts. Establishing the conceptualization of corruption in this way is a crucial part of her study, as it identifies the most important contexts of corruption for UN peacekeeping in order to find appropriate measures against it.

With regard to (post-)conflict states, she formulated two relevant questions for the overall topic of the workshop: Can there be corruption if there is no public office or entrusted power; and can this difficulty be overcome by applying veto player theory? Is there a public good without formal institutions; and can human rights be considered as public good?

Make payments, not war?
Understanding the corruption-conflict nexus

David Remmert, FU Berlin

Corruption and armed conflict are correlated. The presenter put emphasis on the question of whether the vicious circle between corruption and conflict can be broken.
His research looked at international peace missions. He questioned that if they cannot leave behind better governed states, how can far less influential governance modes (like development cooperation) be expected to have more impact in (post-)conflict societies? He argued that conceptualizing corruption is not about finding a universal definition of corruption, but to understand what corruption means in a given context. Studying armed conflict

is therefore particularly helpful to conceptualize corruption because it directs us towards the struggles for power, for which, he argues, conflict and corruption are two syndromes.

In contrast to studying consolidated states, a predatory theory of state formation seems much more adequate for studying states of conflict and fragility. Therefore, it is helpful to imagine state formation in terms of Mancur Olson's "stationary bandits", in other words warlords who establish permanent rule over a domain in order to extract rents through taxation (Olson & Mancur, 2000).

Corruption must be conceptualized as a phenomenon nested within institutions. In this context, the great weakness of extractive institutions as opposed to inclusive institutions is that they will always marginalize groups in society and access to spoils is never fully secured. In fragile states, two systems exist next to each other, the patrimonial system of personal relations needed to secure loyalty, and the legal-rational system of bureaucracy needed for the legitimate claim to power and resources. In that sense, corruption does not "create" violent conflict or vice versa, but rather armed conflict can signify the collapse of clientelistic networks. Corruption should be conceptualized as an informal mode of governance aimed at reducing uncertainty in contexts of state fragility. Different forms of corruption reflect the problem of uncertainty at different levels and for different groups.

The presenter argued that post-conflict states with exposure to an international peace mission are significantly more corrupt than states without that exposure. In his case studies, he finds that especially those missions with executive powers (e.g. UNMIK), tend to prioritize political stability over the rule of law. But how can anticorruption work under these conditions? Whereas many interventions seek to empower the victims of corruption, effective anticorruption must also aim at the profiteers, e.g. by formalizing some of their war-era rents and by conditioning assistance funds and strategic incentives (such as EU or NATO membership, security guarantees for newly independent states).

Anti-corruption missions and where to find them. A study of two EU governance missions with an anti-corruption mandate

Miranda Loli, Technische Universität Darmstadt

The discourse on peacebuilders and corruption often identifies a so-called "dilemma" in

relation to corruption since they may have to choose to cooperate or "make deals" with the perpetrators of conflict in order to avoid new spurges of violence even if this means reproducing a corrupt system of governance (USIP, 2010). While the anti-corruption governance regime has recently been very active in post-conflict reconstruction, we still know very little about both the role of the EU in these kinds of non-military 'governance missions'.

The aim of the presenter's PhD project therefore is to look at how the EU deals with corruption in its external missions in post-conflict environments. By applying a mixed-methods approach, she focusses on two case studies of EU missions with a clear anti-corruption mandate, namely the EU Rule of Law mission in Kosovo (EULEX) and the EU Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM). Beyond the fact that they are at the intersection of post-conflict reconstruction and anti-corruption, the EULEX and the EUBAM missions present interesting case studies for a number of reasons: Both missions illustrate new ways of anti-corruption by 'missionizing', which has not yet been addressed in the general literature on the fight against corruption. Furthermore, while anti-corruption has per se a de-stabilizing impact, in both cases the EU has a security and a stability mandate.

Despite their similarities, the two missions differ crucially in their scope. While EULEX is an all-encompassing mission, EUBAM's task is mainly a border assistance mission and aims at fighting corruption specifically, and only at the border. This detaches it from the rest of corruption going on Ukraine, Moldova or Transnistria. Thus they are at the opposite sides of the capacity continuum with EULEX having the broadest mission and EUBAM having the most specific mandate. However, both aim to produce certain standards of governance with regard to anti-corruption.

The presenter argued that both missions represent a new way of EU engagement in anti-corruption. As such it is important to investigate how they will shape both the European as well as the international anti-corruption regime.

Discussion

A number of topics were discussed in the workshop by presenters and participants.
As the fight against corruption might lead to an increase of violence, it was agreed that these measures should be designed with caution. Also, corruption in the military sector should be addressed.

Furthermore, the question of corruption as a cause or consequence of violent conflict was addressed, leading to the assumption that specific forms of corruption (such as endemic corruption) are more likely to contribute to the outbreak of violent conflict than others.

It was emphasized that corruption in the context of peacekeeping operations is considered a difficult subject for research, especially as the fight against corruption is not a priority for peacekeepers. Therefore, the question of what should come first in a peacekeeping operation – promoting anti-corruption or stability – was discussed broadly. With regard to the conceptualization of corruption, it was argued that this should encompass the specific contexts of corruption, as well as, in the case of violent conflict, the conceptualization of power.

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The Importance of Social Norms in Designing Anti-Corruption Mechanisms

Ina Kubbe, Tel Aviv University

Abstract

Corruption is often conceived as a part of everyday life, constructed by a society's specific formal and informal institutions, its traditions and norms that differ across and within countries. This workshop focused in particular on the role of social norms in the description, explanation, prediction, and combat of corruption. Norms are cultural products including values, customs and traditions that shape an individual's basic knowledge of what others do and what others think they should do. They can also dictate the extent to which individuals engage, and expect others to engage in corruption. Presented papers have identified, described and analyzed social norms that are undermining anti-corruption public policies and mechanisms, but also those papers have looked for and suggested solutions. Thereby, the participants have applied and tested commonly used theories and approaches related to corruption, as well as generated new concepts and models based on their findings.

Introduction

The relationship between corruption and social norms is still underexposed in the international interdisciplinary research on corruption. The fact is that conventional explanatory approaches such as the principal-agent theory or the collective action approach are not

sufficient to describe, explain, predict and combat corruption all over the world. The research on social norms offers a new perspective to look at every country individually and design proper anti-corruption mechanisms depending on the cultural context. Norms are cultural products including values, customs and traditions that shape an individual's basic knowledge of what others do and what others think they should do. They can also dictate the extent to which individuals engage, and expect others to engage in corruption. This workshop concentrated on the link between social norms and anti-corruption mechanisms from a cross-cultural, empirical perspective by the means of different methodological approaches such as experimental studies, surveys and opinion polls, media analyses and interviews. Thereby, the various contributions took different levels of analyses into consideration, such as the individual and societal levels, and illustrated how important it is to use different approaches to analyze and condemn corruption. For comparative reasons, the authors focused both on countries with high levels of corruption (such as Indonesia, Mexico or Papua New Guinea), and on ones with low levels of corruption (such as the Netherlands or the United Kingdom) to bring insights into the complex relationship between norms and anti-corruption mechanisms. Every study presented innovative ways and solutions how we can identify, understand and change social norms related to the perception of corruption.

The Effect of Culture of Corruption on Moral Judgment and Emotions upon Corruption

Presentation by Meta Zahro Aurelia, VU Amsterdam

This study, conducted by Meta Zahro Aurelia, Jan-Willem van Prooijen and Paul A.M. van Lange, aims to understand the role of group as a moral reference for its members to behave, particularly in corrupt behavior. It includes two population samples representing two different groups in terms of corruption level, namely the Netherlands and Indonesia. Previous research has found that a social group, has an important role in determining the occurrence of immoral behavior of its members. Someone will tend to foul when a social group as the reference morally approve or condone such behavior, and when individual sees there was other member of the group who had already committed similar violations, including in the context of corruption. Thus, the author hypothesizes that Indonesian people are likely to perceive corruption (in general) as something less immoral, when compared with the Dutch perception regarding the same issue. Furthermore, it is

expected that the Indonesian people will perceive corruption in congregation (multiple agent corruption) and corruption for the common interest (communal benefit-oriented corruption) as less immoral than the Dutch. In the first experiment, recruiting 200 Dutch and Indonesian students, she found that it was the Dutch who turned out to be significantly more permissive, morally, socially and legally, in looking at cases of corruption than the Indonesian. It leads to the supposition that the more people live in a culture that is not susceptible to corruption, the less they perceive corruption as immoral and punitive, both socially and legally. She suspects that this happens because people living in a context of low corruption culture are not accustomed to exposure of corruption; hence, they do not have profound emotional involvement and social awareness of corruption and its consequences. In the second experiment, she further examines whether the change of corruption culture affects the shifting perception of corruption mediated by perceived harmfulness of corruption and (partly) moderated by moral emotions.

Discussion

Meta's presentation and the following discussion have illustrated how important it is to research social norms. It also made clear that we have to differentiate between certain forms of norms such as social / morale norms because their definitions and conceptualizations are still not clear and do not have a common understanding. Yet, the potential of experimental studies on corruption related to norms was highlighted. The use and conduction of experiments in certain countries with different levels of corruption is particularly promising because they allow us to consider and compare cultural contexts with different norms and perceptions of corruption. It can lead to the new context-specific anti-corruption mechanisms. Furthermore, the discussants agreed with the presentation's main conclusion that a society should always be aware and sensitive to corruption, as it affects our moral standards upon corruption. It also implies that it is essential to the sustainability of the anti-corruption movement carrying out the slogan "stay loud, no matter what."

Corruption in Mexico: A micro-sociological approach

Presentation by Silvestre Orozco Sanchez, University of Guadalajara

Different measurement tools of corruption levels have always pointed out that Mexico possess high levels of corruption. Despite the low level of efficacy shown across time, the

most common governmental response to counter it is the reinforcement of formal mechanisms and sanctions to deter corrupt behavior. This research analyzes several surveys done in Mexico since 2000 to 2015 in order to identify social norms which are undermining anticorruption public policies and mechanisms. Three main results could be drawn from the research: The first is that the definition of corruption is widely misunderstood among Mexicans. This makes corruption an undefined problem, therefore it is harder for authorities to create effective countermeasures to diminish it. In the other hand, citizens seem not to fully comprehend and engage in such programs since corruption are linked- or misunderstood- with other felonies and immoral activities. The second result is that social norm's presence, absence, weak or strong enforcement and saliency can therefore affect the probabilities and frequency of corruption acts among citizens. The set of social norms identified in Mexico create a tangled mix of incentives which enhance the likelihood of corrupt behavior as a preferable strategy for individuals. Other components of the sociological paradigm of corruption like inequality, social capital, institutional trust, etc. are measured and analyzed to understand this set of incentives and to compare how theory match with the survey studies. The third result is linked to a psychological mechanism which is tightly linked to social norms. Results show that in Mexico a pluralist ignorance about the topic of corruption exists, along with second order preferences among citizens. In resume, it is imperative that the government and civil society engage in alternative mechanisms and programs to deter corruption which should be focused on transforming social norms and expectations rather than sanctions.

Discussion

Silvestre's study reveals how citizen's definitions and understanding of corruption still differ in countries such as Mexico. In particular, the definition of corruption is widely misunderstood among Mexicans. Thus, we need to do more research on citizen's attitudes and opinions regarding corruption and include them in our measurements and concepts – and also in the design of anti-corruption mechanisms. The presentation clarified that legal conceptualizations for designing and implementing anti-corruption policies are still dysfunctional. If concepts only consider legal anchoring, other dimensions are left untreated. That is why we need to consider different corruption crimes, not only those involving money (e.g. bribery), but also favoritism. For us, academics researching corruption, the definition is rather clear, but it is less so for ordinary citizens. And this is not only the case for Mexico – as some discussants mentioned – this is also evident in European

countries with lower levels of corruption. Thus, the use of surveys and polls are of vital importance for exposing and curbing corruption all over the world.

Framing Corruption: The Effect of Media Framing on Perceived Responsibility of Corruption

Presentation by Christopher Starke, University of Münster

This particular research project of C. Starke, S. Wickberg, M. Aurelia und N.C. Köbis investigates potential media effects on the perception of responsibility and collective action in response to different forms of corruption. They draw on the framing theory put forth by Iyengar (1991) who distinguishes between thematic and episodic news frames. While episodic news frames rather focus on single events, instances, and certain individual actors, thematic news frames provide more background information and cover an issue in a more analytical way. Building on this theoretic approach, they investigate the influence of media framing on responses to public scandals such as corruption and tax evasion. Specifically, they experimentally test to what extent episodic and thematic framing impacts moral emotions and perceived responsibility with regard to political scandals. For that purpose, they generated and pre-tested a total of four newspaper articles: Two articles depict a case of tax evasion through a Panamanian Law Firm (Panama Paper article) and two describe an instance of revolving door, a form of public corruption (corruption article). For both the Panama Paper article and the corruption article, they then manipulate whether an individual is portrayed as the primary culprit (episodic frame) or whether the incident is primarily described as the result of loopholes in the system (thematic frame). Using a between-subject design, they assess the responses to these different articles. The research project proposes new insights into how media framing public scandals contributes to emotional responses and collective action.

Discussion

The presented project and subsequent discussion offered insight into the effects of media on the perception of responsibility and collective action in response to different forms of corruption. It emphasized the significant role of media reports and journalists in framing and conceptualizing corruption and, thus, educating and designing (anti-)corruption mechanisms. In particular, we concluded that, journalists can shape and affect the occur-

rence of corruption because they are an intermediary between uncovered corruption scandals, events or incidents and their deliver to the public. They inform, sensitize and strengthen citizen's opinions regarding corruption, but also can serve as their voice. Therefore, media is significant in designing anti-corruption mechanism by changing and influencing norms – in a positive, but also in a negative way. In other words, the channels of reports can change attitudes and perceptions of corruption and social norms by the means of thematic and episodic framing of corruption events.

Corruption as a collective action and principal agent problem in Papua New Guinea: Implications for theory and policy

Presentation by Grant Walton, Australian National University

Recent theorizing on corruption has bifurcated between two approaches: corruption is described as a collective action or principal-agent problem. Framing corruption in these ways has implications for fighting it, with each theory suggesting different anti-corruption responses. However, little has been written about the conditions that shape the relevance of these theories for understanding and responding to corruption at the sub-national level. Drawing on insights from economic and political geography, this presentation examined the way social and cultural norms shape the relevance of these theories across space and what this means for addressing corruption. The presentation draws on observations of administrative and community responses to decentralization policy in Papua New Guinea. Despite efforts of policy makers to institutionalize principal-agent relations, it is argued that state-society relations have turned corruption into a collective action problem in some places and a principal-agent problem in others. The applicability of these theories is determined by the degree of alignment between social and cultural norms and administrative values. The research suggests that policies need to be flexible enough to respond to corruption as both a collective action and principal agent problem. The presentation provides suggestions as to how this could be achieved in Papua New Guinea, and in other developing nations where state-society relations significantly vary across space.

Discussion

Grant's study raises attention to the fact that we still neglect the conditions that shape

the relevance of theories, such as the principal-agent, collective action or framing theory, for the understanding and responding to corruption at the sub-national level. By the means of interviews, he has illustrated that the context matters for understanding the efficacy of these approaches based on the observations of administrative and community responses to decentralization policy in Papua New Guinea – a country that is still under-represented in the research on corruption. Grant's presentation and the panel discussion came to conclusion that the potential resistance to corruption is shaped by specific cultural, social and administrative factors. Moreover, the results show the potential for corruption research below the scale of the nation state.

Conclusion

In general, the workshop provided evidence that the perception, definition and conceptualization of corruption as well as prevalent social norms related to corruption are still under-researched. In particular, the definition of corruption is widely misunderstood or misinterpreted. The use of experiments, surveys and opinion polls, media analyses and interviews constitute appropriate methods to identify and analyze attitudes and opinions as well as psychological mechanisms and, in particular, social norms which are undermining anticorruption public policies and mechanisms to curb corruption. In this workshop, we came to the following results:

> Corruption is still an undefined problem, public understanding of which varies;
no matter if these are low or high level corruption countries

> Social awareness of corruption cases is still missing

> Definitions and conceptualization of social norms is not common

> Corruption and social norms are defined, conceptualize and framed, among other,
by the media; which affects citizens understanding and perception

> Context matters (awareness and resistance to corruption is shaped by specific cultural,
social and administrative factors) – at all levels (individual, institutional, country

> The media can support and assist the design of efficient anti-corruption mechanisms

Based on these findings the relationship between corruption and social norms needs further analyses to develop context-specific anti-corruption strategies and mechanisms. Some of the proposed solutions include:

> The application of a social norm-based approach to identify and condemn corruption from different disciplines (political science, economy, social-psychology) and methodologies (quantitative, qualitative, mixed method

> An increased involvement and better understanding of citizen's perceptions and the impact of journalists (e.g. the journalist's relations to citizen's perception

Corruption in Public Administration

Steven Gawthorpe, Charles University Prague

Abstract

Provisioning public services and coordinating the multiplicity of interests for effective governance is a perennial challenge. Even under ideal conditions, it is a process prone to a host of problems for harmonizing diffuse interests and accomplishing governmental objectives. In the face of corruption, however, the challenge is far more apparent as the line between public and private becomes increasingly more obscure straining the capacity for policymakers to both identify the root of the problem and produce a sustainable solution.

Keywords

<u>public administration</u> <u>public procurement</u> <u>ethical regulation</u>

Introduction

The workshop "Corruption in Public Administration" identifies a variety of public administrative challenges and regionally distinctive cases within the problem context of corruption. The authors from this workshop provided research perspectives with significant value for those within the field of public administration and those with interests in the constraints of effective policymaking. The presentations were of important instructive value as the presenters provided specific case examples challenging notions of what many consider to be "best practices" in contemporary anti-corruption approaches. These cases help reconsidering the current trajectory of anti-corruption, where it falls short, and what is necessary for improvements by policymakers.

Asymmetry of Ethical Regulation in Public Service of Azerbaijan

Presentation by Elnur Musayev, KMBI Anti-Corruption Directorate, Azerbaijan

The first presentation contended that ethical regulation is an essential part of the anti-corruption strategy of any state and institution. Major international instruments and arrangements contain basic requirements and models of the ethical regulations. Usually, these regulations are reflected in the form of ethical codes or codes of conduct. The former are said to promote the integrity among the officials and inspire them, while the latter are posed to regulate the behavior in the ethical context, ensuring compliance and providing liability for the violation of norms. As the practice shows, presently there are no clear-cut codes of conduct and ethical codes in Azerbaijan. A combination of both may lead to a successful result in promoting ethics. The analysis of the ethical regulation in the public service of Azerbaijan shows that the combination could be unequal and contain signs of asymmetry. While the codes of ethical behavior or similar instruments appear to reflect the qualities of both types of codes, i.e. the principles of integrity and provisions on compliance, in practice they are applied mostly as a compliance mechanism. The analysis of the measures in respect of the human resource shows that the ethical norms are used to heed the officials rather than inspire or encourage them. In this regard, the boundaries between the ethical regulation and disciplinary liability blur. The measures originally entitled as ethical regulation rather belong to public service regulation, failing to assist the officials in developing their system of values.

Models of counteracting corruption in public administration

Presentation by Khrystyna Potapenko, Jagiellonian University

The second presentation sought to distinguish and analyze the functioning models of counteracting corruption in public administration in different groups of countries. The criterion for distinguishing these models are methods (both general and specific) often proposed for counteracting corruption. After demonstrating the insufficiency of these models, the aim is to construct, an eclectic (i.e. combining the best features of the functioning ones) model of counteracting corruption, which will be the optimal way to fight the problem of corruption. The research from this presentation examined a wide purview

into the problem of corruption within public administration analyzing the combination of its legal, philosophical, moral, psychological and sociological aspects.

It may not be entirely necessary to conceptualize corruption based on all of the catalogued manifestations of corrupt instances. Following this opinion, the causes of corruption are subjected to a thorough analysis during the research in which the causes of corruption are divided into two groups: structural (for example bureaucracy) and individual (moral, rational and psychological).

The analysis of the causes and foundations of corruption provides a basis for distinguishing models of counteracting corruption. One can distinguish the following three models: juridical-punitive, ethical, and religious.

The juridical-punitive model analyzes normative provisions on the punishment for acts of corruption. In countries such as Singapore, for example, penalties for committing acts of corruption are the main instrument of anti-corruption activity. The juridical-punitive model aims to discourage corrupt acts by the prospect of high penalty and lost opportunities to work in the public sector.

The ethical model is based on the assumption that compliance with ethical and social norms will be effective in counteracting corruption. This section examines the codes of legal ethics created for public administration and their effectiveness. An ethical model also allows for the so-called social capital and cultural capital of the state. Corruption has a direct relationship with the culture, social norms and morality. Private and public culture can be distinguished. Private culture consists of the principles by which persons tend to act. Within the private culture, influences are directly exerted by education, environment, actions of others and informational environment (books, newspapers, media available to an individual). In each state, there is a social-cultural capital, which is positively correlated with GDP per capita and with the development and negatively correlated with the level of corruption. The ethical model is partly connected with the religious model because religion is the foundation of ethical behavior of individuals in some countries. The religious model is critical within Muslim states where the supreme law are provisions of the Koran. Compliance with anti-corruption rules and penalties for acts of corruption are provided by the Koran. Shariatic law is considered as a religious factor in preventing corruption. In countries such as Qatar, for example, committing corruption is an offense against God (Allah), and this is the maximum penalty for the citizens of this country.

The presentation examined these Religious norms of counteracting corruption in Muslim countries and their impact on the level of corruption in the analyzed countries.

Researching causes of corruption helps to understand what methods should be used to fight them. Distinguishing models requires combining different methods and extracting the main points of anti-corruption activities in different countries. Topicality of the project lies in the comprehensive influence of corruption, its causes and effects on society and the state. Corruption is not only a problem of the state, it is also a philosophical problem of human nature and selfishness. The problem of fighting corruption requires a philosophical analysis of the essence of the problem and the search for models capable and effective in the fight against this problem.

Additional presentations

Femi Ajayi, University of Nigeria, discussed the influence of work ethics on bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria civil service. He argues there is weak accountability criteria for civil servants and the current state of ethical codes in Nigeria require stricter criminal enforcement for corruption violations.

Rrita Ismajli, OECD Global Relations Secretariat, provided an overview of corruption in the public procurement sector of Kosovo. Her work highlights the importance of municipal-level oversight to attenuate the risks of personal influence at the micro level. Increases in open data will aid in assessing the risk-prone areas and empower civil society organizations to make local contracting authorities more accountable.

Muriel Poisson, UNESCO Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO-IIEP), discussed a number of important case studies with regards to corruption in education. Her work with UNESCO developed a web-based resource platform (see ETICO, http://etico.iiep.unesco.org) to aggregate education sector characteristics on corruption and offer resources to conduct integrity assessments and anti-corruption trainings worldwide.

Conclusion

The presentations led to the following conclusions, which can be categorized as follows:

> Contextual understanding is of critical importance to effectively produce desirable ethical codifications and regulations within public administrative practices

> Understanding the boundaries of how public and private organizations overlap and interact is a major challenge. Insight into the regional and cultural dimensions that produce the various distinctions into organizational composition is likely the key for sustainable anti-corruption efforts.

> Discretion is a troublesome concept within public administration and corruption, especially when considering a sector like public procurement where it is necessary for making timely decisions about rapid changes in governmental objectives and current conditions of market capability of fulfilling those obligations to produce public goods and services. Yet, discretion is often the key factor as to why corrupt transactions transpire. More case examples are necessary to pinpoint the right balance of effective discretion amongst bureaucrats.

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Compliance, Competition and Corruption: Private-Sector Perspectives

Jessica Flakne, Georgetown University Law Center

Abstract

Today's international economy presents unique opportunities for corruption in the private sector as business interactions transcend national legal jurisdictions and corporations themselves may have businesses in several places around the globe. Compliance systems have emerged largely to regulate global corporations and transnational business interactions in an effort to mitigate related corruption risks. There is, however, little research on the concepts of corruption underlying these compliance regimes as well as on how to measure the efficacy of the rules they impose and corporate culture they create. Four introductory presentations followed by a plenary discussion on the issue mentioned above were held: (1) Examining collusion as a form of corruption in the context of minority shareholding; (2) "Alliance for Integrity": lessons from a business-driven, global multi-stakeholder compliance initiative; (3) The impact of organizational and societal cultures on corrupt acts of corporate employees in Russia and Germany; (4) The Dark Side of Buyer-Supplier Relationships and the Role of Corruption. Participants tried to identify areas for improving compliance and re-conceptualizing corruption in the private sector.

Introduction

Today's international economy presents unique opportunities for corruption in the private sector as business interactions transcend national legal jurisdictions and corporations themselves may have businesses in several places around the globe. Compliance systems have emerged largely to regulate global corporations and transnational business interactions in an effort to mitigate related corruption risks. There is, however, little research on the concepts of corruption underlying these compliance regimes as well as on how to measure the efficacy of the rules they impose and corporate culture they create. The presenters in this session aim to explore exactly these issues.

The first study presented looks at how collusion can be conceptualized as a form of corruption in the context of minority shareholdings, especially as minority shareholders use their market power to dampen competition. Through an examination of the GIZ project, "Alliance for Integrity," the only business-driven, global multi-stakeholder effort initiated by a government supporting multinational businesses on the ground, the second case study presents the challenges facing a compliance initiative that attempts to account for the variety of ways different countries and sectors conceptualize corruption. A third case study will present findings from its experimental research in Germany and Russia that modeled and tested the impact of three different organizational and societal cultures – a highly competitive culture, a culture rewarding corporate-social-responsibility, and a high trust culture – to explain corrupt acts of corporate employees. The final case study closely examines buyer-supplier relations that have been exposed to greater risks in the global economy and offers propositions as well as a model for conceptualizing corruption in these relationships. All four presenters aim to achieve a better understanding of the concepts of corruption reflected in today's global business environment and to identify best practices for corporations to implement.

Examining collusion as a form of corruption in the context of minority shareholding

Presentation by Johannes Odenkirchen, Heinrich-Heine University Düsseldorf

This study presents a unique perspective on how collusion in the private sector can be conceived as a form of corruption, especially in certain scenarios when its impact weakens and distorts competition, diverting value back to certain stakeholders. At the heart

of competition policy generally, and particularly in the EU, is an effort to prevent the abuse of market power and to mitigate against the effects of collusion. The study examines cases of minority shareholdings that can present risks of collusion. While not detrimental per se, concerns that minority shareholdings weaken competition have already been at the heart of several EU merger cases and have thus given rise to further study such as this one.

The author and his fellow researchers investigate the potential harm of such minority shareholdings from both uncoordinated and coordinated perspectives, such as unilateral pricing behavior or alternatively, collusion in an experimental static Bertrand game. In this specific set-up, collusion can be conceptualized as a form of corruption in the sense that the reciprocal behavior of firms – that is, one firm setting higher prices if the other firm does so – harms a vast number of consumers for the benefit of a few shareholders. Contrary to theory, the study finds that firms exploit their market power and increase prices in accord with the percentage of partial cross-ownership in a duopoly. Divestment, modelled by decreasing shares of the opponent company, appears to work as remedy for collusive markets, as the research findings also show decreasing prices with decreasing partial cross-ownership.

Discussion

Participants were eager to engage on the preliminary results of this study that innovatively re-conceptualized collusion in the private sector as a form of corruption. The discussion focused on the extent to which this study could contribute to better defining competition policies or even to identifying high-risk situations with regards to thresholds of minority shareholding, especially in merger scenarios. Participants agreed that the results provide a new perspective on how to design and monitor competition in the private sector. Also discussed was the extent to which further research should be done to consider corporate culture and the behavior underlying the propensity of minority shareholders to collude and how this could be prevented.

"Alliance for Integrity": lessons from a business-driven, global multi-stakeholder compliance initiative

Presentation by Melina Ribeiro, Ruhr-University Bochum

This study presented the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) project called "Alliance for Integrity" as one strategy, among many, for enforcing private sector compliance around the world. The Alliance for Integrity is the only business-driven multi-stakeholder initiative between private sector, civil society, political organizations and international institutions providing support to global businesses to collectively fight corruption in the private sector while promoting and strengthening compliant behavior. The Alliance operates as a platform offering practical solutions to bolster compliance systems of companies as well as their supply chains. The initiative's primary activities include offering peer-to-peer learning, public-private dialogue opportunities, general awareness raising and exchange of knowledge as well as compliance trainings and train-the-trainer programmes.

The case study on "Alliance for Integrity" presents unique insight to an international initiative that must take into account a variety of concepts of corruption stemming from different countries and sectors. The session was a collaborative discussion in which participants were invited to contribute experiences from their own professional backgrounds, and discuss academic as well as practical questions including: Do compliance systems reflect context-specific concepts of corruption? What is the ideal cost-benefit equilibrium of compliance systems? What are good practices in establishing "corporate integrity"?

Discussion

Following an overview of the Alliance for Integrity initiative, participants engaged in an active discussion of the project, its functioning and general inquiries on the topic of implementing such global initiatives. The discussion centered also on the question of whether or not corporate social responsibility ("CSR") was universally considered a constructive approach to combatting corruption in the private sector. While the general consensus of participants seemed to be that CSR was a good approach, there was some discussion about a new line of thinking that proposes that CSR is counter-productive because the private sector is inherently corrupt and corporations have what some in the field are deeming, "a corrupt soul." Those supporting this position believe that the basic framework of corporations – that they are in essence, established for the sole purpose of generating profit and follow this business model – is corrupt in and of itself. Thus, CSR is a fruitless endeavor that perhaps even detracts from solving the real issue. The Alliance for Integrity programme, however, demonstrates how a CSR type of initiative can be effective

at enhancing the integrity of actors and decision-makers in the private sector who are then in a position to set business goals and establish standards for achieving those goals.

The Impact of Organizational and Societal Cultures on Corrupt Acts of Corporate Employees in Russia and Germany

Presentation by Alexander Fürstenberg, Heidelberg University

In cases of active corruption, company staff often uses illegal means at high personal risks without realizing illegitimate personal gains. Because of the high personal costs that are at stake, these cases are not easily explained by the rational choice approach. Why would someone take a high risk without expecting some type of personal gain? From an institutional approach, this study draws upon unwritten informal rules to explain active corruption as a particular type of corporate crime. White collar employees who commit those crimes arguably act for the sake of their companies and according to the unwritten rules that are legitimate inside the company. Thus, the culture of an organization and of the society that the actors have grown-up in, are both supposed to play a decisive role. But one important question remains – how do we conceptualize and measure these unwritten rules and their impact?

The study presented carries out experimental research on corruption in Germany and Russia by modeling and testing the impact of different organizational and societal cultures. Participants in a first group were presented with the description of a highly competitive culture, the second group was provided a depiction of a culture rewarding corporate-social-responsibility (CSR), and the third group was set in a high-trust culture. With this design, the study tests to what extent these descriptions of cultures have an impact on the potential willingness of participants to use illegal means. The experiments were conducted at Heidelberg University and St. Petersburg State University with a total of 289 students. By measuring the impact of organizational norms related to corruption, the study also aims at varying the external societal context. The study's first findings in Germany indicate a distinct increase in non-corrupt decisions, with the highest peak in the competitive culture-group and a decrease in non-corrupt decisions exhibited in the useless illegality environment, both compared to the control group. The group that was treated with a CSR-oriented organizational culture achieved the highest level of useful illegality.

Discussion

Participants were intrigued by the initial findings, especially that in a CSR-oriented organizational culture the group produced the highest level of useful illegality. The discussion then moved to surmise hypotheses for why this could or would be, as well as to discuss in greater depth the experimental design, especially how the control group was maintained. Ultimately, however, the results of the study presented were considered very preliminary and all participants were interested to see the full round of results.

The Dark Side of Buyer-Supplier Relationships and the Role of Corruption

Presentation by Jonathan Webb, Queen Mary University of London

The increasingly globalized nature of supply has exposed businesses to greater financial risk. This trend has taken the supply chain operations of multinational corporations to locations that are high-risk and highly corrupt. Yet little work has been done on corruption in buyer-supplier relationships. Concurrent developments within the buyer-supplier relationships field have uncovered a dark side effect of trust upon business performance. This paper offers propositions and a model to conceptualize corruption in buyer-supplier relationships. Using a multi-level understanding of inter-organizational trust, intra-organizational trust and inter-personal trust, social cocoon mechanisms are used to provide another explanatory variable to show the dark side of buyer-supplier relationships.

Discussion

The session unfortunately ran low on time, which prevented participants from discussing extensively the final presentation or having a general closing discussion.

Anti-corruption Policies and Practices in Post-Soviet and Eastern European States

Nina Onopriychuk and Oksana Huss

Abstract

Through the history of the Post-Soviet and Eastern European states, corruption was and remains one of the main challenges that societies face. Due to the particularities of Soviet history and post-communist regime, states found themselves with a challenging legacy that created ways of proliferation and flourishing of corruption.

Some countries identified more efficient ways to combat corruption than others. However, before any lessons of best practice can be learned, one question remains unanswered at the very core of the corruption counteraction: Do we define corruption in the same way in most of the Eastern European states or does the concept of corruption have particular interpretations and forms? The underlying assumption is that different interpretations of the concept of corruption might lead to different anti-corruption policies.

In the workshop "Anti-corruption Policies and Practices in Post-Soviet and Eastern European States", researchers who investigate corruption in the region (Post-Soviet and Eastern European states), discussed the framing of corruption, diverse definitions and concepts of corruption as well as the operationalization of corruption in their studies. The following questions were questions central: How do the paper(s) contribute to the conceptualisation of corruption (universal/context-specific; normative/technical etc.)? How is the concept of corruption operationalised? Is the concept of corruption in Eastern Europe similar to that of their Western counterparts?

Summaries of presentations

Presentation by Nina Onopriychuk, Leiden University

The influence of political parties on governance reforms such as anti-corruption is understudied. Studies usually focus on the performance of civil service and the central government. But political parties are the ones who deliver and can be held accountable by the electorate who voted for them. This study on which the presentation was based focuses on various categories of political parties in Ukraine, establishing the criteria for Europeanized, anti-corruption and institutionalized parties. It then undertakes a statistical analysis of how these parties influence one of the main governance reforms in Ukraine – the reform of public procurement. After collecting the relevant data on public procurement of 460 municipalities in Ukraine, the quantitative analysis establishes a link between the public procurement reforms and pro-European, anti-corruption and institutionalized parties in Ukraine. The presentation explained research questions, analysis and results. The main research question is Do political parties have an impact on the implementation of anti-corruption reforms at the municipal level in Ukraine? The data used for analysis was collected from the newly institutionalised online platform on public procurement reform in Ukraine, Prozorro, and compared to the statistical representation of political parties across the municipalities of Ukraine. The findings suggest that some individual parties - which rank high on anti-corruption, Europeanization and are highly institutionalized - can influence anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine.

Presentation by Oksana Huss, Institute for Development and Peace (INEF),
University of Duisburg-Essen

The main question that this presentation tackled was how different concepts of (political) corruption change anti-corruption approaches? Two different approaches to the conceptualisation of corruption – structural and post-structural - were presented.

First, the structural approach allows conceptualisation of corruption as a system.

The concept and the model of the system of corruption in Ukraine are elaborated in detail in the article "The Perpetual Cycle of Political Corruption in Ukraine and Post-Revolutionary Attempts to Break Through It" (Huss, 2016b). The system of corruption concept is based on three main assumptions: First, the political system functions in line with business logic, which means that on the input side (funding of political parties and elections) there are high monetary investments, mostly done by the oligarchs, in order to receive the revenue on the output side from the political system. Secondly, the business logic maintains the hybridity of the political regime, meaning that both consolidated democracy and consolidated authoritarianism are prevented. Finally, the system of corruption means that no serious attempts of effective anti-corruption policy can be expected from within the system, but only from its environment.

The system of corruption can differ according to the degree of its centralisation (Huss, 2016a). Cristoph Stefes (2006) differentiates centralised and de-centralised systems of corruption. In the presenter's research on Ukraine, the centralised type is widened by its extreme form – the monopolised system of corruption (Huss, 2015). With regard to anti-corruption, there are interesting observations: In the centralised corruption system, where political leadership is primarily the beneficiary of corrupt schemes, the interest and ability is high to control low-level and administrative corruption. This might explain why some authoritarian regimes improve on corruption perception indexes, while some new democracies, where corruption is decentralised, often fare worse on quantitative indicators.

Second, the post-structuralist approach allows analysis of how political leaders frame corruption. Content analysis of presidential speeches in Ukraine revealed that in centralised system of corruption, the President frames corruption as a principal-agent problem. This strategy allows for self-representation as a strong principal, willing to control corrupt bureaucrats – the agents. The anti-corruption policy, based on such framing, is highly centralized: the President obtains control over all anti-corruption institutions and the anti-corruption activities target low level politicians and bureaucrats. If a future political leader goes in the opposition – like in the case of the president V. Yushchenko – he frames corruption as a system and uses the term of "political corruption", accusing the parliament and the government of corrupt behavior. The anti-corruption policy, suggested by this framing, is very broad, includes indirect anti-corruption measures and targets high-level politicians. These findings and their meaning for the anti-corruption policy are

further elaborated in the article "Corruption, Crisis, and Change: Use and Misuse of an Empty Signifier" (Huss, 2017).

Presentation by Roxana Bratu, University College London

In contemporary Romania anticorruption is a political and cultural form of intervention in society through which modernisation is strategized, control is valorised and history is dispersed through the addition of new institutional layers dedicated to tackling corruption. Anti-corruption institutions, especially the National Anticorruption Directorate (henceforth DNA), suggest that they are doing the 'technical' job of investigating, prosecuting and preventing corruption through technical legal devices. However, their institutional emergence and development as well as their institutional practices make them highly dependent on the political environment (Bratu et al 2017).

Bratu (2017a) argues that the creation of anti-corruption establishment was based on transfer of 'good practices' that involved a 'one size fits all' approach, which put in place impersonal institutions that failed to take into account the elements of time, space, biography and context. In order to underlie the symbolic commitment to tackle corruption and protect the financial interests of the EU, the newly designed organisations of policing and prosecution have become 'elite squads'. Their superior status is sustained by high level of financial and symbolic capital: higher wages (between 40% and 75%) than other prosecutors/police officers, a particular profile of employees (very young, highly educated, preferably abroad, knowledge of foreign languages), access to international trainings and unmediated contact with EU officials.

Despite excellent results, very little is known about the DNA's real impact on the Romanian society. Furthermore, there have been numerous media reports indicating that the DNA is susceptible to political influence, and that politicians from across the political spectrum have sought to use the DNA to their political advantage. In this context, Bratu argues that anti-corruption is not just the technical means to tackle corruption, but an agent in the production of contemporary political culture due to: a). wide social recognition of corruption as an important social problem; b). widespread perception (both national and international) that Romania is highly corrupt; c). massive popular support for anti-corruption agenda; d). the capacity of local political actors to increase their political capital by the (ab)use of the anti-corruption agenda.

Presentation by Stoian Valentin, National Institute for Intelligence Studies

In the European-wide struggle against corruption, Romania represents a highly interesting case. Due to the creation of a very independent anti-corruption agency, as well as a strong political will, the number of arrests and prosecutions has increased exponentially over the past five years. Corruption has been widely present in public discourse, and, naturally, it has been framed extremely differently by different public institutions or political actors. The paper considered the representation of corruption in Romanian media over two periods of time in 2015. It compares media and elite discourses on corruption and inquires into whether corruption is being "securitized" and by whom. In order to answer the question, the article on which the presentation is based employs the concept of framing and compares it to the Copenhagen-school approach of "securitization". Through an empirical analysis of the media items collected, the article argues that while political decision-makers employ the frame of security to describe corruption, this is not taken up by the general media. The securitization framework has slowly gained momentum in international security studies, benefitting from the advance of constructivism and critical theory. A concept popularized by the Copenhagen School, securitization has been applied to analyse a series of discursive actions by political elites, who attempt and many times succeed to take a problem out of the space of normal politics and to treat it as an exceptional issue. When applied to different circumstances, the securitization framework was gradually contested and modified. The paper begins by tracing the theoretical framework of the Copenhagen School and its critics and by delineating the concept of securitization. Secondly, the empirical part of the article is constituted of an analysis of two sets of articles collected from Romania media during the summer and the autumn of 2015.

Presentation by Tetiana Kostiuchenko, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

The presentation discussed how informal corruption practices (blat) are embedded in people's every day life, and thus, is justified within the population. The concept of 'blat' as an "everyday currency" became a commonly used term in the studies of post-communist and post-Soviet countries in the mid-1990s. It was analysed in a number of publications from various angles, i.e from the social (or network) capital perspective when it served as indicator of corruption at the micro-level, or as a measure of everyday corruption practice. This paper focused on the practice of "blat" as the use of interpersonal connections for obtaining services and 'getting things done' when interacting with institutions

and authorities. Empirical material covers the nationwide representative survey data comparison of the recent polls conducted in 2015-2016 with those held before Euromaidan, i.e. in 2011, - to check the assumptions about the impact of socio-demographic characteristics and value orientations, activism rate and political views of citizens on the propensity to replicate 'blat' as a corruption practice. The paper suggests the analysis of social categories among the Ukrainian population, who replicated 'blat' most often and/ or are likely to appeal to this corrupt practice further. Among other findings, the age category proved to have impact in using 'blat' along with the other factors (higher education, employment, and medium income level). These findings lead to the suggestion of using alternative approaches in studying 'blat' and corruption, specifically the method of social network analysis (SNA). The personal network exploration with such questionnaire tools as name generator, resource generator and position generator allows for developing deeper understanding of how people use personal connections ('blat') nowadays.

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Authors' workshops
Annika Engelbert

The Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Network is currently preparing three publications: The edited volume "Corruption and Norms: Why Informal Rules Matter" (Palgrave Macmillan), and two Special Issues of the journal Crime, Law and Social Change entitled "Corruption and the Role of Law" and "Corruption and the Impact of Democracy". The authors' workshops held during the Forum were meant to provide a platform for more personal exchange among the authors and thus, enhance synergy effects for the publications. Forum participants were very welcome to attend the workshop, give feedback to the authors, discuss central issues of democracy and (anti-)corruption, and help the authors to interlink their individual contributions.

Corruption and norms: Why informal rules matter

Chair: Ina Kubbe, Tel Aviv University

The book project concentrates on the relationship between corruption and social as well as legal norms. It aims to advance state-of-the-art research on corruption by providing a broad, yet detailed overview specifically on norms – an area that has so far been neglected in the academic discourse centered on formalistic-institutional solutions to curb corruption. It provides perspectives from different academic disciplines, theoretical and methodological backgrounds, and various regions or countries and offers innovative analysis and solution strategies on the micro- (individuals), meso- (institutions), and macro-level (states).

Informal institutions and norms in Kosovo's municipalities

David Jackson, U4 / Chr. Michelsen Institute

How do specific informal institutions, norms and organizational structures hinder anti-corruption efforts? Answers to these questions have been found in examining the type of governance that has emerged in the municipalities of Kosovo, a country subject to an unprecedented level of state building by external actors. Based on fifteen months of fieldwork, including a survey of over one thousand citizens and over one hundred in-depth interviews, this chapter will present empirical evidence that privileges the views of citizens and local political actors experiencing state building and anticorruption efforts. This research therefore takes a novel approach, for it assesses the effectiveness of state building and anticorruption through the study of the informal institutions and norms that state builders inevitably confront—in this case, an informal model of resource distribution in Kosovo's municipalities, underpinned by specific cultural values and traditions, as well its own structure of incentives.

The social psychology of corruption norms

Nils Köbis, University of Amsterdam, and Christopher Starke, University of Münster

Looking at corruption through a social psychological lens poses the following questions: why is it that in the same societal, organizational context some people abuse power for their private gains while others do not? In this book chapter, we first outline one of the most influential dichotomization of social norms: the distinction between injunctive and descriptive norms. After introducing this conceptual distinction, we will take a step back, and provide an extensive literature review about the way these norms are acquired. What follows is the empirical part of the chapter. We present novel data sets, looking at the interplay of descriptive and injunctive norms in the emergence of corrupt behavior in Kazakhstan and the Netherlands. Finally, we discuss the potential this social norms framework entails for anti-corruption efforts. How can the understanding of injunctive and descriptive norms help to fight corruption successfully? To answer that question, we link the conceptual elaboration of social norms to novel and creative efforts to fighting corruption. We show that the two are largely interlinked as many emerging and promising anti-corruption tools seem to inherently target social norms.

The strengths and weaknesses
of political funding regulations

Vit Simral, University of Hradec Králové

The chapter discusses the issue of whether and how the implementation of formal legal regulations has improved the level of transparency of political funding. New datasets covering finances used for election campaigns and party funding are presented and analyzed. First, theories of party funding are presented and considered together with a more look at the development of the research sub-field in the last twenty years. Differences between the American and the European view on party funding are discussed. Second, the chapter summarizes the current state of regulations around the world and compares situations in individual geographical areas and in individual countries. The summary is juxtaposed with the assessment of international organizations that monitor political funding (IDEA, IFES, Transparency International, GRECO). Then, the chapter continues with an examination of various practical approaches towards political funding in selected regions. Main characteristics of these approaches are the highlighted and their respective positive and negative aspects considered. Finally, the issues of transparency and robustness of political competition are tackled in more length. Their respective values as both philosophical concepts and practical goals are considered within the framework of the anti-corruption agenda.

Corruption and the role of law

Chair: Annika Engelbert, Ruhr University Bochum

It is undisputed that law is an indispensable element of the fight against corruption as it defines the boundaries of interaction among – potentially corrupt – individuals or organizations, and provides remedies in case these rules are breached. Law determines what is allowed and what is not; this implies, in return, that unethical acts cannot be labelled as corrupt as long as they are not prohibited by law. From a legal point of view, it is therefore a matter of special importance to define and examine formal rules. In this workshop, the authors presented their journal articles at a pre-final stage (peer reviewed).

From global problems to international norms:
What does the social construction of a global corruption problem tell us about the emergence of an international anti-corruption norm?

Elitza Katzarova, University of Braunschweig

This article examines the ontological contestation that is inherent to the emergence of an international anti-corruption norm. First, the article briefly analyses the compatibility of an agenda on the social construction of problems from sociology and the well-established study of norms in constructivist IR. It argues that an analytical shift from the study of norms to the social construction of problems can shed light on the power relations that underlie international norms, and corruption in particular. The article traces the emergence of a global corruption problem up to the early 2000s when scholars have traditionally placed the establishment of an international anti-corruption norm. It first shows the contestation of corruption as a global issue on the level of problem definition, and then, it shows the role of venue shopping and venue shifting in the diffusion of anti-corruption talks and the norm cascade of the 1990s. The article concludes with an analysis of how the social construction of problems challenges the conventional approach of the emergence of an international anti-corruption norm.

China's anti-graft campaign and international anti-corruption norms

Bertram Lang, University of Frankfurt

This article analyzes the growing impact of an increasingly powerful China on the evolution of norms governing the global fight against corruption. Combining insights into the diffusion of anti-corruption norms and China's 'two-way socialization' into the international order with an analysis of the Chinese leadership's internationalized anti-corruption campaign, it argues that China's active involvement in the international fight against corruption is bound to challenge prevailing international 'definitions' and 'solutions' of corruption. Despite the considerable attention to supposed incompatibilities between 'culturally insensitive' Western anti-corruption efforts and conflicting Chinese cultural norms, the actual 'China challenge' to the international anti-corruption regime is much

less a cultural than a political one. While China's formal-legal anti-corruption system has been receptive to international socialization, China's own contributions to international norm-making are defined by the Party's top-level leadership, which promotes a different set of anti-corruption norms. However, a coherent alternative 'Chinese model' of anti-corruption, akin to the globally propagated 'China path' for economic development and poverty reduction, is not yet in sight.

Pecunia non olet? Legal norms and anti-corruption judicial frameworks of preventive confiscation and international anti-corruption norms

Stoyan Panov, University of Freiburg

The main focus of the presentation is on the function of the mechanism of preventive civil-law-based seizure and confiscation of assets derived from corrupt acts. The preventive mechanism offers an intricate interplay of criminal, administrative and civil law norms. The preventive seizure and confiscation approach is analyzed as to its functions, purposes, and norm-changing effects. The normative change is observed in the preventive confiscation as the decision of the judicial or quasi-judicial organs is based on the degree of danger posed by the relevant person and corrupt activity on a suspicion-based inquiry, thus minimizing or eliminating the need for previous criminal conviction. The normative side of the mechanism of preventive confiscation seeks to immunize the lawful economy from a "contamination" by the ill-procured assets through corruption. The preventive confiscation approach is analyzed through the prism of various human rights protections established by the European Court of Human Rights such as the right to a fair trial, the right to property, and the rule of law. The analysis of the preventive mechanism also focuses on measuring the likelihood to commit illegal acts in the future, and management and usage of the proceeds from the illegal corrupt activity for socially-oriented goals.

Corruption and the impact of democracy

Chair: Anna Schwickerath, Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf / GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences

Corruption research findings indicate that well-established democracies show lower le-

vels of corruption than authoritarian regimes or young democracies. At the same time, high levels of corruption undermine democracy. By diverting rare resources from disadvantaged people, it damages the rule of law, hinders social justice and lowers the trust of citizens in political institutions and processes. In this workshop, the authors presented their journal articles at a pre-final stage (peer reviewed). The contributions focused on the role of institutions within democracies in curbing corruption, the interrelation between democratic values and corrupt behavior, and the importance of corruption in democratization processes in post-conflict states.

Corruption and lobbying

Felix Goldberg, University of Stuttgart

Private interests can attempt to gain informal political influence through two different modes of behavior: corruption and lobbying. Both are seen with public skepticism, but in most societies corruption is judged more negatively than lobbying. Whereas the regulatory goal concerning corruption is to eliminate it, efforts concerning lobbyism are often meant to induce transparency or regulate its modalities. The aim of this paper is to examine where these different normative perceptions and judgements of similar modes of influence stem from. The first analytic task then is to conceptually distinguish corruption and lobbyism. Where do they differ? What do they have in common? Next, the political implications of corruption and lobbying are examined. Both phenomena can affect all three branches of government. Third, I draw attention to the potential effects of corruption and lobbying on civil society in democracies. Finally, by integrating the results from these steps, the paper provides a unique systematic differentiation and conceptual comparison between corruption and lobbying. This will lead to first answers to the question of how and why two similar phenomena are socially judged differently. Implications of this conceptual comparison will be important for anti-corruption and anti-lobbyism NGOs as well as for practitioners. Both will be able to redefine their working conceptions of corruption and lobbying and can separate two informal modes of influence from each other. For researchers this chapter provides conceptual groundwork for subsequent empirical analyses.

The normative order of corruption

Miranda Loli, TU Darmstadt / University of Frankfurt

In recent years there have been an ever-growing number of protests and movements addressing their grievances in relation to corruption. In 2016 hundreds of thousands marched across Brazil, South Korea and Romania protesting against endemic corruption. In India, the anti-corruption movement featured various forms of civil resistance like hunger strikes in order to put corruption on the agenda. While corruption has always been a highly elusive concept, I argue that what connects these struggles of the people affected most harshly by it, is an understanding of corruption that is based on a perception of injustice. This paper attempts to analyze the nexus of corruption and injustice not only in terms of the injustices and inequalities caused or accentuated by corruption, but also in terms of the role of self-justification narratives of corruption based on perceived injustice, particularly in terms of inequality. Despite the fact that the common definition as an 'abuse' of power removes the possibility of legitimation of corruption, legitimation narratives do exist and they also do appear in various surveys or case studies. Furthermore I argue that the perception of injustice and inequality, present in such legitimation strategies, may have a high impact on engaging in collective action and therefore deserves a closer look, if we are to reconnect political agency to the fight against corruption.

Framing corruption: How language affects norms

Ramona Zmolnig, University of Salzburg

This study deals with the fairly unexplored relationship between political decision-making and political framing. The intention is to figure out if there is a connection between the way politicians frame corruption and their commitment to the legislative fight against corruption in Austria. Therefore the methodological approach is based on a manual dimension-reduced coding process and a further framing analysis of nine years (from 2007 to 2015) of political communication referring to corruption in the Austrian National Council. The framing analysis shows that the perception of corruption as an individual misconduct and a weakness of character of single and collective actors (parties) has significant impacts on anti-corruption policies and leads to an insufficient implementation of anti-corruption measures as well as the obstruction of meaningful policy reforms.