Professor: Alfred P. Montero
Phone: x4085 (Office)
Web page: http://people.carleton.edu/~amontero
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:00 p.m.-2:30 p.m. or by appt. (including on Skype)
Skype Username: amontero9601

Course Description

Motivated by the literature on “quality of democracy,” this course delves into theories of accountability, government responsiveness, transparency, and other major aspects of governance. It explores these concepts in democratic and nondemocratic regimes by focusing on corrupt and clientelistic politics in a variety of regions, including Latin America, Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, the post-Soviet countries, and East and Southeast Asia. Topics covered in the course include vote-buying and other forms of electoral fraud, the influence of money in campaigns, kickback schemes and governance, crony capitalism, clientelism and political machines, and varieties of accountability systems and institutional reform.

What Is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. Outside of the classroom, this means that students must engage with the reading assignments and required audiovisual materials. Inside the classroom, the work in this class is highly interactive, involving much debate and discussion, sometimes in formal, timed settings, and sometimes in less formal formats. The best students will be critical but balanced in their assessments, and they will develop coherent arguments that they can defend in their writing and in their classroom discussions and debates. Although students’ own life experiences and opinions are welcome and valued in this class, more frequently students will be asked to defend or analyze perspectives quite different from their own. The effectiveness of their arguments will be judged as rigorously as if they were personally held. Any student who believes that they will have difficulty taking on a particular position or listening to a certain point of view, ought to communicate their concerns to the professor before class or during office hours.

Materials

This course uses a variety of written and audiovisual materials that will be available on Dropbox and Google Drive in most cases. The course also requires three books, which are presently available at the bookstore:


Grading

As a true research seminar the assessment of students’ performance will focus on the process and work product of sustained research. The seminar paper has several graded components: the quality of the first draft, the oral presentation, and the final draft. Seminar participation in the form of sustained discussion of readings and cases as well as structured debate performances will account for the rest of the evaluation. The grade breakdown follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Debates</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Draft</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oral Research Presentation</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Draft</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Class Participation</td>
<td>20%</td>
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The Debates

This seminar will use a series of adversarial debates (4x4) to address the literature on corruption and clientelism in comparative perspective. Students will be instructed in how to organize these debates and how to participate with an emphasis on rejoinder and argument development. Each student will participate in at least two debates.

The Seminar Paper

The culmination of student work in this seminar will be the composition of a seminar paper of 20-25 pages of text (typed, double-spaced, 12cpi, one-inch margins, paginated) and a research bibliography of a minimum of three pages, single-spaced. All drafts of the work prior to the final as well as the final must be handed in by 5 p.m. on the student’s directory on Dropbox on the due date (see below). All files, except for data files, must be in PDF format.

The composition of the seminar paper will be broken down into the following steps:

1. By Thursday, April 5, students will have decided upon a research topic in consultation with me. Each student will prepare a preliminary abstract of the project.

2. By Friday, April 13, students will hand in a copy of a preliminary research bibliography of no fewer than 3 pages, single-spaced. A handout will define the proper citation and bibliographic reference format for the paper. Weak bibliographies and/or bibliographies that do not follow the required format will generate negative points assessable on the rough draft score.
(3) By Thursday, May 10, students will hand in a first draft of the argumentative section of their paper (the first seven-eight pages) with an updated abstract and bibliography.

(4) On May 28-30, each student will orally present their research for no less than 15 minutes a piece in the research seminar. All colleagues will offer their input. If possible, we will schedule an evening session to free up the schedule at the end of the course.

(5) On Monday, June 4, the final draft of the seminar paper will be due at 5:00 p.m. on Dropbox.

Consultation with me during each of these steps is crucial. We will also discuss the format and direction of paper topics and issues as part of the normal discussion of the research seminar. One of the most important lessons of the seminar is that good research depends upon the input and support of colleagues. Each student will be expected to contribute their share to this effort.

Class Participation

Typically, I will begin each class session by offering a general overview of the issues to be discussed. I may also present you with a set of reading and discussion questions to structure our deliberations. After the overview portion, the seminar will proceed to student-led discussion. I will conclude each class session with a brief review of the authors and readings for the next meeting. Whenever possible, each class will have a break of about 10-15 minutes.

The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course:

98-100 A+
94-97 A
91-93 A-
88-90 B+
83-87 B
79-82 B-
76-78 C+
72-75 C
68-71 C-
67/below D/F

Academic Misconduct

Given the fact that academe relies upon the ethical conduct of scholars, students are held to the same standards in their own work. Any act of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be referred to the Office of the Dean. For further information, see the useful handout on “Avoiding Academic Misconduct.”

Special Needs

Carleton College is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all states. The Disability Services office (Burton Hall 03) is the campus office that collaborates with students
who have disabilities to provide and/or arrange reasonable accommodations. If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, autism spectrum disorders, chronic health, traumatic brain injury and concussions, sensory, or physical), please contact Chris Dallager, Director of Disability Services, by calling 507-222-5250 or sending an email to cdallager@carleton.edu to arrange a confidential discussion regarding equitable access and reasonable accommodations.

NOTE: Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

SECTION 1

UNDERSTANDING CORRUPTION AND CLIENTELISTIC POLITICS

Definition, Prevalence, and Effects of Corruption (Monday, March 26)

Fisman and Golden, chs. 2-4.

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, ch. 1.


Distributive Politics (Wednesday, March 28)

Stokes et al., ch. 1 and ch. 2 (pp. 31-54).


Agency in Distributive and Corrupt Politics (Monday, April 2)

Fisman and Golden, ch. 5.

Stokes et al., chs. 3-4.


Cultures of Corruption (Wednesday, April 4)

Fisman and Golden, ch. 6.

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, ch. 7.


Foreign Imposition of Anti-Corruption Cultures: The Case of the FCPA (Friday, April 6)

Convocation address by Matteson Ellis, Miller & Chevalier, Washington, D.C.


SECTION 2

**VARIETIES OF STATES AND BUREAUCRATIC CORRUPTION**

Bureaucracies and Corruption (Monday, April 9)

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, ch. 2 & 8.


Economic Policy and Agencies of Corruption (Wednesday, April 11)

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, ch. 3.


**Crony Capitalism, Mafias, and Corruption (Monday, April 16)**


Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, ch. 9.


**Social Policy, Clientelism, and Corruption (Wednesday, April 18)**

Stokes et al., ch. 6.


**Recommended Event:** The *Foro Latinoamericano* (Friday, April 20-Saturday, April 21) – Populism and Democracy in Latin America (see brochure information for speakers)

**SECTION 3**

**ELECTORAL POLITICS AND POLITICAL MACHINES**

**Corruption, Clientelism, and Political Institutions (Monday, April 23)**

Fisman and Golden, ch. 7.

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, ch. 11.


Political Machines and Subnational Authoritarianism (Wednesday, April 25)


MIDTERM BREAK (Monday, April 30)

Electoral Fraud and Vote-Buying (Wednesday, May 2)

Stokes et al. chs. 7 (ch. 8 recommended).


Campaign Finance as the Lifeblood of Corruption (Monday, May 7)


SECTION 4

ACCOUNTABILITY-ENHANCING REFORMS

Bureaucratic and Civil Service Reform (Wednesday, May 9)
Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, chs. 4-5.


**Electoral and Campaign Finance Reform (Monday, May 14)**


**Accountability Institutions, the Judiciary, and Criminal Law (Wednesday, May 16)**

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, chs. 6 & 12.


**International Responses to Corruption (Monday, May 21)**

Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, chs 14-15.


**NO CLASS – LASA in Barcelona (Wednesday, May 23)**

**Student Research Presentations (Monday, May 28 & Wednesday, May 30 + an evening make-up session TBD)**

5 p.m. Final Paper Due (Monday, June 4)