

Comparative politics

20.04.2020

Module 1 COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CORRUPTION 1-10

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11/05 ESAME PART 1 08/06 ESAME PARTE 2, 01/07 ESAME FINALE multiple and open, 30 min

Deadline research 15 July 3000-5000 words

What is comparative politics? Briefly political scientist with the term comparative politics mean a combination of two aspects, as every empirical science: a combination of **object of analysis** (substantial aspect, political system, actors, processes) and a specific **method of analysis** (explain similarities and differences btw similar cases, actors, institution following methodology of empirical science). Since the object are different, we need to apply this methodology in a proper way to analyse.

Comparative politics can be explicative, so not interested only on phenomena but try to explain regularity of cases by trying to apply a generalization. Not describing, but also explaining why something happen and how. Comparative politics so is **empirical** and **explicative**. Testing hypothesis: test the research hypothesis in empirical terms and apply techniques to analyse. The ultimate purpose is to explain which is or are the causes of political phenomena.

To pursue this aim, comparative politics make use of **comparative method**. The logic of empirical inquiry in hard sciences is based on the application of the **experimental method**. The experimental methods, is not possible to apply it to social phenomena, people, political phenomena... Want to test empirical hypothesis and postulate but we cannot apply natural experiment. Sometimes can be applied **quasi experiments**, such as surveys or lab experiments. So need to find a different method to approach the experimental method, most of the cases is the comparative methods. How to apply it? what is comparable and how to compare it? The answer always depends on what we are comparing. We can compare everything, it depends on how we compare. So important is WHAT and HOW compare. VIDEO > beginning of sliding doors, same action small difference make different results.

Compare very similar cases and potential explanation of consequences. Find which is the cause of different consequences. **Comparison** is a way to find explanations of a phenomenon by **excluding all potential alternative or confounding factors**. Two things can be compared if they are completely similar but one aspect different, that can produce different consequences. if we compare dem system we exclude a list of potential so that a regime is not a dem, if is not a dem we exclude some cause possible. Some basic **rules** are defined by **John Stuart Mill**, define how to compare in a proper way. John Stuart Mill's rules:

- **Most Similar System Design**: we compare cases similar in all their characteristics but the one that can explain why the outcome is different
- **Most Different System Design**: we compare cases different in all their characteristics but the one that can explain why the outcome is identical.

by applying this research design we compare similar characteristic but one differs and explain the different outcome. Mill produced this rules during 18 century, having in mind hard sciences, are developed to find single explanations of a phenomena, typical in hard science, physics,... usually in social sciences is impossible to find a single explanation of a phenomenon. Many potential alternative causes. We can compare different number of cases, depends on N. when **N is large** we have an **extensive comparison** through **quantitative** analysis, when **N is small** we have **intensive comparison** through **qualitative** analysis.

Test of hypothesis. These are postulation, conjecture about the relation of two different phenomena advanced using this formulation: **if X then Y**. X is the cause, independent variable, then Y is the outcome, dependent variable. Aim is try to find why the dependent variable variation depend on variation of independent variable. to confirm or falsify an hypothesis we need **three elements**

We need **covariation** btw independent and dependent variable. This is an empirical evidence, let the data speak. covariation btw causes and consequences. If x vary also y varies. If we observe cov XY, is not enough, to say these elements are related. Cov is only the first elements.

We need to postulate a **causal direction**. Data can confirm cov, but statistic can tell nothing about causal direction of phenomena. The fact that x cause y and not y cause x is defined by political scientist according to theories. In which direction x and y increase or decrease is postulated causal relationship.

Third element is a **control for alternative explanatory variable**, very meaning to apply comparative method. Exclude that the variation in the dependent variable is caused by the variation of confounding factors that are correlated to the independent variable. By relationship btw factor and x we can determine a relationship btw x and y. take under control all the other factor related to x and y making relation exporious. Attention to confounding potential factors.

Brief explanation of which is the tool we need to follow comp pol course, elements that taking into consideration in approaching this course. Familiar with this notions, so understand to follow readings > leggiteli. Anche libri.

1. Differences btw different political regimes. Dem and non dem. And among non dem system differentiation. How can measure dem? Simply by measuring presence of dem institutional settings, kind of dummy variable. Identify the necessary conditions of a democracy: 1) elected executive; 2) elected parliament 3) more than one party contesting elections; 4) government alternation. Scale from total absence of dem to other extreme, best example of democracy. How to measure dem level: look at procedural aspects (related to how electoral competition is conducted, competitiveness) substantial aspects (outcomes of dem). Freedom in the world index annual study that measures level of political rights, civil liberties... in a country.
2. Electoral system and party system. How element are related, different electoral system produce diff results and also party system. Disproportionality, higher it is, weaker correspondence btw votes and seats. Index most famous Gallagher least square index, see formula. Electoral disproportionality measures the deviation of the seats share from the vote share for all the parties that contest the election • > disproportionality => weak correspondence between votes received and seats obtained • Gallagher's Least Squares Index of Disproportionality (G) = $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum (v_i - s_i)^2}$
Another index, laxo and latepera, effective number of parties, number of actors in a party system. The less powerful a parliament is in a parliament and the less it counts. The higher is the number of effective parties the higher is useful data source PARLGOV dataset. The effective number of parties (ENP) is an indicator that counts political parties taking into account their dimension and weight in the party system • > ENP => more fragmented party system • Effective Number of Electoral Parties (ENEP) = $\frac{1}{\sum s_i^2}$ • Effective Number of Legislative Parties (ENLP) = $\frac{1}{\sum v_i^2}$ vedi formula
3. Government composition. Term of different parties that coose parliament, different ideological policies and relationship btw executive and legislative power. Parliam and presid and semipres system. First one gov depends on confidence of parl. Pres and semi pres executive pres direct elected and so parl not related to parliament the president. Among parliamentary system take into account relationship
 - Government status: • Minimum-winning: each party is necessary for having a majority in the parliament • Oversized: at least one party is not necessary for having a majority in the parliament
 - Minority: the government does not have a majority in the parliament
4. Policy preference....To measure ideological or policy congruence we need to estimate
 - Policy preferences of citizens or voters from: • Cross-national surveys: Eurobarometer; European Social Survey; European Election Studies
 - Policy preferences of parties and governments from: • Expert surveys: Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) • Party manifestos: Comparative Manifesto Project • Voters' perceptions: Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) • Elite survey: Comparative Candidate Survey (CCS)

21.04.2020

DEFINING POLITICAL CORRUPTION, CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES

Comparative study of political corruption.

Is corruption bad? Is important to study political corruption, negative consequences and illegal behaviour. Contemporary study, during the 60s do not identify corr as a bad thing, first scholars such as Huntington, Left and Scott do not necessarily identify corr as a bad things.

«[In underdeveloped economies corruption] can induce the government to take a more favorable view of activities that would further economic growth. [...] Graft can provide the direct incentive necessary to mobilize the bureaucracy for more energetic action on behalf of the entrepreneurs.» Leff (1964)

«[...] corruption provides immediate, specific and concrete benefits to groups which might otherwise be thoroughly alienated from society.» Huntington (1968)

«A society which is relatively uncorrupt – a traditional society for instance where traditional norms are still powerful – may find a certain amount of corruption a welcome lubricant easing the path to modernization. A developed traditional society may be improved – or at least modernized – by a little corruption; a society in which corruption is already pervasive, however, is unlikely to be improved by more corruption.» Huntington (1968)

A little bit of corr can allow to take game of developing of society, new entrepreneurship, favourable political regimes,...

From the 90s the scenario changed completely, precisely when **Wolfensohn** took **cancer of corruption speech**, put it on the table as one of the most important phenomenon to fight in order to improve democracy, see quote. “Corruption diverts resources from the poor to the rich, increases the cost of running businesses, distorts public expenditures and deters foreign investors. [...] it is a major barrier to sound and equitable development.” Jim Wolfensohn’s “Cancer of Corruption” speech at the Bank’s annual meeting in 1996

Also a series of organizations, onu, eu, started to stress only negative aspect of corruption.

“Corruption is a serious crime that can undermine social and economic development in all societies. No country, region or community is immune.” United Nations Conventions Against Corruption (UNCAC), 2005
 “Corruption alone is estimated to cost to the EU economy EUR 120 billion per year, just a little less than the annual budget of the European Union.” EU Anti-Corruption Report, 2014

With the end of cold war post “Washington consensus” corruption become central concern for usa and world organization. Not only for dem but also for non dem regime. During the 90s monetary fund, European commission, underdeveloped countries started to be linked to fighting corruption. Two crucial issues hinder generalizable explanations of political corruption: A clear **conceptualization** of the term corruption and precise definition and A useful **operationalization** of the concept with valid and reliable measures.

Why during the 90s from single key study to wide spreading to comparative studies? Only empirical comparative research can provide empirical causes of corruption.

Traditional definitions of corruption provided by different scholars during 60s 70s. James **Scott** one of the most important “corruption, we would all agree, involves a deviation from certain standards of behaviour. [...] what criteria shall we use to establish those standard?”. Corruption is a **deviating behaviour** from certain **standard**, problem is use criteria to establish standars behaviour according to which is the deviant.

three commonly used **definitions**.

1. **public office or legal definition**. Understood as a behaviour that deviates from standard duty of a public role, usually set forth in official statutes. No focus on norms or law, but has a series of **problem**. First corr is illegal, but **not every illegal behaviour is corruption**. Subset of illegal behaviour, only some behaviour are defined as corruption. Danger of assuming that everything legal is also **ethic**. Corr can only be define in legal terms, references in moral standards. Es nazi regime.
2. corr according to **public interest**, a behaviour which deviates from pursuit of common good, public interests. According to this idea, nazi not corrupted because in pursuit of common good. Is important to define what is the public interest and complex societies with wide range of own interests.

3. **Public opinion definition.** Corr as a deviation from moral standards sanctioned by public opinion. Idea is that corr isn't only a behaviour that deviates from laws, but consider corr that deviates from also norms, moral standards sanctioned by the public. Problem who the public is? Everyone, experts, politicians? Not everyone can understand everything. Opinion can fluctuate over time.

All of these three definitions share some **weaknesses**. All these three definitions share a common shortcoming: Since different societies tend to have different norms, laws and ideas of what constitutes the public interest, concrete manifestations of corrupt behaviour will differ across cases. This is a problem if we are interested in **explaining variations** in the levels of corruption across countries and in **developing generalization** about causes and consequences of corruption

Alternative definitions

Scholars try to find alternative definitions. Large set are defined as **market centred definitions**. According to this, corr is present when civil servants regard their public office as a private business. Applies more to bureaucrats who have to conform to mandatory rules but less to politicians. What defines a behaviour as corrupt is not that is income-maximizing in itself, but that income-maximizing is illegal according to the law. Political scientist provide also **principal agent definitions** of corruption. Corr deviates from agency relationship that constitute a democracy. Delegation chain in demo citizens voters > representatives > civil servants, Corruption = agency loss, When an agent renege on their agreements with principals in favour of their personal interests. Cannot be easily applied to non-democracies.

Core characteristics of corruption

Each definition has **strengths** and **weaknesses**. Minimal definition commonly used in comparative politics: "Corruption is the misuse of entrusted power for private gain". Both "misuse" and "entrusted power" are open to different interpretations.

Core characteristics common to each corrupt activities: • An individual or a group of individuals is **entrusted with the power to take collective decisions** or actions • **Common norms** exist regulating the ways individuals and groups use their power (formal and informal) • An individual or groups **breaks with the norms** • To benefit the individual or group and **harms the collectivity**

Types and form, Main distinction between: "**Grand corruption**": typically takes place at the public sphere's **top tiers**, and within the highest levels in private business. It includes actors that make rules, policies and executive decisions. It often involves large sums of money. "**Petty corruption**": **Small-scale, administrative** or petty corruption is the **everyday** corruption at the interface between public institutions and citizens. It refers to the abuse of power in daily situations when, usually, modest sums of money change hands in each case. Various **forms** of corrupt behaviours: bribery, embezzlement, misappropriation, abuse of power (nepotism, patronage, conflict of interest), illicit campaign funds, ...

Grand corruption. Tangentopoli. Petty corruption, different, scale administrative. Everyday corruption, in public institutions and citizens. abuse of power in everyday life.

Corr and dem theory

Traditional definition of corruption can be useful because share common conception, but what corr means in contemporary **representative democracy**? Conception before liberal revolution, some of that definitions attributed to Machiavelli,... need to understand how corr are dem system nowadays. Exploit negative consequences in contemporary dem, **two step strategy**: Identify the **defining good** of the democracy and its deviation; Differentiate the **different domains of democracy** and how these can be corrupted. hence contemporary dem are complex dem system, differentiate all the domains of dem and analyse how each one is corrupted.

Corrupting dem

Basic norm of democracy = **empowered inclusion** of those affected in collective decisions and actions. The very logic of corruption involves **exclusion**, the corrupt use their control over resources to achieve gains at

the expense of those excluded in collective decision making. Exclusion (a) is a **necessary but not sufficient** condition for corruption. It also needs: **Duplicity** (b): the excluded have a claim to inclusion that is both recognized and violated by the corrupt and **Harm** (c): exclusion normally benefits the corrupt and harms at least some of the excluded • (a) + (b) + (c) = corruption

Domain

Representative democracies consist in **differentiated** and complementary institutions and domain **governance**. Not only part of decision took by public sphere, but also non state organization such as trade unions. **State, public sphere, civil society and market**. In order to fully understand negative consequences of corruption corr must be studied in each one of these fields.

Corr of state.

Executive : act and take decision. Collective decision, present form of legitimization. Minimum level if trust to respond to collective problems. Mode of exclusion divergence... harm... a collective agent that is not trusted by the people is not legitimate, real problem relationship between corr and public confidence.

Legislative: • Function: representative law making (fair, independent and accountable legislators) • Mode of exclusion: decision responsive to money or power in ways that cannot be publicly justified (political clientelism) • Harm: break of the relationship between deliberation and decision making

... both clientelism, in order to be elected a candidate take decision not for public interests but he act in response to the money he received from those who pay him to take decision. Vote buying, political clientelism. Break in principal agents system.

Judicial: personal game rather than winning from argument. Habeas corpus, Function: rule of law • Mode of exclusion: decisions motivated by gain rather than winning through argument • Harm: erosion of rights, protections, securities

Corruption of public sphere

Public sphere is important, composed by **media**, discursive, formation of an interested conscious public opinion that can understand if agents are taking decision in respect of interests or private games. Usually speak of media and in general **watchdogs** of operating gov. media should be free and independent to contest gov, act as whatchdogs, examine gov behaviour. Mode of **exclusion** are **duplicity** and **dissimulation** under the influence of money, politics, ideology... argument of fake news, strategically duplicitous, used by media to manipulate public opinion in favour or against government can be considered corruption.

Corruption of the civil society

Associations independent from state in which there is collective actions, socialization. Trade unions or different sectors. **Function** is to be collective agency, socialization of citizens. Mode of **exclusion** are **vertical membership of horizontal membership**, serve the interests of the associated by harming those who are excluded. **Harm**, loss of capacity for non state collective action.

Corr of market

Function, high level of complexity and development. Favour democratization of a country, even in consolidated democracies. Use economic power to influence the dem process. Market can be considered the other side of the coin of corruption, political system and market corruption. **Exclusion**, use of the economic power to influence democratic process. Monopolies unfair trading practices. **Harm**, reduced market efficiency, loss of trust in fairness of market results

22.04.2020

How can we measure corruption.

Which are the main challenges? **Two crucial issues**, first one clear **conceptualization** of the term corruption and his definitions (see yesterday), second problem is to provide useful **operationalization** of the concept with valid and reliable measures. Some important international organization pushes different states to provide solution to fight the problem of corruption, push forward by availability of new data of mid 90s, most

of the data are specifically developed for comparative research. This is the big difference with the first generation of studies, were theoretical studies on concept of corruption or single country analysis.

Corruption defined as “**the misuse of entrusted power for private gain**”. These minimal definition saw previous lesson leave the floor open to different interpretation, can be ok to define a complex phenomena but need to transform this concept to a measurable concept, so we need this operationalizing definition. We are interested in the comparative study of corr among different political system, not simply interested in identifying individual corrupt behaviour, measure the level of corruption in a country, region,... so we need to provide a **measure that is suitable for comparative analysis**.

Measuring corruption

Given its **broad, illicit and clandestine nature** it is very difficult to measure corruption, as many other political and social (macro-)phenomena, it is **impossible** to measure the “**true**” level of corruption across a society. The level of corruption of a country can be only estimated by using **indicators** (Remember: everything can be measured and inaccurate measures are better than no measures).

Differently from other sectors there are **no universally accepted standard** for measuring corruption. For measuring the general quality of health systems we commonly use indicators as life expectancy at birth or child mortality rate. The **choice** of the indicators depend not only on **taste**, but also on **data availability**

There are two main families of indicators of corruption: **objective and perception based indicators**

Objective indicators are based on **reading** documents, counting cases or estimate widespread of corr in a country by using **written documents**. Newspaper, judicial report and public procurement. They are **exogenous**, collected by other actors, judicial system, actors that have no links to the research we are doing. We can use it to make our research, less connection, data collected without corruption aim. Are **available over time**, for example newspaper archives, online sources... and there are some **cost advantages** of secondary data sources, no spend money to collect data on our own.

Second family is **perceptions based** indicators, based on **survey data**. Scholars, institutions conduct surveys among citizen to ask which are opinion, experiences,... related with corruption. Also this have some **advantages**, the survey is conducted by scholars and are **fitted on research's purposes**, is **cross country** comparability same survey in many countries. Same data for all the countries. New surveys based on this.

Objective indicators **Problems**.

cases of **corruption from newspapers and press** records (Pharr 2000). Most often corruption allegations are more covered than corruption convictions. Poor coverage of corruption cases due to lack of freedom in the regime or for political and ideological reasons.

Cases of **corruption convictions from judicial reports** (Della Porta and Vannucci 1995). A spurious measure: higher convictions may indicate a more efficient judicial systems irrespective of the level of corruption. - convictions = + corruption because judicial system is corrupt

Level of **corruption estimated from public procurement** (Golden and Picci 2005; Fazekas and Kocsis 2017). An operationalization of corruption in a specific, though important sector. Context dependent: different laws => different corruption opportunities. Hard to be replicated across countries (EU represents an exception). The **clandestine nature** of corruption renders **impossible an accurate count** of corruption cases by archival sources

Perception based indicators

Aggregate indicators that estimate the perceived level of corruption in the **public sector**. **Experts' opinions** (financial journalists, managers, risks analysts, ONG, ...) residents and nonresidents, **Poll of polls** to improve measurement reliability (CPI and CC)

Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) Available annually from 1995 for an increasing number of countries. Corruption scores from single surveys are standardized and then aggregated

Worldwide Governance Indicators. 6 indicators measuring different dimensions of governance, among them the control of corruption, Available very two years from 1996 to 2002 and annually from 2003. In the aggregation it weights each survey score for its presumed reliability.

Weakness of perception b indicator

Perceptions are **not necessarily linked with direct experiences**: Perceptions driven by exogenous factors (political regime, economy, freedom of the press)

Representative bias, Capture the view of a particular group and not of the whole population

Reflexivity bias, Respondents influenced by prior measures => not useful for longitudinal analyses

Measure **more reliable where corruption is less present**, Reflect a Western-style conceptualization of corruption

Focusing on citizens

Individual level indicators gathered from **cross-national surveys** and measuring:

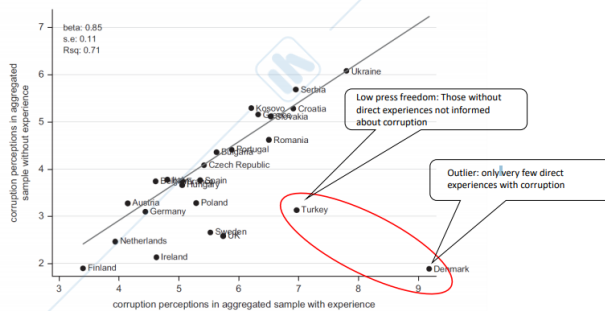
- **Citizens' perceptions** of how much corruption is widespread in the public sectors **In general** and **In specific sectors** or institutions
- Citizens' recent **direct experiences** with corruption (pay a bribe)

Main sources **Barometers** (Afro-, Asian-, Euro-, Latino-); **Global Corruption Barometer (TI)**; **European Quality of Government Index (QoG)**

Different potential indicators we can use, must be evaluated. Article of Charron in European political science review provide interesting comparison of these indicators and how they are correlated.

Servers of data available. Use two different vedi slide.

Perceptions with and without experiences



Potential bias factors, exogenous not linked with direct experience corruption to understand that Charron estimates the residual from this regression model (grafico) in both models no potential explanatory variable is statistically relevant. There is some kind of bias but this bias is not explained by anyone of these measures.

New graph, expert and citizens rankings

of countries, in some quite strict relations imo article of Charron. Vedi ultime slide per dati.