Claremont Graduate University
Fall 2026

TNDY 407O Corruption

Course Instructor

Prof. Robert Klitgaard

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Office hours: Tuesdays 9:00–11:45 a.m. or by appointment.

Instructor Feedback and Communication

The best way to get in touch with me is by email. I will do my best to respond to messages within two days.

Class Schedule

Course meetings: September 1 through December 15, 2026

Meeting day, time: Tuesdays, 4:00–6:50 pm

Class location: Burkle 26.

Course Description

Around the world, corruption is high on the list of challenges. In this course, we examine corruption from a variety of academic perspectives, and then consider might be done to reduce, though alas never eradicate, corruption. By working through case studies, we assess the uses and limitations of theory, data, and international collaboration.

Although the course focuses on corruption, it enables us to address fundamental issues about the possibilities and limitations of theory, data, and working across cultures.

Artificial Intelligence is both method and subject. Students use AI as a customized tutor, data analyst, research partner, case companion, and collaborator. We will also ask how the AI revolution may change governments and markets; how AI can help prevent, detect, and investigate corruption; and how the same technologies can enable fraud, influence-peddling, opaque discretion, surveillance, and new forms of corruption.

Student Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

1. *Interrogate contestable concepts.*

Distinguish definitions, boundary cases, and competing meanings of corruption and related ideas, and recognize similar problems across the human and social sciences.

2. *Use imperfect measures intelligently.*

Understand proxies, perceptions, experiences, composite indicators, and measurement error; use natural-language AI tools to explore data without treating statistical output as truth.

3. *Think across disciplines.*

Use and compare philosophical, anthropological, psychological, economic, political, managerial, and technological perspectives—and identify what each discipline's "take" illuminates and misses.

4. *Learn from case studies.*

Use case studies to understand how corruption actually works, how reforms unfold, why success is partial, and which lessons may travel to other settings.

5. *Design constructive anti-corruption strategies.*

Analyze systems, incentives, norms, information, collective action, implementation, and political constraints; use convening and related methods to combine local and outside knowledge.

6. *Work responsibly and creatively with generative AI.*

Use AI for tutoring, deep research, data analysis, source comparison, case development, and collaboration; verify evidence, disclose material AI use, and evaluate how AI can both curb and enable corruption.

All the prompts are on Canvas under "Your Package of Prompts."

Prerequisites

There are no prerequisites. Students are welcome from all CGU's graduate schools.

Course Requirements

- The mid-term examination on October 13: 25% of the final grade. Open book and open notes, using AI.
- Course project: 25% of the final grade. Details to be provided.
- Periodic course assignments: 25% of the final grade.
- Class participation: 25%. Assessed on thoughtfulness and quantity of contributions to class discussions.

There is no final examination.

Preparation for Class

The course's pedagogy is interactive. Your participation in class discussions is crucial; so, therefore, is your careful preparation for each class. If for some reason you are unable to complete the readings before a particular class, please let Prof. Klitgaard know in advance.

Please bring your laptop to class.

Books

Klitgaard, Robert (2013) *Tropical Gangsters II: Adventures in Development in the World's Poorest Places.* Amazon Kindle KDP e-book. https://www.amazon.com/Tropical-Gangsters-II-Adventures-Development-ebook/dp/B00C9GEQ58 (You do not need to own a Kindle device; the software is available free from Amazon.)

Klitgaard, Robert (2021) *The Culture and Development Manifesto*. New York: Oxford University Press. On Canvas.

Klitgaard, Robert (2026) *Graduate School, Augmented: The Joys of Learning, Creating, and Finding Your Way with AI.* Claremont Graduate University. Open access: https://gradschoolaugmented.com

Readings

Most readings are available through online links, as indicated below. Others are distributed in class or placed on Canvas.

All the prompts are on Canvas under "Your Package of Prompts."

Readings marked with an asterisk * are optional.

Schedule

September 1, Introduction

Please read both before the first class:

Klitgaard, Robert (2026) *Graduate School, Augmented: The Joys of Learning, Creating, and Finding Your Way with AI.* Claremont Graduate University. Chapters 1 and 2. https://gradschoolaugmented.com

Klitgaard, Robert (2025/2026) "Ensemble." UNODC and Rule of Law and Anti-Corruption Center. Skip the Appendices for now. On Canvas.

Assignment:

Please bring your laptop to class and have ChatGPT edu (or another LLM of your choice) ready to go.

After class:

Klitgaard, *Tropical Gangsters II*, part 2 (Bolivia).

September 8, Case Study: Peru 2026

The Americas and Peru, comparison and description of Peru's corruption by sector https://ocindex.net/2025/continent/americas/peru

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, select Peru. https://data.unodc.org/countryprofile

Carrión, Julio (2026) "I Am Very Pessimistic About the Prospects for Peruvian Democracy," *European Center for Populism Studies*, June 24. Watch or read. https://youtu.be/PmQB1S5Yd8E?si=hKAOJa9yyI3MF5L3 https://www.populismstudies.org/prof-carrion-i-am-very-pessimistic-about-the-prospects-for-peruvian-democracy/

Garay, Diana (2026) "Peru's 205th Independence Day: A Bleeding State, a Divided Society, and a Country Still Unpaved," Center for Latin American & Latino Studies, American University, August 11. https://aulablog.net/tag/accountability-corruption/

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2026. *Anti-Corruption and Integrity Outlook 2026: Peru*. Paris: OECD, March 24. 11 pp. https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2026/03/anti-corruption-and-integrity-outlook-2026-country-notes_b1df9263/peru_9c9ed410/ed06008b-en.pdf

Excerpt in English from the Platform of Fuerza Popular (2026) On Canvas.

Skim the English translation of The Inaugural Address of President Keiko Fujimori, July 28, 2026. On Canvas.

Assignment:

In "Your Package of Prompts" on Canvas, use the prompt "Follow Progress in Peru." You will hereafter receive regular reports on how well Peru is doing in its new efforts to fight corruption.

Please familiarize yourself with some of the websites dedicated to fighting corruption. Spend 20 minutes or more at each of the following sites:

- Transparency International https://www.transparency.org/en/
- U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre http://www.u4.no/
- World Bank Institute governance and anti-corruption https://www.worldbank.org/ext/en/topic/governance/combating-corruption
- United Nations Development Programme https://www.undp.org/governance/inclusive-and-future-smart-public-goods-and-services/anti-corruption

September 15, Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Corruption (1)

Noonan, John T. Jr. (1987) "Bribery." *Notre Dame Journal of Law Ethics and Public Policy* 2: 741–751. https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1618&context=ndjlepp

Klitgaard, Robert (2021) *The Culture and Development Manifesto*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Varraich, Aiysha, Nils C. Köbis, and Jens Lange (2025), "The Social Psychology of Corruption," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 55(3), introduction to the special section. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/ejsp.3165

Skim Miller, Seumas (2023) "Corruption." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.) https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/corruption/

Assignment:

Please run the prompts on political "takes" on corruption (in your package of prompts). Please describe your biggest two takeaways (<300 words) and attach the entire transcript of your ChatGPT conversation to robert.klitgaard@cgu.edu before 5:00 pm on September 14.

September 22, Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Corruption (2)

Klitgaard, Robert (2021) *The Culture and Development Manifesto*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 4 and 9.

Doughan, Yazan (2024), "The Rule-of-Law as a Problem Space: Wāsṭa and the Paradox of Justice in Jordan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 66(1): 131–154. https://researchonline.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/119987/

Baez Camargo, Claudia, et al. (2025), "Addressing Bribery and Associated Social Norms in Healthcare: Results of a Behaviour Change Intervention in Tanzania," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 55(3): 424–439. https://research-portal.uu.nl/ws/files/261674297/Euro_J_Social_Psych_-_2025_-_Camargo_-_Addressing_Bribery_and_Associated_Social_Norms_in_Healthcare_Results_of_a_Behaviour.pdf

Assignment:

Take one behavior from the district office of a Member of Parliament in Northern Jordan or the Tanzania hospital case. In "Your Package of Prompts" on Canvas, use the prompt "Create Your Own Cross-Disciplinary Conversation" to have four AI personas—economist, anthropologist, social psychologist, moral philosopher—analyze why the behavior persists and what might change it. Have a conversation with the AI to audit the four answers for overlaps, contradictions, and missing levels of explanation. Please be prepared to discuss in class what you learned.

September 29, Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Corruption (3)

Skim Okunogbe, Oyebola, and Victor Pouliquen (2022), "Technology, Taxation, and Corruption: Evidence from the Introduction of Electronic Tax Filing," *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 14(1): 341–372. https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pol.20200123

Klitgaard, Robert (2025/2026), "Ensemble," UNODC and Rule of Law and Anti-Corruption Center. Appendix 1, Topics 1–6: the economic approach to corruption and anti-corruption. The prompts are included in your course prompt package on Canvas.

Assignment:

Use these prompts to work through the principal-agent-client model, C = M + D – A, externalities, systemic corruption, and the costs of anti-corruption.

Please describe three important things you learned from this exercise (about 500 words). Please submit to robert.klitgaard@cgu.edu before 5:00 pm on Monday, Sept. 28.

Please be prepared to discuss what you learned in class.

October 6, Measurement

Quality of Government Institute, *QoG Basic Dataset 2026*. We will be using this data set in class. Spend at least 45 minutes browsing the variable list, codebook, and Data Finder. *Choose two countries you care about* and examine the data for them.
https://www.gu.se/en/quality-government/qog-data/data-downloads/basic-dataset

Please familiarize yourself with these two additional sources of data by spending at least 30 minutes with each. After looking at the table of contents and the introduction, *please look up data for two countries you care about.*

1. Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2025
https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2025 Look at how the Corruption Perceptions Index is derived. Note the rankings of your two countries and observe some of the surprising countries that do better.

2. Corruption Risk Forecast. https://corruptionrisk.org/ Note the methodology. Find your two countries.

Skim Poszgai-Alvarez, Joseph (2025) *Measurement: Principles for Building Purpose-Fit Corruption Metrics*. Laxenburg, Austria: International Anti-Corruption Academy, November.
https://www.iaca.int/measuring-corruption/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/print_The-Architecture-of-Measurement-Final-Version.pdf

Skim United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime website "Corruption Measurement Tools and Products," https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/corruption.html and
https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/corruption/UNODC_Statistical_Framework_to_measure_corruption.pdf

Assignment:

In the QoG data set, ask ChatGPT to compare at least four measures that purport to capture corruption, rule of law, government effectiveness, or impartiality for two countries you care about. Ask what each measure claims to measure. What are the correlations among the four measures you choose? What do the scatterplots look like?

Then look at the data about your two countries in the three data sources (QoG, TI, Corruption Risk Forecast). What surprised you? What further questions arose? Please be prepared to discuss in class.

October 13, Midterm Examination

Open book, open notes, with AI in tow. Full details to be provided.

October 20, Artificial Intelligence

Klitgaard, Robert, and OpenAI Deep Research (2025) "Generative AI and the Future of Anti-Corruption in Developing Countries (2025–2030)" in *Co-Intelligence Applied: Thirteen Examples of How Generative AI Is Changing Our World—And Ourselves*. Available open access: https://robertklitgaard.com/genai-anti-corruption

Other readings to be provided.

Assignment:

Use Deep Research to update the 2025 chapter. Discuss what has happened and what might happen in the next five years to help the fight against corruption or hurt it in some ways . . . or both.

October 27, The Republic of Georgia

Alam, Asad, and Van Roy Southworth, *et al.* (2012), *Fighting Corruption in Public Services: Chronicling Georgia's Reforms*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/518301468256183463/pdf/664490PUB0EPI0065774B09780821394755.pdf

Assignment:

Use the AI to find contemporary information about governance in Georgia.

November 3, The United States, 2026

Current U.S. Corruption Packet, posted one week before class.

The packet will mix primary documents and high-quality reporting, including competing interpretations. Topics will include presidential and family financial conflicts, influence and oversight, election irregularities, and major alleged fraud in public programs in Minnesota, California, and elsewhere.

November 10, Indonesia

Goldfien, Michael (2018) "Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission." Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, part of Stanford University's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. 25 pages. https://fsi9-prod.s3.us-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2024-02/indonesias_corruption_eradication_commission_0.pdf

Assignment:

1. Put yourself in 2004 in Indonesia. What is the nature of corruption? Who is involved? Why have previous anti-corruption Initiatives failed?

2. Do you expect the Corruption Eradication Commission to be successful where other anti-corruption initiatives in Indonesia have failed? If so, why? If not, why not?

3. What are the pros and cons of ordering Megawati to suspend Puteh?

Please be prepared to discuss these questions in class.

November 17, The Philippines

Estanislao, Jesus (2014) "Good Governance and Anti-Corruption," Manila: Institute for Solidarity in Asia. Available on Canvas.

Klitgaard, Robert (2023) *Bold and Humble: How to Lead Public-Private-Citizen Collaboration, with Five Success Stories*. Thimphu: Royal Institute for Governance and Strategic Studies. Chapter 10. https://robertklitgaard.com/bold-and-humble Put yourself in Mandaue City in mid-2013.

Assignment:

Consider the challenges described at the end of the chapter. Please be prepared to discuss in class your recommendations to the mayor regarding each of these issues.

November 24, Fragile States

A brief look at Rwanda, Equatorial Guinea, South Sudan, and Timor-Leste.

World Bank (2011) *Conflict, Security and Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Read chs. 1, 2, and 8; skim the rest.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf

Kayigire, Prince H., and Francine Uwayo (2016) "Rwanda at the Forefront of Global Governance" *Rwanda Governance Review*, Vol. V, Special Issue. April.
http://www.rgb.rw/fileadmin/Publications/Final_Rwanda_Governance_Review_25May_2016.pdf

Klitgaard, *Tropical Gangsters II*, parts 3 and 4 (Equatorial Guinea and South Sudan).

Klitgaard, Robert (2001) "Helping East Timor Succeed," Dili, East Timor: The World Bank, February. 11 pages. Available on Canvas.

Horta, Loro (2014) "Timor-Leste: Lessons of a Failing State?" *Yale Global*, May. 2 pages.
http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/timor-leste-lessons-failing-state

Assignment:

Use AI to appraise the current situation in Rwanda, Timor-Leste, Equatorial Guinea, and South Sudan. You will be divided in advance into teams and give a 10-minute overview in class.

December 1, Convening

Klitgaard, Robert (2025/2026) "Ensemble" UNODC and Rule of Law and Anti-Corruption Center. Appendix 2.

Assignment:

Assignment to be announced using the prompts on convening.

December 8, Return to Peru

Assignment:

To be announced: Review of what has happened in Peru in the last four months. Design of a convening for Peru.

December 15, Briefings on Course Projects

For guidance on briefings:

RAND (1996) "Guidelines for Preparing Briefings." Santa Monica: The RAND Corporation: 1–14. http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a317235.pdf

Klitgaard, Robert (2026) *Graduate School, Augmented: The Joys of Learning, Creating, and Finding Your Way with AI. Claremont Graduate University*, July. Chapter 5. https://gradschoolaugmented.com

Details to be announced. Please prepare and deliver as a team. Pretend you are giving a briefing to your "client." Your briefing should last 20 minutes. Please practice!

Claremont Graduate University on Course Requirements

Grading

Your grade will be calculated using the following scale. Grades with plus or minus designations are at the professor's discretion.

Letter Grade	Grade Point	Description	Learning Outcome
A	4.0	Complete mastery of course material and additional insight beyond course material	Insightful
B	3.0	Complete mastery of course material	Proficient
C	2.0	Gaps in mastery of course material; not at level expected by the program	Developing
U	0	Unsatisfactory	Ineffective

Continual matriculation at CGU requires a minimum grade point average (GPA) of 3.0 in all coursework taken at CGU. Students may not have more than two incompletes. Details of the policy are found on the Registrar's webpage: http://www.cgu.edu/registrar.

Course Policies

The CGU institutional policies apply to each course offered at CGU. A few are detailed in the space below. Students are encouraged to review the student handbook for the program as well as the documentation in the Bulletin and on the Registrar's webpages: http://bulletin.cgu.edu/ and http://www.cgu.edu/registrar.

Attendance

Students are expected to attend all classes, whether the class is taken for credit or on an audit basis. Students unable to attend a class must seek permission for an excused absence from the instructor or teaching assistant prior to the class meeting. Unapproved absences or late attendance for three or more classes may result in a lower grade or being involuntarily withdrawn from the class (with enrollment refunds governed by CGU's published Academic Calendar). If you have to miss a class, please arrange to get notes from a fellow student.

Scientific and Professional Ethics

The work you do in this class must be your own. Feel free to build on, react to, criticize, and analyze the ideas of others but, when you do, make it known whose ideas you are working with. You must explicitly acknowledge when your work builds on someone else's ideas, including ideas of classmates, professors, and the authors you read. If you ever have questions about drawing the line between your own work and that of others people, ask me for guidance.

Examinations must be completed independently and without using cell phones, tablets, or computers to search or retrieve material. Any collaboration on answers to exams may result in an automatic failing grade and possible expulsion from the program.

Additional information on CGU's Policy on Academic Honesty can be found at: https://cgu.policystat.com/policy/2194316/latest/. In addition, Honnold Mudd Library has a number of resources on academic honesty and integrity, including the following online tutorial: http://libraries.claremont.edu/achontutorial/pages/.

Instructor Feedback and Communication

The best way to get in touch with me is via email at robert.klitgaard@cgu.edu. I will respond to email/voice messages within two business days.

Expectations and Logistics

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you would like to request academic accommodations due to temporary or permanent disability, contact Dean of Students and Coordinator for Student Disability Services at DisabilityServices@cgu.edu or 909-607-9448. Appropriate accommodations are considered after you have conferred with the Office of Disability Services (ODS) and presented the required documentation of your disability to the ODS.

Mental Health Resources

Graduate school is a context where mental health struggles can be exacerbated. If you ever find yourself struggling, please do not hesitate to ask for help. If you wish to seek out campus resources, here is some basic information about Monsour.
https://www.cuc.claremont.edu/mcaps/

Monsour Counseling and Psychological Services (MCAPS) is committed to promoting psychological wellness for all students served by the Claremont University Consortium. Our well-trained team of psychologists, psychiatrists, and post-doctoral and intern therapists offer support for a range of psychological issues in a confidential and safe environment."

Phone 909-621-8202

Fax 909-621-8482

After hours emergency 909-607-2000

Tranquada Student Services Center, 1st floor
757 College Way
Claremont, CA 91711

Title IX

If I learn of any potential violation of CGU's gender-based misconduct policy (e.g., rape, sexual assault, dating violence, domestic violence, or stalking) by any means, I am required to notify the CGU Title IX Coordinator at Deanof.Students@cgu.edu or (909) 607-9448. Students can request confidentiality from the institution, which I will communicate to the Title IX Coordinator. If students want to speak with someone confidentially, the following resources are available on and off campus: EmPOWER Center (909) 607-2689, Monsour Counseling and Psychological Services (909) 621-8202, and The Chaplains of the Claremont Colleges (909) 621-8685. Speaking with a confidential resource does not preclude students from making a formal report to the Title

IX Coordinator if and when they are ready. Confidential resources can walk students through all of their reporting options. They can also provide students with information and assistance in accessing academic, medical, and other support services they may need.

Campus Security

Campus security can be reached 24 hours/day at (909) 607-2000.