#### The Curse of Good Intentions:

"Why Anticorruption Messaging Can Encourage Bribery" by Cheeseman and Peiffer (2022)

Alper Sukru Gencer

November 28, 2022

## Cheeseman and Peiffer (2022): "The Curse of Good Intentions"

- Causing waste of public resources, distorting incentives for officials and citizens
- The impact of anti-corruption campaigns on citizens' corruption behavior
- Conflicted expectations:
  - Anticorruption efforts → less/more Corruption?
- Conflicted empirical support:
  - No consistent effect of anticorruption messages
  - Some messages more impactful than others
- Underspecification of the theoretical causal mechanisms

## Corruption, Citizens, and Political Behavior

- Two mainstream ways to intervene in corruption:
  - Interventions to incentives of politicians to carry out corrupt policies
    - Public Financial Management and Audit Institutions (Zaum, Taxell, and Johnson 2012)
    - Aligning incentives among elites, building coalitions, and designing for sectoral differences (Khan, Andreoni, and Roy 2019)

## Corruption, Citizens, and Political Behavior

- Two mainstream ways to intervene in corruption:
  - Interventions to the information of citizens to encourage anti-corruption attitudes when electing politicians and interacting with officials
    - Channel 1: People do not know corruption exists (clandestine corruption, not known)
      - Insignicant messages
      - Partisan sources, state propaganda, social norm nudging (Hoffmann and Patel 2017)

## Corruption, Citizens, and Political Behavior

- Two mainstream ways to intervene in corruption:
  - Interventions to the information of citizens to encourage anti-corruption attitudes when electing politicians and interacting with officials
    - Channel 1: People do not know corruption exists (clandestine corruption, not known)
      - Insignicant messages
      - Partisan sources, state propaganda, social norm nudging (Hoffmann and Patel 2017)
    - Channel 2: People do not know corruption affects their lives (intangible corruption)
      - Direct effect through taxation and local politics (Peiffer 2020)
      - The struggle of their leaders and authorities against the corruption

# The Impact of Anticorruption Campaigns on Citizens' Corruption Behavior

#### • Framing Effect:

- Anticorruption messages that make people think about the problem more and change their behaviors (Corbacho et al. 2016)
- Being primed about corruption might push people to systemic corruption equilibrium (Persson, Rothstein, and Teorell 2019, @corbacho2016corruption)
- Social norm nudging (Bicchieri and Dimant 2022)
- Social norms to reduce bribery South Africa (Köbis et al. 2022)

# The Impact of Anticorruption Campaigns on Citizens' Corruption Behavior

- Positive Persuasion:
  - Anti-corruption messages that change how people think about a problem instead of making them think more (Lenz 2009)
  - Content of messages, Papua New Guinea (Walton and Peiffer 2017)
    - Emphasis on local more impactful than an emphasis on authorities or the rule of law
    - Underestimation of the personal impact of corruption
    - Direct vs. Indirect Taxes

## The Impact of Anticorruption Campaigns on Citizens' Corruption Behavior

- Leadership Framing:
  - Leadership framing working as a heuristic, which is informational shortcuts people could rely on
  - Citizens taking cues from the politicians about involving in corruption (Rose-Ackerman 2015)

### Questions:

 To what degree is it practical to intervene in citizens' perceptions in the fight against corruption? Wouldn't it be more impactful if research and policies focused on the incentives of officials?

### Questions:

- To what degree is it practical to intervene in citizens' perceptions in the fight against corruption? Wouldn't it be more impactful if research and policies focused on the incentives of officials?
- Would not citizens' behavior vary based on
  - the subjects of corruption (education as opposed to public procurement nepotism)
  - the agent of corruption (elected politicians vs. permanent bureaucrats)
  - the partisanship of the committer (government vs. opposition supporter)

### Questions:

- To what degree is it practical to intervene in citizens' perceptions in the fight against corruption? Wouldn't it be more impactful if research and policies focused on the incentives of officials?
- Would not citizens' behavior vary based on
  - the subjects of corruption (education as opposed to public procurement nepotism)
  - the agent of corruption (elected politicians vs. permanent bureaucrats)
  - the partisanship of the committer (government vs. opposition supporter)
- To what degree does willingness to pay bribe captures the dependent variable of raising awareness and creating demand for clean politics?

### References I

Bicchieri, Cristina, and Eugen Dimant. 2022. "Nudging with Care: The Risks and Benefits of Social Information." *Public Choice* 191 (3): 443–64.

Cheeseman, Nic, and Caryn Peiffer. 2022. "The Curse of Good Intentions: Why Anticorruption Messaging Can Encourage Bribery." *American Political Science Review* 116 (3): 1081–95.

Corbacho, Ana, Daniel W Gingerich, Virginia Oliveros, and Mauricio Ruiz-Vega. 2016. "Corruption as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Costa Rica." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (4): 1077–92.

Hoffmann, Leena Koni, and Raj Navanit Patel. 2017. *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria: A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions.* Chatham House London.

### References II

Khan, Mushtaq, Antonio Andreoni, and Pallavi Roy. 2019. "Anti-Corruption in Adverse Contexts: Strategies for Improving Implementation."

Köbis, Nils C, Marleen Troost, Cyril O Brandt, and Ivan Soraperra. 2022. "Social Norms of Corruption in the Field: Social Nudges on Posters Can Help to Reduce Bribery." *Behavioural Public Policy* 6 (4): 597–624.

Lenz, Gabriel S. 2009. "Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (4): 821–37.

Peiffer, Caryn. 2020. "Message Received? Experimental Findings on How Messages About Corruption Shape Perceptions." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 1207–15.

### References III

Persson, Anna, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell. 2019. "Getting the Basic Nature of Systemic Corruption Right: A Reply to Marquette and Peiffer." *Governance* 32 (4): 799–810.

Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 2015. "Are Corrupt Elites Necessary for Corrupt Countries?" In *Elites, Institutions and the Quality of Government*, 33–47. Springer.

Walton, Grant W, and Caryn Peiffer. 2017. "The Impacts of Education and Institutional Trust on Citizens' Willingness to Report Corruption: Lessons from Papua New Guinea." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 52 (4): 517–36.

Zaum, Dominik, Nils Taxell, and Jesper Johnson. 2012. "Mapping Evidence Gaps in Anti-Corruption: Assessing the State of the Operationally Relevant Evidence on Donors' Actions and Approaches to Reducing Corruption."