HOW TO COMMUNICATE EFFECTIVELY TO COMBAT CORRUPTION

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE USED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN ITALY

EVA-KRISTIN URESTAD PEDERSEN

MASTER THESIS

Institutt for sammenliknende politikk

Universitetet i Bergen

MAY 2018

<u>Abstract</u>

In spite of the difficulties related to measuring corruption, both international surveys and national statistics indicate that corruption remains a serious problem in Italy, resilient to time as well as political changes. The need to intensify the fight against corruption on a cultural level is recognised in the country's corruption prevention framework, but political science is struggling to explain the persistence of corruption in Italy. For the same reason, it has been difficult to devise a corruption prevention strategy that is effective also in the cultural realm. This thesis departs from a social constructivist standing point and, using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, sets out to analyse how language is used to sustain those aspects of Italian culture that are permissive of corruption. In doing so, it meets a request from social anthropologists who in recent years have called for more inter-disciplinary studies of the phenomenon. Eventually, the focus on language as a transmitter of culture also allows for a normative approach, and an objective of this thesis is to suggest a way forward in terms of how to communicate strategically in order to change the cultural premises for corruption in Italy.

Index

Overview figures and tables

List of Annexes

1. Introduction and Scope of the Study

In February 2015, the President of the Italian Anti-Corruption Authority, Mr. Raffaele Cantone, visited one of Italy's most popular talk shows to talk about his new book, *Un male italiano* ('An Italian Evil' – Cantone 2015b), and about the new vigour of anti-corruption measures in Italy. During the show, Cantone mentioned a study carried out by two scholars who had investigated which countries' diplomats are most prone to abuse the immunity clause that exempts diplomats in New York from paying parking tickets. The study revealed significant differences between countries, and Cantone complained about Italy's dismal placement on the list of culprits.

I had no reason to doubt Mr. Cantone; on the contrary, anyone in his position is expected to exhibit a certain degree of integrity. Moreover, Italy is a country that scores consistently high on international surveys of perception of corruption. A glance at the country's recent political history strengthens the impression of Italy as a corrupt country. In the early nineties, a series of corruption scandals known as *Tangentopoli* or 'Bribesville' rocked the southern European country and changed the political landscape forever. Nevertheless, Italian politicians continue to corrupt and let themselves be corrupted. In a recent book edited by Rocco Sciarrone (2017), corruption sentences and requests to continue in political positions have been analysed and the analysis reveals that that in post-Bribesville Italy, 39,4 percent of all politicians sentenced definitively for involvement in corruption, continue in their positions after having been handed their sentence.

Corruption in contemporary Italy is not limited to politics. Important events such as the MOSE project[1] in Venice and the EXPO in Milan have been tainted by corruption scandals. It seems that in Italy, regardless of the social and political changes the country traverses, corruption survives.

I was curious about the study that Cantone mentioned, and decided to look it up. The surprise when I did was considerable. For while the study (Fisman and Edward 2006) was interesting, the most intriguing discovery I made was that Italy's score, portrayed so negatively by Cantone, was far from as bad as expected. Italy was number 46 in total and not even first amongst the European countries, although it was in the top three. But why would the head of the Italian Anti-Corruption Authority lie about something like this, on TV?

I have lived in Italy for more than a decade. One thing that has always struck me about this country is the very persistent need for auto-criticism that permeates Italian society. That is, criticism directed at the Italian state, the Italian system, the Italian authorities, the Italian being in general. It is as if the country is bound together, not by its much beloved blue-shirted football team but by a profound need to complain about how poorly run Italy is, how chaotic it is and, not least, how corrupt it is. Italians, it seems, dwell on their mischievous nature and almost take delight in exploring it. In that sense, Cantone's declaration on TV was not so surprising. Even the title of his book, *An Italian Disease*, hints at the same understanding of corruption as a quintessential Italian problem. But is it really that bad? And what do we obtain by insisting it is?

---

[1] *Modulo Sperimentale Elettromeccanico*, or Experimental Electromecanic Module, is a projected designed to protect the city of Venice from flooding. In 2014, 35 people in the Venice administration, including the mayor, arrested, accused of having received illicit funds from the contractor, *Consorzio Venezia Nuova*.

Before answering that, I would like to introduce a different story, of an attempt to combat another 'Italian disease' – the Mafia: On 29 June 2004, Palermitans woke up to find posters with a very peculiar message attached to virtually every street corner: A PEOPLE THAT PAYS EXTORTION IS A PEOPLE WITHOUT DIGNITY, it said. A people that pays extortion is a people without dignity. Elsewhere this message might not cause much ado, but in Palermo a detonated bomb would be less noteworthy.

The authors of the posters, who subsequently founded the anti-Mafia organisation *AddioPizzo*, later explained to a local newspaper what had inspired them. They said that they had wanted to open a bar in the centre of Palermo when they were confronted with the need to pay money to the Mafia, something they refused to do. The situation infuriated them, and they spent some time to think about what to do before deciding to act.

According to this group of young people, the Mafia is often considered an external entity that imposes itself on society. They disagree. The Mafia, they say, is sustained by the Sicilian people themselves and it survives because of a relative social complacency, the most evident example being the extortion money that Sicilian merchants continue to pay. And so one night, the youth ventured into the city and put up posters everywhere: A people that pays extortion is a people without dignity.

Some ten years have passed since that early June morning. Has *AddioPizzo* succeeded? They are at least moving somewhere. At the time of writing, almost 800 Sicilian business owners appear on the '*pizzo*-free' list. More than 13,000 consumers have pledged to by *pizzo*-free products, some 1000 shops and businesses have signed up to the initiative while 36 producers

have a *pizzo*-free certificate attached to their produce.[2] The organisation is also organising courses in schools and in civil society. The initial message of the *AddioPizzo* movement certainly hit a nerve. The activists managed to incur a change, a rebellion, in Sicilian society, and they did so primarily by the use of language. Although Italian corruption fighters, led by Mr. Cantone, see it as a pillar of corruption prevention to inspire a cultural change similar to what *AddioPizzo* managed to evoke, they have yet to succeed. Why? That is the main question this thesis seeks to answer.

The hypothesis of the study is that the public discourse on corruption in Italy effectively sustains corruption because it reproduces entrenched images of Italian culture as inherently corrupt. For cultural attitudes towards corruption to change, language must change first, and one of the aims of the thesis is to lay the theoretical foundation on which a more effective communication strategy to prevent corruption, can be built.

In the growing body of literature on corruption, there is a distinction between studies that deal with the legal and administrative aspects, and studies that focus on corruption as a cultural phenomenon; where corruption comes from and how it is transmitted. This study is situated in the latter category and more specifically it deals with the role of language in this chain of events. In doing so, it fits within Gjalt de Graaf's (2007) 'corrupt organisational cultures' theories. In de Graaf's words:

> At best, we could say that these theories describe certain conditions under which corruption occurs. But that, too, is probably saying too much. It is more a matter of describing "facilitating factors" which, in some cases (not all people in the organization become corrupt), strengthen a causal chain. (De Graaf 2007, 51-52)

---

[2] Figures are constantly updated and available on
http://www.addiopizzo.org/

The 'facilitating factor' in this context, is language. Social constructivist Franke Wilmer claims that language practices

> reveal rules that mediate between agents' actions and the structures created, maintained, destroyed and transformed by them. (Wilmer 2002, 243)

Language practices can be studied through discourse analysis and I will use Norman Fairclough's (1992, 2003, 2015) method 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA), linking texts and context to the sociocultural practice that corruption is.

The study proceeds as follows: After presenting Social Constructivism as a theoretical framework, I proceed with a brief discussion of how to define corruption, before I move on to explaining the details of the methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Having done that, I take a step back to look at how Italy fares in international overviews of corruption. I take into account a range of available indices, comparing the Italian results to those of other European countries. While all measurements have their drawbacks, together, they leave little doubt that the situation is Italy serious and calls for enhanced prevention measures. I then look how political scientists have tried to explain the origins of corruption in Italy, as well as at recent contributions or modifications from Social Anthropology. Both social anthropologists and social constructivists stress the importance of 'corruption talk' which is what I focus on in the following chapter, when I apply CDA to an interview the President of the Italian Anti- Corruption Authority, Raffaele Cantone, gave on public TV. I contrast the findings with an article written by the founders of *AddioPizzo*, and try to highlight what elements of Cantone's communication could be improved to reach his objective of evoking cultural change. In the concluding chapter, I build on the preceding chapters to suggest a way forward in terms of how to construct an effective communication strategy for corruption prevention.

2. Theory – A Social Constructivist Approach

In *The Social Construction of Man, the State and War* (Wilmer 2002), the author attempts to find out if

> [..] political culture, practice and institutions constitute variables intervening between the capacity for cruelty or caring and our actual behaviour? Can they make cruelty or caring more or less likely? (Wilmer 2002, 63)

Franke Wilmer is concerned with the atrocities of civil war and explores a more extreme category of human behaviour than what we do when studying corruption. At the same time, the negative and corroding effects of corruption on society are so well established that it does require a certain disregard for civic virtue to take part in corrupt acts,[3] making a comparison viable and a variation of Wilmer's question valid also in the context of this study: are culture, practice and institutions variables that intervene with our capacity to corrupt or refrain from corruption?

As the title suggests, Wilmer uses a social constructivist approach in her inquiry. Social constructivists consider culturally dependent attitudes, institutions and practices to be changeable sizes. The task is to understand how and why these change and what factors affect them. Because of its critical attitude to obvious knowledge, (Burr in Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 1999, 11-12) Social Constructivism is a natural point of departure for any investigation of why and when corruption is likely to persist in spite of repressive and preventive measures.

---

[3] The recognition that corruption breaks with civic virtue is crucial to Zephyr Teachout (2014, 260-261), who in his recent book *Corruption in America*, criticizes scholars who in line with economic theory, uses the selfish man as a starting point. These scholars, that include Susan Rose-Ackerman, conceives people as consumers rather than as citizens and considers corruption a 'failure to leverage self-interest for productive purposes' depriving the concept of its immoral character. Teachout insists on the breach of civic virtue as fundamental in understanding what corruption entails.

A key methodological approach for social constructivists, is discourse analysis. Used in several studies, like Franke Wilmer's own inquiry of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, discourse analysis provides a test tube through which we can extract a piece of society, analyse it and draw conclusions, not only about the sample but also the basin the sample was drawn from. Among the available approaches to discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the method most inclined to look at the relationship between discourse and social change. (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 1999, 13) Because this study is concerned not only with explaining change or lack thereof, but also attempts to suggest how change can be orchestrated, I will use CDA as the methodological tool with which to analyse the Italian corruption discourse.

Before moving on to the details of the methodology and its application, I will discuss some of the main theoretical considerations related to CDA, in particular views on language in society, on ideology and its normative aspects.

In line with its social constructivist theoretical foundation, (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 1999, 12) a key theoretical assumption of CDA is that language is not considered an entity external to society, but an integral part of it. That means that social structures and power relations cannot be separated from linguistic practices; on the contrary, linguistic practices uphold or provoke changes in social structures and corresponding power relations.

A critique often put forth both against discourse analysis in particular and social constructivists in general, is that in its extremity, constructivism can imply that all social structures are mere mental constructions, created and disbanded by our thoughts. Corruption would then only exist if we think of it as such, and it would only be wrong if we think of it as wrong. This

implies that we can 'de-construct', not only the immorality of corruption but also corruption itself, by changing the language used to describe it. Fairclough warns against overemphasizing the extent to which discourse can construct or deconstruct the social world. Rather, he highlights the dialectic relationship between discourse and social structures and underlines that discourses are 'rooted in and oriented to real, material social structures'. (Fairclough 1992, 66)

This aspect becomes particularly important in this thesis because it implies that changing the discourse of corruption is not sufficient to rid a society of corruption. Put in a different way, if Raffaele Cantone were to insert the idea that 'Italians are not corrupt' while the public at the same time sees corruption scandals unfold before their eyes on a regular basis without anyone making an effort to counter them, that would do little or no good. The alteration of discourse must fit within a larger corruption prevention scheme that includes tangible measures and a conscious and strategic use of language, if it is to be effective.

Ideology is a key concept of Fairclough's theory. Building on insights from critical theory, Gramsci in particular, Fairclough's primary concern is with discourse as 'a mode of political and ideological practice'. (Fairclough 1992, 67) Discourse is not necessarily ideological, it is constitutive and transformative also in non-ideological ways. In this thesis I transfer Fairclough's concept of ideology from the political realm to the fight against corruption. While more details follow in Chapter 7, suffice here to say that 'ideology' will henceforth be used to describe aspects of Italian culture that relate to corruption.

I believe this analogy is conceptually unproblematic. Indeed, Fairclough emphasizes that

> discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations, and the collective entities (classes,

blocs, communities, groups) between which power relations obtain. Discourse as an ideological practice *constitutes, naturalises, sustains and changes significations of the world* from diverse positions in power relations (Fairclough 1992, 67. My italics).

What I shall dedicate this paper to find out is precisely how the significance of corruption and culture is constituted, naturalised and sustained, and how we can change these significations.

The desire to evoke change also makes Fairclough's theory explicitly normative, something that distinguishes it from other approaches to discourse analysis. (Fairclough 2015, 24-25 and 47) CDA is designed with the goal of developing a basis for transformative action. (Fairclough 2015, 35)

It is a goal of this study to make a contribution to the fight against corruption, beyond what we do when we explain what corruption is and how it came about. The normative aspect is one of the reasons for choosing CDA as a methodology. At the same time, this aspect sets the study apart from descriptive analyses of corruption in Italy, of which it is not so much a critique as a consequence. The thesis builds on accumulated knowledge of corruption to propose a critique of the incongruence between an established objective, to evoke a cultural revolution in Italy as a way of preventing corruption, and what is actually being said or written.

2.2   What is Corruption? Definition.

For any comparison to be viable, we need a proper definition and a workable measure. As a phenomenon, corruption defies both. Presuming corruption is illegal, we will never be able to capture all incidents of corruption accurately. Furthermore, what exactly constitutes an act of corruption is not standardised across national legislations; in the Italian penal code, for example, there are at least six types of crimes that include corruption. That number may be expanded (although difficultly diminished), depending on how we define corruption. And just how do we do that? What exactly *is* corruption?

The constructivist understanding of corruption has gained some traction and is explored further in the *The Social Construction of Corruption in Europe,* (Tânzler, Dirk et al. 2012) which also includes a chapter on Italy. (Della Porta and Vannucci 2012) Key to this understanding is that corruption is relative to historical and social contexts. This is a view shared by many social anthropologists. (Torsello 2011 and Torsello and Vanard 2015) The relativistic definition is however, refused by Rothstein and Torsello (2014, 264-265) in their study of corruption in preindustrial societies. The two authors agree that there are significant differences in what is considered a public good in different societies and hence also variations in how a public good can be abused, but they point out that all societies have some sort of differentiation between public and private goods, and that blurring this line for private gain is in all cases considered morally wrong.

This study, while it relies on social constructivist insights to understand what social structures underpin enduring patterns of construction, does therefore not apply a social constructivist understanding of what corruption *is*. Conceptually, I have preferred to rely on the definition used by Rose-Ackerman

(2008) and adopted by the World Bank (2018) whereby corruption is understood as 'misuse of public resources for personal gain'.

This definition allows for using the Italian penal code as a benchmark for measuring the occurrence of corruption – at least the portion of it that we know of.

Any improper use of public resources is not limited to the exchange of money, it may also include the intervention of public officials in exchange for a good or a service, concretised or not. What this definition excludes is corruption that does not include public resources. Corruption between private enterprises is therefore not considered in this paper.

3. Methodology

Understanding the nuts and bolts of a discourse is also the first step towards changing it, and in the prolongation, changing a culture:

> CDA combines critique of discourse and explanation of how it figures within and contributes to the existing social reality, as a basis for action to change that existing reality [...]. (Fairclough 2015, 6)

A text, in Fairclough's (2015, 57) view, is a product of a process of text production. A discourse, on the other hand, is a process which includes both this *'process of production*, of which the text is a product, and the *process of interpretation*, for which the text is a resource.' (Fairclough 2015, 57) We can therefore think of CDA as uniting three entities, a text, a discourse and a social reality, in one analysis.

In line with this, CDA is applied in three, interrelated steps: Description of a text in terms of vocabulary and grammatical features used, as well as text composition; interpretation of a text in light of a given discourse, and; explanation of how discourses relate to ideology and power relations. (Fairclough 2015, 154) Each of these three phases includes a set of questions that are answered in the analysis.

Figure 1. The different stages of CDA

3.2.1 Description

The description phase is an analysis of the words and grammatical features used, as well as of the structure of the text.

Fairclough (2015, 129-130) lists ten questions to be asked in the description phase, an overview of which is included below.

Table 1. The description stage of CDA

VALUES OF WORDS	1. What experiential values do words have?	What classification schemes are drawn upon? Are there words which are ideologically contested? Is there rewording or *overwording*? What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words?	The vocabulary of a text can be categorised as per classification schemes that reveal certain world-views, or ideologies. Ideological values are coded in a text's vocabulary, and a closer look at words' experiential value helps reveal those same differences. *Overwording* indicates a concern about a certain aspect of reality. Meaning relations can be regarded as relative to particular ideologies, either the ideology embedded in a discourse type or the ideology being creatively generated in a text. An aspect of question 1 is to identify meaning relations and specify their ideological base. • Synonyms are words that have more or less the same meaning (corruption/fraud). • Hyponyms are cases where the meaning of one word is included within the meaning of another word (ie totalitarianism/communism) • Antonymy is meaning incompatibility (dog/cat)
	2. What relational values do words have?	Are there euphemistic expressions? Are there markedly formal or informal words?	The choice of wording depends on and helps create social relationships between participants. Words are likely to have relational value alongside other values. A euphemism is a word which is substituted for a more conventional or familiar word as a way of avoiding negative values. Formality or informality signal and create relationships between participants.

	3. What expressive values do words have?		A speaker expresses evaluations when he or she implicitly (but more often) not implicitly draws on or refers to classification schemes that embodies different values in different discourse types. The word 'politics' can for example be positive in a conversation between students of political science but negative in a discussion among humanitarian aid workers that see politics as an obstacle to their work. Choosing words the express the 'right' values is particularly important for persuasive use of language
	4. What metaphors are used?		A metaphor is means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another. Different metaphors have different ideological attachments and it is the relationship between alternative metaphors that is of particular interest to CDA, ie. why one aspect is described by a particular metaphor. Describing the man who carried a bomb onto a bus as a 'freedom fighters' or a 'terrorist' reveals how the speaker thinks of the person who did it, and his or her cause.
VALUES OF GRAMMATICAL FEATURES	5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?	What types of process and participant dominate? Is agency unclear? Are processes what they seem? Are nominalisations used? Are sentences active or passive? Are sentences positive or negative?	The grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, the people or animals or things involved in those happenings or relationships and their spatial and temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence and so on. Agency can be neutral or active. Processes are actions, events, attributions. The choice between these has an ideological bearing, for example is 'South African police burnt down a black township' different from 'A black township has burnt down'. Obfuscating the agent of a sentence or avoiding or deliberately using nominalisations, can be ideologically motivated. The same is the case for the choice between active and passive or positive and negative sentences.
	6. What relational values do grammatical features have?	What modes are used?	The three modes are declarative, grammatical question, and imperative modes. The use of these modes effectively positions subjects differently. There is a difference between writing 'Go fetch the pencil' and 'Would you be so kind to hand be the pencil'. Systematic asymmetries in the distribution of modes between participants are important for our

| | | Are there important features of relational modality? | understanding of the relations between these participants.

Modality has to do with speaker or writer authority and often express implicit authority claims or authority relations. There are two dimensions to modality depending on what direction authority is oriented in. Relational modality is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others. Expressive modality is a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality. Expressive modality is described below. |
		Are the pronouns we and you used and if so, how?	The usage of pronouns we and you is important in many respects. In Italian, the choice between informal 'tu' and formal 'lei' is ideologically very significant. The use of 'we' expresses belonging to a common group, while in mass communication, the use of 'you' personalises an otherwise impersonal message.
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?	Are there important features of expressive modality?		As noted above, modality forms imply authenticity claims or claims to knowledge. Modality is expressed through use of modal verbs and modal auxiliaries, for example 'must' implies certainty, while 'may' implies possibility. The prevalence of categorical modalities suggests a view of the world as transparent, without the need for interpretation and representation.
8. How are simple sentences linked together?	What logical connectors are used?		Connectors are words such as 'but' 'even though' although' and serve to connect clauses or sentences in a text. The use of causal or consequential connectors between things depend on the discourse participant's assumption of these things as 'common sense'. Yet that common sense may actually be ideological, and the use of connectors can therefore contribute to strengthen an ideology. For example, I do not have a nice car, even though I am rich' relies on an assumption that rich people should have wealthy cars. The same thing is the case if you say 'I have an ugly car although I am rich'.
	Are complex sentences characterised by coordination or subordination?		Coordination or subordination of clauses may imply a *commonsensical* division of information into prominent or relatively backgrounded information. 'We cannot let our children die while the politicians discuss solutions to the lack of

			vaccines' subordinates politicians' discussions to the death of children.
		What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?	Pronouns and definite article are the most common references to material previously introduced or not introduced at all in the text. The use of the definite article (the) is extensively used to refer to something that has not been established in the text itself and is therefore presupposed. As above, any assumption is likely to be ideological.
TEXT STRUCTURE	9. What interactional conventions are used?	Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?	This question relates only to dialogues. The turn-taking system reveals the power relationships between participants. For example, the turn-taking system is different when a teacher speaks to a group of students, compared to when he speaks to a group of teacher colleagues. Moreover, teachers can treat pupils differently, and so the way in which turn-taking is decided on, the type of answers each participant is allowed to give, the order in which they are given the possibility to speak etc., all reveals something about power relationships. One participant may also control the contributions of others, for example through enforcing explicitness, reformulating what has just been said, or interrupt speakers.
	10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?		This question relates to both monologues and dialogues. The structure of a text is significant for the importance granted to the events or issues the text is composed of. Some elements are structural while others can be singled out, for example by underlining familiarity or closeness. If they are not singled out in this way, they tend to disappear from view and consciousness. If they are singled out, this gives them more importance. Either choice can reveal an ideologically motivated agenda.

3.2.2   Interpretation

In the interpretation stage, the task is to uncover the relationship between an individual text and a discourse. In this phase, we will see how texts rely on and reproduce or change the ideological underpinning of the discourse. According to Fairclough (2015,

154), the values of textual features only acquire and produce meaning when evaluated against a background of 'common-sense assumptions' referred to as Member's Resources (MR). These assumptions are ideological in nature and cannot be reduced to facts. The term MR can therefore also be explained as 'impressions of reality' used to process the information in the text. In this text, because 'common-sensical assumptions' might be easier to relate to for non-linguists than 'MR', I will prefer the former.

There are certain similarities between producing and interpreting a text. Fairclough says that these two processes are 'parallel' and goes on to claim that

> producers [of texts] must assume that their interpreters or likely interpreters are equipped with particular interpretative procedures and conversely interpreters must assume that the producers of texts they are interpreting are so equipped. This very often amounts to reciprocal assumptions – assumptions that one's interlocutor has the same interpretative procedures available as oneself. (Fairclough 2015,171)

This aspect is particularly important to this study because of the thesis' normative edge; considerations of the audience's MR are essential when producing texts that deliberately aim to change their assumptions, rather than reproducing them.

The interpretation stage consists of two phases: **interpretation of text** and **interpretation of context**. Each of these two phases include various steps that are detailed below:

Table 2. Overview of the interpretation stage of CDA

INTERPRETATION OF TEXT		
Surface of utterance	Phonology, grammar, vocabulary	Of little importance in sociological research.
Meaning of utterance	Segmantics, pragmatics	The most important meaning of utterance in this context is speech acts, which are another aspect of a text that affect how it is interpreted. A speech act refers to 'what a producer is doing by virtue of producing it' (Fairclough 2015, 166) be that asking a question,

		making a promise, giving and order or the like.	
Local coherence	Cohesion, pragmatics	How singular parts of the text are connected with each other through *interfencing* and *gap filling*.	
Text structure and point	• Schema: activity type • Frame: topics • Script: subject relations	The expectations we have of a text and contexts, including subjects and relations between subjects, lead us to conclude what is the point (or subject) of a text. The point is what we store in the long-term memory of that text.	
INTERPRETATION OF CONTEXT			
Situational context	Social orders	What is going on? Who is involved? In what relations? What is the role of language in what is going on?	A text relies on assumptions, sincere or manipulative, about the interpreter's understanding issues. Does the text contribute to a change in assumptions or a reinforcement of them?
Intertextual context	Interactional history		

Some further explanation of these processes is in place. The first two (surface of utterance and meaning of utterance) are of little importance in this context. The only exception is that meaning of utterance determines what is called *speech acts*. A speech acts is when you do something by virtue of saying something, such as giving orders or asking questions.

The third stage, which deals with local coherence of the text, is more important. Local coherence depends on how singular parts of the text are connected with each other. This is different from the coherence of the entire text, which will be discussed below. The principal processes at work here are *inferencing* and *automatic gap filling*. (Fairclough 2015, 104) These processes help us create coherence between different parts of the text.

Another way of thinking of these processes is to say that they are the channels through which we supply our own knowledge to the text, thereby giving meaning to elements of the text. An important factor is that the text producer assumes that we will have this knowledge; that assumption is what enables him to use these expressions and be reasonably sure that they will have their desired impact.

How this works in practice is best explained through concrete examples. In the interview with Cantone, Fabio Fazio speaks of Cantone's book as 'a really suggestive view, not a newspaper comment'. This sentence only gives meaning if the reader has an understanding of what newspaper articles are like; the underlying assumptions is that they are shorter, less thorough, to a certain degree superficial or scandal-oriented. Fazio's comment would not have meaning without such assumptions.

Another example in the same interview is when Cantone describes how he spent most of the day of the interview talking to the prefect of Milan. The show was filmed on a Sunday and Cantone had come to the Lombardian capital from Rome. He took advantage of the fact that he was there to work with the prefect. Most people work during the course of a day and the fact that someone with a task as important as Cantone' works intensively, should come as no surprise, had it not been for the fact that it was a Sunday. In Italy, a Sunday is not only a day off, it is also traditionally a day spent with family. When adding that piece of information to the text itself, the meaning of Cantone's words is amplified: He not only works long hours, he also sacrifices his Sunday to fight corruption.

Moving on from local coherence, the fourth stage of the interpretation phase concerns text structure and point. When approaching a text, we will inevitably have certain expectations of how that particular type of text is supposed to be bound

together, ie. with certain *schemata*. (Fairclough 2015, 157) If a text is an interview, the interpreter will have certain expectations as to what an interview should include and how the text should flow. We would, for example, react, if the interviewee started asking critical questions to the interviewer.

Moreover, we have expectations to how a person should speak and what language he or she should use. In the texts used in this paper, the audience would probably react (also because they would no longer understand what he said) if Raffaele Cantone, in his capacity as a public official, spoke in Neapolitan dialect. That the young men who founded *AddioPizzo* use Sicilian dialect is, however, to be expected, in particular because their interview concerns Sicily and Palermo, and because the interview was published in a local newspaper.

All these different considerations lead us to conclude what is the point of a text and enable us to collocate the text in a discourse, where, as we will see in the next section, it can reinforce or alter the ideological underpinnings of that same discourse.

The **interpretation of the context** depends on the interpretation of the text itself but sees that interpretation in light of the immediate situational context, and the intertextual history.

As Table 3 shows, the following four questions can be of aid when interpreting context: (Fairclough 2015, 159) What is going on, who is involved, in what relations and what is the role of language in what is going on?

Consider the two texts analysed in this paper. Both texts aim to change social practice. One is an interview and the other is an article. The participants are different and the power relationship between them is different; both Raffaele Cantone and Fabio Fazio have very different power relationships with their audience, compared to what the group of young people who rebel against the Sicilian Mafia have with theirs. The two

intertextual histories of these texts are also very different, corruption is a topic high on the agenda in Italian newspapers, and Fabio Fazio has conducts a series of interviews every week. While the Mafia is spoken of, it is not so often that Palermitans write open letters to their fellow citizens, blaming them from being a people without dignity because they continue to pay extortion money.

These histories condition our interpretation of the texts and the texts in turn, contribute to shaping the intertextual histories. The task in the interpretation phase is eventually to uncover how. In doing so, it is also a bridge between the narrow text analysis and the explanation stage, which is where linguistic considerations meet social interpretation.

3.2.3 Explanation

As Fairclough writes,

> […] when aspects of MR are drawn upon as interpretative procedures in the production and interpretation of texts they are thereby reproduced. (Fairclough 2015, 172)

This reproduction is the bridge between interpretation and explanation phases because, while in the former, the task is to identify what MR are used to give meaning to a text, in the latter, the purpose is to understand if MR are reproduced or challenged. MR is here seen explicitly as ideologies, insofar as they are assumptions about culture, social relationships and social identities that are determined by power relations in society or in an institution, and at the same time contribute to maintain or change the same power relations. (Fairclough 2015, 175) Eventually, this is the stage where MR are reinforced or revoked, and it is the role of the analyst to determine which one it is.

As the previous two phases, also the explanation phase consists of different elements that can be summed up in a series of questions: (Fairclough 2015, 175)

1. What power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?

2. What elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?

3. How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR, or creative? Does it contribute to sustain existing power relations, or transform them?

Two words of caution before proceeding. The first is that, having gone through the main steps of CDA as a method, it is important to keep in mind that not all these steps are equally important to each analysis. Rather, the interpreter must make a choice of what to focus on. The second is that the interpreter of a text also brings certain MR with him or her to the task of interpreting. As Fairclough (2015, 176) underlines, it is important to be aware of and sensitive to these, when performing the analysis.

Now that I have laid out the parameters of the methodology, I will take a step back and look at what international surveys can tell us about current corruption levels in Italy, compared to other countries. After that I will proceed with looking at different theories of the origin and persistence of corruption, and why a constructivist approach is called for.

4. How Bad is it Really? Corruption in Italy in a Comparative Perspective.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the extent of corruption in Italy today. As discussed in Chapter 2, we can think of it as establishing the social reality that the discourse concerning corruption, relates to. In doing so, we immediately face an obstacle that it is necessary to understand and overcome when researching corruption levels: How can corruption be measured?

4.2 Available Corruption Indexes

In spite of all the inaccuracies and unknowns that inevitably obscure our knowledge of corruption levels, there are quite a few measurements available. The main indices can be divided into three categories; perception-based, experience based and alternative measurements. Of these, the far most widespread are the **perception-based indices**, in particular Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI). The CPI is published every year and is composed of different data that capture perceptions of corruption over a period of two years. Transparency International selects these sources based on pre-set criteria. When the data sources for each country have been selected, the results are standardised and the average is calculated.

The below data, drawn from the last five years' surveys, suggest that Italy fares relatively poorly in a comparative European context:

Figure 2. CPI results for selected countries 2012-2016

Transparency International CPI 2012-2016*

Italy — Spain — Denmark — France — Greece — Belgium
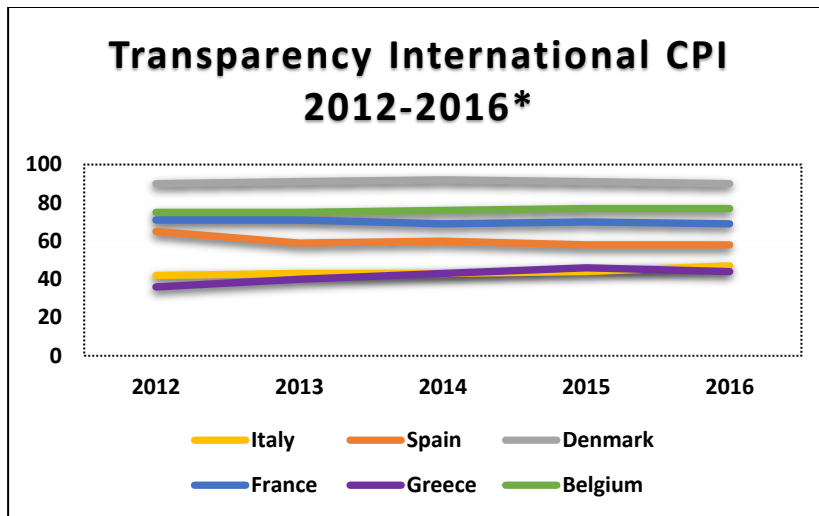
*(Source:Transparency International 2017)

The second most important existing cross-national measure of corruption is the World Bank Control of Corruption index (CoC). The CoC is based on a scale from -2.5 to 2.5 where 2.5 is the highest score, and is composed using much the same methodology as the CPI. It is based on the informed opinion of various country experts and institutions, data which is subsequently standardised to allow for cross-country comparisons. On the CoC too, Italy fares relatively badly, compared to European counterparts.

Figure 3. CoC results for selected countries 2012-2016

World Bank Control of Corruption 2012-2016*

Italy — Spain — Denmark — France — Greece — Belgium
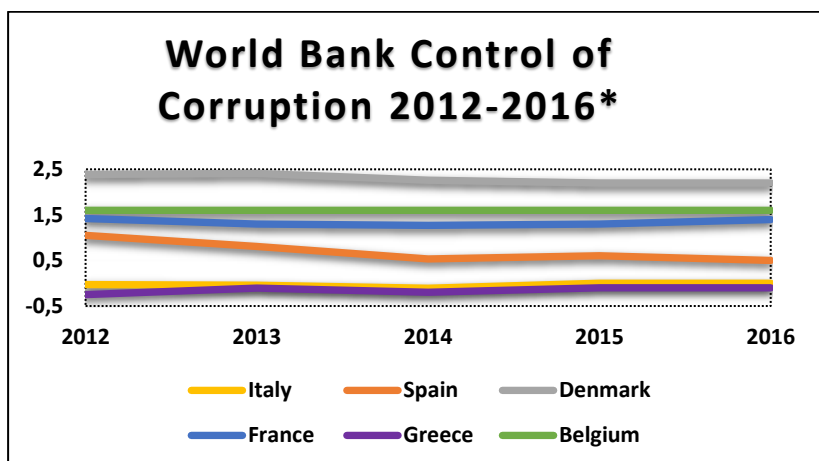
Yet there are a number of reasons to be cautious about perception-based indices, including those based on expert opinions. They are perceptions, not actual incidences, and our perceptions are affected by a number of factors that do not necessarily originate in higher numbers of corruption-based crimes. Variation in these measures can therefore be hard to explain and their volatility make them difficult to rely on. For example, Spain and Greece went through similarly devastating economic crises in the period of the surveys referred to here, yet as Table 3 shows, in Spain, the perception of corruption increased drastically while in Greece, the same measurement decreased even more drastically.

One factor that we do know influences perceptions of corruption levels, is media exposure. Rizzica and Tonello (2015) have shown how exposure to news about corruption in the media is positively correlated with perceptions of corruption. That means that even news about the release of the CPI can produce an increase in our perceptions of corruption.

Table 3. Comparing changes in CPI and CoC between 2012 and 2016

	CPI Difference 2012-2016 (percentages)	CoC Difference 2012-2016 (percentages)
Italy	5	0,6
Spain	7	6,2
Denmark	0	3,8
France	2	0,4
Greece	12	3
Belgium	2	0

The possibility that perception-based indices may reflect opinion rather than experience is what made Daniel Treisman (2007), in a survey essay of empirical research on corruption, call for future research to be based less on perception-based indicators and more on **experience-based surveys**. Since Treisman wrote his

essay a number of such surveys, both regional and national, has become available. One of the most used is published by the United Nations Institute for Crime and Justice Research (UNICRI) and is a survey of victims of crime, corruption included, but figures are not available for periods relevant to this paper.

Another source of experience-based surveys is the Global Corruption Barometer, published by Transparency International. While it used to be a global survey, in 2015-2016 the Global Corruption Barometer was published as regional reports. Figures for Italy reveal that corruption remains a significant worry, and not only a matter of perception. For example, seven percent of Italian households have been involved in corruption in the reporting period. If looking at what sector corruption occurred in, an astonishing 12 per cent of the Italian population admits having bribed the judiciary. That puts Italy second only to Greece amongst the Western European countries in overall corruption levels:

Table 4. Households involved in corruption from the Global Corruption Barometer for Europe and Central Asia 2015- 2016.

Households involved in corruption. Global Corruption Barometer Europe and Central Asia 2015-2016 (percentages)	
Italy	7
Spain	3
Denmark	Not Included
France	2
Greece	1
Belgium	3

(Source: Transparency International 2016)

It is interesting to note that a comparison between perception and actual experience with corruption reveals that perception is always higher than actual experience, in many cases by quite a lot:

Table 5. TPI Global Corruption Barometer: Percentage who have believe the service is corrupt versus percentage who has paid a bribe.

	TPI Global Corruption Barometer: Percentage who have believe the service is corrupt versus percentage who has paid a bribe *				
	Italy	Spain	Greece	Belgium	Denmark
Judiciary	47 (12)	51 (2)	66 (6)	43 (6)	5 (1)
Medical and health services	54 (4)	14 (1)	73 (23)	22 (3)	13 (1)
Police	27 (4)	37 (3)	56 (4)	41 (4)	9 (1)
Education services	29 (3)	11 (0)	45 (7)	17 (2)	6 (0)
Other public services	11 (1-2)	61 (2-6)	66 (3-9)	51 (3-6)	11 (1-2)

* Source: Transparency International 2016. No data available for France.

Before moving into more details about the Italian case, however, we should look at **alternative measures of corruption**. In particular, the notion of Quality of Government (hereafter QoG), merits attention. QoG is a term developed by Bo Rothstein (Rothstein and Teorell 2008, Rothstein 2011) that implies impartiality in the exercise of public power. The term came about largely as a critique of the good governance agenda, which, in spite of its significant policy implications, failed to define what good governance actually is (Rothstein and Teorell 2008, 165, Rothstein 2011,7) and hence also how to measure it. Defendants of QoG try to address that gap.

Corruption is incompatible with high QoG because you cannot be impartial and corrupt at the same time. This implies that corruption can be estimated indirectly by looking at the behaviour of those that have access to public resources. Therefore, an alternative indicator of corruption levels can be found by looking at the level of impartiality among public servants.

At the Quality of Government Institute in Gothenburg, Sweden, researchers have carried out a series of surveys to try to establish the level of impartiality among civil servants in different countries. One particularly interesting survey when it comes to measuring inequality, is their Expert Survey (Dahlström, Carl, et al. 2015), which is based on the assessment of selected country experts. Figures 4, 5 and 6 show the responses to three questions that very explicitly address impartiality in public service: If public service employees [PSEs] favour applicants with whom they have strong personal contact when granting licenses to firms; how impartial PSEs generally are when deciding on implementing policies, and; whether firms that provide favourable kickbacks to PSEs are favoured over those with the lowest bid. Italy, along with Mediterranean neighbours Spain and Greece comes out worse than European counterparts, and Italy generally scores worse than Greece but slightly better than Spain:[4]

Figure 4. QoE - When granting licenses to start up private firms, PSEs favour applicants with whom they have strong personal contacts
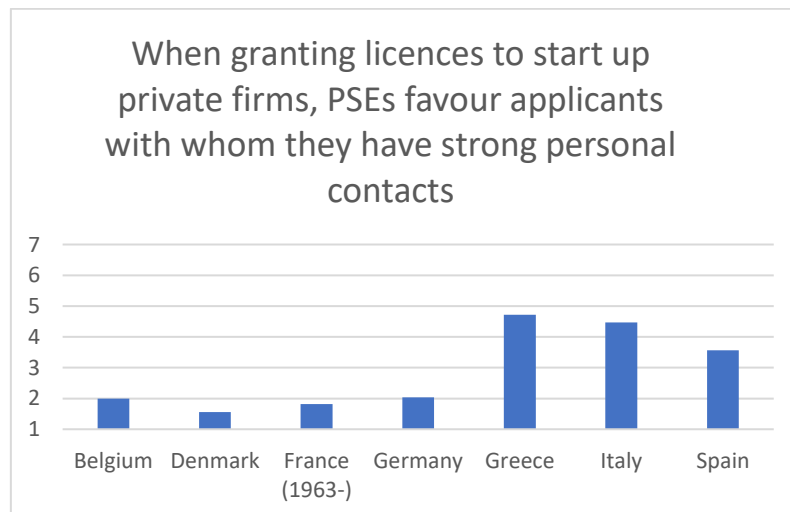
(Source: Dahlström et al. 2015)

---

[4] In the following statistics, 1 means 'hardly ever', 7 means 'almost always':

Figure 5. QoE – How often PSEs act impartially when deciding how to implement a policy in an individual case

Generally speaking, how often would you say that PSEs today act impartially when deciding how to implement a policy in an individual case?

Belgium | Denmark | France (1963-) | Germany | Greece | Italy | Spain
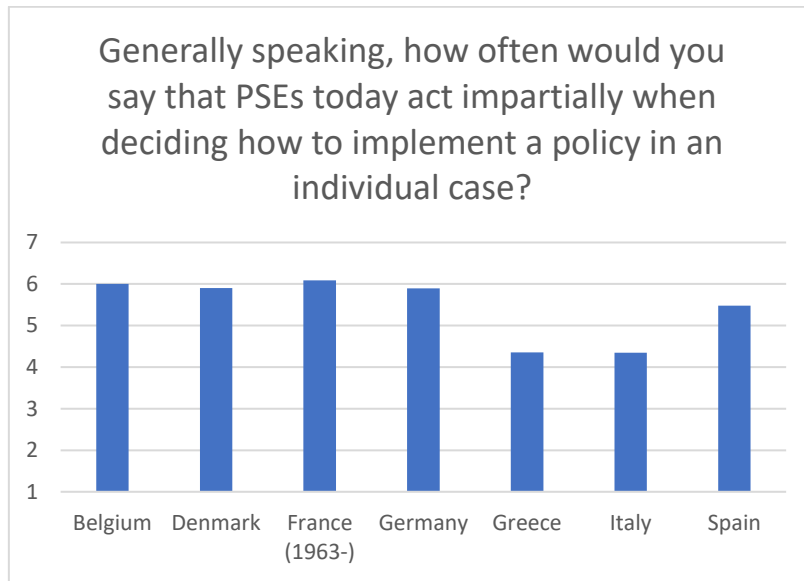
(Source: Source: Dahlström et al. 2015)

Figure 6. QoE - Firms that provide the most favourable kickbacks to senior officials are awarded public procurement contracts in favour of those with the lowest bid.

Firms that provide the most favourable kickbacks to senior officials are awarded public procurement contracts in favour of those with the lowest bid.

Belgium | Denmark | France (1963-) | Germany | Greece | Italy | Spain
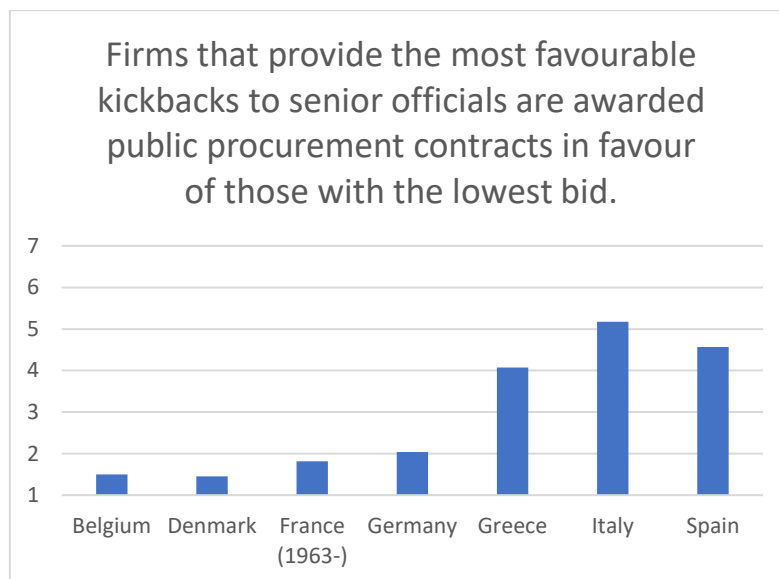
(Source: Dahlström et al. 2015)

Some remarks are in place also with respect to the trustworthiness of these statistics. Assuming that corruption is illegal, whatever respondents reveal about their personal experiences with corruption is bound to be incomplete and the margin of error considerable. Moreover, these questions leave

room for interpretation, in the sense that the meaning of concepts such as 'strong personal contact' or 'favourable kickback', may vary from respondent to respondent.

In spite of all the precautions with which we must interpret available corruption statistics, and while there are significant differences between them, and in particular between perceived and experienced corruption levels, all three surveys suggest that corruption remains a significant problem in Italy and that further measures to combat and prevent corruption, are required.

Before I proceed with different theories of the origin of corruption, I will briefly sketch out the current corruption prevention framework in Italy.

5. The Current Italian Corruption Prevention Framework

The current national framework for preventing corruption, the *Piano Nazionale per la Prevenzione della Corruzione or PNA,* (ANAC 2018) was adopted by the National Anti-Corruption Authority (*Autorità Nazionale Anti-Corruzione*), or ANAC. The ANAC which was instituted following a law introduced in 2012 known as the *Legge Severino,* after the then Minister of Justice, Ms. Paola Severino.

The national plan is complemented by locally adapted plans, which all Italian municipalities and metropolitan cities as well as professional orders and selected public sectors[5] are required to implement. The specific measures designed to prevent corruption include increased transparency, rotation of personnel in key positions, verification of declaration of unfoundedness, revision of processes of privatisation, outsourcing of public functions, activities and services. Finally, the plans also include measures for protection of whistleblowers.

While the plan itself details the measures to be taken, a comprehensive and accessible overview of the Italian corruption prevention strategy has been provided by Cantone himself in his most recent book, *La Corruzione Spuzza* (Cantone 2017, 171-208). The President of the ANAC explains how a 'modern and efficient strategy to fight corruption' is based on three pillars: repression, prevention and cultural change.

With the first pillar, repression, Cantone refers to the judiciary and the necessity to repress corruption by legal means. He does, however, recognise the shortcomings of the Italian judiciary in this respect, in particular its inability to treat corruption cases

---

[5] These include the education sector, the cultural heritage sector, territorial and urban planning and the health sector.

within a reasonable timeframe, and the detrimental effect the slowness of the judiciary has on corruption deterrence efforts. (Cantone 2017, 181)

The second pillar is prevention. (Cantone 2017, 187) Cantone starts with pointing out that prevention is not the responsibility of judges, whose primary concern is and must be to make the right judgement in face of concrete cases of corruption. Thereafter, he describes the prevention system put in place in Italy with the above-mentioned *legge Severino*, ie. the ANAC and the PNAs. Essentially, this system places more responsibility with the public administrations, highlighting the need for transparency and impartiality among public servants. Cantone also gives advice on concrete reforms[6] that in his opinion would facilitate the work of the ANAC, and he highlights the need for political parties to adopt a code of conduct for members and managers, in line with the recommendations of the Council of Europe. (Cantone 2017, 199)

The need for the third pillar, cultural change, is well underlined in the introduction but is nevertheless the least well developed. Cantone is clear that he does not believe corruption is an intrinsic part of the Italian being, but that

> the presence of a systemic and extensive corruption is certainly not a result of an inherent Italian being, of a deviated ethnography, but is the consequence of a cultural inheritance, traces of more or less recent history, from which Italian must be liberated at the very earliest. (Cantone 2017, 201)

Yet to achieve his goal, Cantone is in want of specific measures. In his book, he speaks of the need to emphasize corruption prevention in schools, universities and civil associations, as well as in Italian families, calling for a 'social control' of political life

---

[6] A simplification of the legal framework, simplification and acceleration of administrative action, more incisive policies to favour privatisation and liberalisation, increased meritocracy in the public sector, separation between politics and administration, more precise delimitation of local versus central administrative power, an intelligent system for overview and audit.

and of the administration. Beyond this, the PNAs include little concrete advice for how to implement a strategic programme for reversing cultural inheritance. In the following chapters, I will try to make a first step towards filling this gap.

6. The Roots of Corruption and how it is Sustained over Time

Because of the relatively significant internal economic and social differences within the country, Italy has proven fertile ground for decades of scholars who have looked at how culture is determinant of both economic growth and the well-functioning of democratic institutions. More recently, some of these findings have been drawn upon to understand what the socio-cultural roots of corruption in Italy are.

Two particularly important studies in this regard are in the first place, Edward C. Banfield's *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (1958), where the writer explains the 'extreme poverty and backwardness' of a southern Italian village by pointing to inhabitants' alleged complete inability to act in the common interest, beyond that of the nuclear family. Banfield labelled this condition 'amoral familism', and claimed it was brought about by a high death rate, specific land tenure conditions and the inexistence of public institutions. (Banfield 1958, 9-10).

The differences in economic growth and civic capital between Italian regions are further explored in the second benchmark study, *Making Democracy Work*, (Robert Putnam 1993) an analysis of social capital in northern and southern Italy. Putnam famously concludes that the long-standing civic traditions in northern Italy, where the citizenry for centuries have been active in civil society organisations, is what made the difference for the successful economic development in the north compared to the much poorer south, as well as for the functioning of current democratic institutions.

Revisiting Putnam's thesis, Guiso, Zingales and Sapienza (2016) have studied the link between Italian city states that achieved self-government in the Middle Ages and contemporary human

capital. They find a clear correlation between the two sizes. Moreover, in addition to demonstrating a correlation between self-determining city states and human capital in contemporary Italy, they also study how culture is transmitted, largely pointing to psychological theories. (Guiso et al. 2016, 1404)

Studies of corruption are closely related to concepts of economic development and democratic institutions, and in the last decade, a series of new studies have emerged to shed light on the links between these concepts. I will in the following look at two interlinked but different such theories. The first is Uslaner and Rothstein (2012) study of the effect of the introduction of public education in the latter part of the 19th Century. The second is Eric Uslaner's (2008) 'inequality trap', where the author claims that the roots of corruption are found in a conjuncture between the mutually reinforcing concepts of inequality and low interpersonal trust. Yet as we will see below, both these theories fit uneasily on the Italian case, prompting a need for alternative explanations.

6.2 A Matter of Education?

Rothstein (2011) traces the near extinction of corruption in Sweden to the implementation of administrative reforms that transformed the administration into an impartial apparatus that spurred general trust and in the long run, contributed to a more equal society. Looking at the administrative reforms of the mid-19th Century in a comparative context, Uslaner and Rothstein (2012) consider the introduction of public education to be the decisive factor to have changed the fate of different societies. They demonstrate a correlation between contemporary low corruption levels and introduction of public schooling 140 years ago and argue that there is a path dependence that spans across 140 years, between universal education and control of

corruption. Using CPI as a measure, they present five arguments to prove this causal mechanism.

Their first argument is that corruption is a problem of collective action, meaning that actors engage in corruption because they believe everybody else is doing so. Because there is little or no trust in that other members of society will stop paying bribes to obtain services, nobody is willing to refrain from such practices. The two authors argue that because education has a known effect on generalised trust, they find it plausible that the introduction of public education 140 years ago, was the seed that made generalized trust in a given society grow. (Uslaner and Rothstein 2012, 5)

The weakness of this argument is that the authors do not consider neither the social context of the education reforms of the 1860s, nor their contents. Rather than revolutionising society, education reinforced trends that were already existing. In a homogenous society, general trust is likely to be higher because internal differences are smaller. (Uslaner 2008) At the onset of the implementation of the nation-state, Scandinavian societies were already relatively homogenous compared to many other places. The creation of the nation state in Scandinavia rested on a further homogenisation of society by creation of national in- and out-groups, and complete assimilation of the minorities that did exist. (Slagstad 1998 and Sejersted 2005, 106) Public education accelerated this process, to the extent that we may say that the education reforms resulted in a school whose defining characteristic was the integration of the people and the state. (Slagstad 1998, 96) Yet it was not education per se that was important to curb corruption, but the synergies that state-controlled education created.

The conditions in Italy were very different, and when Uslaner and Rothstein (2012, 18) discuss the Italian case and point to a

weakness in the implementation of the educational reforms in southern Italy, they do so without considering how different the potential for liberal reformation in Italy were, compared to Scandinavia in particular, but also to many other places on the continent. They also fail to take into account how different the context in the northern and southern parts of Italy were when the educational reforms were introduced.

Italy was unified in a series of wars from 1848 to 1966, a process that culminated in the surrender of Rome (with the exception of the Vatican) by the Pope in 1970. Lucy Riall (1998, 211) points out that while countries such as Britain, France and parts of Germany already had completed important parts of the state-building process by the time liberalisation was introduced, Italy had to fight a battle on two fronts: liberalise and build a state. The state building process was complicated and

> [..]produced tensions and resentment, creating a scramble for bureaucratic employment amongst new social groups and provoking considerable resistance by local elites who saw their traditional privileges threatened. In this way, state formation itself became a source of political and social instability. (Riall 2008, 211)

The political unification process was accompanied by implementation of Piedmontese constitution, laws and administrative system across Italy. The Piedmontese viewed the south largely as a corrupt backwater and the 'Piedmontification' of Italy was meant as a remedy precisely against such ills. (Duggan 2008, 226) Yet the reforms did not have the intended consequence, perhaps because, as Riall (1998, 211) suggests, the conditions in much of the south were such that the newly established Italian government ruled as if it were an occupying army. The locals loathed these occupiers, of whom they had seen many throughout history, and the Italian state never gained full legitimacy. It did not help that the language of instruction was one that many pupils did not understand.

In short, the creation of a unified society in Italy through liberal reforms was much more complicated than in many other European countries, because of the historical context in which these reforms took place. In the south of Italy, the situation was particularly difficult because the reforms were introduced by what many considered to be a foreign power. If there is a difference in levels of trust between the north and the south of Italy, the reason may not be a lack of education per se, but the fact that education reforms accentuated differences of the new society, rather than contribute to smooth them out.

Uslaner and Rothstein (2012, 6) second argument underlines the link between literacy and mass media and control of corruption. Their track of thought is that a more educated population will both be more informed about corruption in their society because of the media, and be more inclined to protest corrupt practices revealed in the media. The link between corruption and freedom of press has been demonstrated also by Freille, Haque and Kneller (2007) and like Rothstein and Uslaner, these authors rely on the CPI to measure corruption levels.

When speaking of the media, however, the use of a perception-based measure is questionable because as we have seen, Lucia Rizzica and Marco Tonello (2015) have demonstrated that the more an individual is exposed to news about corruption, the higher his or her perception of the occurrence of the phenomenon is likely to be. There is on the other hand, no data to prove that free press has an effect on actual (as opposed to perceived) levels of corruption.

The third argument Uslaner and Rothstein (2012, 6) use, is that the state when introducing public schooling is sending out a signal about its commitment to impartiality in the exercise of state power. While that might be so, in the crucial period of the 1860s, introducing public schooling was hardly the only signal

the state sent out. Consider the above discussion about the state-building process in Italy; in addition to sending out a signal about commitment to liberalism, the new-born Italian state was simultaneously sending out a signal about occupation of power.

Uslaner and Rothstein's (2012, 7) fourth argument is that public education is a significant contribution to economic equality because literacy increases people's ability to improve their own economic standing. The fifth argument is that education contributes to gender equality, another important determinant of general equality, that leads to general trust that in turn reduces the likelihood of corruption. (Uslaner and Rothstein 2012, 7)

Again, education can contribute to assimilation or it can accentuate differences, based on the contents of the education reforms. The liberal education reforms that Rothstein and Uslaner refer to, did disseminate literacy, and in those areas where girls were offered education similar to boys, they probably also had an effect on gender equality. At the same time, however, they accentuated differences between national in- and outgroups. In already homogenous societies, that meant annihilation or complete assimilation of minorities, whereas in heterogenous societies, complete assimilation of minorities was impossible. Therefore, education had an almost opposite effect. This was the case in large parts of southern Italy, where education underlined differences between the state power as a 'foreign power' and the local population.

In short therefore, Uslaner and Rothstein's argument that there is a causal chain that runs from educational reforms introduced in the 1860s to corruption levels in contemporary societies, is problematic. The authors fail to consider both the content of the educational reforms and the context into which they were introduced. Education policies reinforced pre-existing social structures, enforcing homogeneity in some cases while

accentuating differences in others. In Italy, as a country with a particularly weak state and significant internal differences, both culturally, linguistically and economically, they did the latter.

6.3 An Inequality Trap?

Regardless of what the reason is and why education could not eliminate it, there are persistent economic inequalities in Italian society, between southern and northern parts in particular. Table 6 provides an overview of socio-economic data in contemporary Italy. These inequalities also affect interpersonal trust. Eric Uslaner's (2008) theory of the 'inequality trap' combines measures of trust and inequality into a coherent theory of the origins of corruption. Inequality, Uslaner (2008, 26-27) says, is the root of corruption. Inequality leads to low trust, which leads to corruption, which in turn creates more inequality. Corruption persist over time because corruption, inequality and low trust form a self-reinforcing vicious circle. This is the inequality trap. (Uslaner 2008, 25, Rothstein 2011, 153)

But can the inequality trap really explain corruption in Italy? Are inequality measures, levels of trust and corruption persistent when measured across Italy's many diverse regions? Data from the Italian National Statistics Institute (ISTAT) suggests they are not. While generalised trust is higher in regions with higher levels of equality, North-West and North-East, the by far highest number of corruption related crimes is in the North-West:

Table 6. Comparing corruption, trust and inequality among Italian regions

Region/Indicator	Corruption[7]	Most people can be trusted[8]	Gini coefficient[9]
North-West	2.68	21.4	0.286
North-East	0.83	22.1	0.26
Center	0.99	20.8	0.294
South	1.03	17.8	0.313
Islands	0.51	13.9	0.323

 (Source: ISTAT 2018a, ISTAT 2018b, ISTAT 2018c)

This data, however, differs from a recent ISTAT report (ISTAT 2017), which presents an overview of Italians' direct involvement or experience with corruption. According to the report, in 2016, 7,9 percent of all Italian families had been involved in requests for money or favours in exchange of services. Interestingly, 85,2 percent of those that had paid a bribe believed it was useful to obtain what they wanted. More than half (51 percent) would do it again; 73,7 percent to obtain a health service. Of those that would not revert to bribery again, only 37,8 percent say they would not because they believe it is wrong.

The report includes both national and regional figures and demonstrate significant regional differences. The figures for Lazio, in the centre of Italy, is 17,9 percent while for Trento, in the North- East, it is 2. High figures are also reported in the southern regions of Abruzzo (11,5 percent) and Puglia (11 percent).

---

[7] Corruption per 100.000 inhabitants. Population and giudiciary data from 2016. Includes irrevocable sentences for the folowing acts form the Italian Penal Code: *corruzione per un atto d'ufficio, corruzione per un atto contrario ai doveri d'ufficio, corruzione di persona incaricata di un pubblico servizio, corruzione in atti giudiziari, responsabilità del corruttore, istigazione alla corruzione*.
[8] Data from 2016.
[9] Gini coefficient from 2015

These figures do not correspond to the number of sentences issued for corruption-related crimes, which demonstrate a higher occurrence of corruption in northern Italy, in Lombardy in particular. There are many potential explanations for this dissonance. One is the difference in measurement, and the need to take precautions when interpreting figures based on personal experience, as noted in Chapter 3 above. This concern is also mentioned in the report. (ISTAT 2017, 15)

Some also suggest that the higher number of court sentences in northern Italy may be a result of a more efficient law enforcement in northern Italy, rather than of actual figures of committed crimes. (Bianco 2017, Colangeli 2017) Yet there is no reason to believe that law enforcement should be much more effective in the North-West than in the North-East, although it might be more effective in the north than in the south. The higher scores for families' involvement with corruption in the central regions may also imply that what regular families might come across in their daily activities, are different types of corrupt practices than what you see in major corruption scandals. Taking into consideration that Milan, Italy's financial capital and economic centre, is situated in the North-West, reinforces the hypothesis that the scale of corruption follows the scale of the economy, as suggested by Colangeli (2017).

What these differences eventually suggest, however, is that corruption, in all its different disguises, is quite widespread across Italy. The data leave little doubt that corruption is as much a problem in the north as in the south, and are significant enough to prompt serious questions about how well Uslaner's inequality trap actually can explain the situation in Italy.

6.4 Anthropological Insights

In the recent decade, anthropologists have made important contributions to the field, modifying certain basic political science beliefs and calling for multidisciplinary approaches in order to understand better how corruption can be more effectively prevented. As guides to anthropological studies of corruption, I rely primarily on Torsello (2011) and on Torsello and Venard (2016).

There are a number of subfields in corruption studies where anthropologists can provide a very different type of analysis than what political scientists traditionally would engage in. One of them concerns the role of the state. Anthropological studies of the state with respect to corruption demonstrate that both strong and weak states can breed corruption. Torsello cites Prado (2011, 7) who has pointed out that the state can be both above corruption, or a part of the web spun by corrupt practices. This insight is an important counterweight to legalistic and traditional political science views on the state as an actor with similar structures and goals, regardless of historical and cultural contexts. It also explains why strong as well as weak states can foster corruption, while it does not exclude that the ability of the state to assert its legitimacy in the crucial period of state formation, can have played a role in how the state positions itself with respect to corruption, within it or above it. A plausible argument can be that in state formation processes where the state had to spend considerable efforts to consolidate legitimacy, it would be more difficult for elites to raise the state above webs of corruption.

In my studies of corruption in Italy, I carried out several interviews with people who have worked in the field of corruption to gain insight into how culture impacts corrupt practices. One of the interviewees, the former prosecutor of Rome, was confident that the immorality of corruption in contemporary Italy is not a given. As an example, he referred to

his interrogation with 'Lady ASL[10]'. The suspect, after having refused to answer questions from the prosecutor, turned and looked at him as she was about to leave his room. 'President', she said, 'why am I here? I paid everyone and kept everyone content. Why am I here?' (Capaldo 2017)

This anecdote highlights that corruption is grounded in conflicting moralities, even in contemporary societies. The field of morality is another where social anthropologists have made a significant contribution to traditional political science. Torsello (2011, 10 and Torsello and Venard 2016, 38-40) underline how ethnographers question what they call a simplistic view of the morality, or immorality, of corruption, pointing out that it is impossible to apply a standardised morality to issues such as clientelism and corruption, and to always consider these practices as fundamentally immoral. Torsello (2011, 10) quotes Visvanatan, who spoke of the 'warm nature of corruption', contrasted with the 'cold bureaucratic practices'.

Rothstein and Torsello (2016) have later shown that in pre-industrial societies, abuse of public good for personal gain is always considered wrong, although what is considered abuse may differ. Similarly, 'investing in social relationships' (Torsello 2011, 11) is considered a moral good in many contexts, although corruption may not be. The problem is that the distance between nurturing clientelistic networks and corruption is small; as Raffaele Cantone (2015a) put it, 'clientelism cooks in the same broth as corruption'. The challenge is therefore when and where to draw the line. What Torsello (2011) and Torsello and Vanard (2015) point out is that while in political science, clientelism is almost always considered negatively because it stands in the way of modern democratic practices and

---

[10] 'Lady ASL' became the nickname of the woman suspected to be the main person behind a major corruption scandal in the public health service in northern Italy.

transparent economic exchange, anthropologists make no such judgement. Moreover, they demonstrate that for those involved, clientelistic networks may be experienced positively because they provide security, or social cohesion and feelings of belonging.

This matters when you work to change cultural practices, because we may assume that people might continue what they believe is right and good, whereas they would be more inclined to distance themselves from what they experience as abuse.

Another topic central to this thesis where anthropology has made a significant contribution, is in the distinction between petty corruption and grand corruption. In Italy, some observers (Colangeli 2017, Bianco 2017) have suggested that while petty corruption is prevalent in southern Italy, the big corruption scandals that have emerged in the north are typical of grand corruption. Torsello (2011, 15) is sceptical towards the use of the petty corruption perspective because he believes it is easy for non-ethnographers to use as a way of classifying patterns of corruption that they have no methodological tools to penetrate. Moreover, grand corruption is not necessarily an inheritance of pre-modern social structures that have survived in contemporary society, it can also be a product of contemporary government synergies. An example is the corruption revealed in the bureaucracy of the European Union. (Torsello 2011, 15)

Torsello and Vanard (2015, 41-43) suggest that corruption can be understood as a process, as opposed to a static action, and that a processual view helps overcome the grand-petty corruption division, making it easier to understand how corruption grows out of and become a part of different societies and subcultures.

A final topic in which anthropology has natural insights and that is crucial to the argument of this thesis, concerns the role of discourse, or as Torsello (2011, 8) coins it, 'the power of words'.

He claims that speaking about corruption is good[11] because it can contribute to identity formation and provide a sense of unity and belonging. If I am right, as stated in the introduction to this thesis, that Italy is bound together by a profound need to complain about how poorly run the country is, how chaotic it is and, not least, how corrupt it is, this factor certainly fits the Italian case.

On the other hand, Torsello also points out that corruption discourse can raise public awareness about corruption issues. That is true but public awareness is a double-edged sword. Not only, as highlighted in previous chapters, can media reports about corruption lead to an increase in perceived corruption levels; how we speak of corruption may not always have the desired effect. To explore these effects further, Torsello (2011, 20) encourages further studies on the 'kind and degree of corruption talk' and its qualitative aspects.

In doing so, he makes common case with social constructivists that apply discourse analysis to study social and cultural phenomena and changes to the same, which is what I will devote the next chapters to do.

---

[11] Torsello also admits that corruption talk can be negative insofar as it serves to convey information about the usefulness, price and potential objects of corruption

7. CDA applied to the Italian corruption discourse

Changing how we speak may change how we think of an issue and consequently how we act in relation to the same issue. In the following, I will apply CDA to two texts pertaining to two separate texts, an interview with Mr. Cantone on public TV and an open letter to the Sicilian population written by the founders of *AddioPizzo* and published in the local edition of *La Repubblica*, a major newspaper.[12]

In both cases, the text producers express a desire to change the existing reality but only one of them, the *AddioPizzo* movement in Sicily, succeeds. The analysis will reveal that their use of language is determinant for their success and that the language used by Mr. Cantone on the other hand, is not conducive to his objective.

To facilitate the analysis, I have developed five questions that together cover the different stages of Fairclough's method as outlined above. These questions, which are the same for both texts, will be used as a guide as I untwine their ideological impact:

1. What words or expressions in the text have ideological bearing or affect power relations?
2. What grammatical features have an ideological bearing or affect power relations?
3. What MR are drawn upon to create a cohesive text?
4. How does the text match schemata and scripts?
5. How does the text fit into a larger social and intertextual context?

---

[12] Transcripts in English and Italian of both texts are attached in annexes A, B and C.

After I have answered these questions in detail I will continue to explain what impact the two texts have on their respective ideologies and power relations, compare the findings, and identify the differences.

Because the main focus of this study is the discourse surrounding corruption in Italy, more attention will be given to the analysis of the Cantone interview.

7.2 Raffaele Cantone's Interview at *Che Tempo Che Fa*

The first text is an interview the President of the Italian National Anti-Corruption Authority, Mr. Raffaele Cantone, gave at the talk show *Che Tempo Che Fa* on Rai 3 22 March 2015. The immediate precursor of the interview was the release of his book, *Il male Italiano. Liberarsi della Corruzione per Cambiare il Paese* (Cantone 2015b) but the timing also coincided with the final preparations of the EXPO 2015, a world exhibition marred by delays and corruption scandals.

Analysing the words of Raffaele Cantone is a natural choice when working on the discourse surrounding corruption in Italy. Although the discourse is by no means limited to Cantone, by virtue of his role as the President of the ANAC, he is one of its main participants. Not least, he is the main responsible for combatting corruption in Italy.

I chose this particular interview because TV is the most popular medium in Italy and because *Che Tempo Che Fa* is a very influential show. While some years have passed since this interview was given, I still consider it a valid object of analysis.

Before moving on to the actual analysis, I will introduce what I this context understand as 'ideology': the common-sense assumptions that guide Italians' understanding of corruption in their own country. I will also say a few words about the power relations that underpin the interview.

The Italian 'self-denigrating tendency' (Giunta 2015, 10) is well-known and relates not only to corruption but to most areas of political and institutional life. When it comes to corruption, this tendency is important in two respects; first, in the sense that Italians often see themselves as corrupt and little law-abiding by nature, and second, because they view their public institutions as weak and unable to tackle the problem, precisely because of the perception that civil servants and politicians are corrupt.

With respect to power relations, Italians generally have low trust in their own political class. Often, the political class is described as *la casta*, a negative denomination which emphasizes the distance between politicians and ordinary people. A few selected people, either because of their personality or their position will enjoy more trust, and Cantone, because of his position, might be seen as one of them. The below analysis will show that much care is taken to protect that trustworthy image.

Question 1. What words or expressions in the text have ideological bearing or affect power relations?

To answer this question, I have coded the words in the text and produced the following overview of words or expressions according to ideological bearing, and depending whether or not these sustain or provoke a change in the existing culture[13]:

---

[13] FF refers to the interviewer, Fabio Fazio, while RC refers to Raffaele Cantone

Table 7. Coding of words Cantone interview *Che Tempo Che Fa*

POWER RELATIONS		IDEOLOGY	
Change: diminish authority	Maintain trustworthy image and therefore authority	Corrupt culture	Counter-tendency
(FF) Future minister of transport and infrastructure?	(FF) A gentleman like yourself, who works with this every day. (FF) Describes Cantone's book as a suggestive view, not banal. (RC) I intend to continue as the President of ANAC (RC) View of ANAC as a path which has been started and that should be completed (FF) Former judge.	a side street a short cut complete failure serious disaster business committees gangs mafioso Bribesville Garbage worst side last place exacerbate negative data corruption an enormous problem lost opportunities risk of damaging the country's image noticeable delay a Mafia system politics instrumentalised and subordinated (FF) The book - scary. 'We' (all Italians) are in this book (FF) After listing all recent corruption-related scandals, asks: The question 'what country are we in?' is quite spontaneous (RC) It is not a coincidence that so many scandals occur. Corruption levels in Italy should not be underestimated, it is an enormous problem.	good engineering pharaonique best side correct instruments (FF + RC) TPI is only partially trustworthy (RC) The other Italian space, the Italy that does its duty, a part of Italy that is less visible and apparent but that emerges through these corruption scandals. Corruption scandals do not come into the open by accident, they are brought to the light because somebody has worked to disclose them. This means that part of the system has worked. (RC) I refuse to accept that all construction works in Italy is dominated by illegality. I want to look at the positive side. The

(RC) The appreciation of the President of the Republic.

(RC) The book as a '360 degree' examination of the situation, less superficial than newspaper interviews.

(RC) Estimated costs of corruption is not necessarily true. Has more confidence in international studies, like the TPI. This is a measure of perceived corruption but if Italians believe that the level of lawfulness is so low, there must be a reason.

(FF) There is no large construction work in Italy not *invaded* by corruption

(RC) The large construction works in Italy are flawed, most are unfinished or have costed much, much more than planned. This is a disaster and a serious damage to Italy's image.

(RC) The large construction works represent lost opportunities, Italy always shows its worst side when it could have showed its best. The MOSE has been synonymous with great corruption when it could have been synonymous with great engineering. 'We' are incredibly good at messing it up for ourselves.

(FF) Commissioning of the Italian Pavilion (at the EXPO). Is an

MOSE as a 'pharaonic' construction at which foreign expert gaze. MOSE should be synonymous with great engineering.

(RC) We should look at the best side of things. I am convinced that the EXPO will be a great success - 'we will make it!'

(RC + FF) Invoke the support of the President of the Republic in the fight against corruption.

(RC) I refuse to accept that Italy is not capable of organising large events like the Olympics because of illegality, corruption and mafia. It is only a matter of using the right instruments to fight these issues.

(FF) The ANAC was installed, you [RC] exist, something is changing.

> enormous risk to the image of Italy abroad.
>
> (RC) To do everything last minute is an Italian trait. We could have waited with less worry, less haste, less fear
>
> (RC) The NY study is a telling tale of Italian mentality and of how corruption and illegality is a part of Italian culture
>
> (RC) Comparing with Bribesville and today, the mechanisms are different, politics has been put at the disposal of corrupt business circles
>
> (RC) Similar logics to the mafia. The mafia also uses corruption; it sees it as useful.

As this simple schematic shows, judging only by the number of repetitions, the reinforcement of the reigning ideology far outweighs the attempts at inspiring a counter-tendency. The same is true for words and expressions that protect Cantone's trustworthy image.

Although the number of repetitions of words and expressions is significant, CDA is not a mere quantitative exercise and some points merit further explanation.

a) How do the experiential, expressive and relational values of words affect the corrupt culture?

A first issue worth highlighting is the many synonyms in the text. Cantone describes corruption as a *via traversa* (a crossing street) or a *scorciatoia (*a short cut*)*. He speaks of large public construction works in Italy as a *fallimento* (complete failure) and a *grave disastro* (serious disaster), and he characterizes the main task of the authority he leads as *prevenzione* (prevention) or *inserire anticorpi (*put antibodies in place). This latter is also an important metaphor that suggests that corruption can be perceived as a disease in the Italian social body.

Cantone also makes use of hyponymy when describing of corruption in contemporary Italy. He speaks of *comitati d'affari* (business committees) that are all part of the same *combriccola* (gang). These words gain negative connotations because they are put in the same context as *mafioso* and *Tangentopoli*. This not only highlights the negative self-judgement of Italians, but also that the country never moved on from the big scandals of the early nineties.

The list of words with expressive values is long and gives prevalence to the corrupt culture position compared the counter-tendency. Not only does the list of words describing the first far outweigh those that describe the latter, but the words used to describe the counter-tendency are generally far more sober than those that sustain the corrupt culture: *buona ingegneria* (good engineering), *lato migliore* (best side), *giusti strumenti* (correct instruments) as opposed to *spazzatura* (garbage), *aspetto negative* (negative aspect), *ultimo posto* (last place), *esasperare dati negativi* (exacerbate negative data), *corruzione problema enorme* (corruption is an enormous problem), *occasioni perse* (lost opportunities), *parte peggiore* (worst part), *rischio danno imagine* (risk to [Italy's] external image), *notevole ritardo* (considerable delay), *sistema mafioso* (mafia system), *política strumentalizzata*, *subordinata* (politics instrumentalised and subordinated).

b) How do the experiential, expressive and relational values of words affect power relations?

Power relations in this context mostly concern Cantone's position vis-à-vis the audience and for the most part, his authority is upheld. Fabio Fazio describes Cantone as *signore come lei* (a gentleman like you – in the polite form), as 'Doctor Cantone', and as a former judge. In another instance, Fazio describes Cantone's book as *fondamentale* (fundamental) while Cantone speaks of it as *meno banale* (less trivial) [compared to ordinary media interviews].

At the same time, Cantone's own use of word tends to diminish the distance between him as an authority and the greater public. He uses 'we' both as a personal pronoun and when using the first person plural form of verbs, and he says *da cittadino mi chiedo* (as a citizen I ask myself). Even expressions like 'personally I am convinced', reveals his personal attachment as an Italian rather than only a professional, to the issues at hand. This familiarity simultaneously reinforces his authority, because it underlines how he is different from many other politicians, and serves to bridge the gap between him and the audience.

One more issue is at stake, however. The audience is not passive. Fabio Fazio at the very beginning of the interview, makes a very elaborate point of placing the Italian public in the book that Cantone wrote when saying 'you are here', pulling the public directly into the discourse, making it difficult for anyone who would want to externalise the problem. Cantone's use of 'we' referred to above, also contributes to underlining the responsibility of the Italian public in the corruption discourse.

Question 2. How do grammatical features affect ideology and power relations?

Grammatical features can also have expressive values and in this interview, a prevalence of categorical modalities, seen chiefly in

the use of modal adverbs, supports a view of the world as transparent. In this text, modalities are almost all categorical. The following paragraph is a good example and one that underlines that there is little doubt cast about corruption as an integrated part of Italian society:

> No, it is not a coincidence, but I would like to say that it is clear that we always need to look at a matter from two sides because if all these issues emerge, that means that there is also a different Italy, an Italy that does its duty and that makes these things emerge. Obviously, I think it would be stupid to hide the garbage under the carpet but a lot of things in our country emerge because there is a different side to Italy, maybe a less visible and less apparent side that has a hard time surfacing in daily life, but that does its duty. We have to always, in my opinion, also look at the other side, when the large scandals emerge, they don't emerge by accident but because somebody worked to make them emerge. It means that part of the system has worked. This certainly doesn't mean that we can underestimate the phenomenon though, because unfortunately, corruption is a big problem in Italy (Cantone 2015a. My translation).

To understand the importance of modalities, consider the opposite. If Cantone had said: 'No, I don't think it is a coincidence, but I would like to say that it is probably clear that we might want to look at a matter from two sides, because if all of these issues emerges, that could be because a different Italy might exist…' that would have given a different impression.

This is one of the few paragraphs where Cantone supports an alternative ideology. Either way, his use of categorical modality lends authority to his words.

With respect to relational values of grammatical features, as mentioned above, the use of the pronoun 'we', (including the use of verbs in first person plural) is exalting. Although Cantone is an authoritative figure in this context, the use of 'we' is deliberately intended to diminish the distance between him and the audience, and to stress that although he is in a power position, he is also a part of the Italian 'we'.

This is an interview of informal character, casted almost as a conversation between friends, and the turn taking system is less important than it could otherwise have been. Nevertheless, it is a noteworthy feature of the interview that both participants often interrupt each other. The main consequences of these interruptions are two: On the one hand, they reinforce the informal character of the discussion, bringing it down to earth while underlining the dual character of Cantone as an authority, but an authority that is 'one of the people'. On the other, however, they encircle the interviewer and the interviewee in a high-level intellectual discussion that parts of the audience may be intimidated by. In that sense, Cantone's belonging to an intellectual and political elite, is highlighted.

Question 3: What MR are drawn upon to create a cohesive text?

Although this is an interview with a series of questions, there are few speech acts in this interview that affect ideology or power relations, at least those that are of concern to this paper. Gap filling processes, on the other hand, are quite revealing, in particular of power relations. Note that some of these were used as examples in the methodology chapter.

Fabio Fazio speaks of Cantone's book as 'a really suggestive view, not a newspaper comment'. Because the underlying assumption is that newspaper comments are shorter, less thorough, to a certain degree superficial or scandal-oriented, the result is that additional weight and authority is given to Mr. Cantone's book.

Another instance occurs when Fazio, after having asked Cantone whether or not he is the next Minister of Transport and Infrastructure, to which Cantone answered negatively, says 'this is your intention, but who knows, who knows..' . Italians are used to seeing public positions being used as stepping stones for

political careers. With these words, Fazio is therefore casting some doubt about Cantone's sincerity, potentially provoking a change in Cantone's power position.

Another passage which reinforces Cantone's authority and trustworthiness, is when Raffaele Cantone describes how he spent most of the day of the interview talking to the prefect of Milan. The show was filmed on a Sunday and Cantone had come to the Lombardian capital from Rome but as he said, he took advantage of the fact that he was there to work with the prefect. Because Sunday is traditionally a day spent with family, the meaning of Cantone's words is amplified: He not only works long hours, he also sacrifices his Sunday to fight corruption.

Question 4: How does the text match schemata and scripts?

This text is an interview and the interpreter will have certain expectations as to what an interview should include and how the text should flow. A few words on this particular type of interview, are however, in place.

Che Tempo Che Fa is, as noted above, one of Italy's most famous talk shows and guests generally represent the top strata of Italy's political and cultural life. The setting is convivial, and the interviews are conducted by the host, Mr. Fabio Fazio, in a friendly, everyday-style, as if they were friendly chats, although with a noticeable intellectual twist. The effect of this choice of setting is clear, it leads the interviewer and the interviewee to arrive at conclusions together, thereby reinforcing whatever the conclusions may be. Compare this type of interview, for example, to a show like BBC's *Hardtalk*, where the interviewer poses a series of challenging questions in an almost confrontational manner, forcing the interviewee to defend rather than develop ideas.

In this case, the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is one that is approaching equality, in the sense that

the interview is cast more as a conversation than as a question-and-answer session. Importantly, this conventional setting also includes the audience. At the same time, Cantone is referred to as an authority in the subject matter, and his position might best be described as *primus inter pares*.

While this is an interview, because of the conventional setting, the schema most interpretations are likely to draw upon, is that of a regular conversation, rather than of a formal interview. The implication for the overall topic of corruption is that the conversation involves the public more, making them feel a part of the discussion. Assigning them a role, however, also means assigning them responsibility for corruption.

The most important script here is perhaps that of an authoritative figure, and what is expected of a person in Mr. Cantone's position. He could come across as very formal and very informative, but his communication, in particular his gestures, to some extent defies these expectations. Rather than using his authority to lecture the audience, Mr Cantone speaks in a very ordinary manner. He is a judge by profession but his language in this context is not predominantly juridical (Italian juridical terms are quite different from regular spoken Italian and at times anachronistic both in terms of vocabulary and grammatical features). Furthermore, Cantone frequently uses hand gestures when he speaks, gestures that are very commonplace in Italy, and that further reinforces the impression that Cantone, although he is an authority also speaks as 'one of the people'.

Question 5: How does the text fit into a larger situational and intertextual context?

As Fairclough (2015, 172) points out, the real task in the interpretation phase is 'to make explicit what for participants is generally implicit'. To do that, we must explain what is going on, who is involved, in what relations and what is the role of

language in what is going on. This is an interview and the participants are the interviewer, the interviewee, and the audience, both those physically present and those watching the interview on TV. Some might argue that the viewers of this particular programme are a part of a cultural elite, but there is nothing to indicate that Cantone is speaking to a limited group within the Italian population.

Cantone is repeatedly portrayed as an authoritative figure whose words about corruption have real weight. Cantone represents the State, and the State is often disregarded among Italians, an assumption he also is aware of, but his authority is ameliorated by the setting of the interview, which is unformal, and his own choice of words and grammatical structures, with which he underlines that in spite of his position, he is a part of the Italian 'we'.

Language is in other words, a bridge between Cantone and the audience. He wants to diminish the gap between himself and the audience to increase his credibility and be able to communicate with them, but to do that, he relies on common-sense assumptions with ideological connotations. The main such assumption is that Italians recognise themselves in the image he is drawing of them (with himself included in that group), as disposed to be dismissive of corrupt practices. The problem is that by doing so, Cantone sustains the very assumption that he is trying to change.

7.3 A Letter to the People of Sicily

When the youth that later founded *AddioPizzo* had tapestried the centre of Palermo with posters saying 'A people who pay extortion money is a people without dignity', they subsequently wrote an open letter to all Sicilians that was printed in the local edition of *La Repubblica*, one of Italy's main newspapers. What follows here is an analysis of that letter. (AddioPizzo 2004)

Prior to commencing the analysis, a few words to explain ideology and power relations in this discourse, are in place. The Mafia phenomenon in Sicily should be well known to most, and here I will only sum up a few main points that are important when interpreting the text. The first is the role of the State vis-à-vis the Mafia and the inability of the Italian State to assume all powers that a state usually has. The result is that the Mafia remains a shadow-state, effectively exercising power over Sicilians. The second point is the silent acquiescence of this power by Sicilians. The Mafia is hardly spoken of, it is a power that is seldom criticised openly. The third point is that this silence amongst ordinary citizens is generally nurtured by fear of reprisals.

This is the situation against which *AddioPizzo* protested when they broke the silence and used the newly acquired space to make their claim: that Sicilians themselves are not victims of the Mafia but responsible for nurturing the Mafia's survival. That distribution of power is eventually what *AddioPizzo* rebelled against.

Question 1. What words or expressions in the text have ideological bearing or affect power relations?

This classification scheme of the words used look as follows:

Table 8. Coding of Words in *AddioPizzo's* letter in La Repubblica

POWER RELATIONS			**IDEOLOGY**	
Alteration of power relations	**Maintain status quo**		**Oppression**	**Rebellion**
				Dignity
				Strength
				Courage
			Feed	Simplicity
Rebel			Perverse	Truth
React	Slaves		Hinterland	Conscience
Public domain	Subjection		Cultural and	Head
Daily life	Oppress		social	Heart
The streets of	Endure		degradation	Principle
the city	Subdued		Forgotten on a	Conviction
Resistance	Heroes		daily basis	Awareness
People	Martyres		Capillary system	Judgement
Groceries			of violent abuse	Mafia cancer

While we can immediately see that the number of words that suggest a counter-tendency and a change to existing power relations, outnumber those that do not, it is also interesting to note the plentiful meaning relations in this text. Rewording is used a lot and there are many words with similar meanings (such as subjection/subdued, endure/oppressed, abuse of power), while other words stand in stark contrast to each other. In the following, I will distinguish between the words that concern ideology and words that concern power relations, which in this text are particularly important.

a) **How do the experiential, expressive and relational values of words affect ideology?**

If we look at the words that are listed in the far right column of the above overview, the list of emotionally loaded words is long: dignity, force, heart, courage, truth, conscience, head, heart and so forth are words with an explicit expressive value that send a strong signal of the text producer's moral views of the reality he (or they in this case) would like to create in Sicily. These combined with words with relational meaning such as 'the

streets of the city, 'public domain, and 'grocery shopping' link this desired reality with the everyday life of ordinary Sicilians.

An important antonym is when the authors contrast an outsider's 'neutral and objective' explanation of the mafia with that of 'us, the Sicilians', directly placing themselves in the midst of the audience.

The positively loaded words stand in stark contrast to the negative words used to describe status quo. Descriptive metaphors are often used to depict the current situation, as when the authors speak of the 'Mafia cancer' or the Mafia's way of working is described as a 'capillary system'. The authors are very explicit in their characterisation of those aspects of Sicilian culture that nurture the Mafia, describing it as 'social and cultural degradation'.

In short, the language used in this text is very explicit and very persuasive, and the words are loaded with expressive meaning, with a clear distinction between positive and negative aspects. Importantly, however, there are more positive words than negative. This makes the text a signal of hope more than a mere condemnation of status quo.

a) **How do the experiential, expressive and relational values of words affect power relations?**

When looking at the classification scheme above, one of the more curious placements is perhaps listing 'heroes' and 'martyrs' in the status quo column. The reason is that while a lot of Sicilians agree that the Mafia should be defeated, the text producers refuse to accept that fighting the Mafia is the responsibility only of a selected few, that subsequently are crowned as heroes, or, sadly, as martyrs. Expressive words like 'people', 'resistance' and 'rebel signal strength while relational words like 'public domain' 'daily life', the 'streets of the city', and 'grocery shopping' underline familiarity. What the authors

achieve by this choice of words is to empower ordinary Sicilians in the fight against the Mafia, ie. altering power relations.

Question 2. What grammatical features, including the way sentences are linked together, have an ideological bearing or affect power relations?

Grammatical features too, follow the same persuasive pattern. The use of subjunctive (*se fossimo*, *se reagissimo*) affect both ideology and power relations because it signals something that could become if we *were* something [else] of if we *were* to react. The use of the pronoun 'we' underlines unity between text producers and audience as opposed to external actors, be they the State or neutral foreigners.

The agency in the text is active rather than passive, and it is the 'we' who are responsible for the action. Furthermore, the modality of adverbs imply certainty, not doubt or ambiguity, and is a way for the authors to claim authority.

One of the main features of this text is the frequent use of contrasts to connect simple sentences. Recall what was explained in the introduction about the MR that the text producers draw on: the conflict between the Mafia and the State, the externalisation of the Mafia as a phenomenon and the fear that prevents Sicilians from discussing the phenomenon openly. Many of the sentences in this text contrast these assumptions with an alternative truth. In an example referred to above, this point was highlighted by putting a full stop between the two points ('All this is known by the Sicilians. And forgotten on a daily basis'.) In other places, the contrast is included in one sentence: 'The Mafia is above all something that concerns the Sicilians, and as Sicilians, that is, members of the community that creates and endures the Mafia, we believe our people has created and has subjected itself to the Mafia.' Or 'Everybody is concerned with himself, and in the best of hypotheses, we expect

the State to arrest the bosses, as if we were not aware of the hinterland of cultural and social degradation in which the *mafiosi* of tomorrow are incubated.'

The effect of these contrasts is that the 'alternative truth' is highlighted and weight is given to the author's refusal of the Mafia as an external phenomenon of which the Sicilians are merely victims. The overall consequence of this is that the way in which the Mafia funds its operations is taken down from an abstract shelf and put right into the midst of the everyday life of all Sicilians.

Question 3: What MR are drawn upon to create a cohesive text?

To answer this question, I have chosen to highlight a few selected sentences that I think are particularly significant. The first reads as follows: 'If the bakeries, clothing stores, tobacco vendors, cafés, slaughterers, office suppliers, fish mongers, bookstores, ice cream parlours, cinemas, flower shops, toy stores, funeral services, and who has more pays more, are all forced to pay extortion money, they do so with money that we all spend in their commercial enterprises.' The idea you get from this sentence is that basically no sector is exempt, wherever you spend money in Sicily, part of that money will end up with the Mafia. You get that idea because you bring with you an understanding of what daily life is composed of, to the text. Moreover, those familiar with Italy will know that while in many other places, it would suffice to write 'supermarket', in Italy, people tend to use the smaller shops, the slaughterers and the fish mongers and the bakeries rather than the supermarkets. If you keep that reality in mind, the point the authors try to make about the Mafia's economic support system being all-encompassing, is underscored even more.

The second sentence is the following: 'We pay to "have protected" the integrity of our conscience from the awareness of the fact that we are slaves of a capillary system of violent abuse.' The point that I should like to make about the local coherence of this sentence concerns the term 'slaves'. Imagine if we were living in ancient Rome, where having slaves was common. If so, the meaning of this sentence would be less dramatic. In today's world of democracy and free men, being a slave is unheard of, and even more so, being slaves of a violent system that is not even recognised as legitimate.

Other examples could be highlighted too but these suffice to make the point of interest to this study, which is that the text's local coherence leads to an implicit critique of Sicilians for accepting submission to the Mafia by refusing to accept that the Mafia preys upon their daily routines.

Question 4: How does this text match schemata and script?

One of the most salient issues in this text is that the text producers rebel against the script given to them and to their fellow citizens, whereby they would be quite powerless. In fact, the entire point of the text is to alter the power relations in Sicilian society. Perhaps we can even say that the authors do what Fairclough (2015, 125) describes as 'deliberate disturbance of common sense'; their aim is to make Sicilians very conscious about what is otherwise taken for granted but not spoke of, ie. their own role in sustaining the Mafia.

Question 5. How does the text fit into a larger situational and intertextual context?

To answer this question, I will revert to the four questions used to interpret situational and intertextual contexts: What is going on, is a rebellion against Mafia power. Those involved are the authors of the text, the Mafia, the Sicilian people, and, more

vaguely, the Italian State. The power relations between them can be explained as the Mafia using power to subdue the Sicilian people. To do that, they rely on fear; it is fear that make people largely stay quiet. The State is relatively powerless in this context (and remains so) but the authors rebel against this status quo, and grab power for themselves by breaking the silence that the power of the Mafia relies on. By doing so, they also give a chance, and encourage the Sicilian people to follow their example.

All of this is done by the use of language and even summed up in one single sentence: A people that pays extortion money is a people without dignity. It is an attempt to completely remake the reigning ideology and the existing power relations in their community.

7.4 Comparing and Explaining the Two Texts

The purpose of this comparison is to highlight the differences in the language used. The overall objective is to exemplify how language can be used much more effectively to change cultural assumptions than what Raffaele Cantone does. With that in mind, when explaining these two texts, I will focus on how the two texts position themselves within their respective discourses, both in terms of power relations and ideology.

The two discourses are comparable in the sense that both concern illegal phenomena that are assumed to have a cultural anchorage. Moreover, both text producers desire to change cultural aspects. The power position of the text producers are, however, very different at the onset of the text. Cantone, a judge and the President of the ANAC, departs from an authoritative position whereas the *AddioPizzo* founders do not. Rather, they claim power on behalf of the Sicilian population vis-à-vis the Mafia

and by daring to speak out, they also gain moral authority, elevating their own power position.

His superior power position in some respect leaves Cantone disadvantaged. Cantone needs to convince the audience to listen to him without appearing condescending, while *AddioPizzo* have nothing to lose and can speak more freely.

Another disadvantage that Cantone has, is the continuous failure of Italy's ruling class, that he also represents, to set a good example in terms of respect for the law. As demonstrated by Sciarrone (2017), Italian politicians are quite likely to continue in their position even after having been sentenced for corruption-related crimes.

This situation makes it very difficult to be in Cantone's position and to speak with integrity of combatting corruption. Cantone could probably have allowed himself to be more provocative and challenge existing MR more clearly, if the distrust of the class he represents had not been so pervasive. At the same time, Cantone could perhaps have been more provocative in terms of challenging existing MR by spending some time setting himself and ANAC apart from the rest of the ruling class. In this very long interview, he has little or no mentioning of politicians' responsibility. The only mentioning Cantone has of politicians is when he is challenged to speak of the at the time Minister of Infrastructure and Transport, Maurizio Lupi, who resigned from the ministry after his name was related to a recent corruption scandal. Perhaps a way to gain trustworthiness would be for Cantone and the ANAC to challenge politicians more explicitly to adapt an attitude of absolute intolerance of corruption.

Cantone could also perhaps have used his authority to pave the way for what we can think of as an alternative Italy, rather than confirm the Italians' impression of the current state of affairs. The most important change he would have to make in his

communication to obtain that, is to significantly increase the time and tone he spends describing a countertendency. He needs to *inspire* change and inspiration is probably more likely to come from a desire to have something, rather than condemnation of what you already have. In *AddioPizzo*'s text on the other hand, the number of positively laden words that encourage rebellion against status quo, outnumber those that describe the current system. In doing so, they make their desired reality appealing to the audience.

What is on the other hand similar to both texts and what Cantone does well, is the refusal to externalise the problem. Both text producers are clear that the audience have a responsibility in bringing about change. In *AddioPizzo*'s case, this serves to emancipate the audience because it is paired with a challenge of existing notions of normality, while in Cantone's case, the effect is not quite the same, because existing notions of normality are supported rather than challenged.

AddioPizzo is very explicit in challenging common-sense assumptions, or MR, that otherwise condition the discourse. That is what makes their text so powerful. Cantone, on the other hand, to be able to communicate with his audience, relies on common-sense assumptions about Italians and corruption without realising that by doing so, he is reproducing those same assumptions. We can see this from the number and ideological bearing of the words he uses, the emotional weight and elaborate descriptions used to describe status quo, compared with the moderate depictions of a counter-tendency.

In his book, Fairclough (2015, 201) refers to Habermas' distinction between strategic or communicative discourse: Communicative discourse is 'oriented towards reaching understanding between participants' while strategic discourse is instrumental and used to achieve defined goals. In general terms,

we could say that Cantone's use of language is communicative, whereas *AddioPizzo*'s is strategic.

8. Conclusions. What Cantone Could Have Said and a Guide to Strategic Communication.

Corruption in Italy is, in spite of the pitfalls of many international indices, a persistent problem. Existing political science studies fail to explain fully why corruption has been so persistent in Italy and are therefore difficult to build any normative guidance on. A social constructivist approach can help shed light on why corruption has proven so persistent in Italy by looking at how attitudes towards corruption are transmitted, and analysing how these attitudes might affect actions. An important transmitter of culture is language, and discourse analysis is therefore a key methodological tool for social constructivists. Among the available approaches to discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA, draws the attention to how discourse can provoke or prevent social change. In this paper, I have applied CDA to the corruption discourse in Italy, with the aim to understand why change has proven so difficult, and to be able suggest a way forward in terms of devising a more effective communication strategy. In doing so, I am making common cause with social anthropologists that call for studies that focus on 'corruption talk'; how we speak of corruption and what effects such talk has on our action.

After analysing an interview that the President of the ANAC gave on public TV, I contrasted his use of language with a text from a similar discourse, concerning the Mafia in Sicily. In the latter case, the text producers succeeded in using language to inflict a change in underlying assumptions and power relations that have governed the discourse. The comparison reveals that *AddioPizzo* communicate strategically while Cantone's style is merely communicative. This may be one of the reasons why he has hitherto not succeeded in meeting his own objective of

evoking a change in Italians' culturally bound attitudes to corruption.

What remains to be done, is to suggest how Raffaele Cantone and other corruption fighters could communicate more strategically to produce the desired change. While a thorough communication strategy would require significantly more time and resources to devise and test than what the scope of this study allows for, I will use the findings of this study to indicate what could form a basis for further study.

Based on the above, key points in a revised communication strategy could look as follows:

1. Define the MR and the power relations of the discourse that you are taking part in, identify those elements that you would like to change and describe the power relations and MR in your 'desired reality'.
2. Use more words to speak of the desired reality than to describe status quo and make sure to convince by using positive words, more than condone by applying negative terms.
3. *Apriori* power relations condition the discourse but do not determine the outcome.
    - Try to strike a balance between authority claims and communicative style.
    - Emancipating the audience is more likely to produce change than externalising negative elements.
    - Distinguishing yourself, if you can, from people or groups that are likely to diminish your credibility, is crucial.

As noted in the beginning of this paper, Fairclough highlights that the meaning of discourse can be overemphasized if it is disconnected from existing social structures. A dialectic

relationship between social reality is fundamental to the effectiveness of strategic discourse. That means that communication alone cannot combat corruption but, if applied as part of a coherent corruption prevention plan that includes elaborated strategies for repression and prevention, it can enhance the plan's effectiveness. On the other hand, it also means that social reality cannot contradict the words. If the Italian ruling class continues to disregard and pardon corruption, or even to continue to be involved in corruption scandals, any attempt to combat corruption will be in vain, regardless of how good the communication strategy is.

In other words, to be effective, a corruption prevention strategy should not only be linguistically principled, it must also correspond to decisive actions. On both accounts, Italy still has room for improvement.

This study is of Italy, but the hope is that the above findings can be generalised and make a useful reference for others struggling to combat corruption. As a country where corruption has proven resilient to economic and political development through several centuries, Italy is in many respects a good test case; if corruption can be defeated here, it must also be possible to combat in other countries and institutions. For as Franke Wilmer has written,

> in searching for answers to "why" and "why here" we will almost certainly learn something about why similar things can and do happen elsewhere. (Franke Wilmer 2002, 23)

List of References:

AddioPizzo. 2004. "Un Intero Popolo che Paga il Pizzo è un Popolo senza Dignità" in *La Repubblica* (Sicilian edition). 24 June 2004. Annex C.

AddioPizzo 2015. http://www.addiopizzo.org/ (Accessed on 25 April 2018)

Albamonte, Eugenio. 2017. Personal communication in interview 31 October 2017. Annex F.

Autorità Nazionale Anti-Corruzione. 2018. '*Piano triennale di prevenzione della corruzione dell' A.N.A.C. Triennio 2018-2020'.* http://www.anticorruzione.it/portal/rest/jcr/repository/collaboratio n/Digital%20Assets/anacdocs/AmministrazioneTrasparente/AltriC ontenutiCorruzione/2018_2020/PTPC%202018%20-%202020.pdf (Accessed 29 April 2018)

Banfield, Edward. 1958. The Moral Basis of a Backward Society. New York: The Free Press

Bianco, Magda. 2017. Personal communication in interview on 24 October 2017. Annex E.

Burr, Vivien 1995. *An Introduction to Social Constructivism*, London. Sage in Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 1999: *Diskursanalyse som teori og metode*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag/Samfundslitteratur.

Cantone, Raffaele. 2015a. Interview at "*Ché Tempo Che Fa*" on Rai3 22 March 2015. http://www.rainews.it/dl/rainews/media/Raffaele-Cantone-su-candidatura-Trasporti-io-resto-all-anticorruzione-eb889a7e-a936-4a92-a503-c2ed6b6c8184.html (Accessed 25 April 2015)

Cantone, Raffaele. 2015b. *Un Male Italiano*. Milano: Rizzoli

Cantone, Raffaele and Caringella, Francesco. 2017. *La Corruzione Spuzza*. Milano: Mondadori.

Capaldo, Giancarlo. 2017. Personal communication in interview on 6 November 2017. Annex G.

Charron, Nicholas, Lewis Dijkstra & Victor Lapuente. 2014. *Regional Governance Matters: Quality of Government within European Union Member States*, Regional Studies, 48:1, 68-90, DOI: 10.1080/00343404.2013.770141

Colangeli, Giorgio. 2017. Personal communication in interview on 21 September 2017. Annex D.

Dahlström, Carl and Teorell,Dahlberg, Hartmann, Lindberg, and Nistotskaya. 2015. *The QoG Expert Survey Dataset II*. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute 2015. https://qog.pol.gu.se/data/datadownloads/qogexpertsurveydata . (Accessed on 1 April 2018).

de Graaf, Gjalt. 2007. "Causes of Corruption. Toward a Contextual Theory of Corruption." in *Public Administration* Quarterly Vol 31:1-2 (Spring 2007 – Summer 2007), pp 39-86

Della Porta, Donatella and Alberto Vannucci (translated by Alex Wilson). 2007."Corruption and anti-corruption: The political defeat of 'Clean Hands' in Italy" in *West European Politics*, 30:4, pp. 830-853

Della Porta, Donatella and Alberto Vannucci. 2012. "When anti-corruption policy fails: the Italian case 18 years after *Mani Pulite* investigations" in Tânzler, Dirk et al. *The Social Construction of Corruption in Europe.* Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate

Duggan, Christopher. 2008. *The force of Destiny. A History of Italy since 1796*. London: Penguin Books

Fairclough, Norman. 1992. Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge and

Malden MA: Polity Press

Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge

Fairclough, Norman. 2015. *Language and Power*. 3rd Ed. London: Routledge.

Fisman, Raymond, and Miguel, Edward. 2006. "Cultures of Corruption. Evidence from Diplomatic Parking tickets." Working paper 12312, *NBER Working Paper Series*. http://www.nber.org/papers/w12312.pdf (Accessed 8 May 2015)

Freille, Sebastian, M. Emranul Haque and Richard Kneller. 2007. '*A contribution to the empirics of press freedom and corruption' in European Journal of Political Economy'*, 23(4): 838-862

Ginsborg, Paul. 2003. *Italy and Its Discontents 1980-2001*. London: Penguin Books

Giunta, Claudio 2015. *Essere #matteorenzi*. Roma: Il Mulino

Guiso, Luigi, Luigi Zingales and Paola Sapienza. 'Long Term Persistence' in *Journal of European Economic Association.* 2016. 14 (6): 1401-1436

ISTAT. 2017. *La Corruzione in Italia. Il punto di Vista delle Famiglie*. ISTAT Report 12 October 2017. https://www.istat.it/it/files/2017/10/La-corruzione-in-Italia.pdf?title=La+corruzione+in+Italia+-+12%2Fott%2F2017+-+Testo+integrale+e+nota+metodologica.pdf (Accessed on 25 April 2018)

ISTAT 2018a. *Fiducia verso particolari persone - regioni e tipo di comune*. http://dati.istat.it/ (Accessed on1 April 2018)

ISTAT 2018b. *Condannati con sentenza irrevocabile e caratteristiche dei reati sentenziati: Delitti commessi per tipologia (classificazione analitica) e territorio in cui il delitto è stato commesso - dati ripartizionali e regionali.* http://dati.istat.it/ (Accessed 1 April 2018)

ISTAT 2018c. *Income distribution inequality by region*. http://dati.istat.it/ (Accessed on 1 April 2018)

Kjeldstadli, Knut. 2003. 'Del III. 1901-1940' in Kjeldstadli, Knut (ed.): *Norsk Innvandringshistorie.* Volume 2 in *Nasjonalstatens tid*. Oslo: Pax forlag A/S

Putnam, Robert D. (1993) *Making Democracy Work*. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Riall, Lucy. 1998. *Sicily and the unification of Italy: liberal policy and local power*, *1859-1866*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rizzica, Lucia and Tonello, Marco .2015. *Exposure to Media and Corruption Perceptions*. Bank Of Italy Working Papers No.1043.https://www.bancaditalia.it/pubblicazioni/temi-discussione/2015/2015-1043/en_tema_1043.pdf?language_id=1 (Accesssed on 25 April 2018)

Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 2008. 'Corruption' in *Readings in Constitutional Choice and Political Economy*. Boston, MA: Springer

Rothstein, Bo. 2011. *The Quality of Government. Corruption, Social Trust and Inequality in International Perspective*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Rothstein, Bo and Torsello, Davide. 2014. 'Bribery in Pre-Industrial Societies. Understanding the Universalism-Particularism Puzzle.' *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 2014 (70). Pp. 263-284

Sciarrone, Rocco. (Ed.) 2017. *Politica e Corruzione. Partiti e reti d'affari da Tangentopoli a oggi*. Milano: Fondazione Res

Sejersted, Francis. 2005. *Sosialdemokratiets tidsalder* Oslo: Pax Forlag

Slagstad, Rune. 1998. *De nasjonale strateger*. Oslo: Pax forlag

Sørensen, Øystein. 2001. 'Hegemonikamp om det norske. Elitenes

nasjonsbyggingsprosjekter 1770-1945' in Sørensen, Øystein (ed.): *Jakten på det norske. Perspektiver på utviklingen av en norsk nasjonal identitet på 1800-tallet*. Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal

Tânzler, Dirk et al. (Eds.) 2012. *The Social Construction of Corruption in Europe*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate

Teachout, Zephyr. 2014. *Corruption in America*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press

Torsello, Davide. 2011. *The ethnology of corruption. Research themes in political anthropolog*y. Quality of Government Institute Working Paper Series 2011:2.

Torsello, Davide and Bertrand Venard. 2016. "The Anthropology of Corruption" in *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 2016 Journal of Management Inquiry 2016, Vol. 25(1), pp. 34 –54

Transparency International 2016. 'People and Corruption: Europe and Central Asia 2016. Global Corruption Barometer.' https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_c orruption_europe_and_central_asia_2016 (Accessed on 1 April 2018).

Transparency International 2017.'Corruption Perceptions Index 2017'. https://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview (Accessed on 29 April 2018)

Treisman, Daniel. 2007. "What have we learned about the causes of corruption from ten years of cross-national empirical research?" in *Annual Review of Political Science* 2007. Vol 10, pp. 211-244 Uslaner, Eric. 2008. *Corruption, Inequality and the Rule of Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Uslaner, Eric. 2008. *Corruption, Inequality and the Rule of Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Uslaner, Eric and Rothstein, Bo. 2012. *Mass education, state building and equality. Searching for the roots of corruption*. Quality of Government Institute Working Paper Series 2012:5

Wilmer, Franke. 2002. *The Social Construction of Man, the State and War. Identity Conflict and Violence in the Former Yugoslavia*. New York and London: Routledge.

Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 1999: *Diskursanalyse som teori og metode*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag/Samfundslitteratur.

World Bank. 2016. 'Control of Corruption Index' http://databank.worldbank.org/data/databases/control-of-corruption. (Accessed on 29 April 2018)

World Bank. 2018. 'Corruption and Economic Development' http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/corruptn/cor0 2.htm#note1 (Accessed on 2 May 2018)