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a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			William Reisinger
UU	UU	UU	UU		19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER 319-335-2351

RPPR Final Report
as of 19-Apr-2019

Agency Code:

Proposal Number: 65649LS

Agreement Number: W911NF-14-1-0541

INVESTIGATOR(S):

Name: Marina Zaloznaya
Email: marina-zaloznaya@uiowa.edu
Phone Number: 3193352502
Principal: N

Name: Vicki Hesli Claypool
Email: vicki-claypool@uiowa.edu
Phone Number: 3193352356
Principal: N

Name: William M. Reisinger
Email: william-reisinger@uiowa.edu
Phone Number: 3193352351
Principal: Y

Organization: **University of Iowa @ Iowa City**
Address: 2 Gilmore Hall, Iowa City, IA 522421320
Country: USA

DUNS Number: 062761671

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Report Date: 28-Feb-2019

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Final Report for Period Beginning 01-Sep-2014 and Ending 30-Nov-2018

Title: Why Do Citizens Engage in Bureaucratic Corruption? Political Causes and Consequences of "Illicit Exchanges" in the Post-Soviet Region

Begin Performance Period: 01-Sep-2014

End Performance Period: 30-Nov-2018

Report Term: 0-Other

Submitted By: William Reisinger

Email: william-reisinger@uiowa.edu

Phone: (319) 335-2351

Distribution Statement: 1-Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

STEM Degrees: 4

STEM Participants: 8

Major Goals: This project had three interconnected goals:

- To collect empirical evidence on how Russian, Ukrainian, and Georgian citizens participate in bureaucratic (everyday) corruption and on a range of related attitudes and behaviors.
- To provide a novel, theoretically grounded and empirically supported account of the relationships among participation in the informal economy, public support for the political regime, and political values more broadly.
- To understand and compare the dynamics and on-the-ground implications of anti-corruption work by governmental and non-governmental agencies in Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia.

Accomplishments: Our data collection is complete. The mass public surveys in all three countries are complete, and we have been analyzing the data since fall 2015. Also completed are the interviews with governmental and nongovernmental anti-corruption experts in the same three countries. In Georgia, our partner firm was only able to conduct 19 expert interviews instead of the 20 planned.

The papers written so far provide scholars with a deeper understanding of the antecedents to participation in the informal economy, and the impact of this participation on public support for the political regime as well as voting decisions. Because no previous surveys have probed both citizens' behaviors and attitudes relevant to corruption in the way we do, we were able to correct the overly general and inaccurate assumptions that are common in the literature, such as the propositions that corruption is ubiquitous and undifferentiated in high-corruption societies or that citizens across and within such societies have similar pathways to corruption and face the same consequences of corruption participation.

First, we were able to confirm that engagement in corruption by individuals is influenced by individual-level determinants of need and opportunity, as posited in the literature. We also showed, however, important differences in how those determinants operate between countries with institutional stability and those lacking such stability. In

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stable settings (i.e. places that have not experienced frequent regime change and have not been affected by conflict), overall participation in corruption is lower, the determinants explain more of the variance in individual behavior, and views about whether corruption is acceptable are less critical. In less institutionally stable societies, need and opportunity are harder to assess, so normative views play a larger role and corruption is more common. Moreover, we find that citizens' engagement in corruption is closely linked to their political beliefs: instead of reflecting individual criminality, everyday corrupt behavior is closely associated with people's ideas about their government. Our analyses also tackled the consequences of petty bribery by connecting it to lower attitudinal support for the country's political leadership as well as a reduced likelihood of voting for an incumbent political leader.

Our analyses of expert interviews indicate that international efforts to combat corruption, when they turn into reform efforts in different countries, assume strikingly different forms on the ground. They have distinct foci and strategies and are pursued with different levels of intensity. Based on our qualitative data from Russia and Ukraine, we have delineated "mechanisms of decoupling," showing how standard prescriptions of the global anti-corruption regime become unique on-the-ground outcomes. We document as well that the decoupling occurs through different mechanisms because of dissimilar distributions of power among local governance actors as they contend for the resources that anti-corruptionism provides. These actors include incumbent politicians, members of the political opposition, international NGO leaders, and domestic activists.

Training Opportunities: Over the grant period, we worked with four doctoral students and four undergraduate students. For two of the graduate students and one of the undergraduate students, their participation led to co-authorship credit on articles published or under review. All the undergraduate students completed research projects under our supervision, and two presented them as posters at a university research festival.

Results Dissemination: Published articles from the project to date are:
Reisinger, William M., Marina Zaloznaya and Vicki L. Hesli Claypool. 2017. "Does Everyday Corruption Affect How Russians View their Political Leadership?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33 #4, 255-275.
Zaloznaya, Marina, Vicki L. Hesli Claypool and William M. Reisinger. 2018. "Pathways to Corruption: Institutional Context and Citizen Participation in Bureaucratic Corruption," *Social Forces* 96 #4 (June), 1875-1904.
Claypool, Vicki L. Hesli, et al. 2018. "Tsar Putin and the 'Corruption' Thorn in his Side: The Demobilization of Votes in a Competitive Authoritarian Regime," *Electoral Studies* 54 (August), 182-204.
Zaloznaya, Marina, William M. Reisinger and Vicki Hesli Claypool. 2018. "When Civil Engagement is Part of the Problem: Flawed Anti-Corruptionism in Russia and Ukraine," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51 #3 (September), 245-255.
Zaloznaya, Marina and William M. Reisinger. 2019. "Mechanisms of Decoupling from Global Regimes The Case of Anti-Corruption Reforms in Russia and Ukraine," revised and resubmitted to *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* (March).

Our team has co-authored 12 papers employing data gathered from this project. These papers were presented at the annual conferences of the American Sociological Association, Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, International Studies Association, Law and Society Association, Midwest Law and Society Retreat, and Midwest Political Science Association, as well as via presentations at Northwestern University, the University of Gothenburg, George Washington University, the University of Wisconsin, and the Institute for Corruption Studies.

Reisinger and Zaloznaya delivered a report on our findings to an audience of the Iowa City Foreign Relations Council in September 2016. In May 2017, they presented an overview of our findings to scholarly audiences in Russia and Ukraine. In Russia, their talks were at the Social Sciences Faculty of the Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow. In Ukraine, they presented at the annual meeting of the Ukrainian Sociological Association.

A book manuscript is to be completed in 2020 and submitted to a university press.

Honors and Awards: Nothing to Report

Protocol Activity Status:

Technology Transfer: Nothing to Report

PARTICIPANTS:

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Participant Type: Graduate Student (research assistant)

Participant: Joseph Zhou

Person Months Worked: 2.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

Participant Type: Graduate Student (research assistant)

Participant: Yue Hu

Person Months Worked: 12.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

Participant Type: Graduate Student (research assistant)

Participant: Jungmin Song

Person Months Worked: 12.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

Participant Type: Graduate Student (research assistant)

Participant: Yooneui Kim

Person Months Worked: 3.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

Participant Type: Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU) Participant

Participant: Samantha Gerleman

Person Months Worked: 2.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

Participant Type: Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU) Participant

Participant: Jenny Juehring

Person Months Worked: 10.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

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Participant Type: Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU) Participant

Participant: Mary Elizabeth Snell

Person Months Worked: 2.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

Participant Type: Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU) Participant

Participant: Alexandria Yakes

Person Months Worked: 10.00

Funding Support:

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

CONFERENCE PAPERS:

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation

Publication Status: 0-Other

Conference Name: Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies

Date Received: 03-Aug-2016 Conference Date: 20-Nov-2015 Date Published: 03-Aug-2016

Conference Location: Philadelphia, PA

Paper Title: Everyday Corruption and Regime Support in Russia

Authors: William M. Reisinger, Marina Zaloznaya, Vicki L. Hesli Claypool

Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation

Publication Status: 0-Other

Conference Name: Midwest Political Science Association

Date Received: 03-Aug-2016 Conference Date: 08-Apr-2016 Date Published: 03-Aug-2016

Conference Location: Chicago, IL

Paper Title: The Pernicious Effect of Petty Corruption on System-Supporting Political Behavior in Post-Soviet States: The Case of Pro-Putin Voting in Russia

Authors: Vicki L. Hesli Claypool, William M. Reisinger, Marina Zaloznaya, Hu Yue, Jenny Juehring

Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation

Publication Status: 0-Other

Conference Name: American Sociological Association

Date Received: 03-Aug-2016 Conference Date: 21-Aug-2016 Date Published: 03-Aug-2016

Conference Location: Seattle, WA

Paper Title: Street-Collar Crime: How Utility, Opportunity, and Culture Shape Citizen Participation in Bureaucratic Bribery in High-Corruption Societies

Authors: Marina Zaloznaya, Vicki L. Hesli Claypool, William M. Reisinger

Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

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Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other
Conference Name: Gender and Corruption
Date Received: 03-Aug-2016 Conference Date: 23-May-2016 Date Published: 03-Aug-2016
Conference Location: Gothenburg, Sweden
Paper Title: 'A Fish Rots from the Head': Politics, Gender, and Bureaucratic Corruption in Russia
Authors: Marina Zaloznaya, Vicki L. Hesli Claypool, William M. Reisinger
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other
Conference Name: Midwest Political Science Association
Date Received: 05-Aug-2016 Conference Date: 10-Apr-2016 Date Published: 05-Aug-2016
Conference Location: Chicago, IL
Paper Title: The Pernicious Effect of Petty Corruption on System-Supporting Political Behavior in Post-Soviet States: The Case of Pro-Putin Voting in Russia
Authors: Vicki L. Hesli Claypool, William M. Reisinger, Marina Zaloznaya, Hu Yue, Jenny Juehring
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other
Conference Name: International Studies Association Annual Convention
Date Received: 21-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 24-Feb-2017 Date Published:
Conference Location: Baltimore, MD
Paper Title: Threat Perception and Foreign-Policy Opinion Among Post-Soviet Publics
Authors: William M. Reisinger, Marina Zaloznaya, Jungmin Song, Vicki L. Hesli Claypool
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other
Conference Name: Law and Society Association International Meeting
Date Received: 21-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 21-Jun-2017 Date Published:
Conference Location: Mexico City, Mexico
Paper Title: Local Contestation of the Global Regime: Explaining Differential Outcomes of Anti-Corruptionism in Russia, Georgia, and Ukraine
Authors: Marina Zaloznaya, William M. Reisinger, Vicki L. Hesli Claypool
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

Publication Type: Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other
Conference Name: Law and Society Association
Date Received: 18-Apr-2019 Conference Date: 07-Jun-2018 Date Published:
Conference Location: Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Paper Title: CORRUPTION AND SUPPORT FOR LEGALITY IN POST-SOVIET EURASIA
Authors: William M. Reisinger, Marina Zaloznaya
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

WEBSITES:

URL: <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/YDHE6Y>
Date Received: 21-Aug-2017
Title: Replication Data for: Does Everyday Corruption Affect How Russians View their Political Leadership?
Description: To provide public availability of the portion of this project's data that was used for this article.

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Nothing to report in the uploaded pdf (see accomplishments)