

## Publications

# Alina Mungiu-Pippidi

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### 1. Academic Publications

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#### 1A. BOOKS

2017 - [Transitions to Good Governance. Creating Virtuous Circles of Anti-corruption](#) (editor)  
London: Edward Elgar

2017 - [Beyond the Panama Papers. The Performance of EU Good Governance Promotion. The Anticorruption Report vol. 4](#) (editor), Barbara Budrich Press

2015 – [Government Favouritism in Europe. The Anticorruption Report vol. 3](#) (editor),  
Barbara Budrich Publishers

2015 - [The Quest for Good Governance. How Societies Develop Control of Corruption](#),  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

2014 - [The Anticorruption Frontline. The Anticorruption Report vol. 2](#) (editor),  
Barbara Budrich Publishers

2013 - [Controlling Corruption in Europe. The Anticorruption Report vol. 1](#) (editor and main  
author), Barbara Budrich Publishers

2010 – A Tale of Two Villages. Coerced Modernization in the East European Countryside,  
Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, reviewed in:  
The Economist [http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/05/book\\_week](http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/05/book_week),  
H-NET <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=31092>, Südosteuropa. Journal of  
Politics and Society. (2012, Vol. 1), Eastern European Countryside  
[http://www.degruyter.com/dg/viewarticle.fullcontentlink:pdfeventlink/\\$002fj\\$002feec.2015.21.issue-1\\$002feec-2015-0009\\$002feec-2015-0009.pdf?t:ac=j\\$002feec.2015.21.issue-1\\$002feec-2015-0009\\$002feec-2015-0009.xml](http://www.degruyter.com/dg/viewarticle.fullcontentlink:pdfeventlink/$002fj$002feec.2015.21.issue-1$002feec-2015-0009$002feec-2015-0009.pdf?t:ac=j$002feec.2015.21.issue-1$002feec-2015-0009$002feec-2015-0009.xml)

2010 – Ottomans into Europeans: State and Institution-building in South-Eastern Europe  
(with Wim van Meurs). London: Hurst; Boulder: Columbia University Press, reviewed in  
Europe-Asia Studies, Slavic Review, Südosteuropa. Zeitschrift für Politik und

Gesellschaft

## 1B. JOURNAL ARTICLES / BOOK CHAPTERS ON GOVERNANCE

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1. 'Romania's Italian-Style Anticorruption Populism', *Journal of Democracy*, 2018, pp. 104-116 <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/explaining-eastern-europe-romanias-italian-style-anticorruption-populism/>
2. 'Seven Steps to Control of Corruption: The Road Map', *Daedalus*, 2018, pp. 20-34 [https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/daed\\_a\\_00500](https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/daed_a_00500)
3. 'Europeanization meets transformation: a political economy approach to transition.', In: Ewald Nowotny, Doris Ritzberger-Grünwald, Helene Schuberth (eds.), *Structural Reforms for Growth and Cohesion: Lessons and Challenges for CESEE Countries and a Modern Europe*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2018, pp. 180-189 <https://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781788971133/9781788971133.00022.xml>
4. 'Can a Civilisation Know Its Own Institutional Decline?', with Roberto Martínez Barranco Kukutschka, In: Helmut K. Anheier, Matthias Haber, and Mark A. Kayser (eds.), *Governance Indicators: Approaches, Progress, Promise*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 71-102 <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780198817062.001.0001/oso-9780198817062-chapter-4>
5. 'Time has come for evidence-based anticorruption', *Nature Human Behaviour* 1, 0011, 2017 <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41562-016-0011>
6. 'When do anticorruption laws matter? The evidence on public integrity enabling contexts', with Ramin Dadasov, *Crime Law and Social Change*, 2017, pp. 1-16 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10611-017-9693-3>
7. 'Foreword. Back to the Future: why national integrity frameworks should be evidence-based', *Crime Law Social Change*, 2017, pp. 1-3 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-017-9692-4>
8. 'For a New Generation of Objective Indicators in Governance and Corruption Studies', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, Special Issue, 22(3), 2016, pp. 363-367

9. 'Measuring Control of Corruption by a New Public Integrity Index', with Ramin Dadasov, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, Special Issue, 22(3), 2016, pp. 415-438
10. 'Learning from virtuous circles', *Journal of Democracy*, January 2016, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 95-109.
11. 'Corruption: Good governance powers innovation', *Nature*, 518 (7539), pp. 295-297, 19.02.2015 <http://www.nature.com/news/corruption-good-governance-powers-innovation-1.16927>
12. 'Corruption: Political and Public Aspects.' In: James D. Wright (editor-in-chief), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, Vol. 5. Oxford: Elsevier. 2015, pp. 12–20.
13. 'Becoming Denmark: Historical Designs of Corruption Control', *Social Research*, Vol. 80, No. 4, January 2014, pp. 1259-1286
14. 'Corruption in Universities: A blueprint for reform', *Times Higher Education*, 21. November 2013, <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/comment/opinion/corruption-in-universities-a-blueprint-for-reform/2009139.article>
15. 'Freedom without Impartiality. The vicious Circle of Media Capture' In: Gross, Peter & Jakubowicz, Karol (eds.) *Media Transformations in the Post-Communist World*, Lexington Books, UK, pp. 33-47
16. 'The Widening Implementation Gap: the Impact of EU Accession on Governance in the Western Balkans' In: Prifti, Eviola (ed.) *The European Future of the Western Balkans - Thessaloniki@10*, European Institute for Security Studies, pp. 35-44 <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-european-future-of-the-western-balkans-thessaloniki10/>
17. 'Controlling Corruption Through Collective Action', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Jan. 2013, pp. 101-115 <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/controlling-corruption-through-collective-action>
18. 'Struggling with Media Capture' In: *Understanding Media Policies*, with Cristian Ghinea, edited by Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012
19. 'Perpetual Transitions: Contentious Property and Europeanization in South-Eastern Europe', with Laura Stefan, *East European Politics and Societies*, Sage, Vol 26, No. 2, 2012, pp. 340-361 <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2042056>
20. 'Civil Society and Control of Corruption: Assessing Governance of Romanian Public Universities', *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 31, Issue 5, 2011, pp. 532-546 <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1790062>

21. 'Beyond perception. Has Romania's governance improved after 2004?' with Sorin Ionita, Otilia Nutu, Laura Stefan, *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 11, No. 1, June 2011, pp. 4-27 <http://www.sar.org.ro/polsci/?p=573>
22. 'Getting Governance Right: Can the EU be Effective after Accession?', *Internationale Politik Journal*, August 2010
23. 'Corruption: Diagnosis and Treatment', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, No. 3, July 2006, pp. 86–99
24. 'Understanding Balkan Particularism. The Ambiguous Social Capital of South-Eastern Europe', *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, London: Taylor & Francis, January 2005, pp. 45–65
25. 'Culture of Corruption or Accountability Deficit'', *East European Constitutional Review*, 80 (2003), pp. 80-85

#### 1C. POLICY REPORTS

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1. '[Seven Steps to Evidence-Based Anti-corruption: A Roadmap](#)' European Research Centre for Anti-Corruption and State-Building (ERCAS), Hertie School of Governance. Commissioned by the Swedish Expert Group for Aid Studies (EBA) November 2017
2. '[Public Integrity and Trust in Europe](#)' European Research Centre for Anti-Corruption and State-Building (ERCAS), Hertie School of Governance. Commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (BZK) January 2016
3. 'Contextual Choices in Fighting Corruption. Lessons Learned', Oslo: Norwegian Agency for Cooperation in Development (NORAD), September 2011, <https://www.norad.no/en/toolspublications/publications/2011/contextual-choices-in-fighting-corruption-lessons-learned/>
4. 'A Case Study in Political Clientelism: Romania's Policy-Making Mayhem', October 2010, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1686617> , Introduction to World Bank Functional Review Romania 2010
5. 'The Experience of Civil Society as an Anti-Corruption Actor in East Central Europe' in *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Special Issue, Vol. 10, September 2010, p. 5, [http://www.againstcorruption.eu/uploads/rapoarte\\_finale\\_PDF/The-Experience-of-Civil-Society-as-an-Anticorruption-Actor-in-East-Central-Europe.pdf](http://www.againstcorruption.eu/uploads/rapoarte_finale_PDF/The-Experience-of-Civil-Society-as-an-Anticorruption-Actor-in-East-Central-Europe.pdf). Open Society Institute Report
6. 'A House of Cards? Building the Rule of Law in the Balkans', chapter in *The Western Balkans and the EU: 'the Hour of Europe'*, edited by Jacques Rupnik, Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, June 2011, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1686644>

7. 'Seeking the Virtuous Circle. Migration and Development in South-Eastern Europe', in: *Development and Transition*, a journal of United Nations Development Programme and London School of Economics, No. 2, 2005, pp. 7-11

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## 2. Academic Publications on Other Topics

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### 2A. BOOKS

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2006 – VILLAGES ROUMAINS, with Gerard Althabe; Polirom, 2004, [Romanian: Secera si buldozerul]; Paris: l'Harmattan, 2005 [French]

2004 - NATIONALISM AFTER COMMUNISM. LESSONS LEARNED FROM NATION AND STATE BUILDING, (with Ivan Krastev) New York and Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004 [English], translated into Albanian and Serb-Croat

2002 - ROMANIA AFTER 2000. THREATS AND CHALLENGES (editor) Bucharest: UNDP, 2002, [www.undp.ro/governance/pdf/ewr2001.PDF](http://www.undp.ro/governance/pdf/ewr2001.PDF) [English]

2002 - POLITICS AFTER COMMUNISM, Bucharest: Humanitas, 2002 [Romanian]

1998 - SUBJECTIVE TRANSYLVANIA. A CASE STUDY OF ETHNIC CONFLICT, Bucharest: Humanitas, 1998 [Romanian, with English summary]

1998 - PUBLIC POLICY, edited with Sorin Ionita, Bucharest: Polirom, 1998 [Romanian],

1998 - POLITICAL DOCTRINES (editor), Iasi: Polirom Publishing House, 1998 [Romanian]

1996 – ROMANIANS AFTER '89. DIE RUMANEN NACH '89. SOZIO-POLITISCHE STUDIUM, Bucuresti: Humanitas, 1995 [Romanian]; Timisoara: Friederich Ebert Stiftung, 1996 [German]

### 2B. JOURNAL ARTICLES ON EUROPEAN STUDIES

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1. "Fixing Europe is about performance, not democracy" in *Global Policy*, Wiley-Blackwell, vol 6:4
2. 'Domestic Implementation of Human Rights Judgments in Europe: Legal Infrastructure and Government Effectiveness Matter', with Anagnostou, Dia, *European Journal of International Law*, 25(1), 205-227.
3. 'Europeanization Meets Transformation' in *Democracy and Authoritarianism after the Fourth Wave*, edited by Valerie Bunce, Michael A. McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009

4. 'EU Accession Is No "End of History"' in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, October 2007, pp. 8-16
5. 'The Influence of EU Accession on Minorities' Status in East Central Europe' in *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, 1, 2007, p 58-71
6. 'Europeanization without Decommunization. The Balkans Unfinished Revolutions' in *Orbis*, Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Association, fall 2006
7. 'East of Vienna, South of Drina. Explaining the Constituencies for Europe in South-Eastern Europe' in *Public Opinion, Party Competition, and the European Union in Post-Communist Europe*, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield, Palgrave Macmillan, Sept 2006, pp. 166-188
8. 'European Enlargement and Democratic Performance' in *Democratization in the European Neighbourhood*, edited by Michael Emerson, Brussels: CEPS Paperback Books, 2005, pp. 15-38
9. 'Beyond the New Borders' in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, Issue 1, January 2004, pp. 48-61
10. 'Confier l'Europe, un jeu infini' in *Pouvoirs*, Paris: Seuil, 106, 2003, pp. 131-151
11. 'Of Dark Sides and Twilight Zones: Enlarging to the Balkans' in *East European Politics and Societies*, New York University, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2003, pp. 83-90
12. 'Facing the Desert of Tartars: Europe's Eastern Border Challenge' in *Europe Unbound*, Jan Zielonka, London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 51-72
13. 'Europe's Desert of Tartars' Challenge: The Borders of the Enlarged European Union', European University Institute, S. Domenico di Fiesole, 2001; Robert Schuman Working Paper 35, 2001, p. 43

## 2C. JOURNAL ARTICLES ON TRANSITION AND DEMOCRATIZATION

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1. The Splintering of Postcommunist Europe *Journal of Democracy*, January 2015, Volume: 26, Issue: 1, 88-100.
2. 'The Legacies of 1989: the Transformative Power of Europe Revisited', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January, pp.20-32, 2014
3. 'The Other Transition' in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 1, January 2010, pp. 120-127 (twentieth year from the fall of Berlin anniversary issue)

4. 'Moldova's Twitter Revolution' in *Journal of Democracy*, with Igor Munteanu, Vol. 20, Issue 3, 2009, pp. 136-142, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1529059>
5. 'How Media and Politics Shape Each Other in the New Europe' in *Finding the Right Place on the Map. Central and Eastern European Media Change in a Global Perspective*, edited by Karol Jakubowicz and Miklós Sükösd, Intellect Ltd.-Chicago University Press, October 2008
6. 'State, Authority and Citizens in South Eastern Europe. Revisiting the Balkan Political Culture' in *Unity amidst Variety?*, edited by Ekavi Athanopoulos, Tauris, 2008
7. 'Hijacked Modernization. Romanian Political Culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century' in *Sudosteuropa* 55/1, 2007, pp. 118-140
8. 'Fatalistic Political Cultures Revisited', chapter 12 in *Democracy and Political Culture in Eastern Europe*, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Dieter Fuchs and Jan Zielonka, London: Routledge, 2006
9. 'Europeanization without Decommunization. A case of Elite Conversion', chapter in *Romania and The European Union: From marginalization to membership?*, Dimitris Papadimitriou, David Phinnemore, Routledge, 2006
10. 'Doubtful Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions Deconstructed', review article in *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Vol. 8, No. 1, April 2006, pp. 109-112
11. 'Romania and Poland', chapter in *Quality of Democracy*, edited by Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005
12. 'Milosevic Voters. Explaining Grassroots Nationalism in Post-communist Europe', chapter in *Nationalism after Communism. Lessons learned*, edited by Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Ivan Krastev, New York and Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004, pp. 43-83
13. 'The Unbearable Lightness of Democracy. Poland and Romania after Communism' in *Current History*, November 2004, pp. 383-388
14. 'Was Huntington Right? Testing the Border of Civilizations' in *International Politics*, Kluwer, Vol. 39, No. 2, June 2002, pp. 193-213
15. 'From State to Public Service: The Failed Reform of State Television in Central Eastern Europe' in *Reinventing Media: Media Policy Refom in East Central Europe*, edited by Miklós Sükösd and Péter Bajomi-Lázár, Budapest: CEU Press, 2002, pp. 31-62

16. 'The Romanian Post-communist Parties A Story of Success' in *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Andras Bozoki, John Ishiyama NJ, M.E. Sharpe, 2002
17. 'The Return of Populism - The 2000 Romanian Elections' in *Government and Opposition*, 36, 2001, pp. 230-252
18. 'Reinventing Politics or Reinventing Societies?', review article in *East European Politics and Societies*, University of California Press, Vol. 14, No. 2, spring 2000, pp. 475-86
19. 'From Procedural Democracy to European Integration' in *Democratization in East Central Europe*, edited by Mary Kaldor and Ivan Vejvoda, Pinter, 1999
20. 'A Few Surveys Looking for a Theory', review article in *Government and Opposition*, London School of Economics, fall 1999, pp. 230-52
21. 'Identity Crisis: Romania Self-Analyzes Its Way West' in *Transitions*, 5/4, April 1998
22. 'The Ruler and the Patriarch: State and Church in Post-Communist Transition' in *East European Constitutional Review*, 6/6, summer 1998
23. <http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol7num2/feature/rulerpatriarch.html>
24. 'Constitutional Courts on Trial: Romania' in *East European Constitutional Review* (EECR), Central European University and University of Chicago Law School, 6/1, winter 1997
25. 'The Intellectuals as Political Actors in Eastern Europe' in *East European Politics and Societies* (EEPS), University of California Press, spring 1996
26. 'Letter from Romania' in *Government and Opposition*, with Andrei Pippidi, Vol. 29, summer 1994, pp. 348-61



### 3. Journal Special Issues Edited

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Special Issue: Evidence-based public integrity policies. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, Volume 68, Issue 4, 2017. With contributions from Francesca Recanatini, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Monika Bauhr, Mihály Fazekas etc. <https://link.springer.com/journal/10611/68/4/page/1>

Special Issue: Measuring Corruption In Europe And Beyond. *European Journal of Criminal Policy Research*, Issue 22, 2016. With contributions from Richard Rose, Nicholas Charron, Lucio Picci, etc.

Dimensions of Europeanization. *Südosteuropa. Zeitschrift für Politik und Gesellschaft*, 2010, Vol. 3. With contributions from Mark Hallerberg, Ulrich Preuss, Gerhard Knaus, etc.

POPULISM(S) in *POLSCI Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Issue 2, 2007. With contributions from Philippe Schmitter, Florian Hartner, Claus Offe, etc.

INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS in *POLSCI Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Issue 2, 2005. With contributions from Hans-Joachim Lauth, Alena Ledeneva, Erik Skaaning, etc.