

UNIVERSITY OF KONSTANZ
Research Group Sociology of Knowledge

Crime

& Culture

**Crime as a Cultural Problem
The Relevance of Perceptions of Corruption to
Crime Prevention. A Comparative Cultural Study
in the EU-Accession States Bulgaria and Romania,
the EU-Candidate States Turkey and Croatia and
the EU-States Germany, Greece and United Kingdom**

University of Konstanz | IMW Grafik Studio



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Specific Targeted Research Project



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Introduction

The second annual newsletter contains the activities of the Project Consortium in the second half of 2006. At first we present in summary form the main results of the evaluation of the documents carried out from February till October 2006. The findings were presented in the second regular project meeting in Bucharest. Apart from the presentation of findings in this meeting were also discussed procedural and administrative aspects of the second research phase, but also general guidelines to be observed regarding the set up and the conduct of the interviews that make up the material base of the second research period. In the third part of this newsletter an account is given of the activities of the research groups followed up by information concerning personnel changes in the country groups.

First Research Phase of the Project A Content Analysis of Documents from Politics, Judiciary, Police, Media, Civil Society and Economy by Each Country Research Group Main Findings

General Comment

The projects started in the first research phase with an analysis of documents from the six target groups. The aim was to generate objective, i.e. in documents objectively manifest (not 'objective true') data of the institutional framework and the specific rationality of the field of action ('professional habit') in contrast to the subjective intentions of individual actors. A leading assumption of the project's approach lies in differentiating the general institutional function, an actor has to fulfil, from the specific subjective perspective, in which these functional imperatives must be translated by the actor under concrete action contexts.

Access to the documents was considerably more difficult than the consortiums has planned. Regarding data generation most problems were encountered in the target groups police and judiciary not only in EU-access and candidate countries but also in EU-member states. Al-



though in EU-access and candidate countries regulations on public access to information are legally in force, the implementation there is still lacking, whereas in the EU-member states exist legal restrictions such as fiscal secret. We had to compensate these deficiencies by drawing upon supplementary material that though not being specific to the cases under study nevertheless was very informative and suitable to our research purposes.

With regard to the research process the document analyses carried out in the first project phase has a twofold function. The document analysis provides us with first insights to the field and helps to generate issue sensibility. On this basis concrete questions for the expert interviews in the second phase shall be developed.

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Perceptions of Corruption in Bulgaria

A Content Analysis of Documents from Politics, Judiciary, Police, Media, Civil Society and Economy

Introduction

The phenomenon of corruption as a clearly defined social problem appeared in Bulgaria towards the end of the 1990s. Similarly to Western democracies, the problem of corruption in Bulgaria was first studied and brought to the social agenda by non-governmental actors. Since the end of the 1990s Bulgaria has been included in a number of international and national surveys measuring public and expert's perceptions of corruption. In spite of all this interest in the topic, not much has been done to study the phenomenon in its socio-cultural aspects. The present paper is an attempt to study how corruption and anti-corruption are understood on the 'every day' level and why the anti-corruption measures implemented up to now have not managed to achieve the initially planned results. By investigating the correspondence/discrepancy between the perceptions of corruption and anti-corruption grounded in the anti-corruption programs and these of the political and administrative decision-makers we are aiming at developing means to optimise corruption prevention.



Data Generation

The empirical study of the perceptions, notions and ideas of corruption of the target groups included in the project was conducted on the basis of two case studies that were used for framing the process of data generation: the privatisation process of Bulgartabac holding and a suspect donation to the party foundation *Democracy* of the United Democratic Forces (the main right-of-the-centre party during much of the Bulgarian transition). This approach was chosen for several reasons. First of all, corruption has been in the focus of public attention for the last ten years, we wanted to limit the scope of the data we were to generate to a reasonable amount. Secondly, using the framework of case studies allowed us to generate better quality materials and to avoid general documents including banal, abstract or simply copied perceptions of corruption.

However, in practice, it turned out that it is not that easy to find any good quality cases of corruption that involved all target groups with documented statements, reactions or other written materials. In order to compensate for this, we decided to use other documents that were not directly related to the cases but contained useful information about perceptions of corruption.

Analysis, Methodology and Methods

In the first stage of research, the Centre for Liberal Strategies team selected documents related to the perceptions of corruption of the members of the six target groups included in the project. For that purpose, the method of qualitative content analysis was applied. We began our investigations by creating a pool of documents that had a relation to the goals of our study. As a second step, we carried out an initial review of all documents collected and selected documents with high level of relevance to the research object. The documents selected were further analysed by the means of Atlas-ti software.

Codes development

In the process of codes development we tried to keep as close as possible to the ideas embedded in the primary documents. We developed codes at several different levels, depending on their degree of abstraction and the extent they are explicitly stated in the text. The codes identified at the first level cover the most explicit ideas which are usually associated with specific words and phrases. In general, the basic meaning of these ideas are widely recognised and uniformly understood in a given society.

The second level of codes goes beyond the basic meaning of the concepts, exploring deeper argumentation and perceptions. At this level, perceptions of the different members of a given society might differ significantly. In most of the cases we developed these codes by following different argumentation included in the text. Some codes, developed at this level, virtually have no connection to ideas or concepts already identified at the first level.

The third level of coding includes hidden ideas or concepts that have a more abstract character. Often, actors when using different arguments hide deliberately their perceptions, or are not aware of the deeper grounds of their perceptions. It is sometimes, however, difficult to create objective codes at this level since it is obvious that more than one interpretation is possible. Therefore, at this level we tend to present all interpretations that we believe are possible.



Interpretation

In the process of interpretation we tried to combine all findings that we have obtained by the means of qualitative content analysis in a single story that gives information about perceptions of different target groups included in the project. While in the process of coding we refrained from using our general knowledge of corruption, at this stage we used our contextual understandings to construct the overall situation of corruption in Bulgaria. We did that in order to place in appropriate context our findings.

Basic dichotomies in coding and interpretation

We have identified the following basic dichotomies, which illuminate the differences in the understanding of corruption of the different target groups.

- Legalistic conceptions v. public-interest-based conceptions. This dichotomy captures the extent to which an actor sticks to the legal definition of corruption rather than using a more expansive and inclusive concept relating to a specific vision of the common good.
- Pro- and contra-foreign financial participation in domestic politics (no special worries about the foreign element). This dichotomy was especially relevant for the analysis of the impact of foreign actors in privatisation and the funding of political parties.
- What to do with money from illegitimate sources – accept to make good use of them or reject and blacklist? This dichotomy is mostly relevant for the analysis of the perceptions of corruption of politicians and senior administrators.
- Legitimate lobbying v. corrupt influence. The link between political actors and economic pressure groups is not completely transparent in the new democracies of eastern Europe. This dichotomy tries to capture different perceptions of the legitimate forms of such links.
- Private use of political money v. public use of political money. This dichotomy captures different perceptions of the role of political parties in corruption. If a corrupt transaction is performed for the sake of party building/funding purposes, sometimes it is justified by politicians as a necessary measure (the “financial blight of parties”, etc.)
- Transparency v. egalitarianism. The overarching emphasis in the fight against corruption in Eastern Europe has been on the question of transparency. Issues such as the disproportional influence of corporate interests in politics have been largely neglected. This dichotomy is trying to capture the tension between two different visions of corruption - lack of transparency v. corporate capture of the political process – which could present quite different problems and challenges.

Results: Perceptions of Corruption

Target Group Politics

No single definition of corruption exists amongst politicians despite the manifested consensus that corruption is a negative phenomenon that has to be combated. It appears that in the framework of privatisation, corruption could be understood in different ways depending on the current positions of the politicians and their political parties. Largely, when in power, politicians tend to praise *political privatisation* where the decisions are made on the basis of po-



litical arguments, by elected bodies having extensive powers to decide not only on the economic and formal parameters of the privatisation offers but also on a number of other issues, such as possible consequences for the society as whole. On the other hand, politicians while in opposition claim that *political privatisation* is corrupt and favour the practice of *technical/expert privatisation*, based on purely technical and formal considerations, where appointed bodies (of independent experts) take the most important decisions following a strict legal procedure. This dichotomy is the main result of the public interest trap. The public insist on fair but also on effective privatisation. Governments of transition countries have rapidly come to the conclusion that fair and transparent privatisation process does not automatically produce the best outcome in terms of public interest. This is the reason why politicians while in power tend to shift the focus in defining corruption from the fairness of the process to the quality of the results produced in terms of the broadly defined ‘public’ or ‘national’ interest.

In terms of the dichotomies described above, opposition politicians stick to public-interest bases, inclusive and inflated conceptions of corruption, which go much beyond the strict legalistic meaning of the concept. Such conceptions often allege various forms of favouritism in privatisation, clandestine state control or tacit state approval of smuggling channels; turning the party into a corrupt hierarchical structure, etc. Governing politicians usually resort to two strategies to counter corruption allegations. First, they stick to legalistic notions of corruption and require proofs beyond reasonable doubt for the substantiation of corruption allegations. Secondly, and much less often, governing politicians may try to “normalise” certain practices, which the opposition calls corrupt. An extremely interesting case of this kind happened in Bulgaria, when one of the mainstream parties attempted to sell to the public the so-called model of “circles of firms”, according to which political parties have the right to build circles of friendly firms, which in turn help for the funding of the patron party. Curiously, this model was advocated as a cure against “oligarchy”.

Target Group Judiciary

Not surprisingly, the target group of the judiciary resorts mainly to legalistic conceptions of corruption, and sticks to concepts and definitions in the law books. The paradoxical result of this usage is the virtual disappearance of corruption from the discourse of magistrates. In both of our case studies, the issue of corruption was renamed and translated into other problems at the judicial level. Thus, in the party funding case study, the law suits were about libel, and in some of these cases, the people who alleged the existence of corruption were found to violate the existing libel rules. In the privatisation case study, the problem of corruption was translated mainly into a problem of procedural violation of the privatisation law.

In both cases, what was standing out was the inconclusive character of judicial proceedings as regarding the major questions at stake in the two scandals. In the party funding case, for instance, judicial proceedings could not prove or disprove the two competing interpretations of events: the acceptance of illegal donation v. an attempt by a controversial businessman to set up one of the major parties in the country. The unfortunate lack of conclusive judicial findings and decisions creates a fertile atmosphere for the production of myths.

Target Group Police and Prosecutors

In contrast to the judges, prosecutors and the police are characterised by a very wide-spread use (including in official documents) of “inflated” public interest based conceptions of corruption, such as “circles of friends”, favouritism, party machines, “political umbrella against investigation”, massive theft through privatisation, etc. Naming people as part of mafiotic



structures – including ministers, calculations of the negative financial impact of corrupt privatisation feature regularly in the parlance and the documents produced by this target group. Regrettably, as it became clear from the previous section, formal indictments quite rarely are upheld by courts, which creates a significant gap between the discourse and the output (sentences) of the police and the prosecutors. Our main conclusion was that this is a sign of the “politicisation” of the police and prosecutors. By this we mean that in terms of conception and perception of corruption this group is closer to the politicians than to the judges.

Target Group Media

For the media corruption is an all-embracing metaphor for criminal and bad government. Here, public-interest based conceptions of corruption are encountered in their most inflated versions. The main theme is that greedy and incompetent elites are stealing from the people on a massive scale. Concrete cases are usually blown out of proportion in order to paint pictures of epic theft. As a result, the borderline between investigative journalism, analysis and story-telling is often blurred and sometimes non-existent. The solutions that the media see to the problem of corruption are, as a rule, repressive in their character: more convictions. Curiously, however, sometimes the media elaborate rather daring responses to corruption, by, for instance, advancing what we call “participatory ideals of corruption”. According to these ideals, people should share in the spoils of corruption.

Such curious ideas, which find their place in the public sphere, suggest that the real role of the media is not so much in the “fight” against corruption, but rather in the informing of the public of latest developments in the story of grand theft. Even, a cynic might say, that the role of the media is in “involving” of the people in these clandestine processes, making them privy to their intricacies, hooking them in the affair as a whole, albeit by means of vicarious participation. From this point of view, it is not surprising that the media, as a rule, show a disproportionate interest in the outbreak and unfolding of scandals, compared with its resolution.

Target Group Civil Society

This is by far the most sophisticated discourse about corruption, dictating the fashion in general. The main elements of this discourse are the following: corruption is measurable; it is increasing or at least is very high; it is bad for the economy. Civil society groups stress the importance of institutional change and changes in the incentive structure of important actors in the fight against corruption. Yet, and somewhat paradoxically, although they frame the solutions in terms of substantial structural reforms, often results are to be expected relatively fast. This feature of civil society discourse raises dramatically public expectations. One of the results of these raised expectations is the dissatisfaction with politicians, delegitimation of governments, and the creation of a fertile ground for the appearance of new populist political actors.

Target Group Economy

The business speaks about corruption through the discourse of silence. It prefers to shift the problem from corruption per se to the conditions for the emergence of corruption. These are usually to be found in the domain of public legislation and administration. Extremely popular is the so called problem of “red tape” – administrative hurdles for entrepreneurial activities, which are to be overcome by corrupt transactions. Generally, business discourses on corruption are depersonalised: they refer to structural conditions, not to agents and perpetrators.

Business is also as a rule portrayed as the victim of corruption, while the public servants (as an anonymous category) are the potential wrong-doers. Although the conception of corruption as “grease” for the economy has been rejected by important players such as the World Bank Institute, for instance, there is no evidence that the business community has ceased to believe in this conception: on the contrary, the whole underlying structure of its perception of the problem, seems to reinforce the “grease” theory. Ultimately, it could be said that there is quite a sizable disparity between the discourse of the media and the politicians, on the one hand, and the discourse of the business community on the other.

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Objectives

The general objective of the Romanian study was to analyse the perceptions of corruption of various groups which have important roles in targeting corruption: politics, judiciary, police, civil society mass-media and economy. The aim was to reconstruct the argumentative patterns in regard to corruption based on content analysis of documents elaborated by each target group.

Data generation

Selection of case studies

The case study was employed as a research strategy as case studies can highlight various facets of corruption while providing grounded and detailed information on the phenomenon. The case study was used as an inductive tool, in the attempt to shed light on the specificity of phenomenon and gain in depth understanding aspects of corruption.

The selection of case studies was done by using theoretical sampling.

In order to understand the different aspects of corruption in Romania, three instances of corruption have been analysed: high level corruption, corruption typical for a transition country and party funding. The biggest corruption case that received a guilty verdict from a court of



justice in Romania, the only one involving a person in a high official position that was investigated and finalised by a court verdict was analysed (*case 1*).

Another circumstance of the analysed phenomenon was illustrated by corruption in relation to privatisation process in Romania (*case 2*).

The problem of party funding was also treated in order to understand patterns of behaviour that refer to gaining and sustaining political power (*party funding*).

Collection of material

For all six target groups material has been collected in order to describe the perceptions of these groups towards corruption.

The general logic that guided selection of material was to start with case studies and try to identify position of each group on the respective case. When this was not possible, the analysis was completed with general material on corruption.

The type of documents analysed were: transcripts of parliamentary, prosecutors' investigation reports in corruption cases, press releases, transcripts of interviews, anticorruption strategies, articles in newspapers and weekly magazines, transcripts of seminars on the topic of corruption, content of web sites expressing a position towards corruption, minutes of meetings, codes of conduct. The materials have been elaborated between 2001 and 2006.

Quality of material

First, the heterogeneity of material analysed made the analysis a little difficult.

Second, the rapid change of situation in regard to anticorruption strategies in Romania also added to the difficulties, even though the documents analysed were very recent, starting with 2001, some positions expressed in these documents have been already outdated by the rapid changes in legislation and institutional framework in regard to corruption.

Third, official documents analysed (like those of Ministry of Interior, or by business groups) were issued in the general framework of Romania's aligning its policies to international efforts especially in regard to European integration. These documents have been elaborated with the help of international experts, as a result of their recommendations and following international guidelines and philosophies. As a result, it was difficult to assess what would represent national cultural specificity. Perhaps international comparative perspective can shed light on cultural aspects.

Methods and analysis

The method used in analysis of documents was qualitative content analysis.

The material has been analysed step by step, by devising the material into content analytical units. The procedure of open coding was employed. Categories were created based on codes which were carefully founded and revised within the process of analysis in feedback loops. The categories were developed inductively.

Starting with the main research question, "which are the perceptions towards corruption of various target groups", the material was surveyed for all referrals to corruption.

The chosen unit of analysis was the theme and step by step codes were created out of the material.

Most of material was analysed by using computerised analysis software, Atlas-ti, while a few documents existent only in hard copy were analysed in the classical fashion.



Results

The analysis of perceptions towards corruption of the various target groups allowed the generation of an explorative, substantive-level theory of corruption which consists in highlighting the definitions, characteristics, causes as well as effects of corruption.

Corruption was *defined* by all target groups in a legal/conventional manner as an illegal conduct but also as an altered behaviour in society, especially by NGO's, this type of definition expanding beyond those legally assigned. In regard to the moral grounds and values that compose the background of the corruption, the phenomenon is perceived as representing a breach in basic social values, being based on double standards, interventions and bargaining.

Looking at the *characteristics* of corruption, there is a wide agreement among the target groups that the phenomenon became generalised in all spheres of Romanian society. It is perceived as a complex mechanism, involving a subjective agreement cemented by trust. One mechanism was pointed out a number of times by several target groups: perceptions of widespread corruption contribute to retain phenomenon, creating a snowball effect. These perceptions which are mainly the result of the far above the ground emphasis of corruption in the media, fortify phenomenon as people began to conceive it as a necessary condition for getting by or they are reinforced in their beliefs. At individual level, it reproduces small corruption. But it also strengthens phenomenon in all sort of transactions and affects various levels of society, touching the very image of the country abroad.

Most *causes of corruption* are placed in structural conditions of Romania and mainly in relation to the transition process of this country. Systemic characteristics of economy like its inadequate structure, the deficient economic policy, poor economic environment or short term contextual factors like privatisation of state assets are considered as important causes that trigger corruption. The field of legislation and regulations in general characterised mainly by incomplete reform and instability along with a low capacity of judicial system add to the structural factors backing up the phenomenon. The sphere of governance brings its contribution to corruption by features like a strenuous political reform, a formal social dialogue, the existence of various networks of interests and low quality of human resources in the political realm. The social area also plays a part in the phenomenon through the low level of social development of the country, the flawed institutions functioning and the powerful groups of interest.

Individual causes like human nature, the impaired relationship of citizens to the society they live in, the rent seeking behaviour and ultimately mentality influence the existence of corruption in Romania.

The *consequences of corruption* are multidimensional: political, economical as well as social. The *fight against corruption* seems to be accredited by all target groups. First, it is seen as a national priority and an absolute necessity that would serve the national interest.

The assessments of current fight, though, reveal some negative aspects. Many opinions point out to a facade fight that is delayed in efforts countering corruption and to the weak political will of acting against it. Institutionally, the slow building of institutions with responsibilities in fighting corruption was outlined by some groups as well as to the low capacity of judiciary to act against corruption. Recently, some progress in the efforts of countering corruption was pointed out by some of the groups acknowledging incipient positive results of implemented measures of anticorruption during the past years.

This substantive level theory on corruption is an explorative attempt that will further be subject to testing. Essentially, this type of explanation is an interpretation made from given per-



spectives researched by researchers, its nature allowing for endless elaboration and partial negation. The theory is limited in time and change at any level of the conditional matrix will affect the validity of theory and its relation to contemporary reality. As conceptualising is an intellectual process that extends throughout the entire course of a given research project (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), the explanation will be further structured during the next phases of the research.

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Data Generation

As advocated by the grounded theory the research documents were collected randomly and yet they manifest the reflections and the perspectives of the six different target groups on corruption. Moreover, a great deal of secondary resources (documents that didn't belong to any of the target groups but giving background information on the cases) were reviewed.

Certain materials were difficult to collect. In particular, although demanded according to the "right to get information" documents regarding the interrogation protocols of the public prosecutors/police in both cases are missing. Besides, it was also hard to find case-specific materials produced by the business associations and trade unions. Nevertheless, in order to overcome these problems, alternative documents were used. That is, firstly, parallel the guidelines of the project, where directly relevant material was absent, material from the same target group on the most closely relating case was used. Secondly, where the case-specific documents were unavailable the Turkish team made use of other relevant documents belonging to target groups which approach the problem of corruption in general.

However, it can be stated that the quality of the data was satisfactory. Documents related to the rest of the target groups were well documented.



Case Studies

As with each of the participating research groups in the project, the first case study addresses the issue of corruption in party financing. Called the ‘Case of Mercümeek’ by the public, this scandal is of utmost importance on the grounds that it is not only the one and only scandal related to party financing against which a lawsuit was filed, but also it is related to a political party which is alleged to be an “enemy of the regime” by certain circles in Turkey. In other words, the ‘Case of Mercümeek’ is a multi-dimensional case in the sense that it could help to picture how certain groups involved in the processes of making and applying decisions, questioning, and creating public opinions perceived major problems of Turkey during the 1990s, the period in which a considerable number of consecutive large-scale corruption cases which caused both the treasury department and the people of Turkey to suffer giant losses when it ended with a devastating economic and governance crisis in 2001.

The second case study was selected due to its aspects complementary to the observation described above about the 1990s. In December 2003, Turkish Parliament (TBMM) approved a petition demanding investigations against former Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz and a number of former ministers on the grounds of certain corruption allegedly committed by them in 1998. Investigation Commission of TBMM concluded in its report that the allegations made against the former ministers of state in said petition were actionable before the Supreme State Council. This report was put to vote in July 2004, so that TBMM passed a resolution to file lawsuits with the Supreme State Council against said former ministers of state. At this stage, the Turkbank case (as an example of corruption during privatisation process) was selected as the primary one of corruption mentioned above.

Analysis, Methodology and Methods

As advocated in the guidelines of the theory, in the first phase of the research, all the relevant documents related to the target groups were “reconstructed” via a computerised qualitative content analysis (content analysis software *Atlas-ti*) through creation of two-level code analysis.

The first level codes were related to the themes and main ideas of the text as primary content. In other words the explicit, predominant patterns of argumentations, definitions or of reasonings were articulated. In this phase, certain inductive categories were formulated few of which left to be revised after completion of second level coding. At the second phase, a “non-explicit” level of content analysis was made. During this process however, the team members tried to avoid themselves from cross-referencing among the texts, i.e. each text was studied separately. This was the phase where we came up with significant differences in the understanding of corruption among the target groups and/or between the certain sub-groups of the target groups.

Both cases were dealt with together during the coding process. The three team members worked separately on pairs of target groups during the coding process. Then all came together to make the analysis of findings related to six target groups.

Some of the relevant documents mentioned above which could not be found in the electronic environment, hence could not be studied by *Atlas-ti* software, were analysed in a traditional way.



Results: Perceptions of Corruption

Issuing a detailed report in 2003 entitled “Investigation of Reasons and Social and Economic Scale of Corruption, and Determination of Anti-Corruption Measures in Turkey”, the parliamentary investigation commission defined corruption in broadest sense as “any misuse of public administration powers in such a manner to damage public and private interests”. According to the commission, corruption is the indicator of a negativity and moral weakness irrespective of the way it is defined, indicates that the society has undergone degradation in general, and can happen in such various fields as the public sector, private sector, civilian-military bureaucracies, politics or media.

Terms and expressions used by other target groups in the primary and background documents reviewed here indicate that said groups’ perception of corruption is not far from the definition given above.

All target groups believe that corruption is widespread in Turkey and consider it an integral part and a special form of a general degradation. We witness that corruption was described as “dirty”, “ugly” and “immoral”, while corruptive acts were described as a “disgrace” and “scandal”. Such expressions as “honest politics” and “clean society” turn out to be the common wishes of the target groups. All target groups shared the same conclusion that the starting point of the spread of corruption is the public sector.

Perceptions of these two cases throughout two different periods of time indicate that both the corruption problem and efforts to solve said problem were considered more and more important. As to the second case, all target groups including those possessing power to make reforms agreed that what was needed was a large-scale reform movement, and although not defined, a paradigm shift.

On the other hand, we observe that the target groups made self-criticism to conclude that their efforts to fight corruption proved to be insufficient. Most of the target groups admitted that they played a direct or indirect role in the increase of and/or failure to stop corruption. Suggestions made by politicians to cancel immunity of the Members of the Parliament (although no law was passed to that effect to date) and the circulars issued by the Ministry of Justice to the courts to order them to speed up their legal proceedings can be seen from this viewpoint. Non-governmental organisations admitted that they hesitated to use the rights given to them by the Constitution and the laws and underline the tasks and responsibilities falling to the citizens in fighting corruption. We observe that the Media passed through a similar process of self-criticism, and its partial/partisan attitude against corruption was replaced with objective criticism in time. However, the Media organs did not question their own trustworthiness, their own connections with politicians, and their primary role in corruptive acts. The public knows that the Media moguls also run construction, energy, telecommunication, etc. companies, and their names are involved in corruptive acts time to time. (Allegations about relationships between the Media moguls and politicians are reported to the public by rival publications). The situation is similar in the police force and the business world. The police admit that their efforts to fight corruption proved insufficient time to time; while the business world talks so frank sometimes that it “promises” not to get involved in a corruptive act.

The dosage and direction of criticism brought against corruption looks directly related with the political conjuncture and the actors’ positions within the balance of political power. The



actors' discourse about corruption changes depending on their proximity to the administration or the opposition, and their position in the accusing or accused side. The approaches of the politicians and the Media to the two cases we review here especially support the deduction described above. The criteria required by EU, World Bank and IMF for the consideration of membership or financial support look to have made a serious positive impact on the change of the perception model of Turkey. Especially the 'ambition' experienced in 2003 and 2004 by both the public authorities and the society with regard to integration with EU caused many actors to adapt a more courageous discourse about the certain principles (democracy, human rights, etc.). It might be commented that this general transformation caused overall perception of corruption to change.

It is observed that IMF and World Bank make a very strong impact on especially the private sector and the civil society. We observe that said segments of our target groups undisputedly admit and repeat that the criteria required by IMF, World Bank and EU to solve the corruption problem are preliminary conditions for integration with the "modern West".

On the other hand, most of the target groups voice their worries of the future of the fight against corruption between the lines. This point indicates that the notion of fight against corruption has not settled in the political culture of Turkey yet.

The Media, non-governmental organisations and economic agents frequently expresses their worry that unless permanent measures are taken, the political agenda might quickly shift to populism in the future. It is observed at this point that they emphasise that the supportive role of EU is as much important as the determination of the Turkish actors. All of the target groups including the politicians admit that it is true that in Turkey, politics are based on a mechanism of distribution of favours (nepotism, favourism).

We have not found at this stage of our review any emphasis on petit corruption which is so widespread in this country and which has turned into a kind of 'normal' practice. However, a number of colloquial expressions that spread (or were coined) in the Turkish language in the last 10 to 15 years, which are impossible to translate but can be described as variations to the English expression "riding the gravy train", do not have much negative connotation. This approach brings an understanding which will be able easily to create some kind of legality for corruption as defined above. When the value shift that took place on the individual ground thanks to the distorted, uncontrolled, unplanned liberal reform process right after the coup d'état of 1980 coincided with the existent "communitarian" and "solidarist" social values, the situation becomes even more complex.. Is petit corruption perceived as a means to speed completion of official formalities while grand corruption is perceived as wasting of the economic resources? We believe that it is important for us to focus on this question in the second part of our study.



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Data Generation

Research Materials

Most of the research materials were collected during the March - May 2006 period. Text sources for all six target groups were collected. In spite of the extensive search and consultations, only a few documents were collected from the police and economy target groups. Views of the rest of the target groups were well documented. In regard to the type of materials collected, our database contains a wide range of documents, including newspaper articles, the parliamentary and a municipal assembly proceedings, strategic analyses, annual reports of various state offices, public speeches, NGO publications and reports, etc.

Case Studies

Since the project design required selecting two case studies, one representing low-level corruption and the other high-level corruption, the following two cases were selected for the analysis: (a) financial issues related to the last presidential campaign and (b) a case of corruption in homes for the elderly in the city of Zagreb.

Case A – Description. The main focus of the analysis was the financial aspect of the last presidential elections campaign, especially the presentation of the case by the media and by civil society, and the earlier process of adopting the Bill on the Financing of Presidential Elections in the Parliament in 2004.

Case B – Description. Admittance in homes for the elderly (HEs) is free of charge and based on waiting lists. A client of the *Home for elderly and retired people* contacted an NGO and reported a number of irregularities.

Data Collection

The materials relevant for the *case A* covered four target groups: politics, the legal system, the media and civil society. No case related documents for the other two target groups (the police and economy) were found. The same four target groups were documented in the analysis of the *case B*. Some of the documents regarding the legal system were unavailable (related court



case is still in procedure) and no case relevant materials could be found for the police and economy. In lack of the case-specific documents, general documents on corruption were analyzed for those two target groups.

Methods

Preparations for the research

Prior to the analysis of the documents collected, several workshops have been organized to build team competency regarding the Grounded Theory methodology and application of Atlas-ti software. Exemplary documents have been coded to test and improve the reliability of coding and to unify the approach of the coders.

Coding

Research assistants - who were performing initial coding of the documents - have been instructed to use in-vivo or open codes and keep on the manifest level of the text. In other words, initial coding had to figure out "What does the text say?", and not "What does it really mean?". During coding, *special attention had to be devoted to the following issues:*

- possible (even quite fragmentary) definitions of corruption;
- elements of the corruption perception patterns;
- what are the causes of corruption;
- is corruption considered to be a significant social problem in Croatian society and why;
- who are the victims;
- who is perceived as corrupt;
- how to fight corruption;
- who should do what.

However, *no strict codes* for the above mentioned elements have been imposed (since it would be contrary to the main GT idea).

Initial coding of the documents was done in such a way that two research assistants coded each document independently. After the independent coding, they had to compare the codes, discuss the difference and reach consensus regarding the final codes applied. Such a procedure was established *to improve the reliability of coding* and unify the overall approach to the documents. The dilemmas and disagreements during coding were resolved on project meetings or through consultations with senior researchers.

Senior researchers have performed final revision of codes and additional coding with eventual application of higher level codes. On the basis of final codes applied, a theory outlining several distinct models of understanding corruption was built.

Interpretation

During the coding process, it became clear that fully "objective" nature of the high level (i.e. more abstract) categories is not beyond doubt - more abstract categories (although "emerging from the data") seem to be co-constructed by social context. The same is all the more true of the most general ("core") categories (later in the text referred to as the "models of understanding corruption"). In our case studies, the role of a social context gained the additional impor-



tance from of the fragmentary data for some target groups (police, economy), so coding process had to "fill in some blanks" that arose from the fact that building of the fully saturated, empirically grounded theory was not always possible.

Results: Perceptions of Corruption

The analysis suggested the existence of six distinct models of understanding of corruption in Croatia.

(1) *The Public Relations model* - simplified, populist and/or one-dimensional definition(s) of corruption, where corruption is perceived primarily as damaging for public image of the institution/actors in question, and measures for fighting corruption are evaluated according to the PR efficiency criteria;

(2) *The Expert model* - complex and comprehensive definition(s) of corruption; corruption is seen as damaging the socio-cultural fabric of society and economically wasteful; measures for fighting corruption are based on best international practice.

(3) *The Nuisance model* - no clear definition of corruption. It is a minor and omnipresent issue that has been overblown and measures for fighting corruption should be *ad hoc* and situation-specific.

(4) *The Human Rights model* - a comprehensive definition emphasising human rights and individual responsibility; corruption is moral, socio-cultural and economic evil; measures for fighting corruption should be extremely rigorous, transparent and inclusive (allowing an active role of the civil society).

(5) *The Pragmatic model* - a comprehensive definition linked to legal description; corruption is a major social problem, both on individual and collective level; measures for fighting corruption need to be systematic, well co-ordinated and assisted by international aid.

(6) *The Ignoring model* - usually *ad hoc* and declaratory definition(s); corruption becomes problematic only when it severely impedes governance and where measures for fighting corruption are largely absent.

The models need to be seen primarily as *Weberian* ideal types and not as empirical entities. In reality, most of the proposed models can be found only in fragments or as an array of slightly different versions. Also, it would be mistaken to assume that each target group could be represented by a single model. Most target groups were characterised by several different models or, more precisely, by a number of elements taken from different models of corruption.

In a preliminary fashion, the analysis suggests specific linkages between the models and target groups. The PR (public relations) model seems to be present in target group politics and partially in the legal system target group. In both target groups, the P (pragmatic) model was also found - as well as in target groups the police and, partially, civil society. The N (nuisance) model seemed to be characteristic of the city government and administration (target group politics), while the I (ignoring) model was found mostly associated with target group economy, but partially also with the legal system. The E (expert) model seems to be present in a number of target groups, such as civil society (the case A), the media (the case A), politics (the parliamentary opposition) and partially economy, the legal system (the new national anti-corruption strategy) and the police. Finally, the HR (human rights) model was also associated with civil society (the case B), politics (Ombudsman's report) and the media (the case B) target groups.

It is obvious that the conclusions are tentative at best. In some cases the number of documents collected proved insufficient for producing conclusions that could accurately reflex the com-



plexity of approaches within a target group. In some other instances we found the character of documents analysed unsuitable or too ambivalent for reaching any definite conclusion. For these and other reasons, the linkages between the (ideal-typical) models and the six target groups need to be taken with great caution.

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Data Generation

Research Materials

During the first two months (February-March 2006), we generated documents from all target groups under examination. The texts referred to “corruption” in general. Afterwards, we worked on data generation for each target group. In specific, we examined among others, Parliamentary proceedings (2001-2005), Ombudsman and Inspectors Controllers Body reports (1999-2004, 2005), reports of the Parliamentary Committee on Institutional Issues and Transparency (2000-2005), electoral programmes of political parties, articles from three daily newspapers of high circulation (2003-2005), Court decisions (1987-2005) etc.

Case Studies

Since the project design required the selection of two case studies, we conducted a preliminary research to define the cases, as well as data access. We examined several cases that had attracted a lot of publicity. Finally, we have chosen the ones that could generate more data for each target group.



- *Case A – Description.* Our party financing case study, common to all national groups, refers to alleged “black” accounts of the right wing party and its President in the beginning of the 1990s.
- *Case B – Description.* The second one refers to claims of illegal naturalisation of foreign nationals - mainly from the former Soviet republics - occurred after the 2000 general elections, under the pretext that they were repatriated Greek Pontians that qualified for such documents.

Data Collection

Our first case study (party financing) covered four target groups, politics, media, legal system and NGOs. The second case study responded to five target groups, one of which was not covered (Police) by the first case, provides for more information about NGOs and caused no serious problems to data generation. *Economy* (TG VI) could not be included in any of our case-studies. However, since it has referred sometimes to corruption, there was not an issue to be integrated.

Methods

Preparations for the research

By the beginning of May 2006 we had gathered all data and we were supposed to start the analysis with Atlas-ti software. It took us some time to settle into the programme before analysis began. A serious time consuming difficulty we met until managing it, was the exchange of texts (HUs) among the group members, since the data had to be analysed by all four (occasionally five) on different computers. Last but not least was the problem of transforming the code’s headers into greeklish, in order to be comparable with the Atlas-ti programme.

Coding

We carried out a two-level analysis with Atlas-ti. The first level concerned the codes that were constructed by the researchers, *in-vivo and open codes*, in the general context of the text, manifest and not latent.

However, we thought that it would be better for one person to revise all the codes from all the texts, lest something be left out, and to have an overview of the data. The scientific coordinator carried out the revision of all codes and made the necessary changes.

After finishing the coding, each member of the team wrote a draft with his/her conclusions regarding the content analysis. Before the end of this process, the working-team had a meeting in order to sketch the scientific report.

Interpretation

Content analysis enabled us to register the meaning of corruption and corrupt practices in the six target groups. Although some of the findings were expected, the unexpected were so impressive as to help us to document the interaction of the various systems and the reflection (or not) of dominant conceptions.



The coding process indicated that the term *corruption* and its derivatives (opacity, synchronizing of interests etc.) is used very often in our analysed texts, apart from the judicial ones, as to be expected, adhered to legalese.

Findings

Corruption is referred to as a *social illness* and occasionally as a *social phenomenon* and *by-product* of modern societies. Nevertheless, several texts share a strong critical view of representatives of the state. This is more intense in the media, which promote themselves as defenders of the public and guardians of public ethics. It also implies the increasing power of the Media in Greek society.

However, the criticism does not seem to be affecting politicians, since they continue to consider themselves the main group responsible and suitable for corruption control and promotion of transparency in society. They support new legislation, control and inspection mechanisms.

Public administration receives the strongest criticism, as being the basic impediment to transparency and therefore the development of the country; unlike the private economy which is presented as the main “victim” of corruption in the country. The remaining groups try for a clear role in the discourse on corruption. The Judiciary promotes more legislation, the Police more control, while the Media whatever, as the case may be, and the NGO’s try to fit somewhere into the field. In general, the various target groups regard the issue according to their requirements, roles and interests. In specific:

POLITICS. Although politicians refer several times to “merging of interests”, “corruption” etc., when a specific case emerges their debates turn to be mostly party-political. Thus, the debates are focused on the denial of responsibility, referring rather to “misgovernment” than to corruption. It is interesting that Politics borrow the meaning of corruption from media and the reverse.

As far as the public administration concerns, high ranking civil servants remain adherent to dominant and traditional views. Contrary to them, the (Civil Servants) Union members seem to share a more elaborated approach and tend to be more open-minded and of original thinking.

JUSTICE. The courts are strictly focused on supporting their decision, with references and statements of the plaintiffs. The word corruption is non-existent in their text.

POLICE. The reports contain rhetoric and descriptive statements on state and ethics. They over-present the effectiveness of the Service and they often stress the Police role as “objective, impartial, and corresponding to society’s needs”. The use of the word *corruption* is rare. The Service focuses almost exclusively on corrupt practices of public administration.

MEDIA. Corruption remains for the Media, a news story valuable for its threshold and personalization. It is considered a *social illness*, the curing of which needs the commitment of the whole society. Sometimes the discourse reverts to condemnation against the whole society.

CIVIL SOCIETY. NGOs analyse corruption employing mostly a well-documented argumentation, still with emotional-cum-ethical statements. Thus, the issue is “a fight” and “a battle” against illegal practices and corruption.

ECONOMY. The views of the economy as presented in its texts are one-sided, not resulting from a thorough analysis of the country’s particularities. They regard “political-party interests, social class interests and complicated legislation” as the main causes of corruption.

From the research became obvious that a channel of communication and promotion of views among different social systems operates (here: Media, NGOs, and Politics). Those social



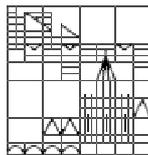
groups who do not have access to the media are an easy mark for condemnation and stigmatising; the same applies to large and diffuse groups because it is difficult for them to defend themselves. It is interesting that according to the texts analysed, the *official perceptions* of corruption in Greece are not considerably different from the corresponding reports of international organisations (TI, OECD, World Bank, etc). Therefore, it eventually expresses the influence of those organisations, to which belong the ranks and scores on corruption. And might question, as far as Greece is concerned as to whether a “down-up” approach to corruption would bring some other results as the top down process. Since citizens’ views are not included, our findings cannot yet support the results of other research that the followed behaviour (everyday behaviour) does not necessarily coincide with legitimisation of corruption or that moral disapproval of corruption necessarily associates with willingness to make a complaint about it. Otherwise, how can be explained the low score of Greece in the CPI’s index?

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Introduction

During the first year of the project implementation, the German research team worked towards several major research goals. At first the German research team raised data about corruption and gathered information on anti-corruption measures and initiatives in Germany. As a second step, various documents on corruption and anti-corruption from six target groups (politics, judiciary, police, media, civil society, economy) were collected. On the basis of two



case studies the documents were put to qualitative analysis deploying the visual qualitative data analysis of the Atlas-ti software.

Selection of case studies

Two cases studies on political corruption and bribery have been selected: the so-called 'Black accounts'-affair of the CDU party and the donations-affair of the SPD party in the federal state of Northern Rhenania-Westfalia (NRW).

Data generation

The following documents as subject to analysis have been collected:

Target group politics: 1. Protocols of parliamentary debates of the 'Bundestag' on the 'Black accounts'-affair of the CDU party. 2. Protocols of parliamentary debates of the 'Landtag' of the federal state of NRW (Northern Rhenania-Westfalia) on the Donations-affair of the SPD party. Background documents: Reports of the parliamentarian investigation committees.

Target group judiciary: Verdict of the 'Landgericht Koeln' (Court of the federal state of NRW, Cologne) on the Donations-affair of the SPD party.

Target group police: Interrogation protocols of the 'Criminal Investigation Department' of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.

Target group media: Press analyses on the 'Black accounts'-affair of the CDU party and Donations-affair of the SPD party from the newspapers 'Frankfurter Allgemeine' and 'Süddeutsche Zeitung' (210 articles).

Recordings of the TV talk-shows 'Sabine Christiansen' (ARD channel) and 'Hart aber fair' (WDR channel) on the same corruption cases.

Target group civil society: Analysis documents published by 'Transparency International', Germany

Target group economy: Public statements and statements of formal obligation by the DGB (German Trade Union Association) and BDI (German Industry Association)

Perceptions of Corruption

Target Group Politics

In the context in which the parliamentary debates on the illegal party financing the ex-chancellor and leading party officials of the Christian Democratic Party were involved in and bearing in mind that at the same time the briberies leading party officials of the Social Democratic party in Cologne received, the essential stance that informs the perceptions and argumentations of the political actors is one of *mutual discredit and delegitimation*. The main political formations outbid each other raising continuously the claim the opponent, being himself morally disqualified or lacking the integrity, has no legitimate right to castigate the wrong-doings of the other side [double-bind]. The parliamentary inquiry committee is perceived as a continuation of *party struggle with other means*. A resolute transparency undermines the very fundamentals of a *fair party competition* exposing the financial transactions to the gaze of the political enemy eager to draw advantages. The illegal donations of the Kohl era raise further the question of whether the whole affair should be subsumed under the notion of *political corruption*. Taking into account the definition of TI it is far from clear that the



'system' of secret accounts testifies beyond doubt to the fact of *politically corrupt conduct*. The reason for this lies both in the fact that a) *no private benefits* were intended or factually gained, and b) no sufficient evidence could be delivered that *receiving the donations was causally connected to the political decision process*. *Political corruption* meant as *distortion of party democracy* can however be observed – it did not occur between donors and politicians, but rather as a means to keep the party organism under the authoritarian rule of Kohl. By means of this authoritarianism Kohl *reversed the priorities* of the ethical conduct preferring to uphold the private ethic of the 'word of honour' against the law-conforming ethic of public accountability. The case ended up in that indeterminate zone between sanctionable corruption and general political exercise of influence.

The corruption scandal in Cologne involving party officials of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) who received bribes after the deal to build a garbage incinerator was struck revolves essentially on the violation of the rules of open and public procurement procedures. Circumventing existing regulations in the field was perceived by the local authorities in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia as unavoidable since they a) *relied* on the economic efficiency the technical know-how of the construction companies guaranteed and b) *were keen on* securing a considerable number of jobs in the region. Additionally blame is put on the funding and finance management of the party allowing the *transformation* of 'thank-giving' bribes in financial contributions. Certain parallels are also drawn to the 'Kohl system' in that the local officials of the SPD having been monetarily gratified for their decision deployed the bribes to foster the political career planning – in the face of the neo-liberal reforms of the public sector deploying Privat-Public-Partnerships this is perceived as inevitable. In this way a certain stance to the whole affair can even assume the character of a *fatalist acquiescence* to the inevitability of corrupt conduct on the part of individuals that are considered to be prone to 'deviant behaviour' for neither can the party financing regulations wipe out 'deviant' conduct nor can they ever deter those determined to pursue their interests with criminal energy. Enforcing sanctions and transparency measures must nevertheless be seen compulsory since it puts the capacity of the political system to *self-purification* to test.

Target Group Judiciary

The analysis of the perceptual patterns of corruption by judges and lawyers is based on a court dossier on the so-called "Financial Scandal of Cologne's SPD", that happened during the project development for a residual waste incineration plant in the 1990's. The arguments and rhetoric deployed by the prosecutors and the judges is dominated by two rationalities: that of legalistic expertise, but also that of the daily experience of people or the everyday layman. Alongside the 'stylistic' expressions of the legal rhetoric one also finds a classification of diverse incidents of bribery, so to say the *semantics of corruption*.

In the Bill of Indictment and the Sentence two lines of argument relating to perceptions and interpretation patterns of corruption stand out. On one hand the judges develop a *description* and a *reconstruction* of acts, and issue judgements on the basis of laws, legal commentaries and sentences from 'precedent setting cases', on the other hand – in central parts of the prosecution and sentencing argument – they *make use of 'common-sense' arguments*, referring regularly to the 'real life' context. Under consideration of the *motives for corrupt behaviour* the jurists develop a *typology of bribery* according to their findings in their investigations and witness statements. There is differentiation in the files between the 'tempting' of individual politicians and the 'political landscape conservation' of parties and factions. To be distinguished from that are the so called 'impact bribes', extraordinarily high one time payments for a specific purpose, which, legally speaking, to seal an 'accord of injustice', a fraudulent con-



tract. Such ‘accords of injustice’ are made in secrecy and silence, meaning in collusion or as a silent agreement, without explicit discussion of the matter. “Impact donations” aim to influence a decision in the future, “thank-you donations” are less objectionable gifts for services rendered. Fundamental to a case of corruption is not, if the political decision was truly influenced by the bribe or not, but solely if the “accord of injustice” was agreed upon, be it in good or bad faith. Legally important is that the recipient of the donation is under the belief that decisions will be taken in his favor; otherwise the donation would be for the giver pointless “money thrown out the window”. Any other explanation, according to this argument would be a departure from “real life”. The case shows that in the eyes of judges and lawyers the logic of corruption is not determined by the fact of the decision being influenced (a connection difficult to objectify), but by a corrupt contract, in the sense that expectations are tied to a payment.

Target Group Police

The reconstruction of the perceptual patterns of corruption among the criminal prosecution authorities is based on the investigation files from the Department for Special Cases of Organized Criminality at the State Police Headquarters in Freiburg, Baden-Württemberg, Germany dealing with two cases of corruption: *a*) the first case deals with ‘active bribery’ in German constructing industry, an economical branch in which corruption is virtually ‘common practice’, *b*) the second with ‘passive bribery’ involving an official of the city’s Aliens Office, who played a key role in a people-smuggling ring.

The perceptual patterns of corruption among the criminal prosecution authorities are shaped by the formal procedures, they are obliged to follow by law. For the officials involved corruption is of course legally a clearly defined fact. Nonetheless, the measures taken to *reconstruct* the crime, the *milieu* in which it occurred and the *motives* behind it in particular are highly informative for an understanding of the attitudes and the perceptions of corruption which influence the investigative process. There are certain images of the typical course of a crime, offender profiles and the criminal milieu ‘in the heads of the investigating officers’ by which they are guided in their work.

In the case of the ‘gentleman’s crime’ in a branch of industry which is strongly marked by corruption, the motive presented in the file is not so much personal enrichment as the *pursuit of entrepreneurial success*. The economic advantages achieved by corruption would primarily serve the *consolidation and development of the ‘business empire’* and the satisfaction of personal strivings for power and property would thus only be a secondary aim. This perhaps explains the social tolerance towards such practices in industry, as opposed to the reaction towards the activities of people-smugglers, obviously dealing with the illegal activities of a commercial gang motivated by the desire for *personal enrichment*. The suspected official from the aliens office reveals the ‘classic’ characteristics of passive corruptibility: Employment in public service with contacts to the general public, the complicated issue of legal residence, personal financial problems, precarious familial situation, acceptance of small presents, invitations to dinner, travel, emotional attachment linked with material dependence and the complicity of others in his breach of duty (which places him ‘in the hands of’ the persons practising ‘active bribery’).

These images or perceptual patterns that could be reconstructed in the files are based on *professional expertise, experience* in the field, but also on social *prejudices*. Professional expertise is the dominating perspective in the phase of providing evidence for the charge. To find out the motivation for the crime reference to a broader set of knowledge and experience is usual. Social prejudices then play an eminent role.



Target Group Media

With regard to the two print media analysed one can assume that the central pattern of corruption discerned in the 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung' refers to the belief of the *self-healing* powers of the political and party system. The crisis related to the so-called 'black-accounts' of the CDU party is by no means perceived as a state crisis but at least as a leadership crisis of a single party. The 'Süddeutsche Zeitung' on the other hand rests its hopes on the rule of law, democratic order and the control of individual power to combat and prevent corruption. Its criticism goes beyond the party system in Germany even accusing the judiciary being weak against political influences.

Regarding the two TV talk shows chosen the first one, 'Sabine Christiansen', handles the corruption issue in the manner of political expertise, whereas the second one, 'Hart aber fair', seeks to confront the case head on deploying often populist argumentations. In this way the objective, expertise manner, in which the first talk show helps *normalise and objectify* the corruption scandals, contrasts strongly with the *moralising attitude of ethical indictment* of the second that for that matter resembles the attitude of the 'Süddeutsche Zeitung' favouring a deep mistrust against politicians, relying at the same time on the institutional control power and the force of civil society.

There are in common two continuous patterns of perception of corruption both in the articles of the examined print media as well as in the talk shows which not exclude each other but rather merge into a pattern of interpretation: a) corruption as a problem of *breach of trust* in terms of human morality and b) corruption as a *control problem* in technical terms. These two patterns of perception by the media are related on the one hand to certain values and to technical procedures of exercising power within a democratic community on the other. Corruption is accordingly understood both as a failure of the institutionalised procedures of the political system and an expression of human weaknesses.

Target Group Civil Society

Contrasting markedly to the relative disinterestedness of the economic world regarding the issue of corruption the activities of civil society organisations such as TI have contributed essentially to raise public awareness on the matter.

In awareness of the it playing a crucial role in the reduction of inequalities or the promotion of equal chances in the party competition – the normal mechanisms of competition in the framework of market economies apparently not guaranteeing a fair play of forces –, but also in minimising the intrusion of the economic exchange logic into the political sphere, Transparency International declares party financing to be one of the most central *steering mechanisms* of lawful and transparent party work. However certain cautiousness should be observed on the issue of *balancing* in-put regulations and out-put effectiveness/supervision complying with the requirement of *proportionality* between means and results – regulatory overdrive may run counter to societal perceptions of human rights. As supplementary rule setting strategy to ensure the law conformity of economic transactions (for example in cases of public procurement) the TI has launched the Integrity Pact planned to function as containment of 'deviant' dispositions. At the core of TI's '*bottom-up*' approach in fighting corruption lies the network of ALACs (Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres) in various countries promoting societal initiatives from groups or individuals to articulate their complaints against what is perceived as corrupt conduct, helping them at the same time to reclaim their rights.



Target Group Economy

The analysed data from the Federation of German Trade Unions (DGB) make in general evident that important social and political dimensions of corrupt practices are not subject to consideration by the Federation. The perception of the DGB seems to be a rather restrictive one. The anti-corruption strategy of the DGB centres almost exclusively on the immediate risks corruption represents for the company and in particular for the workforce. This explains the significance the DGB assigns to institutionalising and implementing concrete measures for the so-called whistle-blowing within companies.

Though this anti-corruption strategy is common between trade unions on the one hand and employers' federations on the other the latter underline at first *the extent* to which corruption *distorts* ('corrupts') competition in a market economy. Especially regarding the regulations of public contracting and the establishment of a corruption register (at least at the level of the federal states in Germany) it is observed that *synergy effects* are developing between the activities of politicians, NGOs and the business world. If one compares the claims raised by industry and TI and addressed at politics, then one can easily observe the existence of a broad co-operation between politics, economy and civil society aimed at fighting corruption.

However, there are two main facts that point to the assumption that combating *corruption does not belong to the high priorities* of 'labour and capital' organisations. The first one is the quantitative 'meagreness' of the documents produced by them, the second one the 'qualitative' lack of the documents. In general, the recommendations of both organisations to fight corruption within companies in principle refer to a double strategy: improving *structures of control in the workplace* and *strengthening the sensitive business ethics* on the subject of corruption. Although the interests of capital and work are irreconcilable and their relationship tends to be conflicting, it is nevertheless obvious that corporate structures in the sense of the so-called 'Rhineland capitalism' on the one hand and the rhetoric of industrial ethics on the other are the very core of the frame within which labour and capital perceive corruption and anti-corruption measures in Germany. Both of them concentrate on structural and ethical measures, i.e. strengthening of controls and moral complementary elements of anti-corruption. Moreover, the corporate alliance between capital and labour is additionally flanked by a balance of interests and the process of accommodation between both civil society and the state.

Conclusions

The public debates in Germany are sustained by the belief that regarding corruption the country is 'clean'. Corruption at the level of every-day life is deemed negligible and institutions and public administration are seen as working properly. From the analysis of the documents undertaken emerges the fact that it is political corruption that primarily raises public interest. In contrast to political corruption the economic is not regarded as a destabilising factor. The reason for this lies in the argument that seeking advantages and enrichment are after all part and parcel of the driving forces in economic life, but they are by no means compatible with the principles of democratic politics. The intermingling of political and economic rationalities is considered as the origin of corruption in the public administration. Changes in the perceptions of corruption can be observed in Justice, Police and public Administration. In the cases of civil society (except for the NGO's), Politics and Economy the matter is less clear. One must always distinguish between public statements and factual acting.



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Introduction

The UK case study of Perceptions of Corruption and Anti-corruption seeks to explore not only the comparison between perceptions held amongst six target groups (politicians, the media, the police, the judiciary, civil society, and business), but also what the UK research findings may suggest for other states, particularly for prospective EU member-states. One of the questions driving the research is to understand what is seen to ‘work’ in the UK in changing the way in which people think about corruption, and what is believed to be the most effective mechanisms by which corruption is checked there. The synopsis below is concerned with the direct findings of the research thus far, while a summary of the broader implications of the research findings is available in the ‘scientific report’ (first deliverable).

Data Generation

At the outset of the research, a wide range of literature was consulted that extended beyond the target groups to academic and media sources (literature and interviews) on the subject of corruption and anti-corruption efforts in the UK. A variety of documents were then collected that either typified or were the official statements from each target group, which, in general, indirectly expressed a view of corruption and anti-corruption efforts. A list of potential interviewees to be contacted in the second stage of research was drawn up towards the end of 2006 and the addition of a new researcher on the UK team meant that the aims and strategy of the UK case were reviewed in preparation for the interviews. The outline of a discussion paper on the UK case within the project was also constructed and completion and dissemination of the paper is expected to take place early in 2007.

Case Studies

The two cases chosen for the UK Study were firstly the ‘Loans for Peerages’ Affair of 2006 and secondly the Pergau Dam/Balfour Beatty Affair of 1994. As with each of the participating research groups in the Project, the first case study addresses the issue of corruption in party financing. This particular case was chosen because of its proximity to recent legal develop-



ments concerning the definition of corruption in the UK and importance in shaping contemporary public perceptions of corruption in the country.

The second case study was chosen because its characteristics were perceived to highlight a concern about corruption that is particularly specific to the UK. The case is of specific relevance to the UK for several reasons. Firstly, the case figures prominently and relatively popularly in domestic anti-corruption campaigns and in domestic political discourse on corruption. Indeed, it is a particular characteristic of British anti-corruption NGO work that it has tended to focus on corruption issues that have a foreign dimension. Secondly, the case is important because it has been argued by various commentators that the effort to legislate on corruption in the UK has largely been driven by the requirement to implement the rules set against bribery of foreign officials contained in OECD recommendations. The issue of bribery of foreign officials by UK citizens has been the most prominently debated point about the government's efforts to introduce anti-corruption legislation in the UK. Additionally, this case is of particular pertinence to the overall research project UK because it addresses the issue of the degree to which the UK has been committed to anti-corruption policies at home as well as abroad (namely in EU candidate states).

Methodology

As advocated by the grounded theory that was the basis for the project's methodology, research materials were collected randomly apart from the requirement that they reflect the six different focus groups in their source and ideally expressed opinions that demonstrated perspectives on corruption. Sources that could not fit into any of the target groups or which did not easily offer examples of perspectives of corruption were used as background material that could inform the analysis of other materials or the understanding of the case itself.

Code Development

All formulations of logic regarding to corruption and corruption-combating approaches contained within the texts were highlighted via Atlas-ti software, which assisted the analysis of these and the identification of similar veins of argument. These were grouped into 'code families' based on the emphasis of the argument. For example, some focused on attributing or denying blame with regard to the perceived role of certain actors within society as instigators of corruption (businessmen, politicians). Others highlighted either the efficiency of silent or traditional codes of honour in politics as a reason for the comparative lack of corruption in the UK, or else the role of NGOs and the media in stepping in to fill a watchdog role where, in contrast, parliamentary and judicial oversight was portrayed as lacking.

Analysis

Analysis of the texts resulted in the formulation of around core 'codes', or arguments, which were found to be repeated areas of importance and contention within them. These debates have subsequently formed a useful basis for the interviews of representative figures from the target groups in the second year of research.



Basic dichotomies in coding and interpretation

- Anti-Corruption and Transparency Reforms in Recent Years have Helped Restore Public Trust in the Political System
- NGOs Have Been Important Motors of Perception and Practical Change Against Corruption
- Businesses Are The Victims of Negative Stereotypes, They Do Oppose Corruption,
- Standards of Public Life in the UK are Generally High; Corruption is Rare and, When it Does, Happens Unwittingly vs. Complicit Politicians Are Just That
- Corruption Protects British Jobs By Allowing British Firms to Win International Contracts vs. Corruption is Bad for The British Taxpayer
- Access Does (or Does Not) Equate to Influence
- The Loans for Peerages Affair Increased Public Disdain for Politicians and the Political Process

Results: Perceptions of Corruption

Amongst all target groups (but less so from the media), a strong sentiment was evident that high standards of public office generally pertained in the UK. The media tended to add its support to this view when the situation in the UK was being compared regionally or globally.

Strong variation in views on corruption was evident especially within the media and politics target groups (unsurprisingly), and limited variation from the NGO group and judiciary. No variation was found in the documents from the police target group. The constraints of their position and remit, and the source of the documents (as official sources in the case of official bodies), clearly limited the types of arguments that were put forward from the politicians, judiciary and police; wide-ranging structural and cynical arguments were most likely to be made by the media, followed by NGOs.

The area of most concern amongst all target groups was the relationship between business and politicians. The details of the concern varied; whether the relationship was rightly or wrongly viewed with suspicion, when corruption took place which party was more likely to be the instigator (i.e. more culpable than the other), to what extent were either party sincere in their anti-corruption pronouncements or what other possible self-interest or pressures motivated them to make them.

As suggested by the Project's initial outline, the media was widely acknowledged as playing an important role in mobilising public opinion and thereby generating pressure in support of anti-corruption efforts. However, the media were also the subject of criticism for being perceived to be more interested in whipping up public fervour over the issue than ensuring substance to their allegations of scandal. The integrity of the media in its role as informer and stimulator of public opinion and reaction was in other words called into question. Furthermore, it was pointed out that sometimes the media is often credited for being a more active and effective anti-corruption tool than it can legitimately claim, since its reports of investigations are often mistakenly read as the work of the media organisation itself.



NGOs were also recognised for their important role in the shaping of opinion within Parliament and amongst the public, although it was evident that amongst NGOs themselves quite different attitudes towards the issue of corruption were evident.

An interesting preliminary finding from the NGO and politicians focus groups in the first case study concerned the perceived acceptability of a certain degree of patronage in politics and conceptions about where the ideal limits to it were to be drawn.

It was nevertheless evident that British perceptions and discourse on corruption have been undergoing a significant period of evolution since the mid 1990s, and many of these changes are still underway in the UK (including, for example, the issue of patronage in political life) and outcomes still as yet unclear.

The activism of the past decade or so has itself been described as a positive step by all but the more cynical of the observers (who proposed that such transformations were superficial but powerful forms of propaganda, clothing the reality of 'business as usual') that were found in the material gathered.

The under-use of the word 'corruption' in the material collected also appeared to be a significant issue to which comments were addressed within the material. The word 'corruption' tends to be avoided in the material, while others such as 'standards in public life', 'sleaze' and 'cronyism' preferred. While these certainly are imbued with a negative imagery, 'corruption' appears to be a term associated with more severe conditions of corruption perceived to be bedevilling other countries. The paucity of documents relating to the subject or cases of corruption, amongst the target groups was the subject of analysis by far fewer (somewhat evidently) amongst the target groups. Existing in-depth literature, particularly academic, on the causes of this lack, were not included in the target groups; this omission is likely to be remedied in the proceeding period of research.

The most significant divisions of perspective concerned prognoses for change; the more cynical views expressed considered the problems of corruption to be systemic and therefore implied that an overhaul of the political system would be necessary to alter the realpolitik nature of policy and allow ethical policies to be genuinely prioritised. The majority of views expressed were more moderate; that more regulation and better enforced oversight practices would go a long way to dissuading would-be corruptors from perpetrating their crime. A minority again characterised corruption as a rare act committed by individuals; this perspective encouraged a maintenance of tradition and was evident in the business and politicians' target groups, from those seeking to maintain the contemporary limits of their autonomy and anxious not to incur greater incursions into their freedom of movement or invasion of their private business.

The full version of scientific reports and project findings for specific audiences of all country study groups are accessible in the project web site:

www.uni-konstanz.de/crimeandculture/index.htm

Second Regular Meeting of the Project Consortium Bucharest, 3-4 November 2006

Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, University of Bucharest and Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy

On the first day of the meeting Friday, 3 November at the Department of Sociology of the University of Bucharest which has been open to students and further senior and junior researchers all country reports and main findings of the first research period of the project have been presented and discussed.

On the second day, Saturday, 4 November at the Research Institute for the Quality of Life – Romanian Academy all members of the Network Co-ordination Board came together. The following subjects have been discussed and respective appointments have been met:

1. General Evaluation of the First Research Period and Technical and Administrative Aspects of the Process Ahead
2. Second Research Period: General Guidelines. Target Groups Research. Interviewing - Methodology and Methods

Activities of the Members of the Country Study Groups of the Project



The members of the Project Consortium 'Crime and Culture'

BULGARIA

Centre for Liberal Strategies (CLS)



Dr. Daniel Smilov
(Co-ordinator)



Rashko Dorosiev (M.A.)

Research assistants

Ms. Yana Papazova (M. A.)

Ms. Anna Ganeva (M. A.)

Dr. Daniel Smilov participated in the International Conference on Party Financing and Corruption, Sofia, July 3, 2006 organised by Transparency International-Bulgaria and in the conference: Courts and Social Policy, in Oxford, June 24 – 26, 2006.

Dr. Daniel Smilov and Rashko Dorosiev participated over the last period in a number of international conferences and workshops on corruption related topics where information about the project was disseminated:

- The Judiciary: Independent and Accountable: Performance Indicators of the Bulgarian Judicial System, in Sofia, April 20, 2006.
- The Challenge of the New Populism, in Sofia, May 10-11, 2006.
- Workshop of European Anti-Corruption Agencies: Protecting the Community's financial interests in a knowledge-based, innovative and integrated manner, in Lisbon May 17-19, 2006

ROMANIA

Research Institute for the Quality of Life (Romanian Academy) (ICCV)



Professor Dr. Ioan Marginean
(Co-ordinator)



Dr. Iuliana Precupețu

Research assistants

Ms. Cosmina Chitu (M. A.)

Ms. Adriana Baboi (M. A.)

Prof. Dr. Ioan Marginean

Conferences, Seminars and Workshops

1. Participation in the annual Meeting of the Romanian Association of Sociology, Brasov, November 2006, with the paper *Quality of society*
2. Participation in the meeting *First Survey on Quality of Life in Europe*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Living Conditions, Dublin, Ireland, June 2006
3. Participation in the National Seminar on Quality of Life, February 2006, Sofia, Bulgaria.
4. Participation in the National Seminar on Quality of Life, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Living Conditions, Bucharest, Romania, September 2006

Publications

- Ioan Mărginean, Maria Larionescu, Gabriela Neagu, *The constitution of middle class in Romania*, Economic Publishing House, 2006 (in Romanian)
- Ioan Marginean, Living conditions of rural population, in Cristian Hera (coord), *The rural world today and tomorrow*, Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006 (in Romanian)
- Ioan Mărginean, Bogdan Voicu, Vassil Tsanov, Ana Maria Preoteasa *First European Quality of Life Survey. Quality of Life in Romania and Bulgaria*, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006
- Ioan Mărginean, Ștefan Cojocaru, (ed), 2006. *Services to children and families. Impact of Holt Programs in Romania. Documentation of Outcomes*, Iași: Expert Projects

Dr. Iuliana Precupețu

Conferences, Seminars and Workshops

1. Presentation of the project “Crime as a Cultural Problem. The Relevance of Perceptions of Corruption to Crime Prevention. A Comparative Cultural Study in the EU-Accession States Bulgaria and Romania, the EU-Candidate States Turkey and Croatia and the EU-States Germany, Greece and United Kingdom”, 6th Framework Programme of the European Commis-



sion, Round table with representatives of ONGs, Ministry of Interior, associations of employers, The Research Institute for Quality of Life, April, 2006.

2. Participation in the National Seminar on Quality of Life, February 2006, Sofia, Bulgaria.

3. Participation in the international seminar “Elderly never lonely”, Romanian Institute for Adult Education Timisoara, Romania, September 2006 with the paper Quality of life 4. Participation in the meeting *First Survey on Quality of Life in Europe*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Living Conditions, Dublin, Ireland, June 2006 with the paper *Quality of Life in Romania and Bulgaria. Main research findings*.

5. Participation in the National Seminar on Quality of Life, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Living Conditions, Bucharest, Romania, September 2006, with the paper *Romania in European Perspective. The subjective dimension of quality of life*.

Publications

- Iuliana Precupețu, An innovative project: Crime as a Cultural Problem. The Relevance of Perceptions of Corruption to Crime Prevention. A Comparative Cultural Study in the EU-Accession States Bulgaria and Romania, the EU-Candidate States Turkey and Croatia and the EU-States Germany, Greece and United Kingdom in *Quality of Life Journal*, no 3-4, 2006 (in Romanian)
- Iuliana Precupețu, Subjective well being in Ioan Mărginean, Bogdan Voicu, Vassil Tsanov, Ana Maria Preoteasa *First European Quality of Life Survey. Quality of Life in Romania and Bulgaria*, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006
- Iuliana Precupețu, Health and health care in Ioan Mărginean, Bogdan Voicu, Vassil Tsanov, Ana Maria Preoteasa *First European Quality of Life Survey. Quality of Life in Romania and Bulgaria*, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006
- Iuliana Precupețu, Social services for children, in Ioan Mărginean, Ștefan Cojocaru, (ed), 2006. *Services to children and families. Impact of Holt Programs in Romania. Documentation of Outcomes*, Iași: Expert Projects

Other activities

A number of students from the National School of Political and Administrative Studies were introduced to the project and contributed to data collection as part as their field work within the Faculty of Sociology and Political Science.

Within the project “Crime and culture” cooperation has been developed with representatives of target groups, based on cooperation protocols and further activities related to corruption analysis and anticorruption measures are on the way. Consultancy on research activities have been provided to the General Anticorruption Department of the Ministry of Administration and Interior, an application was submitted for a research project within a consortium with NGOs acting in the field of anticorruption and other organisations, etc.

In the second regular meeting of the project consortium that took place at the University of Bucharest, representatives on NGOs, Ministry of Administration and Interior, research institutes were invited to attend as a first form of dissemination of projects’ results.

TURKEY

Galatasaray University (GSU)



Professor Dr. Ahmet Insel
(Co-ordinator)



Zeynep Sarlak (M.A.)



Dr. Besim Bülent Bali

Research Assistant

Ms. Esra Kuyas (M.A.)

Following the first contact letters to relevant national anti-corruption institutions, with progress in data-analysis the group keeps informing them of the provisional findings emerging in time. Additionally, some scholars who have already researched on the subject are also going to be met and/or contacted in order to inform them on the conceptual/analytical framework and ask for their evaluation and alternative advises and the difficulties (and alternative solutions) they have experienced.

Dr. Besim Bülent Bali

Beside the project work Dr. Bali is working in a project for Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality researching about local government borrowing in the EU members. He is currently also working on a monograph on fiscal rules by putting the accent on EU numerical fiscal rules. At the beginning of 2007 his book on political economy and about budget deficit with special emphasis on Turkey will be published.

GREECE

National School of Public Administration and Local Government (NCPALG)
Panteion University (PU)



Professor Dr. Panagiotis Karkatsoulis (Co-ordinator) Ms. Eleftheria Bakali (M.A.) Mr. Nikolaos Papamanolis (M.A.)



Professor Dr. Effi Lambropoulou
(Co-ordinator)



Ms. Stella Aggeli (M.A.)

Research assistant

Dr. Vassilis Bourliaskos

Professor Dr. Effi Lambropoulou

2006 Conferences, Seminars and Workshops

1. Participation in the Congress of Panteion University on “Public Space, Outdoor Advertising and Law enforcement”, May 23, 2006, Athens/Greece.
2. The 1st Meeting of Greek criminologists, University of Aegean, Sociology Dpt., June 9-11, 2006, Lesvos-Mytilene/ Greece.
3. The 6th annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology, August 26-29, 2006, Tübingen/Germany, on “Understanding Crime: Structural and Developmental Dimensions - their Implications for Policy”.

Relevant Publications

1. The functions of corruption. *Science and Society. Journal of Political and Moral Theory* 15 (2005): 129-146 (in Greek).

Other activities

1. Elected member of the Sociology department at the Research Committee of the University (2002-03, 2004-06).



2. Articles in the Greek Press on issues of Violence, Privatization of Public Space and Correctional Policy (February, March, June 2006)

Ms. Stella Aggeli

2006 Conferences, Seminars and Workshops

1. Participation in the 1st Meeting of Greek Criminologists, organized by the University of Aegean, Sociology Dpt., June 9-11, 2006, Lesvos-Mytilene/ Greece.

Mr. Nikos Papamanolis

2006 Conferences, Seminars and Workshops

1. Participation in the Conference of the Ionian University on *Information, Training, Education, Employment, Liaison Office*, May 2006, Kerkyra.
2. Participation in the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) Forum on *Policy Research in Education*, July 6-7, 2006, London.
3. Participation in the workshop of the Standing Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Greek Parliament on behalf of the Ministry of Education, May – June 2006.

Other activities

1. National representative of the Greek Ministry of Education in the European Commission (Working group in Multilingualism Policy / Direction General in Education and Culture).
2. Representative of the Greek National Unit in the European *Eurydice* Network.

CROATIA

University of Zagreb (UZAG)



Professor Dr. Aleksandar Stulhofer (Co-ordinator)



Professor Dr. Ognjen Caldarovic



Professor Dr. Kresimir Kufrin

Research assistants

Ms. Margareta Gregurovic (B.A.)

Ms. Martina Detelic (B.A.)

Mr. Ivan Landripet (B.A.)

Ms. Iva Onak (Candidate B.A.)

Mr. Bojan Glavasevic (Candidate B.A.)

The Croatian team has informed other experts in the field of the research project and its objectives. To this aim, it used the project abstract (translated in Croatian) and distributed it among scholars and other experts attending the Croatian Academy of Sciences round table organised in order to launch, by the Prime Minister in person, the new National Program for Fighting Corruption.

Further contacts were made (the police, unions, experts). The research project was introduced to policy makers, state administration and local and international experts at the recent round table (June 2006) when action plans of the new National Program for Fighting Corruption were officially announced and launched.

First draft of the annual scientific report was discussed with a number of experts in collaborating NGOs, academia and Ministry of justice. Respective institutions were notified about the report. The team plans to organise an expert panel (including representatives of NGOs, academia and relevant state institutions) on the findings, which would serve as a kind of external evaluation.

UNITED KINGDOM

South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX)



**Dr. Othon Anastasakis,
Director (Co-ordinator)**



Dr. Sappho Xenakis



Kalin Ivanov (M.A.)

Dr. Othon Anastasakis

During 2006 he was invited to address various conferences abroad: ELIAMEP workshop on the Western Balkans in Thessaloniki, brainstorming meeting on migration in the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, on Turkey and the EU at Sabanci University in Istanbul. He also delivered public lectures, on “transition to democracy in Greece” in Oxford, on “Turkey and the European Union” at the University of Manchester, on “Greek-Turkish relations” at Kings College in London and the University of Birmingham, on “security in South East Europe” at the Royal Naval Academy in Dartmoor, on “the European integration of South East Europe” at the University of Exeter and the London School of Economics, on post-communist transition to democracy at the EBRD, London.

His most recent publications include “EU and the Western Balkans: The Challenges of the Pre-accession Process” in *The EU and Romania. Accession and Beyond* edited by David Phinmore, The Federal Trust 2006, pp. 165-173; “The limits of the EU’s transformative power; The test with the Western Balkans” in the French journal *Mesogeios* (forthcoming); “Power and Interdependence: Uncertainties of the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement at the Dawn of the 21st century” at *the Harvard International Review* (forthcoming in January 2007). He contributed with annual reports on the recent developments in the Balkan countries for the *Annual Register: A Record of World Events 2005* and with articles on “Modern Greece: a short history” and “Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo at a Crossroads” on the *Regional Surveys of the World: Central and South East Europe* Europa Publications.

He convened the workshops: “Cyprus: Thinking outside the box” March 2006, “Bosnia-Herzegovina at a Crossroad”, April 2006 “Greece, Turkey and the EU Accession challenge” May 2006 and “Developments in the Western Balkans: Is there a critical mass for reform”? December 2006.

He supervised DPhil and Diploma theses on South East European and Turkish matters and was the assessor of relevant theses in Oxford.

He co-operated with Middle East Technical University in Ankara on a project related to migration from the Eastern Mediterranean and the neighbouring countries to the EU, funded by the European Commission 6th Framework.

**Dr. Sappho Xenakis**

Dr. Sappho Xenakis, will undertake an additional post-doctoral research on “Anglo-American Security Co-operation with Greece since 1974; Transferring Approaches to the Combat of Terrorism and Organised Crime”. The research is funded by the Greek State Scholarships Foundation (IKY) for the period 2006-2007 and is based at the “Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy” (ELIAMEP), Athens, Greece.

GERMANY

University of Konstanz (UKON)

University of Tübingen (UTUE)



Dr. Dirk Tänzler
(Co-ordinator)



Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos



Dr. Dr. Konstadinos Maras

Research assistant

Ms. Bettina Grimmer (M.A. cand.)

Co-operation with Transparency International, Secretary General

At the end of August 2006 the members of the German Study Group Dr. Dirk Tänzler, Dr. Dr. Konstadinos Maras and Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos have a meeting with two representatives of the Secretariat General of Transparency International: Dr. Miklos Marschal, Regional Director for Europe and Central Asia and Mrs. Jana Mittermaier, Senior Programme Co-ordinator. TI is strongly interested to co-operate with the project 'Crime and Culture' regarding the so-called 'Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres' which TI has launched at the TI-chapters of several Southeast European countries, among them Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia. The co-operation between the project consortium and TI within then second research phase of the project details of which has to still be discussed generally aims at evaluating and improving these mechanisms in the countries Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia.

'Project Management Conference', European Commission, Brussels, 9-10 June 2006

Dr Tänzler and Dr Angelos Giannakopoulos participated in the conference: 'Project Management Conference' of the European Commission, Brussels, 9-10 June 2006.

Fellowship 'Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science', March 2007

The 'Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science' of the Japanese Ministry of Education and Technology has granted Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos a fellowship to Japan in the frame of which he will be carrying out in co-operation with the Department for Sociology at Waseda University, Tokyo in March 2007 additional research on: 'Socio-cultural Preconditions of Political Corruption in Germany and Japan: A Cross-cultural Comparison'.

Short Time Lectureship at Galatasaray University, May 2007

Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos will be teaching in the summer term 2007 at Galatasaray University on 'Crime and Culture: Innovative Theoretical and Research Concepts with Regard to Anti-corruption Policies' with a Workshop on 'Applied Methods of Qualitative Social Research on the Basis of the Content Analysis Software Atlas.ti' in the frame of a short lectureship supported by the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service).



Third Pan-European Conference of the ECPR and Annual Conference of the European Sociological Association

Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos participated in the Third Pan-European Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, 21-23 September 2006 organised at Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey. He also participated and presented a paper in the annual conference of the European Sociological Association at Ghent University, Belgium, 16-17 November 2006.

Brainstorming meeting on dissemination, European Commission, Brussels, 15-16 November 2006

Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos has participated in a brainstorming meeting to discuss possibilities for communicating and disseminating results from research projects in the field of Social Sciences and the Humanities organised by the European Commission, DG Research in Brussels, 15-16 November 2006. He presented and discussed with the officers and experts main aspects on using and disseminating knowledge within the project 'Crime and Culture'.

33rd Congress of the German Sociological Society, Kassel, 12-13. October 2006 and workshop on corruption, Zeppelin University, Friedrichshafen, 23-24. November 2006

Dr. Dirk Tänzler participated in the 33rd Congress of the German Sociological Society, Kassel, 12-13. October 2006 and presented the paper: 'Biopolitik. Die Konstruktion des Staatskörpers' within the Ad-hoc-Gruppe 'Natur der Herrschaft – Herrschaft der Natur'. He also participated in a workshop organised by the Zeppelin University in Friedrichshafen attended by distinguished German scholars in corruption research.

Seminar on Qualitative Computer-aided Content Analysis

Dr. Dirk Tänzler and Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos are teaching in the winter term 2006-2007 on 'Qualitative Computer-aided Content Analysis' at Konstanz University offering a seminar based on research material generated within the German case study of the project 'Crime and Culture'.



Personnel Changes in the Country Groups

After the first research phase of the project there are some partial personnel changes in the country groups.

A. Bulgarian Group, Partner 3 Centre for Liberal Strategies (CLS).

Research assistants: Instead of Ms. Rossitsa Lubenova (M. A.) now Ms. Anna Ganeva (M. A.) participates in the project.

B. Romanian Group, Partner 4: Research Institute for the Quality of Life (Romanian Academy) (ICCV).

Research assistants: Instead of Ms. Claudia Petrescu (M. A.) now Ms. Adriana Baboi (M. A.) participates in the project.

C. Turkish Group, Partner 5: Galatasaray University (GSU).

Instead of Esat Bozyigit (M. A.) and Serdar Semen (M. A.) now Ms. Esra Kuyas (M.A.) and Dr Besim Bulent Bali participate in the project.

D. Croatian Group, Partner 6: University of Zagreb (UZG).

Two more research assistants participate now in the project: Ms. Iva Onak (Candidate B.A.) and Mr. Bojan Glavasevic (Candidate B.A.)

E. Greek Group, Partner 7: National School of Public Administration and Local Government (NCPALG).

Research assistants: Instead Ms. Efrossini Stefopoulou (M. A.) now Ms. Eleftheria Bakali (M.A.) participates in the project.

F. Greek Group, Partner 8: Panteion University (PU).

Research assistants: Instead of Mr. Alexandros Arfaras (M.A.) now Dr. Vassilis Bourliaskos participates in the project.

G. English Group, Partner 9: South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX).

Instead of Dr. Dimitar Bechev now Mr. Kalin Ivanov (M.A.) participates in the project.

H. German Group, Partner 1: University of Konstanz: Ms. Bettina Grimmer (M.A. cand.) will participate in the German group as a research assistant.

As of October 2006 **Dr. Zidas Daskalovski** from the Center for Research and Policy Making in Skopje, FYR Macedonia officially participates in the project gaining an affiliated status. Dr. Daskalovski who is an expert on corruption in his country will participate in the project consortium meetings and in the final scholars-experts conference of the project in Brussels contributing in the discussions on project findings and their implementation with regard to anti-corruption policies.

Professor Joachim Kersten from the Police University of the German Federal State of Baden-Württemberg is as of summer 2006 also gaining an affiliated status within the project.

Professor Kersten is involved in research work and has especially been of helpful assistance regarding generation of empirical material from the target group 'Police'.

**Contact Addresses of All Project Partners**

No.	Partner Name	Partner Short Name	Country
1	UNIVERSITAET KONSTANZ Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Soeffner Person in Charge Hans-georg.soeffner@uni-konstanz.de Dr. habil. Dirk Tänzler Scientific Co-ordinator Dirk.taenzler@uni-konstanz.de Dr. Angelos Giannakopoulos Head of the Project Office Angelos.giannakopoulos@uni-konstanz.de Tel: +49 7531 883129 Fax: +49-7531-883194	UKON	Germany
2	EBERHARD-KARLS-UNIVERSITAET TUEBINGEN Dr. Dr. Konstadinos Maras Tel: +49 931 3534801 Konstadinos.maras@uni-tuebingen.de	UTUE	Germany
3	POLICE UNIVERSITY, GERMAN FEDERAL STATE OF BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG (Affiliated) Prof. Dr. Joachim Kersten +49 7720 309-569 JoachimKersten@fhpol-vs.de	FHPOL	Germany
4	CENTRE FOR LIBERAL STRATEGIES Dr. Daniel Smilov Tel. + 359 2 986 14 33; + 359 2 981 89 26 Fax: + 359 2 981 89 25 Daniel@cls-sofia.org	CLS	Bulgaria
5	RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE QUALITY OF LIFE-ROMANIAN ACADEMY Prof. Dr. Ioan Marginean Tel/Fax.: 00 401 411 48 06 imargin@iccv.ro	ICCV	Romania
6	GALATASARAY UNIVERSITY Prof. Dr. Ahmet Insel Tel: 0090-212-2274480 ainsel@gsu.edu.tr	GSU	Turkey
7	UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB Prof. Dr. Aleksandar Štulhofer Tel: 00385 612-0170 Fax: 00385 615-6879 astulhof@ffzg.hr	UZG	Croatia
8	NATIONAL CENTRE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT Prof. Dr. Panagiotis Karkatsoulis Tel.+30 210 3393 224 Fax +30 210 8670 014 pkark@otenet.gr	NCPALG	Greece
9	PANTEION UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE Prof. Dr. Effi Lambropoulou elambro@panteion.gr	PU	Greece
10	ST ANTHONY'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD Dr. Othon Anastasakis (South East European Studies at Oxford-SEESOX, Director) Tel: 0044-1865-284761 Fax:0044-1865-284478 Othon.anastasakis@sant.ox.ac.uk	SEESOX	United Kingdom
11	CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY MAKING (Affiliated) Dr. Zidas Daskalovski Tel:+38923134085 daskalovski@crpm.org.mk	CRPM	FYR Macedonia



**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION
PRIORITY 7, FP6-2004-CITIZENS-5**



SPECIFIC TARGETED RESEARCH PROJECT: CRIME AND CULTURE

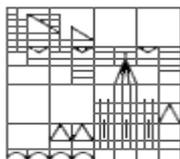
**Crime as a Cultural Problem. The Relevance of Perceptions of Corruption to Crime Prevention.
A Comparative Cultural Study in the EU-Accession States Bulgaria and Romania, the EU-
Candidate States Turkey and Croatia and the EU-States Germany, Greece and United Kingdom**

Members of the Project Consortium

University of Konstanz, Germany (Co-ordinator)
University of Tübingen, Germany
Police University, German Federal State of Baden-Württemberg (Affiliated)
Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia, Bulgaria
Research Institute for Quality of Life (Romanian Academy), Bucharest, Romania
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