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Crime

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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

Iuliana Precupetu

**Corruption in Romania – First Steps
Towards a Grounded Theory of Corruption**



**Sixth Framework Programme of the European Commission
Specific Targeted Research Project**



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First Steps Towards a Grounded Theory of Corruption**

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Introduction

The first years of transition in Romania have been characterised by an escalation of corruption which largely remained unacknowledged at the social level in a time of rapid economic and social deterioration. Only the late 90's brought the problem of corruption to public agenda as the media began to reveal some cases of grand corruption and in relation to the process of integration of the country in the European Union. A strong discourse about corruption emerged starting with 2000, which pushed into shadow the more 'classical' and visible social problems of transition like poverty, unemployment, or issues related to the consolidation of democracy.

This paper is an endeavour to illustrate the way corruption is perceived in Romania and the argumentative patterns that result from various discourses on the phenomenon. The aim is to analyse the perceptions towards corruption of those groups which have important roles in targeting corruption in society: politics, media, civil society, economy, judiciary and police.

The Methodology of the Study: A Grounded Theory Approach

It is generally agreed on that researching and specifically measuring corruption are problematic tasks. The phenomenon is hidden from the public eye and, through its nature as an illegal act, involves a pact of silence. Consequently, a quest for the 'objective reality' of corruption is an endeavour with many difficulties.

However, the position in this paper, stemming from the phenomenological tradition, is that the reality of corruption is made up of social interactions resulting from the way corruption is perceived and valued. Peoples' actions are founded on the modes in which they perceive the state of things in society. They are "expressed and communicated through social interactions and therefore are manifested in signs and symbols which carry objective, because societally shared, meaning" (Taenzler, Giannakopoulos, Maras: 2006: 7).

This line of thinking originates in the interpretive practice of sociology informed among others, through the principle stated by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1966) idea



that reality is socially constructed. Essentially, members of society constitute and reconstitute the world of everyday life on a continuous basis. By looking at how the life worlds are formed and experienced by the participants to social interaction, we avoid replacing the world of social reality by an artificial one which is created by the 'objective' scientific observer.

Therefore, corruption is not a ready-made reality but the result of multiple actions and interactions of various actors in society. These actors employ their own definitions and use "everyday theories" of corruption, based on which behaviour is promoted. Moreover, the relationship between perception and its object, namely corruption, is not passive. By reconstructing the social patterns of perception held by various social actors, we can shed light on the phenomenon of corruption as experienced by the members of society.

Social interaction constructs a certain reality of corruption while also conveying a meaning to it. This reality of the phenomenon with its specific meaning is what we try to achieve in this paper. This reality is reconstructed from administrative and other official documents and statements of six target groups.

The Grounded Theory approach used in this paper allows for the generation of a substantive level theory of corruption. Theory evolves during actual empirical research through a continuous interplay between analysis and data collection, this representing "a general method of constant comparative analysis" (Glaser/Strauss 1967: vii). The creation of a theory that is "conceptually dense" through the process of conceptualisation of phenomena is usually the purpose of such a research endeavour that relies on Grounded Theory.

Generating a substantive level theory of corruption entails essentially several steps¹: highlighting the content (definitions, characteristics) of the core category of the study, exploring the causal conditions that influence the phenomenon, identifying the actions or interactions that result from the central phenomenon and delineating the consequences of the phenomenon (corruption).

¹ Adapted from Strauss and Corbin (1990)



Case Study as a Research Strategy

The case study was used as a research strategy in our study. 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 the phenomenon and gain in depth understanding of corruption aspects. Even though case study does not allow generalisation, it still makes possible to construct an explanation for the phenomenon under investigation based on empirical data.

Following the methodology of Grounded Theory, the selection of case studies was done by using theoretical sampling. In order to understand the different aspects of corruption in Romania, two instances of corruption have been analysed for this paper: high level corruption and corruption typical for a transition country. Cases have been chosen in order to illustrate these circumstances of corruption: *Case 1* describes the biggest corruption case that received a guilty verdict from a court of justice in Romania. This case was the only one involving a person in a high official position that was investigated and finalised by a court verdict. It turned into a symbol of the anticorruption fight in Romania, being widely debated and covered by media. *Case 2* illustrates corruption in relation to the privatisation process in Romania.

Practical reasons were also employed in selecting the respective cases. In order to cover the position of the judiciary on corruption, it is necessary to have closed files which contain all documents describing the respective outlook. Even though many grand corruption cases are currently investigated, they have not been finalised and no verdicts were given in these situations. Consequently, the narratives of the cases have been reconstructed from investigation prosecutors' files, verdicts of the courts and have been completed with information from the media only on the most recent state of affairs. This way, reliable information on the cases was included in the narratives while the position of the other groups on the case is covered by analysing documents elaborated by the respective groups.



Methods of Analysis

The method used in analysis of documents was qualitative content analysis which is an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification (Mayring 2000).

The material has been analysed step-by-step by devising it into content analytical units and using the procedure of open coding. Categories were created inductively based on codes which were carefully founded and revised within the process of analysis in feedback loops. Trained members of the project team coded the material. Starting with the main research question, “what are the perceptions towards corruption of various target groups?”, the material was surveyed for all references to corruption.

The chosen unit of analysis was the theme and step-by-step codes were created out of the material. Data analysis for each case involved generating concepts through the process of coding which represents the operations by which data were broken down, conceptualised, and put back together in new ways (Strauss/Corbin 1990). Codes have been grouped into categories which were revised twice, first after analysing 30% and second after analysing 60% of the material.

The material was analysed by using computerised analysis software called ATLAS.ti. Prosecutors’ investigation reports and verdicts of courts were analysed in the classical fashion as they were consulted by the institutions that issued them.

Data Collection

Data collection in a grounded theory study is a “zigzag” process – out to the field to gather information, analyse the data, back to the field to gather more information, compare it to the emerging categories and so forth. The data sources have been theoretically chosen – by theoretical sampling. The process stopped when categories became saturated, and no information could be added.



Empirical data consisted of documents and statements of the six target groups that allowed us to analyse the perceptions of these groups towards corruption. The collected documents from the target groups' field of activity (legal requirements, statements of intention, agreements, programmes, administrative directives, procedural guidelines, standardised procedures, technical guidelines, protocols, reports, legal verdicts, etc.) offered insights into the multiple perspectives of these diverse social actors with important roles in targeting corruption. Groups were defined according to the subject that was tackled in the documents.

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

For *target group Politics*, transcripts of parliamentary debates from the Parliament dealing with corruption during the current legislature were analysed.

In case of the *target group Law*, the analysis included: prosecutors' investigation reports, press releases by the National Corruption Directorate, transcripts of interviews by the current Minister of Justice, the national strategy on corruption.

For the *target group Police*, material on corruption developed by the Ministry of Administration and Interior was included in analysis by taking into consideration references to police and their personnel: anticorruption strategy, reports, code of conduct, etc.

In the case of the *target group Media*, articles in newspapers and weekly magazines were analysed. The selection of material generally followed the rules of theoretical sampling.

For the *target group Civil Society*, the analysis included statements and strategy papers issued by the Coalition for a Clean Parliament and its continuation, Coalition for Clean Governance during 2004, when the first coalition was set up, to the present. All documents expressing a position on corruption, manifesto, press releases, transcripts of interviews, appeals were included in analysis. Materials containing only general information or accounts of the activity have been used as background documentation.



In the case of the *target group Economy*, material issued by associations of businesses and trade unions was analysed. The following documents issued by these organisations were included in the analysis: transcripts of seminars on the topic of corruption, press releases, content of web sites expressing the position towards corruption, protocols with other institutions stating common approaches to corruption and setting up joint activities, minutes of meetings, anticorruption plans, codes of conduct.

The materials have been elaborated between 2001 and 2006. Some positions expressed in these documents and some problems pointed out have been overcome by the rapid transformation of the business environment especially during the past three years. Many regulations have been put into place lately and the report “Doing Business 2006” (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank 2006) mentions Romania as among the top 12 reformers in 2004. For all target groups, detailed lists with investigated materials are included in annex.

Quality of Material

One problem of data analysis was related to the heterogeneity of material analysed which made the analysis rather difficult. Some documents enabled content analysis, especially those including evaluations that facilitated understanding the context of the unit of analysis. For example, newspaper articles describing the news on a certain case constituted less useful material than editorials expressing positions and value judgments. Anticorruption strategies containing very targeted and specific measures did not allow for the extraction of too much context information.

Another difficulty in analysis is related to the rapid change of the situation in regard to corruption in Romania. Even though the analysed documents 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.

At the same time, analysed official documents (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. Acknowledging the dimensions of corruption in Romania in the late 90’s were the result of the increase of



corruption over time after almost a decennium of transition but were, to a certain extent, the outcome of the increase in the fight against it at international level. A number of treaties, conventions, and measures have been internationally developed up to 2000 and Romania aligned its anticorruption fight with them to a great extent. As a result, many of the documents elaborated by the various target groups reflect international guidelines and philosophies.

Narratives² of Corruption Cases

Case Study 1: High Level Corruption: Overlapping Economic and Political Interests

Profile of Actors and Relationships

In 2002 FP was a governmental councillor in the General Secretariat of the Romanian Government. He was also the major stockholder in two private firms dealing with the juridical liquidation of insolvent companies. FP was in 'closed personal relationships' with MN, judge and president of Bucharest Court and had good relations with other members of the Section VII Commercial of Bucharest Court. Generally, he 'manifested a large sociability', being connected with the important people of the day.

NB was a doctor also having various businesses. In the past, she had been in a 'more or less legal' business relationship with FP. 'Due to a financial problem she had with Columna Bank', she had met FP via two state secretaries, one from the Ministry of Justice, one from the Ministry of Tourism and one lawyer (AS) working for a juridical liquidation company (SCRVA). The firm owned by FP was the juridical administrator of Columna Bank (a bankrupt bank), so he was in the position to help her with the problem. As a result of their business in the past, she owed him the sum of 1,675,000,000 lei in 2002. They were also negotiating the sale of a gas station by NB to FP.

IP was the president of the International Bank of Religion and one of the bank's founders. The bank had been declared bankrupt and juridical procedures were on the way in order to liquidate it.

² The narratives have been constructed from prosecutors' investigation files provided by The National Anti-corruption Directorate, verdicts of courts on cases, and were completed with information from media on the latest developments if any. The quotes are from prosecutors' investigation files.



He had undertaken unsuccessful legal efforts aimed at the President, Prime Minister, and Parliament in order to stop the procedure of liquidation of the bank. He knew NB as they had been in a business relationship in the past: her medical practice was in the headquarters of BIR. He was introduced to FP by NB who had asked to help him in order to meet someone from the government.

Profile of Corruption Crime

After a series of meetings between FP and IP which were intermediated by NB and in which the ways of stopping the bankruptcy procedure of the bank and saving it were discussed, FP asked for 4 million dollars in exchange for his help. He then changed his request to 1 million, 200,000\$ for 'the other actors' and 800,000\$ for himself.

According to the prosecution file, FP carefully documented the case of BIR and acted towards 'obtaining important material advantages for himself'.

- Due to his governmental position, he had the opportunity to become acquainted with the problem and its development.
- He undertook various actions by the Commission for Abuse Prevention of the Parliament which had initiated an inquiry and elaborated a report on this problem.
- He had good connections with persons in top positions at Bucharest Court and with a state secretary from Ministry of Justice. Legal documents elaborated by judicial authorities on the case of BIR were found in his house by the police.
- He was aware of the activities carried out by SCRVA because FP had a business and friendly relationship with lawyer AS, one of the directors of the firm and stockholder.
- He developed a few possible scenarios aimed at stopping the liquidation process which he exposed to IP. They included a few steps. First a formal request from BIR addressed to the court asking to stop the bankruptcy procedure through presidential ordinance, replace the current juridical liquidator and evaluate the financial state of the bank. Influencing the justice procedure and stopping the existing liquidation would be the next steps. The firm carrying out the liquidation would probably have been replaced with one of his own.
- In parallel, FP initiated a firm of liquidators as he stated 'the firm will have a lot to work as through his personal relationships important files of juridical liquidation will be given to the firm'. Despite having two of the companies as a majority stockholder, FP is involved in juridical liquidation of many important state companies. A separate file investigating this situation was initiated.



Court Verdicts

In October 2002 IP and NB filed charges of corruption as traffic in influence to the National Anticorruption Directorate. The investigation followed the charges and in the beginning of 2003 a flagrant was organised by prosecutors and the police. FP received from IP a first sum of 20.000\$ from the down payment. He was caught in the act and arrested.

The case was judged by the Bucharest Court and FP was sentenced to four years in prison. The lawyers and prosecutors appealed the verdict and the case was taken to the Court of Appeal. Here the verdict was to maintain the sentence to four years. Prosecutors, considering the penalty to be too light, appealed to the High Court of Cassation and Justice which sentenced FP to six years in prison. He was released after three years and seven months.

Case Study 2: The Process of Privatisation: Using Public Positions Against Public Interests

Profile of Actors

Jimtim Jimbolia was founded in 1991 by the reorganisation of a state agricultural company. All the stocks (365,123) belonged to the Ministry of Agriculture with a nominal value of 25,000 lei each, as registered at the Registry of Commerce in 2000. According to an independent evaluation carried out by standards of the National Association of Evaluators, the value of the stock was between 66,803 and 81,187 lei/share.

As indicated by the reports of the Ministry of Agriculture, the strengths of the company were that it had a good production capacity, used its technology appropriately, had diversified production, a good quality of human resources, its own distribution network and a good position on the market. The weaknesses were in the rather ineffective management, outdated technology and high level of debts. The firm had not benefited from investments, loans, subsidies, even though it was entitled by law. Generally, it provided good investment opportunities and 'it was not correct to consider it as having problems'.



A foreign agricultural company which had just been founded (July 2000) but without experience in the agricultural field had two representatives in Romania who were also owners of the firm, VS and GC. In 2000 FD was a director of the SAPARD programme in the General Direction for Rural Development of the Ministry of Agriculture. She was also the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture in the Board of Stockholders at Jimtim. RF was administrator of Jimtim. JD was the director of the General Department of Economic and Budgetary Relations of the Ministry of Agriculture. Together with FD he/she took part in many previous privatisation procedures from the side of the Ministry.

Profile of the Corruption Case

Based on economic and financial results of Jimtim, an offer for privatisation by the Ministry of Agriculture for 40,347,917,115 lei (110,505 lei in stock) was put up in the year 2000. The administrator of the company, RF informed FD about the intention of a foreign company to buy the stocks. She passed the information on to JD who asked for 100,000\$ in order 'to guarantee the selling of the stocks to the Italian company'.

The request in regard to privatisation was passed on by FD and FR to the foreign company and they agreed to pay the sum '...because they perceived this request as a normal instance in Romania'.

According to the existing laws, there are several methods of privatisation. In this specific case, the prosecutors appreciated that the only legal method was the public tender procedure. Still, the order 151/25.08.2000 of the Minister of Agriculture approved the list of agricultural companies that were about to be privatised and the method established was that of direct negotiation. Jimtim was included in the list. After the foreign company purchased the tender dossier, JD asked for 20,000\$ in addition to the initial sum of 100,000\$. He justified that there was another company interested in the Jimtim that was using influence by the Minister of Agriculture and given this, he was going to show to the Minister of Agriculture the advantages of his version of privatisation and influence the deal.

The sum of 100,000\$ was given to JD through FD one day before the final call for the privatisation of the firm. After having the confirmation that the money was received, JD told the representatives of the Italian company that their tender dossier was not complete but they were allowed



to submit it and then complete the missing documentation. Before starting direct negotiations, JD received the final 20,000\$ and mentioned he is going to give it to the Privatisation Commission whose head had been appointed by the Ministry.

At the end of October, negotiations started in order to sell the stocks. The other company interested in buying was excluded from the procedure as they did not have the complete documentation in the tender dossier. On the other hand, the privatisation commission 'overlooked that the legal requirements for advertising the privatisation were not fulfilled by the foreign agricultural company which did not meet the legal criteria to qualify for buying the stocks' (did not have any experience in the field, did not have own funds for investments, etc). During negotiations, the foreign representatives offered 5,000 in stock and then rose to 8,000 in stock. 'Anticipating the evolution of negotiations', JD requested FD to ask the foreigners for 70,000\$ in order to close the negotiations at 15,000. The sum represented half of the profit that the Italians would have obtained if the value of the stock would have been set at 10,000 lei less than the nominal value of 25,000 lei. The representatives of the foreign company accepted and paid the sum.

The negotiations stopped at 15,000 lei and the procedure was closed. The Privatisation Commission proposed to the Committee of Co-ordination at the Ministry of Agriculture either closing the privatisation procedure at the value of 15,000 lei or continuing negotiations. The committee decided the selling at the mentioned price and the decision was 'personally assumed by the Minister of Agriculture'. The price of the stock at privatisation was 78% lower than the one established by the independent evaluation, 86% lower than the one publicised by the Minister of Agriculture and 40% less than the nominal value of the stocks as they were registered at the Registry of Commerce. The damage was estimated at 11,550,666,105 lei and resulted from the average value of the independent evaluation and the price for which the stocks were sold.

Verdicts of Courts

FD was accused of traffic in influence and accessory in receiving a bribe and admitted to the accusations. JD was charged with traffic in influence, receiving a bribe, abuse of power against persons' interests and abuse of power against public interests. JD denied the accusations. The two foreigners were taken out of the penal investigation. The ministry of agriculture was charged in another suit. JD was sentenced by the Bucharest Court for five years in prison and FD for seven years based on the information that FD received the whole bribe. The National Anticorruption



Prosecutors Office (currently National Anticorruption Directorate) appealed the sentence and the case was taken to the Bucharest Court of Appeal. JD was sentenced to twelve years in prison and FD to six years in prison, being acknowledged that JD received the most part of the money.

Perceptions Towards Corruption

The focus here is not on perception as such but on characteristics of corruption through conceptualisation. A view expressed in the political group for example does not allow for generalisation to the whole group, the emphasis being on phenomena revealed by these views.

What is Corruption? Definitions of a Phenomenon

The conventional/legal meaning of corruption

Essentially, corruption represents an *illegal conduct* for all surveyed groups. The phenomenon is mainly defined with reference to legal regulations but definitions of corruption expand beyond those legally assigned, being also considered as *altered behaviour*.

The most mentioned form of corruption that seems to be specific for Romania in the view of all groups is bribery. Bribery has a familiar connotation as “spaga” which can be interpreted in the way that this description of corruption is part of everyday life. Another variety of corruption having relevance for the way the phenomenon developed in the recent past of Romania is that of “local barons”, designating the people who occupy important economic positions at local level, having good relationships with people with political power³ and obtained the control over local resources. Both politicians and the economy group adhere to this picture of corruption. For the former cluster, corruption is defined in the terms of a reciprocal unlawful relationship between public clerks and citizens. The most visible form of corruption in the perception of the political group is that of abuse of public office by public officials. Allocating public funds is often accompanied by a “fee” which is being paid in return for obtaining contracts. Corruption occurs

³ This is a phenomenon especially referred to in relation to the former party in power, Social Democrat Party (PSD)



in this sort of trade based on public positions in a form that escapes to legal arrangements. This description of corruption is acknowledged as a common way of “greasing the wheels” of dealings in Romanian society.

The central element considered in defining corruption is, in case of the law group, using public position as a source of income, material advantages or influence. Within the judicial system, the existence of corruption is also acknowledged. The main problem is the conflict of interests, as, for example, members of Superior Council of Magistrates also hold executive positions by the courts of justice. Another form of conflict of interests is the one that involves positions in Parliament and Judiciary. MP’s still work as lawyers, notaries, etc. while also having positions in the Parliament (P9: 28 Law).

But there are also conflicts of interests within courts where situations appear in which one family may occupy main positions within the court: “the kinship relations ...are a problem. (...) An entire family: one is judge, one is prosecutor, the other one is the court clerk, and another is lawyer in the small town where there is only one court.” (P7: 60 Law). Especially NGO’s designate more *altered forms of behaviour* in relation to corruption, among which working as an agent for the former “Securitate” in communist times, politicians switching parties more than once in the past decade and owning a firm with tax arrears to the state budget also have particular relevance for the social conditions of Romania.

The metaphorical outline of corruption

The phenomenon is an undesirable shameful reality metaphorically described especially by media and the political group. For the former, “corruption is a hideous reality that should provoke insomnia to those in power” (P12: 96 Politics). Often corruption is considered a plague, a syndrome, and corrupt officials are referred to as “big fish” and “sharks”. The widespread corruption is emphasised through the saying: “bribery has become a national sport” (P6: 9 Politics).

A series of metaphors describes the view of the press towards corruption: the phenomenon is seen as an ‘octopus’, a ‘network’ or a ‘game’, a ‘sickness’ and a ‘dirty affair’ (P5: 4; P1: 3; P17: 8 Media). Perceptions in the media converge towards the idea that



corruption is a complex mechanism which aggregates multiple interests and becomes as strong as a ‘thick fabric no one can tear’.

Moral grounds/values of corruption

While essentially corruption represents a *breach in basic social values* (morality, honesty, duty, integrity, ethics, and professional conduct) for all groups, it is also underpinned by some moral/ immoral grounds as revealed especially by the media. First, it is based on *double standards*: it implicates ‘duplicity’ of both those involved and those of the institutions having responsibilities in dealing with corruption (as in case 1). Many times corruption is based on a process of *bargaining* between politicians from various parties over high level interests. At the same time, the principle of ‘bargaining’ underlies the crime: usually, a large bribe is asked at first but then the servant takes only as much as he/she can. This would be a characteristic for the Balkan region and it is illustrated by the fact that in case no. 1, the sum asked at first was 4 million dollars but the final sum agreed upon was 1 million dollars. Corruption is also based on ‘interventions’ which represent a term having roots in communist times when, in order to solve a problem, people needed connections and someone to ‘intervene’ for them (P12: 8-9 Media).

Characteristics and Mechanisms of Corruption

Spread of the phenomenon

There is a wide agreement among all target groups that corruption became generalised in all spheres of Romanian society. Therefore, in terms of spread, corruption is *all-encompassing*, being, along with poverty, a major problem of today’s society.

The logic of corruption

Corruption 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 retaining the phenomenon, creating a *snowball effect*. These perceptions which are mainly the result of the overproportionate emphasis on corruption in the media, fortify the phenomenon as people began to conceive it as a necessary condition for getting by or they are reinforced in their beliefs.



Case 2 illustrates this mechanism that sustains the phenomenon. The bribe was offered by the foreign company interested in privatisation of JIMTIM because they perceived this request as a normal instance in Romania: “The Italians told me they knew they have to pay ‘spaga’ in order to buy such companies. The Italians had the notion that in Romania it is customary to give ‘spaga’ in such situations and I think they knew about these procedures from one of their friends (...) from whom they found out about the ‘principle of spaga in Romania’” (Prosecutors investigation file, witness declaration, p. 4).

At the individual level, this snowball effect reproduces small corruption. But it also strengthens the phenomenon in all sorts of transactions and affects various levels of society, touching the very image of the country abroad.

Another mechanism pointed out by some politicians is the fact that, through extensive use of the term, the meaning of corruption has been blurred and turned the phenomenon into a *trivial subject*: “Corruption has become a general label applied to all sorts of deficiencies of the Romanian society” (P10: 59 Politics).

Causes of Corruption

The various target groups trace the most *causes of corruption* to the structural conditions of Romania and mainly in relation to the transition process of this country while fewer factors are identified at the individual level.

Systemic Factors

Economy is a major field in which many systemic causes are rooted. Its *inadequate structure*, being dual for a long time, ‘half state and half private’, with a significant underground economy and a large segment of non-formalised employment represented fertile grounds for corruption in Romania. These aspects, pointed out by the economy group, are characteristic for an economy in transition which has not been fully functional for a considerable time span. The same group perceives the *economic policy* as *deficient*. This refers to the excessive involvement of the state in the economy, the investment of



the government in state companies without producing any profit and in creating advantages for the monopolies and autonomous state companies.

The investment policy of the state is highly criticised as it is perceived that money is not spent for the sake of profit in an economically wise manner and corruption is fuelled by the funds from the public budget: “the government invests in autonomous state companies and then puts them up for privatisation for lower prices than the sum previously invested. This is the very image and dimension of corruption” (P2: 40 Economy). Also, another aspect of investment policy of the government is the manner of allocating subsidies in agriculture which is considered as discriminatory and bureaucratic. Moreover, business relationships between the state and private companies are another source of corruption as many times the deal is detrimental to the state and thus to the entire society. A *poor economic environment* featuring no real competition and transparency and many types of speculative trading can also lead to corruption in the views of the economic group. Above all, *short-term contextual factors* like the slow and non-transparent process of privatisation, bankruptcy of big state firms and banks are considered as important in generating corruption by some politicians, the media and the economic sphere.

The slow and non-transparent process of privatization is seen as a major element that has led to corruption. It is a significant fact that many state companies “have been kept alive” by the state while loosing money and accumulating debts, until there was no other solution than closing them. The fact that transfer of ownership was slow in Romania, and was carried out by what are considered non-transparent methods of privatisation, shaped to a great extent the form and level of corruption.

The bankruptcy of big firms in the 90’s, either state companies which ran out of state support or new private companies, usually banks, also created high opportunities for corruption. While in respect to state firms, fraud in privatisation was most often the form of corruption, in the case of banks, the collapse was the result of ‘great frauds and theft’ (as was the case with Credit Bank, Albina Bank, Bankcoop, BIR, the Turkish Romanian Bank and the Romanian Bank of Scont). There was a big opportunity “to eat from the dead body of a bankrupt bank” (P13: 06; P 8:2 Media).



The *Regulations, Legislation, Judicial Aspects* are other main areas whose features contribute to corruption. Especially the economy group maintains that the *incomplete reform* characterised by the delay in aligning legislation to ‘acquis communautaire’ and high instability of legislation made it possible for corruption to thrive. Moreover, the *imperfect fiscal system* with a high level of taxes which was put into practice in an incorrect way many times, contributed to illegal ways of solving problems particularly among companies. With regard to legislation, there are two ways of perceiving its role in corruption: one places the problem in the “way it was built”, meaning the very regulations that it contains and the other in the manner in which it is put into practice. In the first case regulations are considered wrong, in the second people are to blame for the interpretation and implementation of laws. Still, there is *need for more regulation* as one major ground for the phenomenon under scrutiny is the relationship between qualification and the work done either by companies or people. There is no consistency between standards that people or companies should fulfil and the payment they receive.

All surveyed groups hold the *low capacity of the judicial system* for the main structural cause of corruption. The judiciary is perceived as immoral and vulnerable, having bribery built in its own system. There is no punishment for corruption in society: Romania was called a “corrupt country without corrupt people”, as no important cases have been punished as such. While many campaigns aimed at combating corruption and the media exposed the phenomenon, no specific and important cases received guilty verdicts⁴: “If there is a lot of talk about corruption but nobody seems to be guilty of it, it becomes difficult to make the difference between the corrupt people and the honest ones, between good and bad” (P2: 44-47 Civil society).

The sphere of *governance* also brings its contribution to corruption. The *strenuous reform* which was not set off by a coherent strategy for the future of the society is considered as a structural condition that made its mark on the shape of corruption. It made people feel disoriented and living in a social environment without firm rules and clear future. A *partial consolidation of democracy*, the difficulties in building the rule of law and the delayed administrative reforms as pointed out by NGO’s and the economy group constituted into background conditions for the phenomenon under scrutiny.

⁴ These opinions were expressed in 2004. In 2006, there was a change in perceptions in this respect: the Coalition for a Clean Governance admits that some progress was made lately, especially by the National Anti-corruption Directorate (DNA).



The low quality of political elites and the general perception that democracy is not truly an accountable system of government can account for the incomplete consolidation of democracy. Another feature of political life in Romania – politicians switching parties according to their position in power – is also viewed as “a main source of political corruption in Romania (15% MPs and over 50% mayors have switched party from 2000 in order to seek various positions or cash)” (P2: 110-114 NGO’s). The political realm places politicians above the law in Romania. This is a model that was evident during the transition in the country. Once people obtained a political position, they are untouchable and they can pursue private interests. This turned into an incentive for various people to enter political life and became a source of corruption (P6: 45-47 NGO’s).

The *electoral system* in itself is blamed by NGO’s, the media and sometimes politicians for corruption. Being based on party lists, the electoral system favours incorrect strategies in order to enter the electoral lists. At the same time, the positions assigned in government based on party donations produce the possibility for interested people to often buy their place in the future government during the electoral campaign. Hints in this direction have been given by the case of FP, a governmental councillor who was sentenced for bribe and was part of the “75 club”, the group of people who contributed to the electoral campaign with at least 75 million lei.

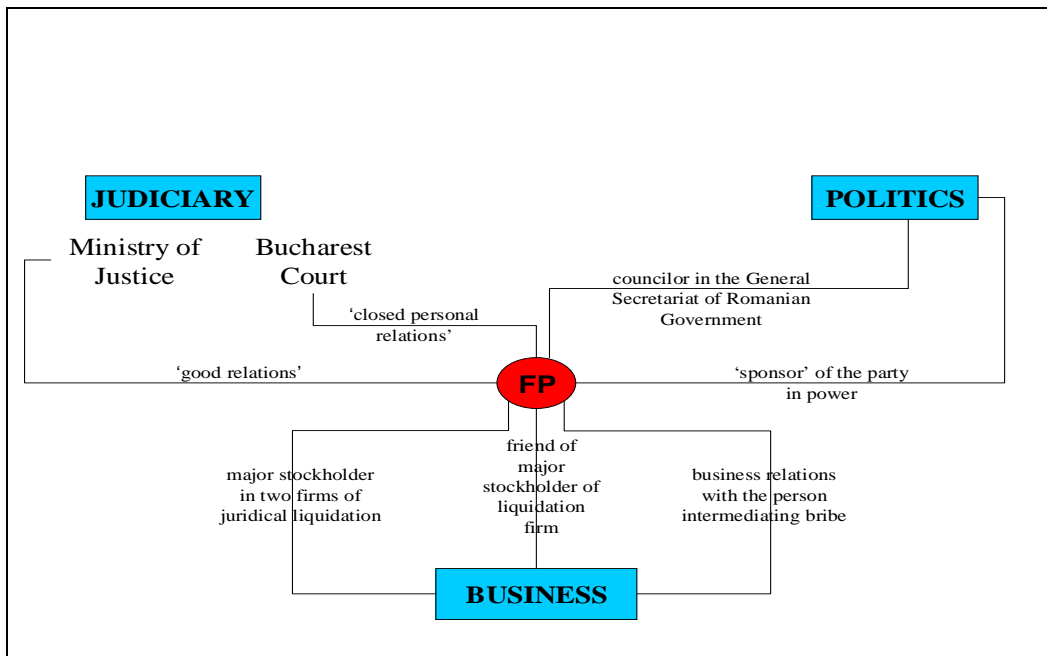
The issue of *networks* is extremely important and complex. Most of all, the overlapping political and economic positions constitute the major cause of various forms of corruption. The initial phase of transformation in Romania has been characterised by a difficult and slow process of separation of state powers, a mix of political and economic interests, fusion of political and economic power (Marginean, 2004). In fact, most opinions expressed by the target groups converge towards the idea that the positions in political, economical and judiciary systems are all tied up together, while the overlapping of all sorts of interests backs up the unlawful understandings and relationships. This can be easily illustrated by the analysed case 1 (see diagram of relations) in which FP was involved in relations spanning political, juridical and business spheres.

Generally, the whole net of interests and relationships illustrates a situation in which social capital turns into negative capital, playing an unconstructive role in society when favouring conditions and opportunities are met and institutional mechanisms are not put

into place in order to prevent this. Sometimes corruption takes the form of a “mafia ensemble in which politicians, policemen and public servants from administration are involved” hence creating the circumstance of high level corruption and making it very difficult for the police and prosecutors to handle these cases (P2: 83 Police).

Trying to disentangle the various networks, the point maintained by the media and the economy group that public servants and dignitaries are sponsors and clients of power is also relevant. This can grant a vast area of influence and possibilities for exerting pressure on the political world to certain people or firms. Inherited networks from the communist system also play an important part in corruption. This factor with roots in communism is invoked by the press: the fact that Romanian society did not take measures soon enough against the former members of the communist secret service led to the fortifying of old relations. Members of ‘Securitate’ “spread in all parties, got involved in all big businesses, were connected to each other by mutual blackmail and became the ‘new rich’. They installed a mafia system in a country which was humiliated and perverted by the communist myths” (P1: 9 Media).

Figure: Diagram of Relations in Case 1





The very *structure and functioning* of the governance system constitute another factor motivating corruption. A system of political clientele maintained by the political parties, the political influence exerted in state institutions and the continuous reorganisation as well as the organisational instability of the political realm can be considered the features that trigger corruption. Some representatives of the political group, NGO's, the economy group and the media also agree with these views.

There is the phenomenon of interference of the political sphere into the activities of public servants. In case of public servants, "there is a system of political clientele which attempts to impose their own people on jobs (...). The current political power is not far from creating its own barons. Old people (from the previous electoral cycle) have been replaced with new ones following the principle "we change their people with ours. This has effects on the staff that does not feel secure about the job" (P19: 107 Economy).

It is stated by some of the politicians that the presence of concealed political influence in administration is a reality. In some counties, the whole local administration is controlled by the representative of government ("prefect"), nominated on political criteria and acts like a "local baron", as in Gorj county between 2000 and 2004. These "local barons", as an expression of politicised administration, are seen as patrons of corruption.

At the macro level, the substance of corruption implies the process of politicisation of administrative structures of the state and consists in "state institutions having political masters" (P1: 31, P2: 13 Politics). In line with these various factors, the *low quality of human resources* having no competence and not assuming responsibility in the political sphere creates another basic setting of corruption. Finally, a rather *formal dialogue* which does not give voice to important groups in society can also be blamed for the uncontrolled spread of corruption.

The *social area* also plays a part in generating corruption through the low level of social development of the country, the flawed institutions functioning and the powerful groups of interest. The general *low level of development of the country* in comparison to other countries is, in the opinion of the economic group, one systemic foundation for corruption. The general economic and social environment characterised by sharp economic decline and social deterioration in the 90's favoured the increase in corruption.



Later, even though some economic improvement was reported, the social effects were not evident.

Excessive bureaucracy adds to the other problems: all levels of society and economic exchange are affected by bureaucracy: “there are many certificates, authorisations and much “re-re-doing” of all of these. A barber shop needs 17 approvals and many of them you need to renew annually. And we are not talking about small sums but big ones. And then, to get rid of this, you stay in line, speak to people and give them something. It is not anymore the time of coffee or a bottle of drink⁵, now we are talking money” (P1: 12; P 2: 68 Economy).

Once again, features of a society in transition with partial reforms accomplished explain the level and pattern of corruption in Romania: *flawed institutions functioning* provide a fertile ground for corruption according to perceptions expressed by NGO’s and the economy group. There is a disjunction between institutions as they seem to function in almost parallel worlds, with little cooperation among them. Consequently, a certain social isolation is characteristic even for the activity of some institutions which escape the control exerted from exterior on their activity. Generally, in Romanian society, institutions seem to be underperforming in terms of horizontal accountability.

One major line of examination by the target groups when expressing a position towards corruption is the relationship between education/qualification/work and payment. This indicates that a *basic relationship in society is deeply disturbed*. In some perceptions, the idea is articulated that there is a rupture between social effort and reward in Romanian society. This would be characteristic for a society in transition where the correlation between labour and payment is utterly impaired. Social status is not anymore the result of hard work, effort and education but can be the output of a rapid affluence obtained in illicit ways. Education and qualification are not anymore accompanied by the consequent incentives. The society became sort of chaotic, the rewards being attributed to those knowing how to take advantage of the disorganisation of the transformation period and use it for personal private interests.

⁵ During communism, at a time of very scarce resources, administrative problems were sometimes solved with bribe in the form of cigarettes, packs of coffee or bottles of drinks.



Socialisation is invoked by some groups in order to explain corruption. The process of socialisation conveyed a certain array of values (of the old communist society) which now impede the proper development of society. Usually, this relates to the socialisation of those in power, but also to servants in public institutions who are used to the “old ways” and resist the new wave of change.

State capture is also obvious for some of the analysed groups: legislating in favour of certain segments creates unjustified privileges, hence producing misbalanced outputs in society. Public positions are used many times to the extent that people occupying these positions can legislate in favour of specific interests or overlook the current legal requirements in order to fulfill private interests: “according to the existing laws, there are several methods of privatisation. In this specific case, it was not legal to use direct negotiation but public tender procedure. Still, by the Order 151/25.08.2000 of the Minister of Agriculture, the list of agricultural companies that are about to be privatised by the rule of direct negotiation was approved” (prosecutors’ investigation files, p. 9).

Limited press freedom is pointed out by the media as a crucial factor of corruption because a part of the media is owned by politicians and business people. This circumstance has special relevance at local level.

Turkish historical heritage is often invoked in order to explain corruption: “Romania has a tradition in corruption. We should not deny these things which perverted our soul since Fanar⁶ on. It is not an invention of the transition period” (P2: 32 Economy).

Individual Factors

At the individual level, several causes can account for the existence of corruption. First, *human nature* is considered responsible for the involvement of people in illegal

⁶ Between 1716 (1711 respectively) and 1821 Walachia and Moldavia, two of the three Romanian countries, were under so called “Fanar rule” (“regim fanariot”). Although the two countries were not a part of the Ottoman Empire, the rulers (princes) were imposed by the Turkish by choosing them from influent Christian, mostly Greek families living in Fanar district of Constantinople. It was usual for those competing for such a position to pay a bribe in order to obtain it. The regime was characterised by high taxes and it is regarded upto today as very corrupt, while Fanar rule became a term used in daily language to name a corrupt administration.



behaviour. The greed for money and the will to power represent powerful forces of commitment to unlawful actions.

Second, *rent seeking behaviour* is the manifestation of the tendency of some public servants of seeing public office as an opportunity for gain. For example, the causes of corruption within the police lie in the way they perceive their position: "they consider the office as a business from which they can extract illegal surplus of income, the total income not being a function of ethical evaluation in the service of public good but a common situation for a market economy to turn the public demand into an opportunity for gain" (P2: 172 Police).

Third, citizens in Romania seem to have an *impaired relationship with the society* in which they live according to NGO's: they have low trust in institutions; they lack civic competence and develop a sort of cynicism in regard to important public matters. A certain withdrawal to private sphere is the result of a perception that all politicians are equally corrupt, consequently causing impossibility to actively seek changing things for the better. Finally, *people's mentality* is held responsible for encouraging the corrupt behaviour of public clerks: "instead of affirming our own legal rights, we prefer to pay bribes to the public clerk" (P6: 9 Politics).

Consequences of Corruption

The *consequences of corruption* are multidimensional: political, economical as well as social. While in the political sphere corruption *undermines democracy*, economically it *places Romania at the periphery of global economy* and generally *affects the business environment* and market economy. From the social point of view, corruption *disturbs the sustainable development of the country*: it deepens the poverty and is generally costly in terms of public money.

Corruption has also the effect of placing a burden on young generations: "to enter life being poor, because of an unfair promotion and career system, is a burden on youth" (P1: 24 Politics). High-level corruption is taken accountable for generating poverty ("well-being is not compatible with corruption" – P5:10, P12: 112 Politics) and, consequently, for producing ruptures among social categories. Corruption is also *breaking the very*



foundations of society. At the level of people's lives, corruption damages the rule of law by denying the protection of law for poor people, while wealthy ones place themselves above the law. Some opinions point to the fact that corruption as such and the consequent excessive commotion about it in the media will divide society and affect trust in state institutions. Corruption, in the view of economic and political groups is *disturbing the country as a whole*: it endangers national security and there is also a social and economic propagated effect that places Romania at the periphery of global economy. Moreover, it shapes the image of the country at international level and hinders European integration.

The Fight Against Corruption

Assessments of current struggle

All surveyed groups adhere to the idea that the anti-corruption fight is a '*supreme necessity*'. They refer to integrated measures against corruption as a national priority that would serve the national interest. At the same time, the European integration process is acknowledged as the major driving force of anticorruption efforts. The assessments of the current fight, though, reveal negative aspects. Many opinions point out to a *façade fight* that is delayed in efforts countering corruption and to the weak political will of acting against it.

A sort of *institutional zig-zag* was visible during the past years. The slow building of institutions with responsibilities in fighting corruption was outlined by some groups as well as the low capacity of judiciary to act against corruption. Some voices draw attention to the politicisation of the fight against corruption and to the so-called witch-hunt that characterised anticorruption efforts. A weak political will for fighting corruption as well as the low capacity on the part of judiciary are underlined as obstacles for a strong effort against corruption. Cases of corruption that were finalised by guilty verdicts were seen at the time by the media more like 'sacrificed pawns' and situations of 'political lawsuits' than real circumstances revealing a correct and well-intended fight against corruption. However, during 2006, some change was noticeable in the way that some institutions showed some results and that some positive developments were reported in this area.



Actors in the fight against corruption

The *actors* playing a part in the anti-corruption fight are, apart from the state institutions with responsibilities in the field, the individuals, the international organisations, civil society and the EU. Individuals are assigned roles as civic competent citizens who actively pursue their own and societal goals. An actor with a major part in anti-corruption endeavours is considered the civil society from which expectations are very high. Its role would be in assisting of policy making, criticising current regulations with the aim of improving, exerting pressure towards policy makers, providing expertise in various fields of corruption countering, etc. Great expectations are also targeted at international organisations whose expertise is greatly valued, while the EU seems to be an undisputed authority towards which most of the hopes are directed.

With regard to the *ways of approaching the fight against corruption*, the opinions seem to converge towards the idea of a *systemic approach* that could target the most vulnerable areas of society and would use collaborative institutional action. Most groups seem to *assign the fight a global dimension*. Partnerships between governmental authorities and civil society as well as public-private partnerships and international cooperations are considered the path towards efficient counter corruption strategies. The main target would be high level corruption as pointed out by judiciary: “Corruption at the top, correct investigations, without political interference, without other interests” ... ”we don’t make justice now only because we have a homework to do for a few years” (P3: 56-73 Law).

Strategies against corruption incorporate to a great extent measures elaborated by international organisations, as Romania aligned its fight against the phenomenon to international efforts. The *measures* considered necessary in order to address corruption target either fundamental conditions that contribute to the flourishing of the phenomenon or try to tackle very specific aspects of this illegal conduct. The business group considers *tackling the economic environment* by dealing with the high underground economy and creating a fair business environment as major mechanisms that can help countering corruption. A *further consolidation of democracy and good governance* are mentioned by NGO’s and politicians as very important: empowering citizens, creating mechanisms of vertical accountability, means to better screen party candidates and transparency in financing political parties.



The lack of political determination (especially at the top of state institutions) appears to be the main difficulty in fighting corruption. This weak commitment of those in power is proven by the fact that authorities fail to react to large-scale corruption. Therefore, to become successful in the campaign against corruption, state institutions designated for this purpose need to act independently. *De-politicisation of state institutions* is another necessity because a bargain often takes place between members of both actual and former political power to cover up corruption cases. If the *independence of judiciary* is attained, politicians would become unable to “put a political stop” to the process of fighting corruption. In this way, the peril of a politicised anti-corruption campaign, directed against political adversaries, could also be avoided.

Capacity building through increased capacity of the judiciary, independence of magistrates and better capacity of police are mentioned by all target groups. *Enforcement of the law* by putting the law into effect and implementing the *acquis communautaire* seems to be another path for addressing corruption. Most of all, cleansing government, state institutions, economy and judiciary of corrupt people would help to create a fair society. NGO’s emphasise the role played by politicians: “the interest of democracy should be placed higher than personal or party obligations” (P2: 139-143 NGO). A new *organisational culture of public officials* is also needed and education is acknowledged as the adequate instrument to create it. *Endorsing anti-corruption measures* requires a series of means like research, information, and advocacy. Individual action and grassroots mobilization are being regarded by NGO’s as a method of achieving the type of society that citizens want. For example in the case of political sphere, the fight against corruption is guided by the idea that “human action, not laws and repression are the best means against political corruption” (P2: 139-143; P3: 57-63; P6: 4).

The analysis of perceptions towards corruption of the various groups allowed us to create a ‘conditional matrix’ that reveals major characteristics of the phenomenon. This substantive level theory on corruption is an explorative attempt that will be a further testing subject. Essentially, this type of explanation is an interpretation made from given perspectives researched by scholars. Its nature allows 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 explanation and its relation to contemporary reality (Strauss/Corbin 1998). As conceptualising is an intellectual process that extends



throughout the entire course of a given research project, the explanation will be structured through further research.



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Annex 1. List of material analysed

I. Target Group Politics

- P1: Discourse of the President of Romania at the ceremony of taking the oath
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=5866&_PRID=ag
- P2: Discourse of the President of Romania at the seminar “Partnership for business”, February 8, 2005
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=7579&_PRID=ag
- P3: Discourse of the President of Romania in Parliament on the topic of Romania’s integration into EU, June 19, 2006
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=7652&_PRID=ag
- P4: Discourse of the President of Romania at the meeting of Supreme Council of Magistrates, January 12, 2005
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=7652&_PRID=ag
- P5: Discourse of the President of Romania at the meeting of Ministry of Interior and Administration, January 11, 2005
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=5900&_PRID=ag
- P6: Discourse of the President of Romania in the conference "Networking Europe", September 27, 2005
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=7595&_PRID=ag
- P7: Discourse of the President of Romania in the seminar “Anticorruption today. State and civil society. Anticorruption plans of Government and civil society in 2005-2006”, December 17, 2005
http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=det&tb=date&id=7303&_PRID=ag
- P8: Prime Minister on the case of FP as quoted in the press
- P9: Transcript of debates in the Chamber of Deputies, October 19, 2004. Radu Ciuceanu on case 1
- P10: Declaration of the Prime Minister of Romania in the Government meeting on the issue ‘Combating corruption in Romania. Measures for accelerating application of National Anticorruption Strategy’, December 12, 2002
<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-arhdoc.php?idpresa=11656&idrubicapresa=2&idrubicaprimm=&idtema=&tip=2&pag=1&dr=>
- P11: Declaration of the Prime Minister of Romania



<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-doc.php?idpresa=36284&idrubicapresa=2&idrubicaprimm=&idtema=&tip=&pag=&dr>

P12: 3 transcripts of Parliamentary sessions: covering the period between February 23rd 2004 and June 26th 2006

<http://www.senat.ro/pagini/Proceduri%20parlamentare/Agenda/Stenograme>

II. Target Group Law

Prosecutors' investigation reports on FP case (case 1), JD case (case 2) by the National Anticorruption Directorate

Verdicts of the Bucharest Court of Appeal on FP case and party funding cases

Report by the Court of Accounts on party funding

P1: National Anticorruption Strategy 2005-2007

http://www.just.ro/files/lupta_anti_coruptie/Lupta%20anticoruptie/strategia%20nationala%20anticoruptie%20FINALA.doc

P2: Press release by National Anticorruption Directorate No.497, October 6, 2004

<http://www.pna.ro/rum/frames.htm>

P3: Transcript press conference of the Minister of Justice January 04, 2005

<http://www.just.ro/discursinterviu.php?idparam=7>

P4: Transcript of the interview of the Minister of Justice in "News of the day", Antenna 3, December 08, 2005

<http://www.just.ro/discursinterviu.php?idparam=17>

P5: Transcript of declarations of the Minister of Justice at a press conference on the topic of rejecting the Emergency Ordinance on National Anti-corruption Directorate by the Senate, February 9, 2006

<http://www.just.ro/discursinterviu.php?idparam=18>

P6: Transcripts of interview of the Minister of Justice, Reality TV, February 28, 2006

<http://www.just.ro/discursinterviu.php?idparam=19>

P7: Transcripts of interview of the Minister of Justice, Objective Europe, Antenna 3, May 14, 2006

<http://www.just.ro/discursinterviu.php?idparam=20>

P8: Transcripts of the interview of the Minister of Justice, Reality of the day, Reality TV, May 16, 2006



<http://www.just.ro/discursinterviu.php?idparam=21>

P9: Transcripts of interview of the Minister of Justice, "100%" Reality TV, July 11, 2006

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III. Target Group Police

P1: Ministry of Administration and Interior, *The Efficiency of measures of preventing and combating corruption within MAI personnel. The stage of operationalising the General Anticorruption Direction*, 2006

P2: Transcript interview of the Minister of Administration and Interior, on high level corruption cases

http://www.hotnews.ro/articol_18814-Vasile-Blaga-despre-dosarele-grele-la-care-lucreaza-Ministerul-de-Interne.htm

P3: The Code of Ethical Conduct of Police Forces in Governmental Decision no 991/25.08. 2005, Official Monitor no. 813/7.09.2005

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- P5: Pavalache „împingea” o hotărâre de guvern prin care BNR si CEC preluau datoria BIR, Adevărul, 9.11.2006
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- P7: Partenera de caviar a lui Fănel Pavalache – judecătoarea Maria Navala, judecătoarea Mihaela Rizea si procurorul Mihaela Benko ies din magistratura pe ușa din dos, Violeta FOTACHE, Adevărul, 9.09.2004.
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- P8: Fănel Pavalache - mare moșier de Snagov, Adevărul, 24.10.2002
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- P23: Instituțiile internaționale vor afla de abuzurile în cazul Jiga Dragoș BARDOSI, Evenimentul zilei, 3.09.2003
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- P24: Dan Jiga, imagine de afacerist influent, D. B., Evenimentul zilei, 20.11.2002
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- P25: Dan Jiga și Florica Dinculescu, condamnați la închisoare, Vasile SURCEL, Evenimentul Zilei, 11.11.2003
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<http://www.expres.ro/article.php?artid=111261>



V. Target Group NGO's

- P1: Manifesto, January 2004
- P2: Meet Your Candidates' program. A proposal on behalf of the Romanian Coalition for a Clean Parliament. Project description
- P3: Press release of Coalition for a Clean Parliament, 12.08.2004
- P4: Press release of Coalition for a Clean Parliament, 14.11.2004
- P5: Press conference of Coalition for a Clean Parliament on the fake leaflets, 22.11.2004
- P6: Interview with Alina Mungiu-Pippidi. Several parties but just one piovră, Eugen Istodor, Academia Catavencu, 11.2004: *In Coalition for a Clean Parliament. A quest for political Integrity* / with an introductory essay by Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Iasi: Polirom, 2005.
- P7: Message of the Coalition for a Clean Government, <http://contracoruptie.org.ro/>
- P8: Appeal of the Coalition for a Clean Government on the National Agency for Integrity, <http://www.sar.org.ro/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20apel-sep-2006.pdf>

VI. Target Group Economy

- P1: Press release of Alliance for Romania's Economic Development (ADER), 2003 http://www0.ccir.ro/hosts/ader/lupta_antikoruptie.htm
- P2: Transcript of meeting of secretariat of ADER, 24 January 2003 http://www0.ccir.ro/hosts/ader/lupta_antikoruptie.htm
- P3: Coordination of regional efforts towards increasing transparency and promoting a favorable business environment A-914/July 18, 2003, Chamber of Commerce and Industries
- P4: Coalition Anticorruption, Public-Private Partnership for Combating Causes of Corruption, programme
- P5: Code of ethics in business
- P9: Press release by National Union of Romanian Association of Employers (UNPR), 2006-02-14, <http://www.unpr.ro/romanian/detailed.php?do=560>
- P10: Press release by National Union of Romanian Association of Employers (UNPR), 2006-02-07, <http://www.unpr.ro/romanian/detailed.php?do=521>



- P11: Press release by National Union of Romanian Association of Employers (UNPR), 2006-01-09, <http://www.unpr.ro/romanian/detailed.php?do=522>
- P12: Press release by National Union of Romanian Association of Employers (UNPR), 2006-01-05, <http://www.unpr.ro/romanian/detailed.php?do=521>
- P13: Press release by National Union of Romanian Association of Employers (UNPR), 2005-10-25, <http://www.unpr.ro/romanian/detailed.php?do=467>
- P14: Press release by National Union of Romanian Association of Employers (UNPR), <http://www.unpr.ro/romanian/index.php?do=../massmedia/mass26aug04.html>
- P15: On the Reunion of ADER, Romanian Association of Employers (PR) October 27, 2004 <http://www.patronatulroman.ro/documente/SECRETARIAT%20ADER.doc>
- P16: Strategic Alliance of Business, Voluntary code of Corporate Governance <http://www.civil.ro/rom/asaa.html>
- P17: Code of ethical conduct for active union members, Cartel Alfa
- P18: Press conference 23 march, National Syndicate Block (BNS)
- P19: Interview of the President of the Federative Alliance of Public Servant Syndicates SED LEX, 2005, <http://www.sedlex.ro/main/noutati.php?section=2&id=64>
- P20: Interview of the President of the Federative Alliance of Public Servant Syndicates SED LEX, 2005 http://www.sedlex.ro/main/arhiva.php?id=122&search_string=coruptie&results=10&search_mode=1&search_category=0&search_start_date=&search_end_date=&page=1
- P21 Interview of the Vice President of the National Federation of Finance Syndicates http://www.sedlex.ro/main/arhiva.php?id=65&search_string=coruptie&results=10&search_mode=1&search_category=0&search_start_date=&search_end_date=&page=1
- P22: Letter to the Prime Minister signed by Cartel Alfa, National Syndicate Block (BNS), National Confederation of Free Syndicates from Romania (CNSLR Fratia) and Confederation of Democratic Syndicates from Romania (CSDR)



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



SPECIFIC TARGETED RESEARCH PROJECT: CRIME AND CULTURE

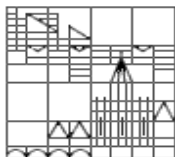
Crime as a Cultural Problem. The Relevance of Perceptions of Corruption to Crime Prevention. A Comparative Cultural Study in the EU-Accession States Bulgaria and Romania, the EU-Candidate States Turkey and Croatia and the EU-States Germany, Greece and United Kingdom

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