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'Red Mobs', 'Yuppies', 'Lamb Heads' and Others: Contacts, Informal Networks and Politics in the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania

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Notes

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers as well as Einar Braathen, Martin Hanssen, Arne Tesli and Aadne Aasland for their useful comments.

¹A comparison of each country's score on Transparency International's corruption perception index for 2001 and 2005 shows that there has been very little improvement in terms of reducing corruption in all countries except Slovenia. On a scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 represents high levels of corruption and 10 represents low levels of corruption, Bulgaria was given a score of 3.9 in 2001 and 4.0 in 2005. Romania's score for 2001 was 2.8. In 2005 the score had improved by 0.2 to 3.0. The Czech Republic fared rather worse with a score of 3.9 in 2001, compared to 4.3 in 2005. In contrast, Slovenia's score for 2001 was 5.2, compared to 6.1 for 2005. Source: www.transparency.org, accessed 15 June 2006.

²In February 1999, 39% of those polled said they considered almost all or most of Bulgarian politicians to be corrupt. By January 2002 the percentage had risen to 47.78%.

³Alena V. Ledeneva, 'How Russia Really Works', Open Democracy, Feature Article, 16 January 2002, available at: http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization/article_253.jsp, accessed 21 November 2006.

⁴As reduced corruption in applicant states, the impact on the one hand, and

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⁶Each in al language by profe interview guide. T d represent officials; (4) prosecutors and judges; (5) national business representatives; (6) international

business representatives; (7) media representatives; (8) national and international NGOs; and (9) EU/Council of Europe representatives and national government officials working in the field of anti-corruption.

⁷English language transcripts of the interviews were coded in QSR NUD*IST (version 4). The text unit—the basic unit to be coded—was defined as a respondent's answer to a question. Some double-coding did occur in cases where the respondent's answer to a question addressed issues covered by more than one node. In other cases respondents provided answers to one question when answering others. Furthermore, some respondents failed to answer all the questions. The total number of text units (N) in the tables below therefore does not always correspond to the total number of respondents interviewed, although findings in this article are also based on a count of the respondents who answered the questions referred to in the article in the same way. Once the dataset had been coded, the total number of text units coded at each node was recorded and percentaged. Further, we created nine independent variables—one for each category of respondents included in the project—and cross-tabulated these against the dependent variables. The total number of text units retrieved from each cross-tabulation was inserted in tables and percentaged.

⁸Quotations are marked as follows: EI-r (elected representative); PP (political party representative); N-bus (representative of national—i.e. local company); I-bus

(representative of international company); G-off (government official); E (Council of Europe representative); and C (country representative). The first column of respondents interviewed within the country and the second column of respondents interviewed within the country and abroad.

⁹Findings are presented in the columns to the left of the table. The columns (Other) are presented in the columns to the right of the table.

¹⁰Zhan V. Zhanov, 'Bulgaria's Anti-Corruption Strategy 1996 and 2000', *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1994, pp. 1-13.

February 1997.

¹¹Lyuben Berov was prime minister in Bulgaria's first non-communist government for 46 years, from 1992 to September 1994, when he resigned from office.

¹²Partidul România Mare, or the Greater Romania Party, is a party to the far right, headed by Vadim Tudor.

¹³Maramures is located in the north-western part of Romania, along the border with Ukraine. It is considered to be the most isolated and underdeveloped part of the country.

¹⁴At the time of interviewing, Octav Cozmanca was Romanian Minister of Public Administration.

¹⁵These findings are rather surprising in that corruption in Romania—at least if one is to judge by Transparency International's corruption perception index—is more extensive than in the Czech Republic. One explanation might be that an anti-corruption campaign was launched in Romania some time before we collected our data. Romania has also been—and still is—under heavy pressure from the EU to reduce levels of corruption. Our findings might therefore to some extent reflect a certain caution on the part of the respondents in this regard—although it is of course also possible that requests for favours provided evidence of the post-communist countries' uncertainty of their status with regard to

¹⁶Iliescu was elected president of Romania in 1996. He was a member of the National Salvation Front (Frontul Salvării Naționale), a coalition of various political groups that came to power in May 1990. In October 1992, he was elected president of the Democratic Republic of Romania. He was re-elected by the National Assembly in the 1996 elections.

¹⁷For a more detailed discussion of the World Bank's corruption perception index, see [\(2000, 2001\)](#).



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