

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| List of Tables | 7 |
| Preface | 9 |
| Introduction: Changing Paradigms of Patronage (A South Eastern European Outlook) | 11 |
| 1 Rethinking Patronages: | |
| Towards the Phenomenology of Patron-Client Relations | 21 |
| 1.1 The Piety of Friendship and Patronage | 21 |
| 1.1.1 Benefactor/Patron-Client Relations Models | 24 |
| 1.1.2 God as Benefactor/Patron | 28 |
| 1.1.3 Reciprocities established | 31 |
| 1.1.4 Client's "Payoffs" to Patrons | 32 |
| 1.1.5 Critics of Sacrifice | 33 |
| 1.2 Patronages of Antiquity | 34 |
| 1.2.1 Roman Patronage | 35 |
| 1.3 Athen's Patronage: Aristotle v/s Cicero | 39 |
| 1.3.1 The Greek Oligarchies | 43 |
| 1.3.2 The Nature of Greek Tyrannies | 46 |
| 2 Discovering Balkan Patronages | 51 |
| 2.1 Patronages (Re) defined | 52 |
| 2.2 Religious Patronages | 54 |
| 2.2.1 National Patrons: | 55 |
| St. Ivan Rilski, Patron of Bulgarians | 55 |
| St. Sava, Patron of Serbs | 56 |
| St. Sr. Cyril and Method, Patrons of Slavs | 57 |
| Diversified Patronages (a personalized pattern) | 58 |
| The Patronage of St. Andrew (an overlapping pattern) | 59 |
| 2.2.2 The Post-Communist Legacy | 60 |
| 2.3 Ethnic Patronages (Shifting Collective Identities) | 61 |
| 2.4 Political Patronages | 67 |
| 2.4.1 The Party Patronage(s) | 68 |
| 2.4.2 The Nomenclature(s) | 70 |
| 2.4.3 The Party's Appointment Authority | 70 |

| | | |
|----------|--|------------|
| 2.4.4 | Political Cults and Loyalties | 72 |
| 2.4.5 | Nepotism(s) | 75 |
| 2.4.6 | Quasi-Patronages | 76 |
| 3 | Rationalizing Corruption | 77 |
| 3.1 | On the Stand of Corruption Theory | 77 |
| 3.2 | The Concept of Corruption | 81 |
| 3.3 | Seductive Involvements | 84 |
| 3.4 | Measuring Corruption | 85 |
| 3.4.1 | Main Ambiguities | 87 |
| 3.4.2 | Corruption Indicators Properties | 88 |
| 3.4.3 | “Choose Your Index”? | 89 |
| 3.4.4 | Anticorruption Surveys Market(s) | 91 |
| 3.4.5 | Corruption Beyond Time and Space | 92 |
| 3.4.6 | Composite Corruption Indexes | 93 |
| 4 | Corruptive Patterns of Patronage | 95 |
| 4.1 | The Balkan Political Agora: In Search of New Fields of Trust | 96 |
| 4.2 | “Corrupt Me Please ...” (Inclusion Through Exclusion) | 98 |
| 4.3 | State Capture | 99 |
| 4.4 | Balkan “Clusters” of Corruption? | 102 |
| 4.5 | Administrative Corruption | 104 |
| 4.6 | The Western Balkan Nexus | 106 |
| 4.6.1 | Constitutional Deficits | 106 |
| 4.6.2 | Poor Governance | 107 |
| 4.6.3 | The Legacy of Distortion | 108 |
| 4.6.4 | Public Administration Deficits | 109 |
| 4.6.5 | Legal Framework Deficits | 110 |
| 4.6.6 | Civic Service Deficits | 111 |
| 4.6.7 | Public Procurement | 111 |
| 5 | Competitive Global Patronages | 115 |
| 5.1 | The Soros Patronage | 115 |
| 5.2 | The Gazprom Patronage | 120 |
| 5.3 | The Siemens Affair (A Balkan Resonance) | 126 |
| | Conclusion: Quasi-Democracies as Fields of Corruption | 131 |
| | Literature | 137 |
| | Index | 141 |