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CORRUPTION IN THE FUNCTIONING SYSTEM OF THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ELITES

The article analyzes modern problems of comprehensive development of corruption. It was determined that corruption affects a person and complicates the life of an average citizen due to the strengthening of bureaucracy and stratification of political elites. The study of political corruption leads to the need to introduce a complex typology of this phenomenon. It has been determined that corruption, and with it oligarchy, reach their greatest extent where market relations are not yet sufficiently mature, and political power is unstable. It is especially emphasized that a system can only be defeated by another system. Therefore, a systematic, non-traditional approach is needed in the fight against corruption.

Keywords: corruption, political elites, anti-corruption policy, public administration, bureaucracy.

Formulation of the problem. In modern Ukraine, the intensification of the fight against corruption differs from the previous ones in that it falls at a time when the defining reality reveals such new parameters as globalization, informatization, modernization, democratization. It is necessary to take into account these new conditions in order not to reduce the anti-corruption fight to formal and ritualistic forms, which has already happened many times in the history of our state.

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Analysis of recent research and publications. The analysis of the phenomenon of political corruption in the legislative field and the problems of their regulation are directly considered with the problem of making changes and carrying out radical reforms and the degree of state influence. The analysis of the state anti-corruption policy, which is characterized by a pronounced focus on achieving various goals and objectives, was carried out by scientists: Revak I.O., Marych, Ye.V., Dr'omov, S. V.

Presenting main material. Politics gives man power, but not for abuse and not for arbitrariness; a dirty person who abuses his power is a criminal before the people. On the contrary, a real politician experiences his authority as a service, as an obligation, as a burden and strives to grasp and master the art of ruling.

Unfortunately, this philosophical idea turns out to be very far from practice when we begin to consider the real state of affairs. As a social phenomenon, corruption is associated "exclusively with the official activities of public officials, which is expressed in the illegal granting of certain advantages and benefits to certain persons for selfish interests.[3] This is reflected in the fusion of officials with the business elite. At the same time, the greatest scale of corruption, and with it the oligarchy, reach where market relations are not yet mature enough, and political power is unstable." To these factors should also be added the factors of immature democracy and civil society, which, due to the limitation of their socio-political resources, are deprived of the opportunity to control the corruption of power structures.

Researchers note that corruption very often acts as a kind of accompaniment to the strengthening of the vertical power, which indicates the absence of real competition and clear signals from below. It is believed that with the help of corruption, not only material, but also political benefit can be achieved, which allows us to consider it not only as a purely economic, but also as a political phenomenon and a very serious problem of abuse by an official of the power entrusted to him. The realities of public administration are such that bureaucracy and corruption in public consciousness are inextricably linked, although this is far from always true. But an even greater injustice is corruption itself. Therefore,

by suspecting all officials of this abuse, civil society thereby makes them understand that the level of trust in them is not as high as they would like. It is the excessive concentration of power and its formal division that leads to the growth of the corruption component.

Corruption, being an inevitable consequence of excessive administration by the state, still seriously complicates the normal functioning of all public mechanisms. It hinders the implementation of social transformations and increasing the efficiency of the national economy, causes serious anxiety and mistrust of state institutions in society, creates a negative image of Ukraine in the international arena and is rightly considered as one of the security threats. Society does not want to trust the government, which is immersed in corruption.[2] The government that is transparent, changeable and exists on the basis of competition inspires the greatest trust. These very conditions, recognized throughout the civilized world as democratic, reduce the level of government corruption and create serious obstacles to its development. In the psychology of an official, corruption has taken root both as an existing historical management tradition (transmitted from generation to generation) and because of the general tendency of this type of person to the specified type of activity ("worship of the cult of money").

A developed consumer society harbors many dangers, the main of which is corruption itself. The new political and economic system of post-Soviet Ukraine was oriented towards a rapid change in the social behavior of the population and the desire for just as rapid enrichment. When getting a job in the power structures, few people think about the salary, knowing in advance that the power is a "goods" and "services" that can be profitably sold. It was during the formation of the new political system, in the 1990s, that corruption firmly established itself in the minds of citizens as the main, almost the only way of income.

The structure and dynamics of the political process of transformations of political regimes are strongly influenced by the practice of abuse of public power. The nature of the transformation of political regimes was largely determined by the formation of corruption networks around the positions of control over the distribution of economic,

political and symbolic resources. Unfortunately, Ukraine was not an exception to this general rule.

Experts note that the leading characteristic of a modern and "economic man" is rational teleologism: "Traditionally, an "economic" person acts as a subject who seeks to consume the maximum amount of goods and services. The model of economic consciousness of such a person presupposes absolutely rational behavior. Such a person with this type of consciousness appears as a perfect being who is in complete possession of himself, ignores the preferences of others, who achieves the set goal by any means.[4]

It should be emphasized that these characteristics are absolutely suitable for a typical corrupt official, for whom "sophisticated bribery and embezzlement have become the main and promising source of income in temporary and unstable government positions, institutionalized by a vicious Ukrainian business practice." When evaluating the phenomenon analyzed by us, it is necessary to take into account such a circumstance as the subject composition of corrupt officials, that is, the classification of employees and officials. It is one thing when representatives of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities abuse their official position, it is another matter when persons who perform administrative and economic functions in commercial and non-commercial organizations abuse their official position, and it is quite another matter when technical performers, ordinary employees.

It is necessary to agree with the opinion of researchers that corruption as an independent phenomenon includes various criminal manifestations, administrative violations, unethical acts. It is possible that certain forms of corruption belong to undesirable but socially tolerated behavior that has its own system of justification. It is unlikely that the state will be able to single-handedly formulate, and most importantly, introduce into the public consciousness and its own system new values that justify the undesirability of corrupt activities (at the same time, we are talking about a voluntary, not a forced desire). It is clear that the society cannot do without the comprehensive support of the political authorities here.

For an effective fight against corruption, all three of its components are important elements: 1) political will; 2) scientific evaluation (scientific support of the project) and 3) public support. Without this anti-corruption triad, any attempt to "wring the neck of the corruption hydra" will resemble a war with a windmill. In the genesis of corruption, a kind of chain is built: bribe - official - corruption. Therefore, any research in the field of corruption should always pay the closest attention to this central link of the entire chain, which can be grasped and pulled out of the entire chain. In this case, it is implied that if it was possible to somehow fix this link, it would give hope for the opportunity to change the entire chain, even if not to completely eliminate the last link, at least to minimize it as much as possible.

The subject of corruption turns out to be the main link in the specified chain. And we do not need to be reminded again that most often the subjects of corruption and the subjects of the elite are one and the same person. The problem of corruption brings to the fore first of all the bearers of political will, whose logic of political behavior and actions directly depends on the nature, direction and pace of reforming the transitional Ukrainian economy. During radical changes, the ruling elites concentrate in their hands almost all the resources of political power in society.[1]

One undeniable law of family nepotism has been in force for a long time in Ukraine, according to which the best thanks for a service is the placement of someone's relative in a profitable position. Scientifically, this phenomenon is called "nepotism", which is literally understood as "taking care of a relative" when appointing a position (the tradition goes back to the Roman popes, who patronized their relatives in obtaining lucrative positions in the Catholic Church). All this not only created, but strengthened the "circular guarantee". In such favorable conditions, corruption turns out to be simply invincible. It becomes the norm of "elite" life.

The protection of "own" comes at the expense of inhibiting the promotion of "strangers" through the service vertical, even if these "strangers" are better qualified than "own" in terms of professional training. Moreover, this practice of "family" reached

modern Ukraine since Soviet times. The highest echelons of state and party power are filled exclusively with "their own". The closest friends and relatives make a dizzying climb up the official ladder, reaching higher statuses and positions, bypassing the officially existing rules (laws).[3] Therefore, all status positions in politics are occupied either by patronage or thanks to their own capital, often accumulated not from earned fees.

The principle of personal selection is actually reduced to zero. After all, the 21st century, according to experts, should become the era of the flourishing of the post-industrial society, where this meritocratic principle will be the main one for the formation of ruling elites. In Ukraine, we are observing the opposite phenomenon - a sharp increase in the number of bureaucrats, which is accompanied by a symmetrical increase in corruption and a similar decrease in the quality of professional training of the Ukrainian bureaucracy.

Any reformist elite in the old days was inspired by some lofty ideas. Our current elite has been selfish from the beginning. It is in the bowels of this elite that the idea arose that a bribe is a normal form of gratitude. Liberalization of the economy turned into illegitimate privatization and the strongest social stratification. Freedom of entrepreneurship - by the oligarchs, offshore companies, shell companies and one-day companies, the brutality of dealers and middlemen.

Competition is dictated by monopolies, oppression of small business and raiding. Democracy is one-party system. Corruption permeated everything and everyone, seduced law enforcement agencies. Against the background of this injustice is the alienation from Ukraine of citizens who are counted among the elite. Leaving state lands, they sit down in armchairs with good food, they turn out to be the owners of considerable property. Many completely break with Ukraine: they form places abroad, give birth and educate their children there, give them another citizenship. By the way, based on the 1990s, there is an opinion that the harsh Ukrainian reformation actually undermined the value of freedom in the eyes of most of society, and the concept of "democracy" became synonymous with theft and corruption.[1] In the case of weak civil positions of the population, political elites become the main subjects of power. The strategy of modern Ukrainian politics, its values, and priorities depend on them. However, the actually existing political competition is perceived by the elite not as a way to offer society the most optimal political project of its modernization, but as ensuring unequivocal support for its position at the expense of bribing voters' votes or establishing formal contacts with them through reference persons who are guaranteed certain privileges for their support. Bribery became the tool that helped the commoner to achieve an acceptable interpretation of legislation, thereby smoothing out the archaic and imperfection of the legislation.

The transformation of illegal relations into a tool of individual and social adaptation speaks of the rootedness of corruption in the transformational process. If there is no dialogue between the power structures and the population, the bureaucracy becomes a closed system focused only on narrow corporate interests, in the case of underdeveloped democratic structures in power, there is a possibility of concentration of powers in the sphere of management. It is corruption that is a clear sign of separation of government from society. The elite detaches itself from society precisely because of the means of increasing its corrupt activities. The higher the corruption index in the country, the greater the distance between the elite and society. Moreover, the higher the rank, the higher the level of corruption. Therefore, in parallel with the vertical of power, there is also the vertical of bribes. But these two verticals stand on the "people's horizon" - the poor support the rich.

As we have already noted, one of the factors that increase opportunities for corruption is the extensiveness of the bureaucratic apparatus and the lack of control over its actions by society. An official in Ukraine has always been greater than an official. At the beginning of the XXI century, they have already completely "cashed in" this right and turned into a special privileged state. Today, being an official has become synonymous with life success and material wealth. But they (officials) never found respect from ordinary citizens. On the contrary, it was thanks to the corruption of officials that the gap

between the government and society increased." Officials often added additional functions to their official duties, which are not regulated anywhere and by anyone. This provision of an additional function also required additional financial content. It is from such lowquality material that the modern Ukrainian political elite is formed.[4]

Corruption is especially noticeable against the background of the low cultural level of the ruling elite. Corruption is the main sign that before us is not an elite ("the best"), but a pseudo-elite. The pseudo-elite is a convenient object for strengthening corruption, because it always needs additional funds in order to pass itself off as a real elite. It is under the pseudo-elite that the process of oligarchization of power is actively taking place, and money is gradually replacing personal preferences from the criteria of the elite. As a result, the "elite" become those who now have the most money.

With the help of corruption, the state has to solve many real problems of political, economic and social development. The nature of power is such that it cannot open the veil of secrecy when making decisions, as it relies not on the majority of the population, but on the bureaucratic apparatus. The bureaucratic apparatus itself is built on the principle of a rigid hierarchy with numerous divisions into degrees and categories. In other words, acceleration was carried out under the principle of strict unity of command practiced in the army, which received the definition and social status of "civil servant". What further contributed to the bureaucratization of society and strengthened the already complex relationship between "civil servant and citizen".

Sociological studies show that "a common and significant problem for citizens of interaction with authorities and management is the problem of unequal statuses of citizens and civil servants in the implementation of these interactions. Civil servants in the performance of their duties, regardless of their positions and competences, find themselves in a position of domination, and citizens - in all cases of their guilt or innocence in one or another violation of the norms of laws or instructions, in the presence of formal rights to solve their problems or for their absence - in a situation of dependence and subordination. Empirical studies conclude that regional political-administrative elites

and the management of large corporations have agreed on the "rules of the game" based on common interests.

A system of "ruling corporation" (government and business) is being created, which leads a significant part of its relations from the public to the shadow sphere of activity. The main goal of such a "corporation" of government and business is not strategic goals (such as, for example, modernization projects), but purely tactical tasks (maintaining one's positions and getting rich). The real efficiency of government and business work in such conditions turns out to be very weak (first of all, the objective principles of personnel selection are violated and the freedom of competition is minimized). The very existence of such a "corporation" is ensured by the growth of "corruption taxes" and the strengthening of bureaucratic cover-up. In such conditions, there is a risk of a new political and economic stagnation, and outwardly favorable trends in social development. Currently, sociologists state that a significant part of the population of Ukraine is used to corruption and considers it practically the "norm". All this causes strong anxiety, first of all, the consequences of corruption (lack of equal opportunities and distortions of development in various spheres, bureaucratic barriers, etc.) than it itself.

One of the fundamental signs of a civilized business is called into question - its social activity and social responsibility. Corruption begins to flourish when the government and business completely remove their social responsibility and completely switch to profiting from their shady activities. It is social irresponsibility that creates the most favorable conditions for corrupt activities. In a number of cases, for business structures, corruption is perceived quite functionally as a part of transaction costs, as it is a counterweight to excessive bureaucracy, acts as a means of accelerating the processes of management decisions and contributes to efficient management.[2]

The corrupt practice found here most often takes the form of rent-seeking, when an official appropriates to himself the rent derived from his position and interacts with business, which, in turn, according to a "market strategy" systematically acquires government services provided in the shadow a regime that transforms the relationship

between an official and an entrepreneur into a kind of contractual agreement. Thus, the official becomes a shadow part of the business, and the businessman becomes a shadow part of the government. It is corruption that allows the process of merging power and business to be imperceptibly carried out. And shadow business.

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Conclusions. The very high level of stability of the Ukrainian political system determines the low probability that in the near future the significance of the universal norms regulating political competition and the political process set by formal institutions will significantly increase. And this means that the role of the power vertical in the fight against corruption will, as before, be ineffective. From the theoretical and empirical material discussed above, it is clear that corruption in Ukraine has become a kind of systemic phenomenon. Attempts to curb this negative practice of the Ukrainian elites, without changing the political system itself, ended in the actual defeat of the fighters for justice. Our common conclusion can be the statement that a system can only be defeated with the help of another system. Therefore, a systematic, non-traditional approach is needed in the fight against corruption.

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