

APPROACHES TO CORRUPTION INVESTIGATION IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERDISCIPLINARY DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

The paper is aimed at analysis of the corruption notion and approaches to its study in different subject fields. The subject of the investigation are the proceedings of foreign scientists describing the corruption phenomenon within philosophy, economics, jurisprudence, psychology, anthropology, political science, sociology, and cultural science. The survey research of the corruption concepts within the indicated disciplines provides an opportunity to determine the corruption motives. The revealing of these motives allows developing the corresponding measures on the corruption fight. The important conclusion of the research is a statement that the most complete and practically applicable is the institutional approach based on the integration of the corruption understanding in different sciences and considering the corruption as a phenomenon resulting directly from the interaction and formal and informal rules of activity in individual society. The corruption is mainly based on informal rules (or institutes) that are supported by trust and reputation of the society participants. When in the institutional systems the informal institutes become more adapted in the social life there are gaps between formal and informal institutes. The scientific relevance of the research is determined by its contribution into the development of the interdisciplinary approach to the corruption investigation. The trends of future investigations are determined by an opportunity to conduct further researches using the described interdisciplinary approaches to the corruption study. The practical applicability of the results is in its application while elaboration of programs on decreasing negative effects of corruption on the life of society.

Key words: Corruption, Approaches To Corruption Investigation, Institutes, Power, Bribery, Corruption Apprehension.

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Пәнаралық дискурс аясындағы сыбайлас жемқорлықты зерттеу тәсілдері

Аннотация. Мақаланың мақсаты - сыбайлас жемқорлық ұғымын және оны әртүрлі пәндік салалардағы зерттеу тәсілдерін талдау. Зерттеу пәні - шетелдік ғалымдардың философия,

экономика, құқықтану, психология, антропология, саясаттану, әлеуметтану және мәдениеттану шеңберіндегі сыбайлас жемқорлық құбылысын зерттеуге арналған еңбектері. Осы пәндер шеңберінде сыбайлас жемқорлық ұғымдарын жан-жақты зерттеу сыбайлас жемқорлықтың себептерін анықтауға мүмкіндік берді. Зерттеу нәтижелері көрсеткендей, сыбайлас жемқорлықтың себептері сыбайлас жемқорлықты зерттеу тәсіліне байланысты өте әртүрлі болады. Осы себептерді анықтау сыбайлас жемқорлыққа қарсы сәйкес шараларды әзірлеуге мүмкіндік береді. Зерттеудің маңызды қорытындысы - елдердегі сыбайлас жемқорлық деңгейін бағалаудың халықаралық әдістері әлеуметтік-мәдени факторларды ескермейтіндігі туралы тұжырым. Осыған байланысты авторлар қоғамдағы сыбайлас жемқорлыққа қарсы сананы қалыптастырудағы әлеуметтік-мәдени факторлардың рөлін көрсетіп, олардыөлшеу көрсеткіштерін ұсынады. Зерттеудің ғылыми маңыздылығы оның сыбайлас жемқорлықты зерттеуге пәнаралық әдісті дамытуға қосқан үлесімен анықталады. Болашақ зерттеулердің бағыттары сыбайлас жемқорлықты зерттеуге сипатталған пәнаралық тәсілдерді қолдана отырып, әрі қарай зерттеу мүмкіндігімен зерделенеді. Нәтижелердің тәжірибелік қолданысы оларды қоғам өміріне сыбайлас жемқорлықтың теріс ықпалын төмендету бағдарламаларын әзірлеу кезінде пайдалануында жатыр.

Түйін сөздер: сыбайлас жемқорлық, сыбайлас жемқорлықты зерттеу тәсілдері, институттар, билік, парақорлық, сыбайлас жемқорлықты қабылдау.

Подходы к исследованию коррупции в контексте междисциплинарного дискурса

Аннотация. Цель статьи заключается в проведении анализа понятия коррупции и подходов к ее изучению в различных предметных областях. Предметом исследования выступают труды зарубежных ученых, посвященных изучению феномена коррупции в рамках философии, экономики, юриспруденции, психологии, антропологии, политологии, социологии и культурологии. Обзорное исследование концепций коррупции в рамках указанных дисциплин позволило определить мотивы коррупции. Результаты исследования показали, что мотивы коррупции сильно разнятся в зависимости от подхода к исследованию коррупции. Выявление этих мотивов позволяет разрабатывать соответствующие меры по противодействию коррупции. Важным выводом исследования является утверждение о том, что международные методики оценки уровня коррупции в странах не принимают в расчет социокультурные факторы. В связи с этим, авторами подробно освещается роль социо-культурных факторов в формировании антикоррупционного сознания в обществе, приводятся их индикаторы измерения. Научная значимость исследования определяется ее вкладом в развитие междисциплинарного подхода к исследованию коррупции. Направления будущих исследований определяются возможностью проведения дальнейших исследований с использованием описанных междисциплинарных подходов к изучению коррупции. Практическая применимость результатов заключается в их использовании при разработке программ по снижению негативного влияния коррупции на жизнь общества.

Ключевые слова: коррупция, подходы к исследованию коррупции, институты, власть, взяточничество, восприятие коррупции.

Introduction

During the years of independence, in Kazakhstan significant measures were taken regarding the anti-corruption fight including the elaboration of strategies, changes in the legal and regulatory framework, forming of anti-corruption infrastructure, and introduction of anti-corruption initiatives (declaration of income and property, anti-corruption expertise of legislation, e-government, enhancement of budget transparency and national management of oil income, the attraction

of the country citizens to the national anti-corruption campaign). However, despite different efforts to correct the situation, the problem of corruption in Kazakhstan remains one of the most important and requires system changes. By data of the international nongovernmental organization Transparency International, Kazakhstan is related to countries where the corruption has received a large-scale distribution. After many years of anti-corruption fight and lack of relatively significant results, it is necessary to take measures aimed at changing of anti-corruption conscience of Kazakhstan society.

The contemporary research paradigm investigates corruption in view of legal, economic, psychological, institutional factors considering them individually and in its integrity. In recent time, the role of social and cultural factors is discussed actively; these factors include the diversity of informal institutes related to values and behavioral settings adopted in a definite society and changing slowly with time. The study of social grounds of corruption in Kazakhstan society and forming of the integral system of knowledge as an instrument of the social conscience and citizens behavior change, in our view will favor the elaboration of the anticorruption culture and mechanisms on the civil society activation as a social resource to enhance the effectiveness of the national anticorruption policy.

Methodology

The methodology of the research is based on the interdisciplinary approach to the corruption investigation. To write the paper, the common scientific methods of analysis allowing considering the role of corruption and relation of different subject fields to it were used; the descriptive and comparative methods were also used. The research was conducted according to the principles of scientific character, objectivity, systematicity, and historicism. The main group of sources of this paper are the earlier published investigations of the corruption phenomena in such subject fields as philosophy, economics, jurisprudence, psychology, anthropology, political science, sociology, and cultural science.

Main part

The corruption as a social phenomenon dates back to antiquity and now exists almost in all countries of the world. The first references of corruption among people can be found in the records of Ancient Babylon (about XXIV B.C.) [1], and in the Code of Hammurabi [2]. The continuous references of corruption are met in all times in fiction literature and in more formal documents:

laws, regulations, document recordings. Thus, the corruption problem and its understanding and fighting with it exists the same time as complicated human societies.

At the present time, the topicality of the problem on corruption fighting is directly connected with a definite society (country), specifics of its economic, political, social and cultural state. In the developing countries the corruption is one of the most topical problems due to its notable incidence. This topicality stipulates the research interest of the representatives of different social and human sciences to the study of corruption and elaboration of anti-corruption measures and its appearance. The different approaches were formed within philosophy, economics, jurisprudence, psychology, anthropology, political science, sociology, and cultural science. Consider them in details.

Within the philosophy approach, more known as "moral" the corruption is considered as a common characteristic of moral state of the society. This view on corruption was supported by antique philosophers Aristotle, Plato, Thucydides, and known philosopher of the middle ages Niccolo Machiavelli.

In particular, Plato and Aristotle in their writings mentioned continuously that abuse of authority and bribery have corrosive and destructive effect on economical, moral and psychological, political spheres of society life. The contribution of Aristotle, in this point of view, is seen more significant as he considered the corruption more systematically: in "Politics" describing the issues of the state arrangement and management he noted the corruption not as a sum of law breaking facts by civil servants, but as an integral phenomenon influencing significantly on the operation of the state apparatus that, in critical situation, leads to the state destruction or its degradation. Aristotle shows an example of such degraded state where the corruption exists on all levels of authority, oppression. The fight with corruption in opinion of the philosopher, is the base for the state stability: "The main thing for any state regime is, by laws and other

regulations, to arrange things in such a way when civil servants cannot capitalize... Only those state regimes that are aimed at the shared benefit are, according to the strict justice, correct" [3].

The peculiarities of the state arrangement in XV-XVI centuries were described in the writings by Niccolo Machiavelli, the known Italian philosopher. In his work "The Prince" he suggested a new approach to understanding of a state and its activity in view of ethical essence of a human. According to this concept, i.e. in view of social ethics the philosopher considered "the state evil" – corruption. The definition of corruption suggested by Machiavelli more than five centuries ago – as application of public opportunities in private interests – is still one of the neatest and precise.

The corruption issues in this or that view were considered by such known philosophers as G. Grotian, T. Hobbes, J. Rousseau. For example, Grotian highlights the controversy of a citizen actions "...serves for the state and breaking the intrastate right for his nearest benefit, undermining the foundation of the state, and, as result, the foundation of his own prosperity" [4]. The correlation with Machiavelli definition is clearly seen.

In whole, it is possible to highlight two understandings of corruption in philosophical point of view. Within the broad sense the corruption is considered as relation between the individuals. And, it is clear that in such relations one of the sides must have the opportunities inaccessible to another, i.e. in particular to be such a civil servant "...who has regulatory functions and has an opportunity to use the system faults in private corruption goals" [5]. On another hand of these relations is a subject interested in these opportunities and ready to reimburse its implementation to the performer. At the same time, it is necessary to separate these, let's call them corruption, relations from personal relations which aim, most often, is perception of a human and his essence. In some sense, it is possible to find correlations in statement by F. Engels that "the attitude of a fabricant to an employee

is not human, but economic" [6]. In such sense, the corruption relations can be also characterized as economic, in its broad understanding as opportunities interchange.

Considering the above, the society can be divided into two large social groups which members depending on the situation often can be found in different "stay on different sides of the trench": bribetaker, i.e. those who have an opportunity to regulate the common resources for their own profit, and those who want to receive these resources in exchange of providing a bribetaker an opportunity necessary to him.

In whole, it can be stated that the social relations of individuals between each other are mainly determined by interests depending on the place of each actor in the social hierarchy and determining stimulus and trends of activity. The interests of individuals can coincide or not, and therefore, in our opinion these two groups are in dialectical relation. If this interaction is beneficial or necessary for both groups the social relations have a form of cooperation, but if the demands of these social groups' representatives are too high regarding the representative of another group, the representatives of these groups have zero sum and conflict of interests appear. Such conflicts often are solved by disclosure of one of the process sides.

In this regard, some authors consider corruption as a situation in which the persons involved are impatient with some actions. For example, V. Rujiero, after the study of reasons of corruption in France has formed the corresponding approach to it. According to him, only "discontent caused by the corruption behavior at some of the mentioned actors forces them to show it and announce as corruption" [7].

In narrow sense the corruption has a lot of definitions depending on the specialization of a definite researcher and has little relation to philosophical approach and becomes more an investigation subject for more specialized disciplines. However, it is possible to state that the corruption in a narrow sense is characterized not only by abuse of functions, but illicit enrichment one of the actors at least.

The economic approach to the corruption investigation is one of the most popular as the corruption has a direct relation to use of resources and/or other opportunities. As rule, the economic researches raise the issues of corruption relation with features of the market functioning, shadow economics, dependence of the corruption level on economic changes.

One of the most widespread approaches to the corruption in view of economics is analysis from prerequisite that the corruption is a type of rational behavior of maximizing benefit economic human directed on finding optimal way for implementation of his own interests under the condition of limited resources or opportunities. Thus, "a decision to give (take) a bribery is based on the same calculation of expenses and benefits as any other economic decision" [8]. For example, S. Rose-Ackerman defines corruption as a "type of economic behavior under the risk conditions stipulated by a committed crime and possible penalty for it" [9]. This kind of approach does not provide any moral-ethical estimation of corruption, but analyses the effectiveness of economic processes in the systems having different levels of corruptions and can give the quantitative estimation. The fight with corruption in such terms should be, first of all, directed on enhancing risks or penalties for a bribetaker, the definite (high) level of which will force him to finish the corruption actions and start functioning in more beneficial and effective way in view of economic system.

There is also a model "principal – agent" describing the corruption behavior shown in details in works by Eggertsson [10]. This model considers the interaction of three actors: principal, agent, and client. Principal is a person or organization that set goals and possess resources for its implementation. The principal can be a state body or authority, or a state in whole. To implement its goals the principals hires agents who in this case become government employees. Before the agents the goals are set, and they are given all necessary resources

and powers, and reward is assigned for the goal achievement. The principal can control the agent's activity. A client, in its turn, is a person who has not got enough resources or opportunities to achieve his goals and addresses to the agent for its enlargement. An example of such address can be interaction of entrepreneurs and civil servants.

The corruption within this model are such actions of agents under which they use resources of a principal not for the achievement of the goals set for them, but for the achievement of their own goals. The clients, in this situation, are in the role of bribegivers and end consumers of resources and opportunities of principal in exchange of resources and opportunities necessary to the agent.

The opportunities for the corruption under such models appear owing to the asymmetry in information access circulating between the agent and principal. The agent owns more volume of information than the principal and can hide it or misuse for his own ends. Such informational gap leads to monopolization of the state resources by a civil servant (agent) under the conditions of poor control from the state or society, or under the conditions of low penalty risks for the corruption activity.

There is also another assumption that corruption appears in the society when the state too often and/or not effectively interferes and regulates the economic processes, i.e. spreads its "agent network" further its control impeding the processes of the market self-regulation. Basing on this model, the anticorruption measures should be directed on limitation of opportunities of random agent and decrease the agent network to the size when it will not damage the achievement of the state goals.

There is also an approach of behavior economics to corruption based on the assumption that these or those actions of a human are "predictably irrational". In particular, the addiction of a human to cheat other people or systems to enhance the personal benefit in situation when such a cheat is impossible or extremely difficult to be revealed is, under such approach,

natural, and a method of fight with such phenomena (that includes corruption also) is creation of conditions under which a man will consider such behavior too risky. The peculiarity of the behavior economics while considering such situations is a statement confirmed experimentally that to prevent cheating it is enough to force a man to adapt a definite "code of behavior" which he will follow until definite limits [11].

Resuming the stated above, it can be said that the economics has several approaches to the corruption investigation, however all they are combined by an assumption on maximization of personal benefit of individuals at the expense of resources not belonged to them. In view of economic system, the corruption is a factor decreasing its effectiveness. The main anticorruption measures in such situation are those that increase the corruption charges for definite agents and, as result, make it less economically attractive.

The juridical science, to some extent, is one of the most important for corruption investigation as namely legal norms provide formal definition of the corruption and determine allowable measures of interaction with it. For today there is no large legal system that would interpret the corruption positively or ignore its existence. There is a tradition to interpret the corruption phenomenon as socially dangerous anti-legal phenomenon characterized by bribery and corruptibility of civil servants under the vendible use of their official powers.

The legal systems highlight several signs of the corruption-related offences [12]: causing of harm to reputation and interests of the state; illegal reception of any welfare; use by civil servants of their powers regardless of goals to achieve which they were assigned with it; availability of malice to implement an action damaging the state interests; availability of venal or other interest.

In view of jurisprudence the main reasons of the corruption spread in the state authorities are:

- Imperfection and statutory conflict that can be used for the personal profit;
- Lack of the active affective legal

mechanism of the corruption activity penalty;

- Deformation of citizens legal sense.

Basing on these reasons, the main anticorruption measures in view of lawyers are: elaboration of a special legislation, decrease of controversies and inaccuracies in the existing legislation, ensuring of independence of structures controlling the corruption, conduction of specialized activities aimed at revealing norms favoring the corruption development.

Thus, in the juridical science the corruption is considered as a type of law violation, crimes of civil servants against the state interests. And anticorruption measures are connected with legislation improving and creation of conditions of unavoidable punishment for the wrongful act.

The psychology considers the corruption as a type of deviant behavior [13]: strive for a personal benefit despite the adopted social role functions, empathy and rules of public power institutes operation. In such form the corruption is closely connected with moral and ethical norms and psychological settings. As a result, the psychology suggests to introduce into the corruption definition such notions as "honesty" and "transparency" that can be criticized in view of other approaches for decreasing the definition accuracy. Nevertheless, the foreign, in particular Anglo-Saxon practice of the corruption definition includes such wordings as "actions incompatible with the status of civil servant" of as "action damaging other people" that addresses directly to the role models and empathy.

In view of the social psychology the corruption is considered as an objective index of activity or passivity, conscience or irrationality of individual society as activity of so called "iron law of oligarchy" effecting directly the corruptness of the state authorities is neutralized only by active civil society [14].

Thus, in view of the psychological approach, the corruption is more an issue of personal psychological settings of a human on personal and social level the work with which can influence of the

apprehension and propensity for the corruption from the side of individuals and society in whole. Corruption control, in this view, assumes the work with individuals (for example, future civil servants) and their psychological normative settings and with life conditions forming these settings.

The political science conceives corruption as a phenomenon of power sphere deforming the political organization. Here the study of corruption is aimed at issues of exercising power, its application and fight for it. The corruption in such context is the illicit application of authority by civil servants to receive or retain more power than they have. The main participant of the corruption here is the dominant political elite (class) representing the most privileged group of people effecting actively on social processes through the political power mechanisms [15]. The most corruptive relations are observed during the elections. For example, French researcher of political parties Maurice Duverger notes that to win the elections the participants often resort to corruption activities [16].

Such approach highlights a corruption feature not mentioned before that the corruption relations can be oriented not only on satisfaction of personal interests of its participants, but on achievement of other goals: obtaining of additional power to ensure safety for further enrichment based on the corruption relations.

The political science assumes that the main reasons of the corruption expansion among the civil servants are hidden in the peculiarities of interaction between political elite and ordinary citizens: if civil relations in the society are poorly developed, the civils have indifferent attitude to political processes then there is no social control of civil servants activity and favorable conditions for the corruption development appear. In a reverse situation, if the institutes of civil society are well developed and participate actively in the political life and influence of the activity of the government apparatus, the unfavorable medium for the corruption development is formed in the society.

The improvement of political institutes, in opinion of Duverger and Huntington leads to more effective arrangement of the government apparatus and relations between the citizens and authorities. "Corruption is in inverse relation to the level of political arrangement", - assumes S.Ph. Huntington [17].

It is necessary to mention also the political culture of society. It characterizes the peculiarities of values, positions, behavior samples specific for relations between citizens and authorities of this or that society. Regarding the corruption, the political culture determines two aspects:

1. It affects the moral attitude to corruption: "...political culture favors the support of balance between the power of government elite and its responsibility" [18], - notes Almond on this issue.

2. Political culture effects on the citizens involvement into the political life of society, and consequently ensures the public control for civil servants' activity.

The developed political culture in general view leads to decrease of corruption in society as it stimulated the active participation of citizens in the political life and development of civil society able to decrease iniquity on the part of formal power representatives.

Thus, the political science considers the corruption as a method of power contest, namely illicit application of power by civil servants to obtain more power and its retention. The main measures to prevent such activity is development of institutes of political authority independent from each other, able to balance the system and prevent the power concentration in the hands of one group of persons or even one person.

The anthropological approach is one of the richest regarding the interpretation and thorough investigation of the corruption issues. This is stipulated by broader scientific field comparing to other presented, and by diversity of possible instruments of investigation; however, within this work, the most of approaches that could be related to anthropological will be considered in the social-cultural approach.

In opinion of Yu.A. Levada “the public opinion is focused not on the political or legal, or economic, but “human” aspects of corruption – preparedness of mass man to deny or accept the conditions of corrupted existence, measure of compulsive fitting to these conditions” [19]. In this form, the corruption is a phenomenon specific for power relations, reproduced by traditions of these relations and based on definite values.

Some scientists tried to apply the principles of evolution biology to the analysis of human cultures development. For the first time, this theory called later “the theory of dual inheritance” was structured and described in the work by R. Boyd and P. Richerson “Culture and evolutionary process” [20].

The theory of dual inheritance assumes that the development of culture in society is the same to genetical evolution: the culture is formed by social learning through copying the behavior of other people, i.e. a human becomes a human only in the process of socialization and breeding owing to observance of traditions and behavior norms. During the process, a human, first of all, copies the practices allowing to survive and receive as more resources and opportunities as possible. In this context the cultures might have different potential of vitality while passing the process of its development.

Considering that different practices are overlaid on the same system of human instincts, the culture inheritance either limits or strengthens the base instincts [20]. The public practices and human instincts interact and limit each other, and as a result, form a foundation of world-wide ethical principles and values. This is confirmed while studying the group selection among people in the process of which the intra-tribe solidarity was formed and during wars period became a kind of permission for extermination of other tribes representatives (at complete condemnation of murder in peace time) [21].

In opinion of Hofstede, the expansion of corruption depends on the following signs [22]: predominance of corporate values

comparing to individual; large distance from power, i.e. uneven distribution of power in society; high level of masculinity in society i.e. orientation on more tangible, material benefits; high level of uncertainty in public development; prevailed short-term orientation while forming relations between business and authorities.

The dominating of these value orientations in public conscience leads to broad expansion of corruption practices in the system of public relations. And without changing such attitude of the society members to the corruption phenomenon, basing on anthropological approach, it is difficult to change the situation to positive side.

Thus, the anthropological approach considers the large list of phenomena related to biological and cultural features of human society, and the corruption is considered as behavior formed in the process of selection of social practices ensuring success and survival of individual human overlaid on the base instincts. Anticorruption efforts, in this regard, should consider the features of adopted public practices and gradual introduction of changes considering human peculiarities as a biological species.

The sociology considers corruption as dysfunction or pathology of society generating ugly forms of interaction among people. “Corruption represents a specific social structure, i.e. integrity of sustainable and quite universal (adopted to existence in different spheres of society life) norms and principles of people interaction. This includes not individual, single cases and persons, but social groups that support this structure as main or inherent condition (source) of its existence” [23]. In this context the corruption is considered as informal subsystem of social regulation that exists together with formal mechanisms. Such “parallel” system appears if the governmental authorities’ activity is ineffective, and corrupted behavior of civil servants is interpreted as “informal behavior of managing elite manifested in illegal application of social welfare by it” [15].

Such understanding of the corruption by the sociology is based on the theory of rational bureaucracy by M. Weber, structural and functional approach and theory of social anomy by T. Parsons and R. Merton.

Max Weber states that the contemporary state prevails above its citizens through the bureaucracy. Consequently, for proper operation of the state apparatus the proper operation of bureaucracy based on formal rationality is needed. Availability of "formal rationality" assumes "development and transformation of contemporary officialdom into the integrity of workingman, highly qualified specialists of spiritual labor, professionally trained by multiannual education and organization ensuring perfection without which there could be a fatal danger of monstrous corruption and shabby vulgarity" [24]. Thus, according to Weber, the expansion of corruption is related to irrational arrangement of their activity.

T. Parsons in his concept of structural functionalism states that the base for any society is its structure, namely "the integrity of sustainable connections of object ensuring its entirety and equity to itself" [25]. The corruption in such comprehension is also an element of structure included into the social system, but the corruption activity itself is a deviant behavior having informal character. Here, the important feature of corruption is noted – complementation regarding the formal institutes. The value of the structural functionalism is the revealing of mechanism reproducing this phenomenon.

According to Parsons, during the period of social stability the level of the corruption expansion is stable and is approximately at the same level specific to this or that society. The situation changes if there are some alterations in the system and its structure destabilizes. At this period the corruption broadens. This situation is denoted as "social anomy". Another structuralist, K. Merton, states that social anomy appears due to "divergence between the culturally assigned aspirations and socially structured ways of this aspirations fulfillment" [26]. Anomy creates such a situation in the

society when the society members cannot achieve its goals legally and ignore the laws trying to achieve the goals by any available means. As a result, the authority weight of legal (formal) and moral (informal) norms allowing for growth of demand on deviant practices including the corruption decreases.

Describing the violence of norms, it is necessary to note also the cultural aspects of the corruption as namely culture determines both, formal and informal norms in the society. At this, the important is the degree of expansion of this or that culture and its attitude to the corruption. In addition, it is necessary to comprehend culture not only as ethnical and country culture, but also the culture of any group of society that can be definitely highlighted by some signs.

In this regard, A. Fet determines three stages of global expansion of cultural traditions. The rules of social behavior are spread when the groups are combined into tribes (first stage), while transition to the state form of organization (second stage), and from the time of humanity globalization (third stage) [21]. The third stage is terminative and each culture will try to achieve it if can.

At the same time, today there are such forms of people integration that are not connected with geographical borders, language or ethnos, but also have their own culture (for example, religions, transnational corporations, public organizations, subcultures etc.).

The tendency of cultures to globalization is described by S. Huntington. The essence of his concept is that for the diversified world consisting of different civilizations, the culture differences represent huge value comparing to political. At the same time, Huntington considers religion as driving element of the culture as its effect on economy types and business activity is the most notable. Together with ethnical peculiarities, the activity of culture will be directed on the protection of its originality and conflict of different cultures can lead to global catastrophes of social character [27]. Such conflicts, in opinion of Huntington, are the most probable under the economic

expansion. In particular, as an example, he showed the intent to distribute European market mechanisms onto Asian markets [28]. Considering that imposition of market principles is conducted by the transnational companies under the guidance of governments, the globalization processes, even in economic sphere only, cannot be abstracted from cultural discourse. As result, the corruption as an element of set social and cultural traditions transformed into the transnational phenomena affecting the societies and economies of all world countries [29]. The personnel of these companies, motivated by corporate goals not compliant with the welfare and ecological safety of local inhabitants use the corruption and criminal ways to gain the profit: bribery, lobbying, blackmail.

The bases of the corporate corruption, in opinion of K. MacLennan, are hidden in the industrialization of economics of America in XIX century when the values of market capitalism contradicted the democratic goals of public interests' protection initially formed under T. Jefferson governance [30]. MacLennan has concluded that the governmental efforts to regulate the national business using antimonopoly laws and penalties led to directly opposite results. The obligations on social protection postulated by the government deformed to the side of large financial and legal entities.

To achieve the influence power and maximum benefit the large corporations apply, in their daily routine, the behavior models considered by all signs as corruptive. Thus, to denote the financial and banking violations, falsification, fraud committed by highly professional specialists, sociologist E. Sutherland has introduced a term "white collar crime" [31]. The same as the participants of informal economies of not western world, their "white collar" partners derive benefit (personal and corporative) through the branched social networks that covered the corporative societies, clubs, elite schools and charity organizations.

Thus, in the social and cultural aspects the corruption is an informal subsystem of

the public structure to the opportunities of which people address more actively during the unstable periods. At the same time, the "base" level of corruption for this stable society can be determined also by cultural features. The instability can be caused by direct conflict of cultures based on ethnic features and by, for example, different economy types when the transnational corporations while entering a new market are ready to use any means to achieve their goals including those that damage individual societies. The anticorruption measures, in such context, can be taken only under the introduction of systematic changes or, by other words, institutional changes.

The investigations of corruption, independently on the aspects of its consideration, in our opinion, pay insufficient attention namely to the institutional approach as one of the broadest and integrating the achievements of different social disciplines, and as one of the successfully developed in other issues.

The institutes investigated within the institutional approach generalize both, the individual activity and the system of social interrelations, and values combining them. As result, all considered approaches become aspects of the integral whole. The institutional approach is for certain integrated as on a new theoretical base (idea of "state failures") it combines the research results in the field of corruption study. At the same time, the anticorruption issues will be also worked out by the public institutes, and thus will appear on the common plane.

In more global sense, the corruption is considered as a result of broader phenomenon of "sick institutes" when the systems of information, stimulus and responsibility are violated [32].

The scale of corruption depends directly on institutes – rules of a game existing in the society. As it was mentioned before, the corruption is based on informal rules (or institutes) supported by trust and reputation of the society members. When the informal institutes become more adjusted in the institutional systems,

the public life experiences gaps between formal and informal institutes. These gaps provide opportunities for corruption development. An example of such gap can be the difference between the demand for a definite formal procedure (for example, registration of entity) and complexity of this procedure by formal and informal (corruptive) ways. If formal procedure is more difficult than informal and the demand for procedure is high, the probability of appearance of mass corruption schemes increases.

Thus, the best institutionalisation of corruption occurs in those spheres of public life that are distinguished by importance and large-scale involvement. It is clear that in societies experiencing constant changes the institutes alter more frequently, and as result have less sustainable structure. The weakness of institutes can allow for the deviant behavior stabilization and its apprehension as normal or, as one of the events development option, lead to degradation of norms when the "game rules" are not determined or subjected to multiple interpretation allowing different including damaging ways to achieve the goal.

Anticorruption efforts, in view of institutional approach, are aimed at eliminating of gaps between formal and informal institutes, and development of stable public institutes. At the same time, the practice of creation of new social institutes and reforming of old ones should be based on distinct understanding that any organization consists, first of all, of individual persons each of which is a reflection of all achievements and defects of society.

Basing on the stated above it can be concluded that the corruption is a complex social phenomenon investigated, to different extent, by all large social and human sciences. The corruption is based on the combination of public opportunities and personal goals.

Conclusion

The corruption is a complex social phenomenon investigated, to different extent, by all large social and human

sciences. Philosophical, economical, juridical, psychological, anthropological, political, sociological, institutional, and cultural approaches provide different methods to fight the corruption development in society. Each of the approaches considered in the work comprehends the corruption in its own way and suggests different methods to fight the corruption development in the society. The more complete and practically applicable is the approach based on the integration of corruption comprehension by different sciences – this can be social and cultural, or more general, institutional approach.

The institutional approach assumes the analysis of corruption as phenomenon generated directly by institutes interaction – formal and informal rules of activity in individual society, and the size of society is not important. A common principle of anticorruption efforts in this case is development of institutes and prevention of institutional gaps. While creating the system of formal institutes to fight the corruption, it is necessary to consider the influence of informal institutes, value system, level of trust in the society. Informal institutes are mainly determined by peculiarities of social and cultural development and form specific behavior settings.

The social institutes have abilities to influence on the conciseness and behavior of people. The main instruments are the rules and laws set by social institutes. The system can be used to form the anticorruption conciseness in society. The effective operation of social institutes regarding the elimination of corruption in society depends on the set rules, laws, instruments and methods of influence. Thus, the effectiveness of social institutes in the field of corruption fight represents a degree of its actual influence on the change of the corruption level in society.

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