

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS FOR ANTI-CORRUPTION CLIMATE IN MODERN RUSSIAN SOCIETY¹

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The paper addresses system-based sociological methodology and considers the anti-corruption policy in the modern Russian society. The authors try to identify key institutional factors for creating anti-corruption climate in the context of advanced transformations. It is noted that modern Russia should develop the anti-corruption climate applying both Soviet and foreign experience. The paper concludes that the key role in the process under analysis is given to maintaining the adequate Russian conditions for the anti-corruption law-based climate providing the execution of the whole set of norms of the positive law by the social subjects and the law institutes. This includes such law-based regulation mechanisms as judicially relevant activities and other law-enforcement practices suitable for reproduction and improvement of the anti-corruption climate at all levels of the powerful hierarchy. Promotion of the anti-corruption behavioral standards, the development of the respective law-oriented consciousness and law culture should also be paid special attention to.

Keywords: corruption; anti-corruption policy; social determinants of corruption; anti-corruption climate; anti-corruption behavioural standards.

INTRODUCTION

Corruption counteraction seen as a system-based approach in the state strategy is relevant for the world. Even the European countries with the minimal corruption figures, such as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland (Russia in Corruption Perceptions Index – 2017), could perceive the migration driven intensifying processes in changing the social structure, bureaucratization, and a slowdown in economic growth as threats for the development of the anti-corruption practices. However, the Transparency International (TI) rates these countries at the top among the corruption

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free countries, the representatives of this organization note that these ratings are based on the corruption perception, first of all, in the public sector by the citizens and businesses, the ratings do not reveal the real situation with this hidden social phenomenon. For example, for the last several years Switzerland's banking area saw a number of major scandals concerning money laundering, unfair competition in business, and even some serious violations in public procurement system, which, as Martin Hilti, Executive Director of Transparency International Switzerland, points out, is just the top of the iceberg, while the society may not be even aware of the other corruption cases (Populism and corruption: like father, like son? *Nasha gazeta*). Corruption as a hidden asocial phenomenon is highly likely to exist in various forms worldwide. The point is about its spread, a possible consistent threat for the public establishments from the corruption practices. Typically, the corruption occurrence in the society is directly connected with the degree and the nature of the social inequality, diversity in social injustice manifestations in resource distribution. For instance, the above TI corruption perception rating shows that the corruption is spread the least in the countries which are commonly called welfare states, as well as in the countries with the strongly protected human rights, while the most corrupt countries are the developing economies and authoritarian states with the highest social inequality and discrepancies between the living standards and economic growth being covered by an autocratic model of the centralized government control. Here, the political, economic, and social institutes are characterized by inequality and corruption, distort the legal and ethical principles and standards in their activities.

This is true for modern Russia with the corruption seen as a consistent threat for the development of the society. Moreover, the need for corruption counteraction in the context of social and economic instability is very often proposed as the crucial approach for the development of the Russian society. Therefore, it is not surprising that recently the Russian authorities are intensively focusing on strengthening the corruption counteractions. Russia started to implement its current systematic anti-corruption policy once the Federal Law No. 273 as of 25 December, 2008, "On Anti-corruption" was introduced. This legislative document was further developed into the Federal Law "On Anti-Corruption Inspection of the Regulatory Acts" as of 17.07.2009. The year of 2008 saw the setting-up of the Russian Presidential Anti-Corruption Council, and in 2013 the Russian Presidential Executive Office established the Anti-Corruption Department within its structure. These consistent measures, at least, helped stop the corruption rate growth and in some cases reduce the spread of the corruption practices at the low and middle levels of the government supervision and in the government bodies.

To provide the institutional support for the anti-corruption policy, V.V. Putin, the President of the Russian Federation, signed the Decree No. 378 as of 29 June, 2018, "On the National Anti-Corruption Plan in 2008–2010" which is aimed to improve the system of bans, limits, and requirements counteracting the corruption and to maintain the uniform enforcement of the Russian Federation legislation in this area (President's Order established the Anti-Corruption Department). The Plan pays special attention to the system-based nature of the anti-corruption policy at all

levels of the government hierarchy, the main part of the policy being the measures aimed to develop the anti-corruption climate in Russia.

We can add here that the expert reports also mention the content and the peculiarities of the anti-corruption policy in Russia. For example, the report “World anti-corruption practices and Russian realities” delivered on 6 March, 2018, by the Center of Political Information claimed that it was quite recently when the law enforcement bodies and the special departments consistently fought against corruption in Russia (Press Conference “World Practices in Fighting against Corruption and the Russian Realities”). Ernst & Young, a British Audit Company, pointed out some positive changes in 2017 which had taken place in the anti-corruption policy in Russia recent years. E&Y reports state that the corruption risks in Russia have noticeably decreased since 2011. Along with that, in some parameters they have become lower than the average world figures. However, data from various research centers delivering expert opinions show that considering the overall corruption situation Russia is among the countries with a low level of the anti-corruption climate.

However, the question whether it is appropriate to speak about the results of the anti-corruption policy in the Russian society towards the mitigation of the consistent corruption conditions and the development of the anti-corruption culture rather than towards separate measures and criminal hearings remains open. A coherent examination of the corruption as a social phenomenon requires the analysis of its public perception as well as the surveys in various corruption manifestations. The studies into the perception of the anti-corruption policy and evaluations of its efficiency by the citizens help work out more promising anti-corruption strategy and persistently create the anti-corruption climate in the society.

We define the anti-corruption climate as follows: beliefs, values, and norms determining people behaviour intolerant to the corrupt manifestations and the development of the proper organizational or professional culture in all areas. Modern Russian society considers these tasks to be highly relevant, because these problems determine the work of the social institutes and affect the business reputation of companies and trust towards the authorities. Current situation could also be explained by the insufficient depth of the systematic and sociological analyses connected with the social determinants of the corruption reproduction and viability in the modern Russian society.

The abovementioned determines the topicality of the present paper and shapes the main aim which is to examine the content of the current anti-corruption policy and to identify the key institutional factors which create the anti-corruption climate in the modern Russian society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Corruption as a system-based phenomenon is looked at from various academic perspectives and deals with the subject area of all social sciences. According to the statistics of the research publications devoted to the corruption and indexed in the international research databases, the publications devoted to the economic impact

from the corruption costs are the leading ones and are followed by the publications of social, political, and law studies, including criminal science (Rogozin, 2012). Recently, more and more attention is being paid to the scientific analysis of the corruption measurement methods (Rowher, 2009), as well as to the academic support of the corruption counteraction monitoring (Kabanov, 2015; Koshkina, 2017; Sidorenko, 2016; Babeluk *et al.*, 2018). Modern international and Russian scientific literature is known for the sociological studies in examining the corruption areas (Johnston, 2005; La Palombara, 1994; Soliman and Cable, 2011; Petrova, 2018) and the problems in perceiving the corruption by the society (Martynov and Gaberkorn, 2017).

Here we refer to a popular paper of S.P. Huntington (1968) "Political Order in Changing Societies" which reveals the historical patterns in society development and identifies the link between the institutional changes and the corruption level. Corruption routinely increases in the context of changes in the social structure, emergence of new powers fighting for resource distribution in the society, which are accompanied by the weak government bodies. S.P. Huntington sees corruption as one of the consequences from the lack of the efficient political institutionalization. Similar situation was typical for Russia in the 1990s, at the initial stage of the market economy formation and the underdevelopment of the new mechanisms of the government administration.

A sociological approach to the structural grounds of the corruption proposed by Rogozin and Shmerlina (2012) is of interest. The authors claim that despite a commonly held opinion, corruption is an autonomous aggregated organizational structure rather than a hierarchical network structure, which makes it a viable phenomenon in any bureaucratic bodies, including the ones aimed to fight this corruption. Corruption is "dispersed" in the procedures of the law institutes, corruption practices are formed independently from the corrupt officials and their networks.

The growth in the number of the studies in different subject areas of corruption analysis does not bring sufficient amount of profound sociological publications describing the institutional factors of creating the anti-corruption climate in modern society. The present paper aims to fill this gap.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

From the very beginning it should be noted that the authors of the research apply the principles of the systematic and sociological methodology (Luhmann, 1979; Parsons, 1971) and institutional approach to the analysis of corruption spread in various areas of the society. According to the abovementioned methodological approaches, the consistency of the anti-corruption policy of the Russian state serves to be the crucial factor to achieve the results and efficiency from the measures in all its implementation areas. The system-based approach in its sociological meaning presupposes the following academic tasks, some of which can be achieved by the authors in this paper.

First of all, social determinants of corruption in Russia should be identified and examined.

Secondly, the required and sufficient number of all main structural components of the anti-corruption policy seen as a system-based approach should be identified and analyzed, and the institutional factors of the anti-corruption climate development in the country, on the whole, and in the political and juridical sector of the modern Russian society, in particular, should be highlighted.

Thirdly, the modern anti-corruption climate in Russia should be characterized and analyzed as a set of institutional and social cultural conditions, including the development of the academic recommendations for its improvement and compliance with the best world standards.

Fourthly, modern international practices in corruption counteraction and development of the anti-corruption climate should be studied.

The data from the phone survey “Corruption perceived by the Russians” carried out among the citizens of Saint Petersburg by the Center for Sociological and Internet Research in Saint Petersburg State University in October 2017 (quota sample is 1,100 people with regard to gender, age, residence area, incomes, and occupations) and an All-Russian survey “Efficiency of the legislative anti-corruption measures” done by the same Center in September 2014 (quota sample is 1,611 respondents, 48 RF subjects, 120 settlements. The survey was carried out in the residence areas of the respondents. The sample represents adults (18 and older) of the Russian Federation) served to be the empirical ground for the study. Besides, the data from the questionnaire-based survey carried out as an in-person interview among the citizens of Saint Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast (sample includes 1,503 respondents, 2018) was also involved. The application of similar survey methods with the possibility to compare the data from these surveys, as well as the survey in different types of settlements can speak for the representativeness of the findings for the Russian society on the whole. What is more, Saint Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast often serve to be the model regions in the sociological studies, because their living standards are closer to the average All-Russian level.

FINDINGS

In order to look at the social corruption determinants in our country, it would be appropriate to characterize the anti-corruption climate which is being developed under the anti-corruption policy. We have already mentioned that the definition of the anti-corruption climate is wide and presupposes the creation of corruption-free institutional, social cultural and social psychological conditions for the activities in different social areas. Therefore, together with the regulatory norms and values in the activities of social institutes, we focus on the social psychological characteristics connected with the corruption perception by the public consciousness. In this regard, the anti-corruption climate is a new type of a socio-psychological climate in a society which reflects the relationships and personal satisfaction with various social communities, groups, and their trust to each other. Anti-corruption climate characterises a set of socio-psychological conditions contributing into or preventing the formation of the socio-psychological atmosphere among the social subjects of law with due

regard to the common values and priorities in the respective communities, teams, socio-professional groups, institutions, bodies, and units for their efficient mutual activities, their social roles and functions in preventing or counteracting the corruption.

Anti-corruption climate as a psychological phenomenon includes, first of all, social climate determined by the society's awareness of the common aims and tasks. It also includes moral and ethical climate which is influenced by the mainstream moral values and their practical applications as a form of the ethical code of an organizations. Finally, one should not forget about the socio-psychological microclimate characterizing unofficially developing relations between people being in direct contact with each other in counteracting the corruption. This element can be found in a particular model of an organizational culture which is paid more attention to in the modern theories of company management. One should also speak about *law climate* which is a set of socio-psychological conditions contributing into the creation of comfortable and meaningful atmosphere among the social subjects of law to deal with the law-worthy activities in organizing the legislation implementation and other legal measures, including corruption counteraction.

Having said about the characteristics of the anti-corruption climate, we can now turn to the sociological description of the social determinants of the corruption which determine corruption reproduction and viability and prevent the development of the relevant Russian conditions for the anti-corruption climate. Counteracting the corruption is not only connected with fighting against its consequences, but rather it is important to eradicate its roots and reasons for continuous reproduction in the society.

In terms of the consistent sociological and institutional analysis, it would be appropriate to concentrate on the structural prerequisites and factors of the corruption reproduction in Russia. It should be underlined here that we believe their impact on the corruption reproduction is paramount, because if corruption becomes permanent and is turned into an institutional practice, then the strategy aimed to change it must be implemented at the institutional level. And this process can not be instantaneous, it is likely to take years to develop an efficient model of institutional activity.

As for the structural conditions of the corruption in Russia, it should be noted that S. P. Huntington believes the corruption arises from an institutional vacuum, inefficient procedures accompanied with an extensive activity of new subjects in economy and politics. This opinion is supported by a widely known sociologist G. V. Osipov who assigns the supreme role in corruption development to a Russian model of provincial criminal and oligarchic capitalism extensively shaped in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s (Zyuganov, 2018). This period was characterized by the initial capital accumulation by a new Russian business with its further criminalization, including corruption practices. Inevitably, the corruption practices became a regular phenomenon in an institutional area, corruption enshrined into a developing model of relations between business and governmental bodies.

Socio-economic, political, and socio-juridical prerequisites played the key role among other structural factors in spreading corruption in the post-Soviet Russia. Here we mean, first of all, resource export economy not connected with a multi-sector

social market economy and also unstable social structure of the society which resulted in an extensive social stratification in the 1990s. A stratification criteria-based gap between the rich and the poor is known to exceed the thresholds in the social structure of the modern Russian, which makes us conclude about an unstable nature of the social structure of the Russian society. This nature is manifested in widening the gap in social differentiation. An extreme type of this trend – a high level of social polarization (main population is distributed between two poles – being rich and being poor) deserves a special mention.

Property inequality is vividly illustrated by a statistical indicator – the ratio of the average income of the richest 10% to the poorest 10% or R/P 10%.

This indicator is in focus among sociologists and economists. The higher R/P 10% ratio is, the higher the social pyramid in the society is, thus the greater the social polarization is. According to some estimates, R/P 10% ratio in Russia is more than 24 today. To compare: in some Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, and Sweden) this indicator is 3–4 (let us emphasize that these countries are leaders in anti-corruption climate figures), while the ratio in Germany, France, and Austria is 5–7. Financial experts estimate that this ratio is adequate. Once R/P 10% ratio reaches 10 and higher, the society plunges into the period of acute social problems. Even a special term “social upheaval threshold” is introduced. At the USSR times, R/P 10% fluctuated within 3.5–4.5. In the tsarist Russia, according to the approximate estimates, this ratio reached 25–30, which could be and was one of the reasons of the social explosion (Measuring the income inequality).

Some Russian experts think that the Russian society is characterized by a multi-dimensional hierarchical social space (social stratification) with the social strata, groups, classes, and other social elements differentiated by power, property, social status, value priorities, functions.

One could identify the first and the second level inequalities in the overall existing social inequalities. The first level inequalities are system-based: economy, politics, social status, distribution, power, etc. The second level inequalities are connected with personal features and capabilities. *Social inequality* is becoming *greater* by all indicators (economic, political, social, regional ones), which is the main *trend in social culture transformation* in the modern Russian society (Golenkova *et al.*, 2008).

Common citizens are aware of it and recognize that inflation, income gaps and great social inequality are somehow connected with the corruption practices in the system, which is supported by the data from the surveys among the citizens of Russia and Saint Petersburg. The survey was carried out together with the Center for Sociological and Internet Research of Saint Petersburg State University [5].

DISCUSSION

By 2012, the corruption had entered TOP-10 concerns as perceived by the society (Russians worry about prices, poverty, and corruption. Levada-center). This is evidenced by the data of the Russian survey done by the Center for Sociological

and Internet Research in 2014. The survey showed that 25% of the respondents claimed the fight against the corruption should become the crucial task for the Russian government. However, majority considered the anticorruption policy in Russia to be inefficient. For example, 55.6% of the surveyed said that the local authorities are just not interested in the real fight against corruption, although many – 48.8% believe that the authorities could be very efficient in their fighting under specific conditions and with good will.

Table no. 1

**The level of corruption perception in the country is estimated generally
a third higher than in the regions**

How would you assess the level of corruption? (%)	In Russia	In Saint Petersburg
Very High	25.6	13.6
High	38.8	27.0
Middle	19.1	29.9
Low	0.7	3.3
Very Low	0.1	0.2
Not Sure	15.7	26.0

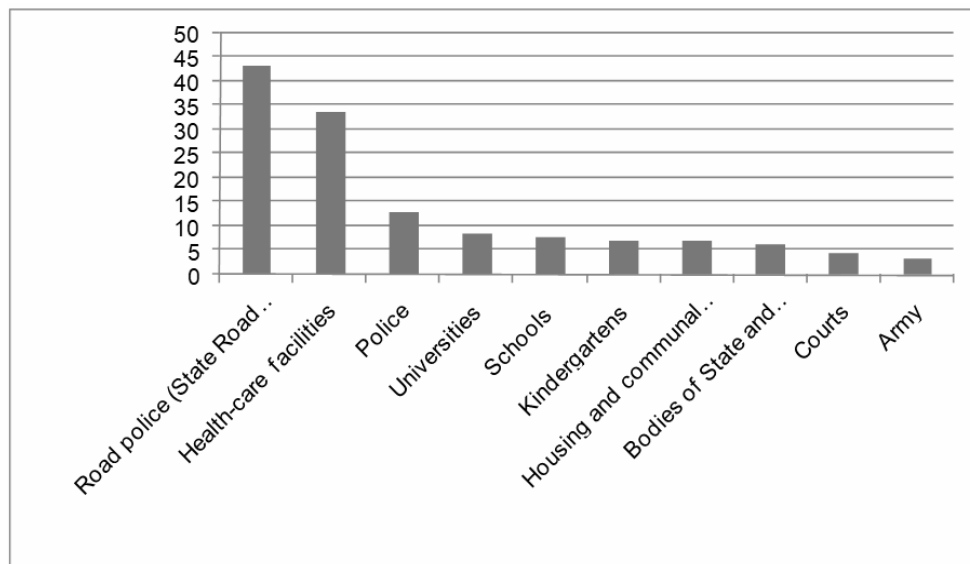
The survey among the Saint Petersburg local people in 2017 showed the rise in the number of citizens who believed the fight against corruption to be the supreme task for the government and to require urgent measures. It should be noted that the corruption at the government level is perceived by population to be greater, because there is a belief that the greater the resources are, the more opportunities there are for their unpunished use for the benefit of the powerful elite groups. For example, Saint Petersburg is considered to have a high level of corruption by 40.6% of the respondents, while the corruption level in Russia on the whole is seen to be high by 64.4% of the surveyed. The number of the respondents who look upon the corruption level in Russia as high is twice as large as the other group, and there is nearly no one (0.8%) believing the corruption level to be low. The majority of those asked connect a widely spread corruption with law enforcement bodies – 42.3%, with the highest bodies of state authority – 38.7%, with the local authorities – 36.8%, with the supervising and controlling governmental bodies – 32.2%. The respondents feel the corruption could influence the population living standards, for example, the price increase – 60.3%. Corruption is perceived as a widely spread phenomenon covering the representatives of the power and management authorities.

A wide occurrence of corruption in the Russian society is backed up by the fact that every fourth interviewee claimed that he/she was personally involved into the corrupt practices within the last year, and majority of them 61% knew beforehand what should be done in this situation, how to give a bribe, and even more respondents – 68% said that this was a typical situation which did not disturb them. However, it should be noted that almost 10% claimed that when they happened to be involved

into a corrupt situation, they did not bribe, managed to refuse from bribing a public officer or even to find another way to solve a problem. On the other hand, 7% of the interviewees admitted that they regularly gave bribes and money in different institutions if this was accepted. Police (including Road Police), health-care facilities, educational establishments, housing and communal services, state and municipal authorities and courts are referred to the most corrupt bodies on an everyday basis. These are the places where people personally faced corruption within the last year (*Figure 1*).

Figure 1

Establishments which are considered to be the most corrupt according to the personal experience of the respondents within the last year (%)



The 2018 survey revealed that if compared with the corruption occurrence in Saint Petersburg for the last three years (or 5 years), the situation significantly improved – this opinion is supported by 2.4% of the respondents, became evidently worse – 7.1%, did not change – 41.6%. Corruption level in 2018 remains high – 20.3% of interviewees think so, is likely to be high – 30.0%, average – 27.1%.

An interesting question arises – what factors mainly directly contribute into the increase of the corruption level? The 2017 survey gave the following findings: poor control from the law enforcement bodies – 23.6%, insufficient pressure from the public, mass media – 13.9%, inapplicable, inefficient laws – 40.7%, a high level of bureaucratization – 27.8%, low salaries of civil servants and officers – 9.7%, general cultural traditions of the country – 18.9%, favoritism and joint responsibility of the bribe takers – 29.7%, others – 22.2%, difficult to say – 12.4%.

Now about the possibilities and measures to fight against corruption. Is it possible to eradicate it? These are the answers from Saint Petersburg citizens in 2017: definitely yes – 19.0% of the interviewees, rather yes – 26.6%, rather no – 25.4%, definitely no – 24.7%, others – 1.8%, difficult to say – 2.5%.

What counteraction measures are the most efficient ones? The survey carried out by the Center for Sociological and Internet Research in 2017 identified severity, law execution, and measures from the civil society as the most efficient actions (*Table no. 2*).

Table no. 2

Evaluation of the efficiency of anti-corruption measures. 2017 (N = 1112)

Which anti-corruption measures are the most efficient? (Several answers are possible)	%
Improving laws and law enforcement practice	36.0
Journalistic investigations in the media	33.8
Increasing law enforcement audits	32.8
Organizing “hot lines” for citizens at regional and municipal levels	28.9
Anti-corruption affairs of political parties and social organizations	19.7
Social anti-corruption advertisement	12.8
Hold meetings, protests and demonstrations	9.6
Other	12.8
Not sure	6.5

Coercive measures, severe criminal sanctions are the most efficient ones. According to the 2018 survey, this solution of the problem was totally supported by 64.0%, mostly supported by 19.9%, 7.0% of respondents were likely to disagree, 6.1% of those surveyed totally disagreed, 3.0% of the interviewees found it difficult to answer.

Is it possible to create an anti-corruption climate in a Russian company/organization/institution in the current Russian environment? Here are the answers from the respondents: yes, definitely – 22.9%, rather yes but there are barriers – 30.3%, rather no, external problems prevail – 17.3%, definitely no – 9.5%, difficult to say – 19.1%.

And finally, some general conclusions derived during the 2018 research. Corruption is, first of all, a social and ethical issue, there is a need to nurture an anti-corruption behavior in the society. This statement is completely supported by 66.3% of the respondents, mostly supported by 21.2%, 5.3% of the interviewees were likely to disagree, 3.8% of them totally disagreed, 3.5% of the respondents found it difficult to answer.

However, the most crucial conclusion is as follows: *with poverty and great social inequality in the country, corruption could not be conquered*. This conclusion is completely supported by 49.7% of the respondents, mostly supported by 23.9%,

11.0% of the interviewees were likely to disagree, 9.0% of them totally disagreed, 6.4% of the respondents found it difficult to answer.

Thus, the materials of the abovementioned studies show that in contrast to a conventional image of the corruption mainly benefiting civil servants, there is an opinion about the corrupt practices among, mainly, big businesses which are no less to blame for the existing situation. There are mostly illegal methods of doing business with kickbacks for particular preferences in the market that lead to a price increase for different goods and to a competition decline.

As for political and law determinants of corruption reproduction, in this case it would be more appropriate to speak about political and law subsystem rather than about law subsystem only. However, it should be remembered that both political system and law sphere are relatively independent subsystems of the society and represent a set of social subjects and institutes of law, social and law-based processes, and spiritual, law-based components consolidated by the norms of existing, social and positive law. A political and law-based sphere covers some social subjects (deputy corps, top public officials, regional and municipal authorities) and institutes (Federal Parliament, institute of the head of the state, local councils and administrations) directly involved into the activities of both law-based sphere and political system.

The analysis shows that the social objects and policy-making bodies (Federal Parliament and deputy corps, The President of Russia, and the institute of the head of the state on the whole) more or less cope with their duties in publishing and introducing all new regulatory documents concerning anti-corruption measures. However, regulatory management represented by separate courts (for example, local and magistrates courts), law-enforcement bodies, prosecution service, and several other law-enforcement units leaves much to be desired, therefore, the anti-corruption measure efficiency in Russia is not very high. Thus, this factor is surely to be a key barrier for the efficient performance of the political and regulatory areas of the Russian society in fighting against corruption and creating the appropriate anti-corruption climate.

Political factors should also be taken into account as structural prerequisites for the corruption. These factors include excessive interference of the authorities into business and favoritism towards oligarchs, a preserved disorganization of the state activity due to the lack of efficient communication between the authorities and the civil society, an all-time high level of social tension. One of the main slogans in the expanding protest movements in Russia is to fight corruption among authorities, and this directly influences the legitimacy of the political institutes and citizens' trust in the efficiency of the state anti-corruption policy.

Finally, other structural prerequisites for corruption reproduction preventing the creation of the adequate anti-corruption climate include institutional, procedural, and other factors, including powerful business gangs evolved in the 1990s, patron-client relationships between business and authorities, notorious crony units in power

at the regional level (for example, Caucasian region) which determine a low level of self-management among the institutes in the civil society, degradation of the court system and law-enforcement bodies, their union with business and organized gangs, and many other negative consequences.

It should be noted that a rigid hierarchy among power structures in Russia developed in the 2000s played a dual role. On the one hand, it definitely contributed into taking the control over the country, into eradicating the regional separatism, counteracting illegal armed groups in Chechnya, etc. At the same time, however, this governance model had its negative side in developing a special group with corrupt civil servants and other officers, unions of authorities, business, and criminals at the regional and local levels. In this context one could observe the expanding, so called, top corruption.

Summarizing the above said, it is worth concluding that anti-corruption policy as a system-level phenomenon is a key area for the social subjects and governmental and municipal authorities to prevent, to counteract, to eradicate corruption at all levels of the powerful hierarchy and in all spheres of the society. To maintain the policy consistently, one should observe the contribution of the following necessary and sufficient units: social subjects and governmental and municipal authorities, procedural and regulatory elements (a full governance cycle in a political and law-based process), including such points as regulatory arrangements (anti-corruption legislation), goal tree, principles, methods and tools for political and law-based influence on the most corrupt segments of the society, including resource (infrastructural) components of this influence. The other components in the anti-corruption policy deserve proper attention as well.

Social subjects and the governmental and municipal authorities contributing into the law-based regulation play a special role among various components of the anti-corruption policy. They are law-enforcement bodies, judges of all levels, court enforcement officers and security officers, etc. They are lawfully authorized by the government and the municipal authorities and are properly qualified, experienced and skilful, possess resources and tools to implement the policy with the help from the governmental and municipal bodies. And the social subjects (people) of the social policy can change, rotate, or undergo other transformations, while the institutes remain unchanged and work consistently to provide a continuous political and law-based influence on these corruption-induced segments of the society and on achieving the set goals. In this regard, in modern Russia purely institutional factors of corruption counteraction and evolving the anti-corruption climate include principal activities of various social subjects in the state-municipal institutes and civil organizations aimed to prevent, to counteract, to eradicate the corruption at all levels of the powerful hierarchy and all areas of the society rather than all functional regulatory activities.

The public political and law-based institutes dealing with creating the anti-corruption climate include the Federal Parliament, the institute of the head of the state,

Federal Government, and regional administrations, local councils and administrations. They work together with the institutes from purely law-based subsystem represented by the courts of all levels, law-enforcement bodies, judicial units, and penal institutions, as well as relatively autonomous civil institutes of advocacy, notaryship, trade unions, the Public Chamber of Russia, human rights watchdogs, etc. These establishments contribute a lot into maintaining the adequate anti-corruption climate in modern Russia.

However, it should be noted that even a perfect structure of the anti-corruption policy and the appropriate functional characteristics of its political and law-based institutes, in particular, does not guarantee its efficiency unless it is implemented by professional and uncorrupt representatives of the social subjects involved into the law-based regulation. In other words, both human errors and a weak management culture negatively affect the efficiency of the anti-corruption policy. In this regard, one of the key conditions to provide the efficiency of the anti-corruption policy at the federal, regional, and municipal levels is to follow the existing regulatory documents (Constitutions, Codes, Federal Laws, regional laws and municipal regulatory acts) by the social subjects of law. And here it is crucial *to execute properly the legislation and other regulatory documents complying with the international standards by the civil officers and federal, regional and municipal bodies* rather than to consider the quality of the documents. *This is especially true for the employees of the law-enforcement bodies where the so called law skepticism is now widely spread.* No wonder this could be the reason for the lack of trust towards them among common people.

Modern Russia should create, improve the adequate anti-corruption climate and apply the world practices not only from European (Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Germany), but also from Asian countries (Singapore, China). What is more, one should regard some peculiarities of corruption counteracting and anti-corruption climate in some post-Soviet republics which social and historical development and reforms are similar to the Russian ones (Flies, tigers, and foxes: 5).

In Russia, justice institutions, prosecution services, law-enforcement bodies partially counteract corruption, although it remains evident that civil organizations are not sufficiently enthusiastic in fighting this dangerous phenomenon and in creating the adequate anti-corruption climate. Besides the governmental and municipal institutes, Public Anti-Corruption Committee registered on 28 May, 2004, by the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation surely contributes a lot into the situation. It has prepared draft laws defining the procedures for public supervision over the authorities. The Center of Strategic Developments also contributes into counteracting the corruption. It has developed and implemented a project called Analysis and Monitoring of Corruption-Induced Federal Legislation and Its Enforcement. Regional Public Fund "Information For Democracy" (IFD Fund) designed an interesting methodology for identifying corruption-induced regulatory arrangements and for creating anti-corruption climate. Saint Petersburg Humanitarian Politological Center "Strategy" plays a significant role in working on the issue of corruption counteraction. However, this is not enough. For example, recent years Ukraine established National Anti-Corruption Bureau

of Ukraine (NABU); Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (SAPO); National Agency for Prevention of Corruption (NAPC); Unified State Declaration Register; Anti-Corruption Court, etc. Experts in Russia are talking a lot about setting up similar institutions, although no practical steps have been done so far.

Therefore, it is crucial for Russia to establish similar state institutions and to encourage the civil society to fight against corruption in a way to support the measures aimed to create the anti-corruption climate.

On the whole, this study is relevant for the modern world sociological theory and practices, because the research applies system-based approach, looks at corruption as a social phenomenon with its political, law-based, socio-economic, and cultural-historical aspects, and presents it as a specific social institute manifested in particular practices grounded on informal social norms and influencing the social functional structure. The authors introduce a rarely used notion of anti-corruption climate, thus underlining its dual – subjective and objective nature of conditions and factors contributing into corruption-free activities in all areas of social life. At the same time, a political and judicial sphere determining the regulatory requirements for all social institutes plays the central role in preparing the grounds for the anti-corruption climate.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the findings considered above made us conclude that modern Russia will see a decrease in corruption level and evolution of the adequate anti-corruption climate provided the country strengthens the law-based sphere of the society, and its institutes put more efforts into fighting against the corruption. A priority in introducing the institutional elements for evolving the anti-corruption climate in the law-based sphere is also given to design and execute law-enforcement practices, assertive performance of various social subjects, governmental and municipal institutes, and civil organizations aimed to create comfortable and meaningful *attitude towards prevention, counteraction, eradication of corruption* at all levels of powerful hierarchy and in all spheres of the society, as well as to shaping anti-corruption behaviour of the governmental and municipal officers, promotion of anti-corruption behavioural standards among common citizens and development of public law-based consciousness and law culture. At the same time, the visible results in creating the anti-corruption climate require consistent arrangements aimed to achieve the efficiency of the state institutes and proper socio-economic prerequisites in the development of the society aimed to achieve high level of wealth among its citizens. Therefore, it is crucial to develop a national model of competitive, innovative, and society oriented economy – social market economy, to nurture numerous middle class, to complete the development of truly democratic social and law-based state, to strengthen spiritual and moral pillars of the society.

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Lucrarea abordează o metodologie sociologică bazată pe sistem și ia în vizor politicile anti-corupție din societatea actuală rusă. Autorii încearcă să identifice factori instituționali-cheie pentru crearea unui climat anti-corupție în contextul unor transformări înaintate. Se ia în considerare că în societatea modernă din Rusia trebuie să se dezvolte climatul anti-corupție aplicând atât experiențele sovietice cât și străine. Articolul concluzionează că factorul-cheie în procesul studiat este deținut de menținerea condițiilor adecvate pentru climatul anti-corupție bazat pe lege, asigurând punerea în aplicare a întregului set de norme ale legii proactive de către subiecții sociali și de către instituțiile privind legea. Aceasta include mecanisme de reglementare legale, ca activitățile judiciare relevante și alte practici de impunere a legii potrivite pentru continuarea și îmbunătățirea climatului anti-corupție la toate nivelurile ierarhiei puterii. Promovarea standardelor de comportament anti-corupție, dezvoltarea conștiinței pentru respectarea legii și cultura legii trebuie, de asemenea, tratate cu atenție sporită.

Cuvinte-cheie: corupție; politici anti-corupție; determinanți sociali ai corupției; climat anti-corupție; standarde de comportament anti-corupție.

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