

# CORRUPTION PREVENTION IN UKRAINE THROUGH THE PRISM OF ELITE MENTALITY

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**Abstract.** The article considers the problem of corruption prevention from the perspective of the elite mentality and proves the necessity of cultivating a national anti-corruption culture in Ukraine. *The purpose* of the article is to consider the problem of corruption prevention from the perspective of the elite psyche and to prove the necessity of cultivating a national anti-corruption culture in Ukraine. *Methodology.* The synergetic method of scientific cognition allowed to study society and its anti-corruption institutions as a system characterised by transparency, diffusion, irregular connections, functional instability, whose development is non-linear under the influence of a wide range of often random factors, especially in its critical and unstable states. The phenomenological method is used to clarify the nature and mechanism of individual criminal behaviour of a corrupt official, the influence of factors of the fight against corruption crimes on its overall level and the level of effectiveness of the fight against corruption in individual states. The comparative method makes it possible to identify common and special phenomena in different socio-cultural systems through comparison. In the process of writing this article, the authors used philosophical, psychological, sociological and other literature related to the topic of this study, along with scientific works on criminology. *Results.* The article proves that a huge anti-corruption machine consisting of anti-corruption and repressive bodies with different status, functions and tasks in Ukraine is not an effective tool for fighting corruption. *Practical implications.* Today, repressive measures in the fight against corruption are effective only when combined with preventive measures. *Value/originality.* According to the theory proposed by the authors, the mission of social cultivation of the nation should be carried out by its elite. In the long run, the application of preventive measures will lead to the education of a virtuous generation of citizens. Virtuous citizens will form an elite that will cherish anti-corruption values. *Conclusion.* The authors of the article conclude that among all the ways to respond to such a multifactorial phenomenon as corruption, preventive steps are the most effective and inexpensive for the state. The results of the study will be useful for the governments of other countries that suffer from corruption.

**Key words:** corruption, mentality, elites, crime prevention, repressive actions, crime, strategy, culture, anti-corruption bodies, socio-psychological phenomenon.

**JEL Classification:** B55, K39, K42, H50, H11, H12

## 1. Introduction

In recent decades, several major corruption scandals around the world have involved politicians at the highest levels of government, with staggering amounts of bribes and money laundering of fabulous proportions (Transparency International, 2020). Three judicial reforms have already taken place in Ukraine and many anti-corruption bodies have been established – the National Agency on Corruption Prevention (NACP), the Asset Recovery and Management Agency (ARMA), the National

Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), the Specialised Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (SAPO) and the National Anti-Corruption Court. The State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) investigates corruption offences committed by high-ranking officials, except in cases where the pre-trial investigation of these offences is referred to the jurisdiction of the detectives of the NABU Internal Control Unit. The National Police (NP) investigates corruption offences that are not investigated by the above-mentioned law enforcement agencies.

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Despite these institutional efforts, in 2022 corruption was detected in the Supreme Court, the actions of the Chairman of which were qualified under part 4, Article 368 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (acceptance of an offer, promise or receipt of an unlawful advantage by a public official, on a particularly large scale, or committed by a public official occupying a particularly responsible position) (SAPO, 2023). This fact could not have been detected earlier due to the lack of established anti-corruption bodies and costly activities involving, among others, grant-making and other NGOs.

Criminological prevention is a set of actions aimed at early detection and elimination of negative phenomena that have arisen or may arise and determine crime or its individual types. Criminologists work and law enforcement agencies in Ukraine practically do not use such a concept as "general social prevention" of crime in the field of prevention of corruption as one of the types of preventive actions and do not separate it. There are three legislative models of major anti-corruption laws adopted around the world: a criminal law model, which focuses on ex post punishment; a preventive law model, focusing on promoting prevention; and a comprehensive law model, which combines criminal punishment and preventive measures (Lijun Kong, Jingjing Wei, Xi Yang, Ying Guo, Sheng Su, 2021).

Psychologists allow everyone to look into their world and, through analysis, project the unconscious and the conscious into every area of social life, including gaining insight into the future collective strategy for preventing corruption. Psychological science claims that there is an individual psyche and a group psyche (collective). Although people encounter the former every day, the latter is a rather vague concept for many people. Psychologists (Kudriavtseva, 2023) point out that the history of Ukraine practically does not represent the success stories of Ukrainian elites – educated, wealthy, successful people who occupied high social positions in society and played a leading role in the development of Ukrainian statehood. And if one looks at the history of the most successful peoples and states, one will certainly see that too much attention is paid to these success stories. For example, the history of the United States is practically built on such cases and examples. And this is a very important aspect. The lives of many representatives of the Ukrainian elite are often marked by tragedy, suffering and hardship, and sometimes by ambiguous actions and even betrayal of the Ukrainian people or the Ukrainian state. And this is probably a reflection of the unconscious tendencies of Ukrainian people. This makes it impossible for Ukrainians to identify on a subconscious level with the image of a successful, wealthy and educated person, with their behavioural

patterns and bright life events, because any change (whether personal or country-wide) means, first of all, a new self-identification. When people learn something new about the elites (their high level of education, success and influence in Europe), it will mean a completely different story about themselves. This means different patterns of behaviour and narratives, and completely different goals and aspirations. This is the possibility to get a completely different self-identification (Kudriavtseva, 2023). It turns out that a person should see other (positive) narratives and images that they would like to have in their life, and then they become part of a person.

## 2. Materials and Methods

The purpose of the article is to consider the prevention of corruption from the perspective of the psyche of elites and to prove the necessity of cultivating a national anti-corruption culture in Ukraine. The synergetic method of scientific cognition allowed to study society, its institutions in the fight against corruption crimes as a system characterised by transparency, diffusion, irregular connections, functional instability, the development of which occurs non-linearly under the influence of a wide range of factors, often random, especially in their critical and unstable states. The phenomenological method is used to clarify the nature and mechanism of individual criminal behaviour of a corrupt official, the influence of factors of the fight against corruption crimes on its overall level, and the level of effectiveness of the anti-corruption efforts in individual states. The comparative method allowed to identify common and specific phenomena in different socio-cultural systems on the basis of comparison. In the process of writing this article, in addition to criminological research, the authors used philosophical, psychological, sociological and other literature related to the topic of the study.

## 3. Results and Discussions

**Corruption as a social and psychological phenomenon.** Researchers have proved that corruption is a social phenomenon not only in the ontological, but also in the epistemological sense. It is a product of the modern conditions of public life in Ukraine. But this product is not only a social phenomenon, since it cannot be created without taking into account the behaviour of members of society, and therefore corruption is a socio-psychological phenomenon. The phenomenology of corruption helps to clarify the nature and mechanism of individual criminal behaviour of a corrupt official, the impact of certain factors of combating corruption crime on its overall level and

the level of effectiveness of fighting corruption in individual states. Considering and assessing the background phenomena of corruption, especially when they accompany organised crime, is extremely important from the point of view of studying the phenomenon. Phenomenology identifies the subjective aspect in the process of cognition (the connection of cognitive procedures with the life practice of a cognizing person) and highlights specific aspects of perception (the objective meaning of emotions and consciousness in the process of cognition). The phenomenology of crime answers the question: "What is crime as a criminological category and individual crimes and 'background phenomena' that have a socio-psychological nature of origin and specific criminal law features?" According to the established position of Ukrainian criminologists, the main ways of responding to such a multi-causal phenomenon as corruption, as well as to any other type of crime or crime in general, are: organisational, methodological and legal support for influencing corruption; prevention of corruption; control over corruption; counteraction to specific corruption crimes or their individual types. Thus, an effective impact on corruption as a socio-psychological phenomenon requires the use of a whole range of methods and means. Ancient thinkers and many modern researchers have been working on a set of measures to prevent crime. In particular, Plato (427-347 BC) paid attention to the study of the causes of crime. He considered the violation of laws to be a consequence of the general disorder and illness of the state. In particular, he wrote: "Well, every government makes laws for its own benefit – a democracy makes democratic laws, a tyranny makes tyrannical laws, and so on. By establishing these laws, they make it clear that what is beneficial to them is just for their subjects. Anyone who deviates from this, they punish as a lawbreaker and an unjust person." (Koval, 2000) Therefore, it is quite clear that the impact on corruption, first and foremost, requires the organisational role of the state. But it has also been clear for many centuries, and still is, that crime as a phenomenon is easier to prevent than to "fight" it. To do this, it is necessary to study its root causes and take appropriate measures to eliminate them. Another great thinker, Aristotle (384-322 BC), emphasised that a clear understanding of what a cause is and how many types of causes there are is essential for successful exploration of the surrounding world. He pointed out that the same phenomenon could have several causes in different meanings of their understanding; causes in relation to each other were also causes, but still with different meanings; the same phenomenon in the same meaning was the cause of the opposite (R. Radice and R. Davies, 1997). Therefore, Ukrainian researchers

are now also primarily focusing on the issues of the comprehensive nature of anti-corruption measures. Among the researchers who have devoted their works to the study of various issues related to the prevention of criminal manifestations, the following should be highlighted: O. M. Bandurka, V. V. Holina, M. V. Danshyn, O. M. Dzhuzha, A. P. Zakaliuk, O. M. Lytvynov, O. M. Lytvak, V. M. Dromin, Y. M. Domin, V. O. Tuliakov, M. I. Melnyk, V. I. Shakun, S. O. Filippov, M. I. Khavroniuk, P. V. Tsymbal, Flavio Saab, E Suylan de Almeida Midlej e Silva, Abdul Kadir, FitriIda Laela, Keith Hoskin, Neu D., Ardi Purti M., Saptomo A., Robert Putnam (1996), Timothy Power e Júlio González (2003) e Peter Graeff (2005), and others, as it is impossible to list them all, but they are mentioned in this study. The authors of this paper would like to express their gratitude to these scholars who contribute to the further development of solutions in the field of corruption prevention.

Neu D. analyses corruption and the prevention of corruption among elites (Neu et al, 2015) in two ways. Firstly, he agrees with the results of the analysis of "illegality" presented by M. Foucault in the work "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison" (Foucault, 1977), where corruption ceases to have a negative implication, as "illegal" is from now on contrasted with "law" as a positive implication – as the law itself becomes destabilised, framed by various forms of illegalism: "illegality of property" for the poor, leading to imprisonment, "illegality of rights" for the powerful, who go unpunished. This suggests that elite corruption now complements the application of recent illegalisms by appealing to expert discourses of "hyperlegalism", which increasingly implies "smart accounting". Secondly, D. Neu and others suggest that corruption prevention can be carried out by today's "ethical and disciplined entities" (Neu et al., 2015). However, M. Foucault's analysis of modern self-formation in "The Birth of Biopolitics" (2008) suggests that this may prove problematic. The subjects of human capitalism are the "ability machine" and the "self-entrepreneur". As an "ability machine", he/she is "well-disciplined", develops within the "truth games" of modern "double discipline", and provides for independent participation in both disciplinary behaviour and disciplinary expertise. As a "self-entrepreneur", he/she may also be formally "ethical" (Dilts, 2011), based on his/her own classification of aspects of this attitude (Foucault, 1987). But in fact, its 'ethical nature' can lead to methods of hyperlegalism and smart accounting, which will also lead to continued corruption (Keith Hoskin, 2015).

**Problems of the effectiveness of institutional tools for preventing corruption crimes.** According to the hypothesis, in order to reduce corruption crimes

(no state has managed to reduce them to zero, and this is impossible), it is necessary to start from the very beginning – to "kill" corruption practices in their infancy. What is required for this and what is not? This research has led to the conclusion that the costly and huge anti-corruption machine in Ukraine does not prevent corruption, as it is a purely repressive mechanism. And even if the anti-corruption body does not introduce repressive measures, such as the Asset Recovery and Management Agency, it has not brought any significant benefits to the state for eight years, but only "eats up" the money allocated to support this structure, and there have been corruption scandals during its operation, particularly involving the heads of this agency.

At the same time, according to the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, the economic impact for the entire existence of the institution in 7 years amounted to 7 billion UAH (Ukrinform, 2023). Initially, in 2015, 68.4 million UAH were allocated for the maintenance of the NABU. In 2016, the expenses increased to 476.7 million UAH (+597%). In 2017, 625.5 million UAH (+31.2%) were allocated from the budget to keep NABU running, and in 2018, the amount was 793.8 million UAH (+27%). In 2019, NABU expenses amounted to 785.6 million UAH (-1%). In the first quarter of 2020, 238.9 million UAH were allocated to support NABU. The amount of international support for NABU reaches nine figures in EUR (NABU, 2020). In general, the budgets of all anti-corruption agencies and the international aid to support their functioning amount to an impressive sum of money, which is not comparable to the insignificant declared economic impact. Some may disagree and cite the example of the CPIB – Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau in Singapore, which has achieved outstanding successes that are recognised around the world. However, it should be borne in mind that Singapore is only a country of 692.7 square kilometres, consisting of a number of islands with a population of about 4.4 million people. The ethnic composition of the city's population should be noted separately: Chinese make up 76.8%, Malays 13.9%, and Indians 7.9%, who have a reputation for law-abiding and hard-working people, and their religion does not approve of any deviations, including corruption. Moreover, such an authority may be sufficient for a small country such as Singapore to carry out its anti-corruption functions properly, but not for a large European country such as Ukraine. Although Singapore's success in curbing corruption is closely linked to the country's leader, it is possible to look at Lee Kuan Yew's role both in terms of the impact of his leadership on the human psyche and in terms of moral levers. Thus, M. Foucault proposes to analyse power not on the

basis of sovereignty, state apparatus and ideologies, but on the basis of the main characteristics of power. Power can be defined as positive power, since it does not operate through prohibition or denial, but through technologies of control, order, care, which are products of new discourses. In the theory of M. Foucault, power attempts to instil in a person the skills necessary for self-control and "normal" acceptable behaviour within a given political community. In other words, power performs a socialising function that is well known in contemporary political science, which involves an individual in the context of society. At the same time, despite the repressive elements of power, M. Foucault argues that it should not be seen as an oppressive or negative power. Such power aims not only to impose certain limits on its citizens, but also to expand the possibilities of their activities by providing them with knowledge about the rules of the game in the "social" and "political" field (Drobot, 2010).

So, back to the Ukrainian reality. The Chairman of the Supreme Court, once elected to this position, did not immediately take the path of obtaining illegal benefits. Since his childhood and throughout his life, he has been involved in public corruption practices and has become just such a corrupt person, despite the fact that his financial support was the highest in the judicial system, since of the three branches of government in Ukraine, it was the judicial system that paid the highest salaries. If the life of judges were accompanied by a cultural and educational policy of intolerance towards corruption, there would be no corruption in the judiciary. The vivid and devastating example of the Chairman of the Supreme Court confirms the need to develop and implement, first of all, non-repressive measures. The government's programme should focus all the attention of the highest executive authority on organisational and preventive measures, the preparation of relevant draft laws, including their obligatory criminological examination, and so on. As practice shows, it can be argued that only one lecturer from the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine will be able to influence the consciousness of officials more than a number of anti-corruption bodies with different status, functions and objectives. An ordinary lecturer costs the state far less than maintaining anti-corruption "giants". It is worth mentioning here that in the recent past China has used public executions as a death penalty for bribe-takers, but there are still desperate people who think it is all right to enrich themselves at the expense of the state and its law-abiding taxpayers. These examples prove that repressive measures are not a method of overcoming corruption, as well as other types of crime, with huge state and international funds being spent on bodies that serve the process



of fighting and preventing corruption. As far as the situation in Ukraine is concerned, one can observe a "game of corruption prevention", in which subsidy and other public organisations like to participate. Typically, such organisations do not have the relevant knowledge or professional experience, but at any cost report on dubious activities to donor states, as this is the only way to get easy money. And pages like "Report Corruption Here" created on the official websites of government agencies give the heads of these agencies the opportunity to quickly delete information that discredits the institution they are entrusted with. As a result, there are all sorts of replies from these agencies to "whistleblowers" that the application has been considered, the information has not been confirmed, and the "whistleblower" will receive a response in a month, in accordance with the Law of Ukraine "On Citizens' Appeals". So it turns out that it is profitable for corrupt managers to have a page that was not actually created for "whistleblowers", but for the purpose of concealing the corrupt actions of subordinates. For such competences as preventive actions, it is necessary to have people with legal training and practical experience in the field. The state urgently needs a strong reserve of personnel with legal training for every state authority and structural unit. It is harmful, if not criminal, to spread the false notion that there is an overproduction of lawyers in Ukraine. According to 2020 data, the number of lawyers per thousand inhabitants in Ukraine is significantly lower than in developed countries such as the United States or Germany. In Ukraine there is one lawyer for every 7,000 citizens, while in the United States there is one lawyer for every 120 citizens (Yuristonline.ukr, 2021). Since all social relations are regulated by law, not only should a lawyer, notary or judge have a legal education, but every citizen should have proper legal training.

The Anti-Corruption Strategy for 2021–2025 and the State Anti-Corruption Programme for 2021–2025 are characterised by few preventive measures and a lack of a comprehensive approach. For example, it concerns the transparency of consideration of disciplinary complaints, disciplinary proceedings against judges, and review of decisions of the Disciplinary Chambers of the High Council of Justice. But all this will not be effective, no matter what programme it becomes part of. It is too late to change the world view of judges because they have already developed as individuals. It's the same as saying that a person can't be taught to speak if he hasn't communicated with people before the age of 5 (the "Mowgli" phenomenon). The strategy also refers to the imperfect system for assessing the quality of prosecutors' work; the inadequate legal regulation of the grounds for bringing a prosecutor to disciplinary responsibility, guarantees of the independence

and effective functioning of the body conducting disciplinary proceedings, procedures for considering a disciplinary complaint and applying disciplinary sanctions.

The disadvantage is that Ukraine has large and powerful structures with centralised operational and investigative units (MIA, SSU), but they are not tasked with fighting corruption, which they have been doing for many years and have extensive practical experience in this area. But now they are no longer entrusted with fighting corruption at the highest levels of power (once this is done by the State Bureau of Investigation), because they are allegedly corrupt themselves. So the fight against corruption is already being conducted by newly created special bodies, and the judiciary even conducts "special" trials. However, the Constitution of Ukraine proclaims the equality of all citizens before the law (Article 24) and prohibits the creation of extraordinary and special courts (Article 125). It would be difficult to find a state that has as many law enforcement agencies as Ukraine. Currently, it is about creating a separate military police. There are already four bodies in Ukraine with their own investigative units, and soon there will be a fifth of this kind – in the military police, which is really absurd. So the State Bureau of Investigation investigates military crimes, and the National Police of Ukraine is incapable of creating its own departments in military units and investigating crimes on the spot. The creation of a separate military police will also require huge expenditures from the state budget.

**Developing an anti-corruption culture through the mentality of elites.** Corruption is a complex problem, it is not only a legal, sociological and political issue, but in many cases also a psychological one. The need to protect anti-corruption values lies in the fact that these values can be an obstacle for those who intend to make the wrong decision. The formation of such values is a long and continuous process. But for it to be effective, it requires appropriate cooperation between the government, business, educational institutions, each individual family and each individual. From a psychological point of view, the prevention of corruption offences committed by individuals can be achieved through the following steps: 1) the formation of anti-corruption principles from an early age; 2) the formation of an independent personality, since corruption often arises from a feeling of discomfort when one is not part of a group; 3) the formation of habits, respecting duties first of all, together with rights; 4) inculcation of moral values, the presence of which provides a strong contradiction when a people find themselves in a situation that allows them to commit a corrupt act. Instilling moral values is demonstrated by Indonesian culture, such as the

Siri Na Pacce. Siri means shame (self-esteem), while Pacce or Pesse in Bugis language, which means: sharp or stingy (solid institution). Rasse refers to a type of emotional intelligence that is able to feel the pain or suffering of other people. There's a saying: "*Of Siri'ji nanimmantang attalasa 'RI linea, punna tenamo siri'nu matemako kaniakkangngami angga'na olooloka.*" This means that it is only through one's own shame that one can live in this world, and if one has no shame, it is better to die, because even animals are more valuable than humans in this case. This philosophy is popular among the people of South Sulawesi, especially the Bugis, Makassar, Mandarese and Torajan ethnic groups. People are synonymous with the word "forget". Therefore, a system is needed that can serve as a reminder of the dangers of corruption. People need to be regularly reminded of the dangers of corruption, and this can be done by building a system of education and other training that every citizen should follow in their student life or future career (Kunicová & Rose-Ackerman, 2005).

Corrupt transactions, especially of a political nature, take place between elites who govern countries and who, strangely enough, are suspected while at the same time being responsible for making decisions, interpreting or enforcing the law. Corruption is a phenomenon that transcends legal norms. The idea that corruption is a formal violation of the law does not take into account the fact that the law itself derives from an ethical and moral concept of the common good that precedes it and supports its effectiveness (James Batista Vieira, 2008). In regimes where there are no anti-corruption codes of conduct, this means that corruption can be abolished by decree (Filgueiras, 2004; Garcia, 2003; Harris, 2003). It is worth mentioning the Ukrainian MPs who were previously recognised by the court as corrupt officials to whom the electoral legislation and ethical rules do not apply. In this case, there is a high probability that they have hidden intentions to work in a legislative body, i.e., to use the status for their own enrichment. From a psychological point of view, people's intention to do something is important. This means that the crime starts with the intention. From a psychological point of view, the question is why it is important to prevent corruption at the intention stage and how to prevent the situation in which the intention to commit a crime disappears. To answer this question, one needs to refer to the concept of responsibility, which is well known in psychology (Ardi Putri, Saptomo, 2019).

The authors Abdul Kadir, FitriIda Laela (2023) analyse the prevention of corruption crimes through the ZI programme "Corruption Free Territory" in government agencies and institutions in Indonesia. The authors came to the conclusion that corrupt acts would not just disappear without the awareness

of moral behaviour within the authority, power and position that a person occupies under the integrity agreement. The integrity agreement as a commitment must be consistently implemented and the general public must be aware of the need for maximum socialisation so that the community can participate in the implementation of the ZI development program and not be limited to raising awareness of relevant information only in designated institutions/departments (Abdul Kadir, FitriIda Laela, 2023).

To promote public and private cooperation in the fight against corruption, various types of public awareness campaigns should be conducted, such as media consultations and investigations, training programmes, plans, seminars and courses to raise public awareness of the dangers of corruption and its threat to the national economy of each country. The main objective is to change public attitudes so that they understand that there is no reason to see corruption as a normal way of doing business and an inevitable evil. One of the best global practices in this area is, for example, Panama, which has established a Regional Anti-Corruption Academy for Central America and the Caribbean after approaching UN member states to help develop a curriculum and training programmes to support formal and informal networks and raise awareness in the region (UNAFEI UNCAC, 2016).

The conclusion is that the formation of an anti-corruption culture in society should be enshrined in law as a state priority in Ukraine. Repressive measures to combat corruption offences are necessary, but still secondary. In the context of the cultural concept, the following actions aimed at mitigating the consequences of corruption offences can be distinguished (the list is not exhaustive): foster a worldview that has no place for corrupt behaviour from childhood in all institutions (from kindergartens to higher education institutions) through educational programmes on television, radio and the Internet designed for specific age groups; involve media professionals in covering events related to corrupt practices and anti-corruption efforts; interact with representatives of state and church institutions to educate citizens in the context of condemning corruption in society; increase anti-corruption awareness, methods of detecting and assessing the level of corruption in society; creation of a system of incentives for civil servants who adhere to anti-corruption behaviour, as well as encouragement and protection of citizens who provide reliable information about corruption offences; formation of public opinion on the prestige of civil service; media support for professional organisations in matters of ethics and morality (Busol, 2015). It is obvious that art has a great influence on people's worldview. An important means of ideological

and emotional influence is the living word – a powerful and infallible weapon. It is the basis of oral propaganda and campaigns. Propaganda is seen as an extremely negative phenomenon in the conduct of hybrid wars in the world. But there is another side to propaganda. To "propagate" means to spread knowledge, ideas, views and theories. The essence of propaganda is to spread and transmit national ideas and make them the property of the people. The living word was the most accessible and imaginative means of oral propaganda in a military unit. In the modern conditions of military confrontation, oral propaganda and campaigns are of great importance. This obliges commanders and officers of moral and psychological support to closely link propaganda and cultural work with specific combat tasks (Golik, Livinskaya, 2018).

It is a well-known fact that Italy has been plagued by criminal mafia groups for almost two centuries. For example, Italy, which is one of the most corrupt countries in the EU according to the 2018 Corruption Perceptions Index, suffers from the presence of mafia organisations that exercise widespread control over the country's economic, political and social activities (Caneppele et al., 2009). Mafia infiltration to control both public procurement and political institutions is historically so typical that it is included in the definition of a mafia-type association offence under Article 416-bis of the Italian Criminal Code (Guccio et al., 2014). The long-term practice of violent repression of crime in this area has shown its insufficient effectiveness, and therefore Italy has already developed a special programme of preventive actions, including the education of school-age youth in the spirit of their rejection of the mafia and broad rights in society to counteract it (Romanyk, 2004), although it should be recognised that this is a long process for such a mafia-controlled European state as Italy. Countries that are completely free of mafia influence have quite good results in fostering an anti-corruption culture among young citizens, such as Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Cartoons, books, computer games, and promotional anti-corruption materials for children will be a useful experience for Ukraine, as it is known that bribery and extortion exist in Ukrainian preschools, higher and secondary education institutions, which is not conducive to the proper education of young people.

In order to cultivate an anti-corruption worldview in Ukraine, it is necessary, first of all, to turn to the positive practices of the successful life of Ukrainian personalities – the intellectual elite of the past and present, who played an important role in Ukraine and abroad, and through self-identification as a cultural nation to cultivate the national idea of the anti-corruption culture of citizens. Johann Georg Pinzel – an outstanding master of polychrome

sculpture who created wooden and stone compositions for most of the sacred buildings in Galicia, which are considered to be the pearls of Ukrainian architecture; Fedir Vovk, who in his works proved that Ukrainians are a separate Slavic people with a certain dominant anthropological type, Hryhorii Skovoroda, who combined Christian beliefs and theses of ancient philosophy; Kvitka "Kacey" Cisyk, the most prominent pop star of the Ukrainian diaspora in the second half of the 20th century; Oksana Zabuzhko with her novel *Fieldwork in Ukrainian Sex*, translated into 15 languages, who is a prominent voice for both women's and Ukrainian national emancipation in a broader sense, in Ukraine and around the world; Pavlo Kharytonenko – philanthropist, sugar producer, entrepreneur and industrialist; Jacques Hnizdovsky, a prominent Ukrainian and American artist who created a synthesis of European minimalism and Japanese woodblock prints, two of whose paintings adorn the office of US President John F. Kennedy in the White House; Pavlo Chubynskyi, Volodymyr Vernadsky, Oles Honchar, and many others.

Statesmen of foreign states of past centuries, supporting the Enlightenment in their countries, obviously proceeded from the fact that the Enlightenment was above politics, and enlighteners were above politicians. For example, the standpoint of D. Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States, is characterized by his statement, "The true slogan of a true democracy is not 'Let the Government do it' but rather, 'let's do it ourselves'..." It is the management tactics that make it possible to determine at any time what is and what is not related to the state, what is public, what is private, what is state and what is non-state (Foucault, 1977).

The mission of forming an anti-corruption outlook should belong to the intellectual elite. Today, Ukraine, with the deliberate mediation of interested states, has focused on implementing a repressive form of fighting corruption, choosing it as a priority among the entire set of tools. However, it is necessary to take comprehensive measures, including changing the public consciousness.

#### 4. Conclusions

So it is possible to observe a distorted view of the ways and means of fighting corruption in Ukraine. Instead of spending small sums of the state budget on education and science, which will later bring incomparably more additional public product, the government spends billions of hryvnias on punitive bodies. However, these anti-corruption institutions are unable to overcome this pernicious phenomenon, which poses a threat to the nation. One of the reasons is that corruption is like a metastasis, it permeates



the entire state mechanism from the bottom to the top, including the judicial system. And without the judiciary, it is useless to talk about law and order in society, because it is completely "sick" and needs "treatment" first of all, and not just the operations of punitive bodies. Therefore, the punitive function is not the main tool that should be used in the fight against corruption. The death penalty for corruption is fully justified in times of war, but it is not an end in itself for the state.

Anti-corruption and other law enforcement bodies are only a tool in people's hands, which will be effective only if the social culture of those who are authorised to use such a tool is high. The huge repressive anti-corruption machine is a trap into which society has fallen, recklessly following the conditions, promised money and instructions of international partners, without taking into account the specifics of Ukraine.

When assessing the state of crime and the effectiveness of actions in the field of corruption in Ukraine, one should always ask the question: "Will the motivation to commit corruption decrease/decrease after the steps planned/implemented by the Strategy?" First and foremost, it is necessary to promote a virtuous lifestyle for people, from

preschool to retirement. This should be taken care of now, rather than justifying inaction with "force majeure". The primary goal of the state is to educate its citizens from childhood to reject corruption, and even to feel disgust and shame when they encounter it. And this is the cheapest way to reduce corruption. It is necessary to turn to the positive practices of the successful life of outstanding Ukrainian personalities (intellectual elite), who played a prominent role in Ukraine and abroad, and through self-identification as a cultural nation to cultivate the national idea of social, anti-corruption culture of citizens. Short-term strategies to prevent corruption, with the prevailing repressive actions of state institutions, may be justified during martial law. In the long run, the application of preventive measures will result in a virtuous generation of citizens. Virtuous citizens will form elites that cherish anti-corruption values. The role of elites in shaping the right worldview is invaluable. The prevention of corruption is a long-term process (it should take several generations to change), but in combination with the application of other steps, it is the cheapest and most effective way to minimise the phenomenon, and in some areas even reduce it to zero.

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