

Corruption: Its Concept, Scope, and Causes

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Premises

1. The administrative innovation campaign of the Korean¹ was focused on the elimination of corruption within the bureaucracy or at least begin to clean up the administration.
2. It has become clear that the effort to eliminate corruption cannot be successful simply with the purge of corrupt officials within the administration, however vigorous and perpetual such an effort may be.
3. Corruption of government officials is closely related to social, cultural, political and economic conditions in Korea and it is even rooted partially in the history of the country.
4. In order to effectively eliminate corruption from officialdom, it is therefore necessary to

clean up all sectors of society, and this will prevent the innovation campaign from being a stop-gap measure.

5. The innovation campaign is to control all social absurdities and disease.
6. There are many social pathologic cause and these are intricately related to one another, and the elimination of corruption is more urgent and has a bigger spill-over effect than the elimination of other social evils in Korea.

1. Introduction

In Korea, irregularities and corruption have been a big problem since 1975. They had posed a problem from time to time before then, but they had ended in fragmentary and temporary controversies in society and the government

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measures against irregularities and corruption had been generally formal and makeshift, failing to achieve any appreciable result. Under such measures, government officials were told to bring lunch to their offices, declare their financial standing and keep themselves from kisaeng (geisha) houses. Although they were warned of strict punishments for violation of these instructions, few were actually punished and the warning ended in a warning only.

In 1974, however, the problem took on a new aspect. Big scandals involving government officials were divulged one after another and the people nursed increasing grievances against the government. Moreover, the people came to know that the fall of South Vietnam was partially attributed to corrupt government officials in Saigon. The international situation surrounding the Korean peninsula made it necessary for the country to achieve national unity and coherence.

Under the circumstances, the government launched a resolute program to eliminate misconducts and corruption early in 1975. This innovation campaign now is more than a year old. Opinion may vary on whether the program was successfully carried out in the past year, but it was true that a majority of the people applauded the program with many expectations. The program had some adverse effects on government administration. But considering that an unprecedentedly large number of public officials were purged and punished under this innovation campaign which was started without a carefully prepared plan, though it was then considered as an almost impossible task, it is believed that the campaign has achieved some good results in the past year.

In this paper, I will make an attempt to define corruption and to identify its cause in sociopathological and sociocultural aspects. Different people have different opinions on corruption, and scholars on public administration, political science, sociology and criminology have developed different

definitions of corruption. But these definitions can be divided into three categories, as Heidenheimer did.

The first is public office-centered definition. According to this definition, corruption is deviation from public office and its norms, and this definition was established by those who have had interest in the development of corruption, such as David H. Barley, M. McMullan and J.S. Nye.

The second is a market-centered definition. This definition is based on the concept that corrupt government officials consider public office as a market where they can increase their incomes to the maximum possible extent. Jacob Van Klaveran, Nathaniel Leff and Robert Tilman established this definition.

The third is public interest-centered corruption. This definition emphasizes infringement on public interest and it was developed by Carl Friedrichs, Arnold A. Rogow and Harold D. Lasswell.

A common factor found in these three categories is that corruption is deviant behavior, which means behavior deviating from institutionalized expectations. Another factor is that corruption is directly or indirectly related to public office. The third factor in common in these definitions is that corruption always has influence on private interest, satisfying the desire for money, reputation, position, promotion, sex and power.

With these three factors only, namely deviation, public office and private interest, however, corruption can hardly be distinguished from general crimes such as theft, fraud and rape. Suppose that a ranking government official ordered a woman worker to work at night and then violated her. Then his misconduct would not be classified with corruption generally, not with corruption, legally. The only difference between this case and an ordinary rape is that he violated her on the strength of his position in public office. But public officials are human and therefore can commit

such crimes as violence and fraud as ordinary people do.

All criminal behavior is deviant behavior, and there are many cases which of public office (including businessmen committing crimes on the strength of their positions in big companies) and acts in pursuit of private interest. It is true that corruption is not very much different from theft and fraud. But we should note that corruption has different aspects from such ordinary crimes, and we must observe more carefully these unique aspects of corruption as a crime.

2. Two Aspects of Corruption

Here I will discuss corruption in two aspects; one is behavior and the other is corruption as a result of misconduct, unjust and irregular behavior.

A. Behavior

To begin with, I should like to note that many scholars dealing with corruption tend to belittle or overlook the result or influence of corruption in their attempts to define corruption.

Needless to say, corruption or unjust behavior means deviant behavior in pursuit of private interest in an unjust or irregular manner. In other words, it includes all acts seeking private interest by a method or means which is socially unacceptable. So misconduct in the broad sense covers not only bribery but also false reports and decisions, fraud misappropriation, theft, negligence of duty, abuse of power, unfair and partial decisions, intimidation, offers of private loyalty, leakage of information and illegal trade or black marketing. All these behaviors are directed at private interest, and they are deviant behavior unacceptable to society and in violation of the principles of fair play.

What should be noted in this definition of corruption is that the norms of law, society or

a group are relative. This means that behavior permissible in one society is branded as corruption in another, and that behavior in a certain period of time is intolerable in another period.

In addition, some behavior is criticized from the standpoint of social norms of morals but may be exempt from law. For example, Lockheed, gave bribes to government officials of foreign countries which purchased its aircraft, and in this case the officials and politicians were legally and socially condemned for corruption by their countries, but for Lockheed as a multinational corporation the bribe giving was but an ordinary business practice for its sales promotion. Under the U.S. law, such a business practice was not prohibited, though public opinion did not approve of it, and Chairman Hotren (phonetic) and Vice Chairman Kochian (phonetic) of Lockheed resigned, assuming responsibility for degrading the prestige of U.S. business overseas. (Since the arrest of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka in connection with the Lockheed scandal in Japan, the U.S. administration has been seeking to enact a law regulating bribe giving by multinational corporations.)

In the study of corruption, therefore, the causes and motives of corruption and the factors and circumstances conducive to corruption should be investigated in connection with the unique social and cultural situation of the country in which corruption takes place. This will be discussed later in this paper.

B. Result (Resultant State of Unjust Behavior.....Corruption)

One of the rationales of many national and social controls is that without such a control the nation or society would be under bad influence.

Corruption does harm to society, putting it in a corrupt state. It degrades the political and administrative functions of a country and aggravates directly and indirectly social evils. It also

lowers the morale of the people and causes them to distrust the government. When corruption reaches an unrestrainable level, it provides the people with a reason for demanding the fall of the government. This we find in history, and one of the revolutionary pledges of the present government of Korea was the elimination of corruption. These facts call forth a strong will to control corruption, following facts are, also, worth to pay a sharp attention.

Although in many cases of corruption, especially in big scandals, it is very hard to identify or investigate such corruptive behavior because of their unteachable characteristics which is attributive in ordinary white collar, it is, in many cases, much easier to locate, or identify the facts which tell us there were corruptive behaviors and these facts are resultant state of unjust behavior. Suppose that a firm that started with ₩ 5 million 10 years ago has grown into a business with assets totaling ₩50 billion. People will then suspect it would be impossible for the company to grow so big without irregularities such as tax evasion. This is quite a natural course of affairs.

The pleasure hunting, luxurious life and possession of high-class articles are some examples of such resultant state.

This behavior is of significance not only because it can be developed into corruption indicator telling indirectly the degree of corruption in the study of corruption. While the behavior paralyzes the administrative functions of the government and the resultant state creates a credibility gap between the people and the government and lowers the morale of the people to the detriment of national unity and coherence.

Money acquired in corruption and irregularities tends to be spent for pleasure and luxury. Because it is not proper reward for proper work, bribe money is wasted in most cases, like the money made in gambling, theft and pickpocketing.

It is natural that people who cannot afford such luxury and waste are jealous of people indulging in spend thrift lavishness for pleasure and luxury and feel a sense of alienation from such people. The increasing public grievances against businessmen in Korea these days are due to such a sense of alienation felt by the people.

Finally, in connection with the resultant state of corruption, following fact should be mentioned: the expenses of corruption eventually fall on the shoulders of the people as tax payers or as consumers. Needless to say, government corruption brings about waste of public resources. Even in business corruption, the amount of money given to government officials as bribes or spent for entertaining them are collected far more than they spent by adding such expenses to production costs to increase prices.

3. Definition and Scope of Corruption

A. Definition

By corruption is meant the infringement upon public interest in pursuit of private interest in connection with public office.

Here the concept of public interest poses a problem. Although it is not easy to define this concept, it can be roughly defined as interest which all members of a group, an organization, a community or a society are having and expecting to have in common. To be more specific, public interest is a public and general interest of the unspecified majority of society, and it is therefore a concept against the special interest of the people in a specific class or status, or in a specific area of a country.

In general, public interest is provided for by law or institutionalized as norms in unwritten law and violation of such public interest is subject to sanctions. Electricity, water, gas and communication are indispensable to the people's

daily living and in many cases they are categorized as public utilities, separate from profit-seeking private businesses. With regard to other areas, there is no criterion or measure for making judgement on their relations to public interest, and the government usually decides on such relations. This is why many, elaborately devised cases of corruption often start with an assertion of public interests from such projects are, often, initiated or made use of by the shrewd realtors for their quick and easy money-making and they usually asserts the advancement of public interest by the projects when they tempt and suggest government officials to invest in such projects.

It is true that the term "public interest" is relative in meaning, as seen in the expression that some public interest comes before other public interest and that some corruption infringes more on public interest than other corruption. So what is concretely and realistically public interest should be determined on the basis of the social relations and the political and economic situations of society.

Corruption doing big harm to public interest is small corruption. The abhorrence, condemnation and punishment of corruption are determined by the social and political situations of society.

In Korea, for instance, private use of a telephone in public office is not considered corruption, though there are some exceptions. Nor is private use of an office hardly regarded as corruption. Likewise, payment of excessive travel expenses to civil servants, letting a secretary do private business for her boss and private use of office stationery are considered tolerable corruption in the country. Until 1974, regular payment of travel expenses to government officials in spite of the fact that they did not go on any actual trips had been considered tolerable as a means to help them support their families in view of their thin pay envelopes.

Since 1975, however, payment of such travel expenses was prohibited and subjected to legal and social sanctions. In some countries, government officials are required to report on gifts valued as a certain amount or more they have received from foreigners and if they fail to report, they are subjected to punishment. But there is no such regulation in Korea.

The scope of public interest is relative, and this is determined on the basis of social, economic and political conditions of society. This implies that the criteria for identification of corruption are also relative.

The merits of this definition of corruption are as follows:

First, corruption can be distinguished from ordinary crimes, considering the fact that ordinary crimes like theft, murder, intimidation tend to, with some exceptions, violate more private interests.

Second, in Korea, of such ordinary crimes as bribery, negligence of duty, misappropriation and embezzlement, some can be included in the category of corruption.

Third, if corruption control is understood from the angle of the clean-up program launched by the government in Korea in 1975 to eliminate factors leading to infringement on public interest, such control would be in agreement with the clean-up program, though it is very difficult to achieve a complete consensus on what are factors conducive to infringement on public interest.

Fourth, the corruption not provided for by law can be controlled. This means that corruption outside officialdom, such as business corruption (jobbery involving business firms), and social corruption can be included in the scope of overall corruption control program. This is because of the following two reasons: one is that the hindrance of national unity and the waste of resources due to substandard food and drugs, pollution-

causing factories, tax evasion, unfair trade, luxury and sperlthrift lavishness infringe on public interest as much as corruption within officialdom, and the other is that because considerable amount of corruption in officialdom is deeply rooted in such business and social corruption, corruption control in officialdom can not be effectively achieved without effective control of business and social corruption. Actually social purification movement of Korea is the control of social evils.

Fifth, some corruption is regulated by law, but the application of such laws results in infringement on public interest in some cases, and such cases of corruption can be distinguished from other cases.

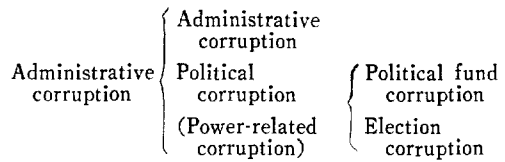
B. Scope

Since the criteria for judgement of corruptive behavior are relative, and the scope of corruption applicable to the study and control of corruption is therefore relative.

- 1) In the narrowest sense, corruption is confined to corruptive behavior of public officials and behavior of non-public officials related to these corruption. This is geneally called administrative corruption, which can be divided into power-related corruption and administrative corruption. Power-related corruption is of the nature of political corruption in many cases, and this is graft and jobbery aimed at raising political funds, bribes given to voters and election frauds. In Japan, big scandals seem to belong to this category of power-related corruption in the main. This is an exchange between government concession and political funds. What should be noted here is that a considerable portion of funds made in this power-related corruption finds its way into the pocket of a few individuals for their private interest. This is also seen in cases of corruption other than political corruption, thus we may call this as the corruption of corruption.

The watchdog organization in the Al Capone gang was an apparatus to check the corrupting of corruption.

Administrative corruption can be divided as follows:



- 2) In the broader sense, administrative corruption includes business corruption or economic corruption. By corrupt business or economic behavior is meant dishonest or questionable means employed by businessmen in business practices in order to maximize business profits, that is, unfair trade deviating from established business morals and norms.

Corrupt business behavior can be divided into three types by the object of business activities.

The first is corrupt behavior against customers as the object of business activities. For instance, exaggerated advertisements (false advertisements in many cases, and thus considered fraud), **exaggerated** packages, profiteering, substandard **production** of food, unfair trade and pollution-causing industries fall within the category of corruption against customers.

The second is corruption against government and public organizations of taxes, including customs, duties, false reports, kickbacks to public officials, questionable loans and bribes offered for concessions **fall** within this category of corruption. Many cases of administrative corruption belong to this type, and they become political corruption when extended in scope and degree. This is the reason that in order to control corruption in officialdom, effectively, the scope of such control must be extended to business corruption. Corruption

involving multinational corporations also falls within this category.

The third is internal corruption of business firms. This is similar in nature to corruption in officialdom. Corruption related to personnel administration, excessive loyalty to superior, financial irregularities, embezzlement of company funds (such as diversion of such funds for the purchase of a luxurious house for a concubine), loaning of private money to his company at a high interest rate, misappropriation of company funds for questionable business and spurious shareholders' meetings belong to this type of business corruption. The victims of this type of corruption are shareholders in many cases and owners of firms in some cases, and when the company is funded by the government, the victims are the government and the people.

- 3) In the broadest sense, corruption is the social corruption including both administrative corruption and business corruption. The elimination of social corruption is designed to purify the whole of society in order to control strongly and effectively corruption in officialdom and at the same time to achieve national unity, and this is the goal of the clean up program of the Korean government for the uprooting of all absurdities from society. The control of social corruption thus covers not only corrupt behavior itself but also luxurious and spendthrift lives, decadent behavior, marijuana smoking, gambling and hoodlums which are influenced by the resultant state of corrupt behavior. This is nothing but the social purification to eliminate all social evils. To repeat, the elimination of social corruption and absurdities is designed to control corruption in officialdom effectively and purify society for the achievement of national unity and coherence.

In the broad sense, the range of corruption is

considered as almost similar to that of the social pathology. In other words, corruption can be regarded as one of the phenomenon of social pathology and as being related to almost whole area of social pathology. Thus in the study of governmental corruption, we can learn useful lessons not only from criminology but also from social pathology.

4. Relativity of Criteria for Judgement of Corruption

I have mentioned several times in the above that corruption is a deviant behavior and that the criteria for deciding of whether a certain behavior is corrupt are relative. In other words, a behavior considered as corrupt in a period or in a society is treated as an ordinary behavior in another period or in another society. This means that corruption is subjected to different judgement and response according to different time and geographic situation and to different cultural and social conditions, as well as to different social structure and national character.

Like ordinary crimes, corruption is defined in relation to society and its constituent members. In other words, corruption is identified in relations to lawmakers, its victims, witnesses, mass media reporting and condemning scandals, and their readers and audiences. As a result, a behavior intolerable yesterday can be tolerable today. In fact, there are many cases in which a behavior which was previously subjected to warning is now referred to a disciplinary committee for sanction.

With this in mind, I would like to respond important questions: If corruption is a deviant behavior, from what norm does it deviate? Who will make the final judgement on what behavior is corrupt?

The answer to the first question is this: deviation from the norm of a group, an organization

or a society to which the corrupt behavior and the person who made such behavior are related. If the norm is strict or at a high moral level, the response to the corrupt behavior and the person who made such behavior will be sensitive, and if not, the response will be dull. In the later case, discipline will be loose. Depending on the system of reward and punishment keeping the social norm, the sanction of corruption ranges from a simple expression of discomfort to legal punishment. In some cases of corruption, lynch may be applied. Corruption is judged on the basis of the content and scope of the corrupt behavior, the person who made such behavior, the degree of infringement on public interest, written or unwritten social norms governing corruption, or law provisions against corruption.

The answer to the second question is related to that of the first. Persons who make judgement on whether specific behavior is corrupt are members of a society which is related to such behavior and those who made it. What should be noted here is that who will sanction corrupt persons is a different problem. If judgement fails to have influence (sanction) on corruption and corrupt persons, such judgement is meaningless.

Those who can make judgement on whether specific behavior is corrupt are the whole members of a society, including mass media. But such judgement may end in mere criticism as a sanction, or boycott of products of a company involved in corruption. This means that members of a society have freedom to make judgement on whether specific behavior is corrupt. Such judgement may be made by those who are particularly related to scandal. The government or banks may stop financial support to companies which have become insolvent because of scandals or collect loans already advanced to such companies. In case corruption is severe or large in scale, the person who has power over those who are involved in corruption will make judgement on

them, and if corruption is made in violation of law, a court will judge it.

5. Typology

Criminologists classify crimes by various standards. In order to be appropriate, the classification should be exhaustive and each category should be exclusive to each other and appropriate to the objective of the study and control of crimes, and so is in the classification of corruption.

The Korean government agencies inclined to classify corruption by area of work in which corruption is observed..... taxation, public health, finance and banking, personnel and construction and so forth. Each of those areas are sub-divided at times.

On the other hand, opposition lawmakers, journalists and intellectuals classify corruption into two categories..... power-related corruption and "small fish" corruption. The former is large-scale corruption involving special government agencies or their members, ranking government officials, or big businessmen. The latter is petty corruption involving low-grade government officials. This is a sort of cynical classification scoffing at the fact that whereas only petty corruption involving lower-level officials is punished and big scandals involving politicians or ranking government officials are not made public or punished.

It seems in most cases, however, more useful to classify the corruption according to the degree of its settlement of a society: institutionalized and accidental corruption. It is not easy task to identify corruptive cases into these two categories without a development of an adequate scale to show the degree of institutionalization.

A. Institutionalized Corruption

By institutionalized corruption is meant corruption in patterned behavior with public

acknowledgement to a considerable degree of the method or process, the amount involved, the scope, the dividend of corruption. Corruption as a behavioral pattern is unofficially formed while corruption increases in a long period of time, and this sets a precedent as a custom in the particular area in which it occurs, thus becoming a subculture of society.

For example, the scandal involving Pusan Mayor Kim Tie-man several years ago falls within this category of corruption. Kim received a fixed rate of kickbacks in all city contracts, and most contractors made it a rule to give such kickbacks to the mayor. In accordance to the Southaman Report, a kickbacks of 7 percent to 11 percent of all government contracts was taken by government officials for their private use. In this case the steps and procedures contractors must take to win contracts are different from the official procedures set by City Hall.

Contractors make an approach to a person who has influence on the official who has the power to sign a contract and invite, through the influential person, him to a party in a kisaeng house or a bar suitable to his status. A careful contractor often collects information on what kisaeng house the official patronizes and which hostess he likes and entertains him in such a house and with such a hostess. Certainly, this is not set forth in government regulations on contracts, but is a necessary and effective step for contractors to take in order to win contracts.

Examples of such institutionalized corruption are seen in various cooperatives acting for their members or playing the role of go-betweens for their members to win government contracts, as in the recent scandal involving a Pusan Fishery Cooperative: collection of money in a lower-level organization and offer of a portion of such money to higher-level organization or its head as a bribe; offer of a fixed amount of money to a bank

for loans and an extension of the repayment period for a loan already advanced; offers of money in various government inspections; money spent for larger budgets in government agencies; money regularly paid to government agencies by unlicensed business establishments or establishments failing to meet the required standards of facilities or doing business other than the licensed ones; money offered by bus and taxi companies for overlooking violations of traffic rules; government officials who received money regularly from big companies; many parents give to teachers of their primary-school children once a month; and many primary-school teachers regularly give to their principals and vice principals.

This kind of corruption is characterized by the fact that it is considerably institutionalized and that the amount of money given are relatively fixed. Influence peddlers around courts, city halls, ward offices, tax offices and other government agencies used to say, "Your problem requires so much amount of money for solution." It is this kind of corruption that both the people and the government hate most.

B. Accidental corruption

Accidental corruption is less organized than institutionalized corruption. Because it is accidental, this kind of corruption has no continuity or patterned behavior. But this is relative, and the difference from institutionalized corruption is but a matter of degree. On the part of government officials and businessmen, a high incidence of accidental corruption tends to develop into institutionalized corruption.

In the case of institutionalized corruption, members of government agencies, including their heads, and citizens having interest in such agencies acknowledge it but consider it unavoidable and follow the practice of such corruption. As a result, government officials and businessmen feel little guilt. In the cases of government offi-

cials, familiarization with such corruption makes their sense of guilt blunt. Businessmen see such corruption in other businessmen and follow them and they know that kickbacks given to government officials bring about bigger profits.

In accidental corruption, however, guilty conscience is usually as sharp as in ordinary crimes. Forgery of documents, financial irregularities, dishonest sale of government land, and embezzlement of public funds and government property are usually done in secret.

In case accidental corruption is big in scale or involve influential government officials, the officials involved feel as little guilt as in institutionalized corruption. For example, government officials irregularly arrange for sale or lease of government land in the suburbs or in areas of tourist attraction at very low prices or rents for construction of tourist hotels, or arrange for landscaping projects and pavement of roads to such hotels with government funds in exchange for kickbacks from the end users of such hotels. In this case, ranking government officials or higher government authorities have influence or apply pressure, with the result that responsibility falls on such officials or authorities, or that such irregularities are rationalized in the name of 'developing the tourist industry and community development. Accordingly, working-level officials involved feel little guilt. Rather, they feel that they are protected by ranking officials or higher government authorities in such irregularities.

This is a typical white-collar crime. What is important in the study of corruption is careful observation and identification of the characteristics, nature and degree of white-collar crimes in the form of accidental corruption. Corruption in the nature of white-collar crime is usually big in scale and its infringement on public interest is therefore great.

Corruption can also be classified by scale or level, and by the type of administrative actions,

corruption from controlling function of government agencies, corruption from fostering and guiding function, corruption related to management and safekeeping function and so forth.

By administrative process, corruption can also be divided into planning stage corruption, executing stage corruption and after-check corruption.

On the basis of the positions of those who are involved in scandals, corruption can be classified into internal corruption such as personnel and financial scandals, external corruption involving non-government officials as well as government officials, international corruption such as the Lockheed and Gulf scandals and scandals related to foreign aid as seen in developing countries, and corruption involving two nations, a government and a foreign corporation individual and a government official and a foreign business organization.

6. Causes of Corruption

Corruption is judged by their legal and social norms and this fact shows that differs in type, technique, object, scale and degree. This also means that corruption differs considerably in cause.

In this paper, I will try to identify the causes of corruption to which we attach importance in connection with the unique social and cultural conditions of Korean society, rather than to seek universal causes. This is believed necessary process one has to go through to establish a universal theories with respect to the causes of corruption.

The causes of corruption here are defined as social and cultural factors conducive to corruption, not as any direct motive for corruption.

I will discuss several approaches to the causes of corruption in the field of socio-pathology and then review the historical as well as social and cultural factors leading to corruption. So corruption in the broad sense will be dealt with here.

A. Criteria for Sound Society

That society is sick means that society is corrupt. This expression is analogized from medicine and biology on the assumption that a society is an organic entity. P. de Lilienfeld, known as the father of social pathology, said in 1896, "Society is in fact an organic body, and the difference between the two in independence and freedom of cells as constituent units is also a matter of degree."

Social pathology, starts with the definition of state of not being sick or abnormal. In other words, the standards of a normal or healthy state must be established. In the animal and vegetable kingdoms, it is much easier to define a normal or healthy state than in human society. For example, medical science has developed many indicators of healthy human body for use in examination of a man's health.

A normal state of society or social structure cannot be defined by statistical figures such as average social indicators or majority values. Suppose that 30 percent of the population has tooth trouble, you cannot say that 20 percent of the population who have no tooth trouble are abnormal and the remaining 80 percent are normal.

Normal persons here should mean those who are in a physiologically healthy state. In medicine, man's healthy condition is determined by diagnostic indicators, and senility due to old age is thus defined as a disease. A state of no physiological pain, capacity to exist and move, and the possibility of sustaining such a state can, therefore, be called a healthy state of man.

There have not yet been established satisfactory criteria for the determination whether a society is sick. I have no idea of looking back on the history of social pathology here, but I think it worthwhile to introduce the criteria of social diseases established so far in this

discipline.

According to Sampei Kozeki, who wrote a book on the realities and possibilities of social pathology in 1961, it was Lilienfeld that first attempted to establish such criteria. He divided social abnormalities into three categories... legal, economic and political... and this is similar to the current attempt to develop social indicators.

1) Economic Abnormalities

Economic stagnancy, lack of projection of forecast, waste, lack of savings spirit and planning and invention spirit, increased production of unnecessary goods, unequal distribution of national income, and insufficient distribution of national income, and insufficient distribution system.

2) Legal Abnormalities

No sense of justice, depreciation of other people's rights, judges vulnerable to bribes and conducting partial trials, courts impotent to insure public and private safety, unsystematic accumulation of contradictory laws, civil and criminal codes failing to meet the people's requirements and cultural level, and laws failing to insure the safety of property, real estate, financial transactions and commerce and industry.

3) Political Abnormalities

Insurgency, frequent cabinet reshuffles, attempts to overthrow the government in power, potent central government lack of national budget, heavy tax burden, and over the national debts.

C.A. Elliwood in *Sociology: Principles and Problems* in 1945 and S.A. Queen and J.R. Gruener in *Social Pathology: Obstacles to Social Participation* in 1940 tried to define social diseases as a state of individuals' maladjustment to social systems.

The theory of social disorganization has been developed under the influence of W.F. Ogburn, author of *Social Changes*, 1950, and the chief advocates of this theory M.A. Eliot and F.E. Merrill. According to them, social disorganization

is a break-down of social interactions and functions of social groups, and this process takes place when a balance of social powers changes. In modern society, however, general uncertainty of position and role is found in social groups and there is disagreement between the expectations of their members and their present roles or functions in their groups. Moreover, a conflict among social values is hardly avoidable.

Of late M.B. Clinard developed a theory of deviant behavior in his *Sociology of Deviant Behavior* and R.K. Merton a theory of anomie and disfunction and there are some attempts to establish such criteria of sound society on the basis of the theory of social disorganization.

The current effort to develop social indicators, though started from a different motive from the motives of the above-mentioned scholars, is expected to give an epoch-making answer to the question of how to establish criteria for defining a sound society. I believe that the study of social pathology will be active in this area of developing social indicators. If study related to social development in the broad sense places stress on increasing or improving scores on social indicators, the study of social pathology is directed to identifying factors which reduce such scores on indicators and present a method of eliminating them.

Accordingly, a sound or healthy society can be defined as a society at a level of certain social indicator values and above, and such a society contains all values implied by such literary and political expressions of a good society as "a society where you can live better," "a society full of love," "a society in which honest men can live better," and "an affluent society,"

B. Three Approaches

With what has been discussed above in mind, I will now review three major approaches scholars have made in their pursuit of the causes of social

corruption, because these approaches suggest many things with regard to the clean-up program of the Korean government in which we all have been interested.

First, there is an approach from the standpoint of social structures. In this approach, defects in social structures are considered as the causes of social diseases. Depending on the unit of analysis in social structure, this approach is divided into three standpoints. One is seeking the causes of social diseases in relations between social classes and anomie, another considers the community as a unit of analysis and the third sees social diseases as deviant behavior of small groups and their member.

With regard to anomie as a phenomenon of social pathology, E. Durkheim defined it as a state of lawlessness or irregularity in social groups. According to his well known book on suicide, in a feudal society in which ascetic morals prevailed, man's desire was socially restrained, whereas in a capitalist society in which social morality is based on wealth or money, man is free from all things restraining his desires. As a result of freedom from moral and traditional restraints, man's desires and expectation rise limitlessly only to widen the gap between reality and expectation, with the result that society is put in a state of lawlessness. In an advanced capitalist society, accordingly, an end and a means to achieve the end are put under control in social structures and man's limitless desires are met in the form of success in adaptation to social realities. But there still is a gap between such realistic success and an institutionalized means to achieve it.

C. Wright Mills realistically depicted the life of middle-class people on the basis of a great deal of information concerning such a gap felt by middle-class people in his famous work *White-collar*.

R. K. Merton pointed out that the gap between

social success and the institutionalized means to achieve it caused people in different social classes to develop different patterns of attitude and behavior. He also classified the pattern of adaptation into several types to observe what pattern prevail particularly in what social group in an attempt to analyze social pressure to defy social regulations and norms. This can be seen in social phenomena of Korean society in connection with the clean-up program. For example, we often hear people saying, "You can't be well off only because you're always honest." "Have you ever seen a businessman who makes money after paying all his taxes?"

Next from the standpoint of community, the factor leading to social disorganization is analyzed on the basis of community structures. In the course of social disorganization, those who fail to adapt themselves to society and drop out from the ladder of success form slum areas and develop a unique environment and way of living and a unique pattern of behavior.

In slum areas, factors conducive to destruction of ordinary social life erupt one after another to the extent of putting the whole society into disfunction or malfunction. The advocate of this theory argue that social diseases must be identified and proscribed in their relations to community structures. This theory is of significance to an effort of Korean government to achieve national unity through elimination of corruption, and the social phenomena cited as social diseases by the advocate of this theory merit the attention of the government.

Lastly, there are relations between small social groups and their members. Such relations are important in view of the fact that modernization had given rise to many social groups and even divided them into sub-groups. These small groups develop their own norms, value orientations and behavioral patterns. The unique pattern of behavior in such a group is often deviant behavior

by the standards of behavioral patterns established by the whole society. And some members of such groups deviate from even the particular pattern of behavior in the group. The former implies the gap between group behavior of market merchants, woman gamblers or hoodlums and the social norms, and the latter means youths running away from their homes. These phenomena cannot be overlooked in social purification.

As discussed above, this approach is based on the theory that defects in social structures cause social diseases. In other words, there are factors leading to social diseases in social structures.

The second approach to social diseases is based on the adverse effects of social changes. Modern society sees rapid change because of the rapid advancement of science and technology, the rapid changes in economic structures and the fluctuation in international relations. Especially, change in industrial structures, urbanization, mass media and the development effects on society, causing various social diseases.

For example, the sharp population increase in secondary and tertiary industries, the development of the leisure industry and the bankruptcy of small businesses due to the growth of large businesses have produced many "dropouts" and modern society is not yet capable of sufficiently helping them. As a result, they find their way to slum areas, crime and prostitution.

The sharp increase in urban population has resulted in variety and heterogeneity of urban life, and few contacts with neighbors in city life result in weak control of citizens by community or neighbors, thereby providing a hot bed for deviant behavior from the established morals and customs. Structural changes in industry, combined with urbanization, increase the possibilities of social corruption, and many examples of such possibilities can be cited in Korea.

The third approach is based on social systems. In his famous work, *Das Kapital*, Karl

Marx tried to identify the cause of social diseases in the contradictions of capitalism. According to him, the cause of social diseases should be found in the exploitation of worker in an advanced stage of capitalism. He argued that the only way to remedy social diseases is the elimination of capitalism by a revolution.

As a result, he disregarded social diseases due to social changes. But it must be noted that in Communist countries where capitalism has been done away with, there still are black markets, prostitutes, educational irregularities and corrupt government officials.

The Communists say that capitalism dehumanize man, considering him simply a part of a machine and causes him to feel a sense of alienation, but the fact is that dehumanization and alienation are felt far more greatly in Communist countries than in capitalist countries.

C. Korean Factors Conducive to Corruption

1) Social Unrest

Korean history is the history of foreign invasions and revolts. Apart from the Mongolian invasion which swept nearly all countries in Asia, there were two Japanese invasions in 1592 and 1598 and there was a Manchu invasion in the 1630's. After 1971, there were large-scale persecutions of Catholicism and many Catholics were imprisoned, which culminated in the 1880's when Regent Daewongun ruled the country with repressive policy.

In 1894, there was the rebellion of Hong Kyong-nae, and this was followed by the Tonhak Rebellion 1897. In 1909, Korea was annexed by Japan.

Japan fought China and Russia in Korea for her influence in Korea and her annexation of Korea. But Koreans rose against Japanese rule in the March 1 Movement in 1919 and this brought about more Japanese oppression of Koreans. Under Japanese rule, Koreans underwent World War II,

and they were liberated from Japanese rule at the close of World War II, which Japan lost.

After liberation, Korea was thrown into big social and political confusion and disorder. The political fight against the Communists put the people in a state of extreme unrest. Then came the Korean War and two political revolutions, and in the meantime the country was put under martial law on several occasions. The continued political and social unrest had influence on the people's social and other activities. Here I will disclose how this social unrest helped increase corruption.

In Cambodia and South Vietnam, ranking government officials and rich people ran away from their countries with gold bullion and U.S. dollars when their countries fell to Communist hands.

They must have thought that they could escape because they had money, instead of considering their corruption as one of the causes of their country's fall. In Cambodia and South Vietnam on the eve of their fall, people must have thought that what they could rely on was money, not the government, laws or any promises. This way of thinking may be compared to under the capitalist system, but its cause is different.

Excessive reliance on money in social unrest is a reaction to unrest and danger, a precautionary reaction for the protection of oneself and one's family.

A sense of insecurity is also caused by an inconsistent system or policy, that is, frequent changes in policy and system because you cannot tell what will change when and how, you cannot plan your life tomorrow. As a result, businessmen prefer investments bringing about quick profits to long-term and stable investments. With political stability in Korea in the past several years, the Korean people appear to become considerably free from such a sense of insecurity, but it seems that their basic way of thinking about their security

has not yet been totally changed.

In a state of social unrest, it is very hard even for civil servants to establish long-term career plans for themselves. They can hardly tell when they will be promoted and when and where they will be transferred, and under such circumstances they are compelled to provide for the security of their lives after their departure from civil service. For example, many resigned government officials land jobs in private corporations in Korea and this takes place in exchange for the favors they gave to such corporations while they were in public office in many cases. By giving such favors, they establish some connections with business corporations, and this increases the mammonist way of thinking held by public officials and businessmen. Factors of social unrest still remain in Korean society, and those in leading positions in society have taken foreign exchange away from the country to foreign countries because of social unrest.

2) Confucian Tradition

Class consciousness and family-first thinking are the remains of Confucianism still found among the Korean people in connection with corruption. Instead of telling bad from good, Confucianism recognizes authority in the government and family and Confucian morals demand absolute obedience of people to the ruler, children to the parents, wives to husbands and juniors to seniors for the based on family and on the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. As a result, it considers men not as independent characters equal to others but entities situated in a continuum of vertical human relations between superiors and inferiors. Accordingly, the superior's will and feeling come before rational and fundamental criteria for decision-making. There is little room for development of the concepts of social and public interest in Confucianism. Moreover, there is little sense of criticism.

What are important in Confucianism are peace,

order and prosperity of the family. Confucians make it their utmost goal in life to increase their family influence. In many Asian countries, family name comes before everything else and any disgrace to the family name is strictly punished for the establishment of strict family discipline.

The state is considered a big family, and the king is regarded as the head of this family. Everything thus belongs to the king, and the prosperity of the royal family is considered as the prosperity of the country. This Confucian way of thinking still remains among the Korean people of today. For example, some government officials regard public office as something their private properties.

Office workers are children or brothers of the office head, who, in turn, worries about and looks after the living of his subordinates as if he were their family head. As a result, he subconsciously thinks that he feeds or supports his subordinates and their families. Until two or three years ago, in fact, heads of government offices had openly given money raised irregularly, such as travel expenses on false trips and bribes received from business firms, to their subordinates to help them support their families. At the time, office heads who did not raise such money were considered incompetent by their subordinates.

As a result, the instructions will or concern of the superior come before rational decisions or judgements and regulations, even though such instructions, will or concern of the superior are irrational to some extent.

This kind of family-type administration has developed into family-type politics. We often hear a government official say that he is so-and-so's man, and this means that a certain influential official looks after him in promotion and transfer as if he were the official's family member. He discusses with the influential official his important problems as if he were the official's son or brother and benefits from his influence. In ex-

change for such benefits, he gives gifts suitable to his financial standing to the official on his birthday, Christmas, New Year Day and Chusok (Korean thanksgiving day), as he does to his parents. He also pledges allegiance to the official and provides support in his attempts to increase his influence.

Without such connection with an influential official, you cannot stay long in your present position, nor can you be promoted. Because of the effect of such connections, government officials had had to "do politics" to establish such connections or promotions until a few years ago. Coming under the umbrella of an influential official, you can have job security and benefit from many things under such influence.

Another remainder of the Confucian concept of family is *uiri*, which cannot be readily translated into English. Western people pay little attention to the concept of *uiri*, but it carries weight in Korea, China and Japan. This concept implies the return for another person's kindness and a sort of family relation as well. It also means shame, honor, face and sympathy.

In officialdom, this concept is related to requests for favors. Accepting such a request from a friend means meeting the requirement based on *uiri*. If you reject a request from a person you know very well, irrespective of whether he is your old friend in your home town, in school, in the army or in your former occupation or he is introduced to you by a person you know very well, you will be branded as a man without a sense of *uiri*.

uiri relations are like family relations, without

distinguishing "mine" from "yours" in the use and ownership of things, and *uiri* and sympathy often come before principles and rules. Coming under the umbrella of an influential official means establishment of *uiri* relations with him. So having many friends and acquaintances is power and assets in Korean society. One way to climb up the ladder of success in this society is to tell your superior that you know many people in influential government positions.

Business firms recruit retired army generals, retired bankers and retired government officials who served in important positions related to the business community as their presidents or officers because the firms want to use these men's influence, that is, they are in a position to ask incumbent government officials in important positions for favors. In other words, the firms want to use their *uiri* relations with incumbent government officials for their business. Needless to say, such requests for favors often result in scandal or jobbery.

3) Kisaeng House Culture

It is the Kisaeng house in Korea and the geisha house in Japan that help increase corruption in these two countries, and other entertainment places, such as derivatives of the kisaeng or geisha house and mixtures of such houses and a Western bars where hostesses serve, also play an important role in increasing corruption. Here I only point out that such entertainment places have great influence on social corruption in Korea, and I will put off the discussion of the social situation and functions of such places to a future study of corruption in Korea.