

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS ON ELITE SOUTH  
KOREAN AMATEUR ATHLETES WITH RESPECT TO SPORT MATCH FIXING

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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August. 2017

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Looking back, there was a lot of happening during my doctorate career. For much of my time, I had to fight many adversities not only from school life, but also from my own personal life. At one point, these were trying enough to make me completely frustrated, and that harshness led me to be worn down physically and mentally. However, when I was devoured by milksopism, many people helped me. I would like to express my gratitude to them.

Above all, I appreciate all the help from my committee members for their advice and guidance. I would like to thank Dr. Michael Wade. As my primary adviser, he always guided me and took care of me. I absolutely know how kind and considerate he is, and I enjoy his eccentric facial expressions. I will never forget Dr. Rayla Allison's friendship and advice to me. As my co-adviser, she was always supportive during my doctorate career. She also played a role in encouraging me to stay self-motivated reminding me why I want to teach by showing me her own practice as a teacher.

I truly appreciate Dr. Frances Lawrenz's advice as my outside committee member. She was such a tireless hard worker. I love her passion for advising students. I can honestly say that without her support, I could not have completed my dissertation at all. I would also like to thank Dr. Jo Buysse. As my committee member, her support for and belief in me played roles in strengthening my scholarly passion. In addition, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my older friends, Mr. Joel Maturi and Mrs. Lois Maturi. They always played roles in my life- at times as my best friends and at times as my parents. I will never forget what they said to me: "You are special to us." Please be aware, both of you are very special in my life as well.

Most importantly I would like to dedicate my dissertation and PhD degree to my mother. I appreciate her love and support, taking care of me for most of her life. I truly believe that her endless prayers for me and God's protection led me to finish my arduous journey successfully during my doctorate career. Lastly, I sincerely wish all the people who supported me good health with all of God's blessings.

## ABSTRACT

This research questions how South Korean sociocultural contexts influence elite amateur athletes with respect to sport match fixing. Utilizing a qualitative-based empirical design, purposeful and snowball sampling was used in this research. The participants for this study were selected from current or previous South Korean elite amateur athletes who play or have played at the national team level for at least three years.

The data findings of this project were divided into three parts. The first is historical and cultural contexts influenced by Neo-Confucianism's demand for individuals to have an excessive loyalty to authority figures, and to emphasize mutual help for each other. Another significant feature shown in this research is collectivism. These historical and cultural contexts have played major roles in causing match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports settings.

The second demonstrates that rapid societal changes led South Korea to experience both negative and positive outcomes. Causing negative effects, this societal environment brought about a 'win at all cost society' and 'societal polarization' between the haves and have-nots. The negative effects of societal changes led to unfair sport environments in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. A positive effect of social change led society to become more mature, and individuals and social institutions have become more transparent.

The third demonstrates how South Korean elite amateur athletes' perception and understanding of sport match fixing are subject to their sport settings that are influenced by sociocultural contexts. In macro perspectives, South Korean elite amateur athletes

have perceived match fixing as a very normalized practice via processes of socialization and institutionalization. Also, they recognized sport match fixing occurs due to a struggle for power among groups and due to authority figures' abuse of power in competitions. As micro perspectives, South Korean elite amateur athletes understood that match fixing occurs due to very personal reasons such as finances or job promotion benefits. Also, they pointed out a lack of individuals' ethical consciousness as one of the major factors causing sport match fixing. However, one of the most common understandings for South Korean elite amateur athletes was that corrupt sport settings are getting better.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	i
ABSTRACT .....	iii
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background of Sport Match Fixing .....	1
Statement of the Problem .....	3
Purpose .....	8
Research Questions .....	8
Significance .....	9
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
Corruption.....	11
Individual corruption.....	13
Individual level of corruption according to socio-demographics .....	19
Organizational corruption .....	25
National level corruption.....	29
Sociocultural Contexts in South Korea .....	31
Confucianism .....	31
Neo-Confucianism developed in Korean society.....	33
Collectivism .....	35
Societal change.....	39
Cultural hegemony .....	41
Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Corruption .....	42

Sport Corruption-Match Fixing .....	44
Literature Summary and Gaps .....	52
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN .....	56
Interpretive Frameworks .....	56
Qualitative Research .....	57
Researcher's Role .....	58
Efficiency .....	60
Situating the self .....	61
Negotiating entry .....	62
Sampling .....	63
Sample size .....	64
Data Collection .....	65
Data Management .....	68
Data Analysis Strategy .....	69
Data preparation and organization .....	70
Data analysis and interpretation procedures .....	70
Trustworthiness .....	73
Credibility .....	73
Transferability .....	76
Dependability and confirmability .....	77
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA FINDINGS .....	79
I. Influence of Historical and Cultural Contexts on South Korean Elite Amateur Sports Involved in Match Fixing .....	79
Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Sport Match Fixing .....	82
'Wulun,' forced hierarchy .....	83



‘ <i>Wulun</i> ,’ friendship (mutual help).....	89
Influence of Collectivism on Sport Match Fixing.....	98
Groupism.....	100
Centralized-power system.....	104
II. Influence of Societal Changes on South Korean Elite Amateur Athletes with Respect to Sports Match Fixing.....	107
Negative Effects of Societal Changes.....	111
Win at all cost society.....	113
Social polarization.....	119
Positive Effects of Societal Changes.....	122
Enlightenment of stakeholders by social changes.....	126
Change of consciousness in sport participation.....	130
Artificial (contextual) factors.....	131
III. Elite Amateur Athletes’ General Perspectives of Sport Match Fixing in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts and Personal Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Settings.....	138
Macro Point of View: Elite Amateur Athletes’ General Perspectives on Sport Match Fixing in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts.....	141
Normalized practice.....	141
Power-related practice.....	149
Reluctant acceptance of corrupted social setting and of power imbalance.....	154
Micro Point of View: Elite Amateur Athletes’ Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Setting.....	160
Very personal reasons.....	161
A lack of ethical consciousness.....	165

Getting improved somehow .....	166
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF DATA FINDINGS .....	168
R1. Influence of historical and cultural contexts on South Korean elite amateur sports involved in match fixing.....	168
Neo-Confucianism .....	168
Collectivism .....	174
R2. Influence of Societal Changes on South Korean Elite Amateur Athletes with Respect to Sports Match Fixing .....	176
Negative effects of societal changes .....	176
Positive effects of societal changes.....	178
R3. Elite Amateur Athletes’ General Perspectives of Sport Match Fixing in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts and Personal Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Settings .....	180
Macro perspectives.....	180
Micro perspectives .....	182
Implications .....	184
Theoretical Implications.....	184
Managerial Implications.....	187
Limitations.....	189
References.....	192
APPENDIX A.....	230
Interview Protocol .....	230
Interview Questions.....	231

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: INFORMATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS .....	65
TABLE 1.1 ' <i>WULUN</i> ,' FORCED HIERARCHY BY (NEO) CONFUCIANISM .....	84
TABLE 1.1 (CONT.) ' <i>WULUN</i> ,' FORCED HIERARCHY BY (NEO) CONFUCIANISM .....	85
TABLE 1.2 ' <i>WULUN</i> ,' FRIENDSHIP BY (NEO) CONFUCIANISM.....	90
TABLE 1.2 (CONT.) ' <i>WULUN</i> ,' FRIENDSHIP BY (NEO) CONFUCIANISM .....	92
TABLE 1.3 GROUPISM IN COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY .....	101
TABLE 1.4 CENTRALIZED POWER SYSTEM IN COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY .....	104
TABLE 2.1 NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON SPORT MATCH FIXING BY SOCIETAL CHANGES.....	111
TABLE 2.1 (CONT.) NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON SPORT MATCH FIXING BY SOCIETAL CHANGES .....	119
TABLE 2.2 POSITIVE EFFECTS ON SPORT MATCH FIXING BY SOCIETAL CHANGES.....	123
TABLE 2.2 (CONT.) POSITIVE EFFECTS ON SPORT MATCH FIXING BY SOCIETAL CHANGES .....	124
TABLE 2.2 (CONT.) POSITIVE EFFECTS ON SPORT MATCH FIXING BY SOCIETAL CHANGES .....	124
TABLE 3.1 NORMALIZED PRACTICE IN SOUTH KOREAN SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS.....	143
TABLE 3.1 (CONT.) NORMALIZED PRACTICE IN SOUTH KOREAN SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS .....	146

TABLE 3.2 POWER-RELATED PRACTICE IN SOUTH KOREAN	
SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS .....	150
TABLE 3.2 (CONT.) POWER-RELATED PRACTICE IN SOUTH KOREAN	
SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS .....	151
TABLE 3.3 RELUCTANT ACCEPTANCE OF CORRUPTED SOCIAL SETTING	
AND OF POWER IMBALANCE .....	156
TABLE 3.4 INVOLVEMENT OF SPORT MATCH FIXING DUE TO PERSONAL	
REASON .....	162
TABLE 3.5 A LACK OF ETHICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND IMPROVEMENT OF	
MATCH FIXING.....	165

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. INFLUENCE OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS ON SOUTH KOREAN ELITE AMATEUR SPORTS INVOLVED IN MATCH FIXING .....	81
FIGURE 2. INFLUENCE OF SOCIETAL CHANGES ON SOUTH KOREAN ELITE AMATEUR WITH RESPECT TO SPORTS MATCH FIXING .....	110
FIGURE 3. KOREAN ELITE AMATEUR ATHLETES' GENERAL PERSPECTIVES AND UNDERSTANDING OF SPORT MATCH FIXING IN THEIR SPORT SETTINGS .....	140

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **Background of Sport Match Fixing**

The integrity and reputation of sport is destroyed by corruption (Maenning, 2005; Miller, Roberts, & Spence, 2005), in particular sport match fixing (McLaren, 2008).

According to the recommendation of the European Union Commission, the official legal definition of match fixing is described as “manipulation of sports results” (Zaksaite, 2013), covering:

The arrangement of an irregular alteration of the course or the result of a sporting competition or any of its particular events (such as matches, races) in order to obtain an advantage for oneself or for others, and to remove all or part of the uncertainty normally associated with the results of a competition (p. 287).

However, the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport (EPAS; 2014) provides a more precise definition covering not only an intentional arrangement, but also action altering the course or result of a sport competition. This definition is more correct in that it indicates match fixing as “manipulation of sport competitions” rather than “manipulation of sport results.” Manipulating the result is merely one type of the objects to be fixed (Zaksaite, 2013). Therefore, in this study, the EPAS’ (2014) definition of match fixing described as “manipulation of sports competitions” will be employed.

An intentional arrangement, act or omission aimed at an improper alteration of the result or the course of a sports competition in order to remove all or part of the unpredictable nature of the aforementioned sports competition with a view to obtaining an undue advantage for oneself or for others (p. 5).

There are two different types of sport match fixing: betting match fixing and non-betting match fixing. First, before betting match fixing, sport betting is defined as a wager on the course or result of a sports competition in the expectation of monetary value (Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport, 2014). Betting match fixing takes place in sports betting activity for gaining monetary values by manipulating the course or result of a sports competition. Betting match fixing as gambling has emerged as an increasing global phenomenon (Forrest, McHale, & McAuley, 2008; McLaren, 2008; Panthéon-Sorbonne & International Centre for Sport Security, 2014) since the sport gambling industry has been established within both professional and amateur sports (Forrest & Simmons, 2003; McLaren, 2008).

Non-betting sport match fixing, such as biased judgment<sup>1</sup> or tanking<sup>2</sup>, occurs when an individual or team agrees on the outcome of the match in advance for certain purposes such as promotion and relegation without involvement in gambling (Harvey, 2015). In other words, non-betting match fixing occurs when players intentionally lose without being involved in gambling. Non-betting match fixing scandals take place not only in professional sports, but also in amateur sports around the world (Gorse & Chadwick, 2011).

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<sup>1</sup> Officials, in particular referees, deliberately make subjective decisions or calls during a game in favor of a certain player or team (Glamser, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> A player or team intentionally underperforms in an athletic contest (Balsdon, Fong, & Thayer, 2007). Tanking is caused by players or teams who collude to alter the results of the matches in advance (Duggan & Levitt, 2002).

### **Statement of the Problem**

Sports have occupied a positive role in the history of humankind. However, since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, values of sports have sometimes been distorted along with the changes of the global society. For example, since the Cold War, sports have been used as a means of political propaganda for diplomatic and domestic political purposes (Wagg & Andrews, 2007). As the Korean War broke out because of one of the most significant conflicts of containment between powers in the Eastern Bloc with the Soviet Union as the center and power in the Western Bloc with the United States as the center, South Korean society was explicitly influenced by the international situations and affairs as well. In many social turbulences, sports have been used to build national prestige and redeem national identity by all the South Korean regimes (Cho, 2008; Hong, 2011). South Korea had its own government since the Korean War ended in 1953; during this time, the first South Korean regime began its national reconstruction. The military regimes that governed South Korea from 1963 through 1987 were interested in using sport as a means of assisting national modernization and of a political instrument (Hong, 2011). During the military regimes, one of the governmental goals was to secure enough national finances for sport development (Kim, 2004).

Such efforts of the regimes brought various mega-sporting events, such as the Asian Games in 1986 and the Seoul Olympics in 1988, to South Korea as a hosting country. The period when such mega-sporting events were successfully hosted in South Korea is described as the “autumn when the fruit of sport ripened.” (Ha & Mangan, 2002, p. 231). After the military regimes ended in 1987, the civilian governments of South Korea continuously put many efforts into strengthening sport. As a result, South Korea



hosted the second Asian Games in 2002 and the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan.

Also, South Korea was selected as a host country for the 2018 Winter Olympics.

Consequently, South Korea achieved the trifecta of hosting the big three mega sporting events including both the Summer and Winter Olympics and the FIFA World Cup.

As the belief that hosting mega-sporting events can increase national prestige and identity, the South Korean government and people believe that strengthening sport power in the international society can promote their cultural identity and nationalism (Roche, 2000). However, recently South Korean sports, which act as a dream of hope to South Koreans, have been tarnished by instances of both betting and non-betting match fixing (Choe, 2012; Kim, 2014; Kim, 2015). Betting match fixing has occurred in five major South Korean professional sports (i.e. soccer, volleyball, baseball, basketball, and Korean traditional wrestling referred to as '*Ssireum*') from 2011 through 2016.

In addition, non-betting sport match fixing such as biased judgment and tanking scandals have emerged as a serious issue with the cases of Viktor Ahn's<sup>3</sup> (Kim, 2015) and Akiyama Yoshihiro<sup>4</sup> (Kim, 2014). According to the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and

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<sup>3</sup> South Korean, Ahn Hyun Soo, won 3 gold medals in men's short track speed skating in the 2006 Torino Winter Olympics. He said after the games an elder player forced him to tank a domestic competition, and that was one of the reasons for him to leave for Russia. In Russia, he was naturalized and took the name Viktor Ahn and later won another 3 gold medals in the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics.

<sup>4</sup> Korean Japanese, Akiyama Yoshihiro known as Chu Seong Hoon in Korean, came to South Korea to become a Korean Judo National Team member. However, he had never overcome Korean players in the final match for the Korean national squad because of a rampant biased judgment. Eventually, he left for Japan and won a gold medal for Japan in men's Judo -81 kg in the 2002 Busan Asian Games, defeating a Korean player in the final match.

Tourism (2016), a total of 70 cases of sport match fixing including betting and non-betting in Korean sports were caught between March 2014 to June 2016 (Hwang, 2016). These sport match fixing scandals seriously damaged the reputations of South Korean professional and amateur sports.

Sport match fixing as a form of corruption takes place at various levels such as the individual, organizational, and national. Basically, committing corrupt acts takes place because of low salaries such as pecuniary issue. In sport match fixing, one of the most common reasons an individual commits unethical decision-making or unethical behavior is also due to low salaries (Forrest, 2012; Heron & Jiang, 2010; Hill, 2009, 2010a; Spapens & Olfers, 2015). For example, in terms of the incidents of South Korean professional sports match fixing, most of the offenders were also those who suffered from low income (Kim, 2011; Oh, 2011).

Boniface (2012) points out that sport match fixing is institutionalized in sport organizations. For example, players' involvement in match fixing may result from distrust of officials who they believe are involved in match fixing (Hill, 2010a). In other words, the prevalence of match fixing by officials may lead to the growth of match fixing generally (Aquilina & Chetcuti, 2014) and influence the involvement of athletes in match fixing (Hill, 2010a).

Lastly, at the national level, Hooker (2009) explained that different cultures have fundamentally different behavioral norms and conceptions of ethics. Therefore, corrupting behavior is also interpreted differently around the world due to each country's different cultural background developed by its own sociocultural contexts (Bierstaker, 2009; Dalton, 2005; Hooker, 2009; Park, Rehg, & Lee, 2005; Park, 2004; Seo, Leather, &

Coyne, 2012; Singhapakdi, Vitell, & Leelakulthanit, 1994). In other words, an individual's ethical decision making on corruption is also influenced by sociocultural contexts (Ferrell, Gresham, & Fraedrich, 1989; Foot, 1982; Hunt & Vitell, 1986; Husted & Allen, 2008; Rachels, 1986; Trevino & Weaver, 2003), which is composed of people's historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds (Barnett & Casper, 2001).

South Korean society has unique sociocultural contexts built on Neo-Confucianism that was originated from Confucianism in China. Confucianism places an emphasis on human relationships and mutual respects (Yao, 2003). Neo-Confucianism led to strengthening authoritarianism and bureaucratism not only in familial structures, but also in overall social structures (Haboush, 1991).

South Korea also has collectivist social background, which is relatively vulnerable to corruption (Zheng, El Ghouli, Guedhami, & Kwok, 2013). In collectivist society, ingroup members tend to maintain relationships with each other and to favor their ingroup members. According to Dalton (2005), group loyalty may lead ingroup members to comply with the commands or unwritten rules that the group forces them to obey regardless of whether these are legal or illegal.

In addition, South Korean society has undergone rapid and often drastic changes from the mid twentieth century through today (Kim, 2006). The most significant change is a transformation from the centuries-old traditional society to a completely modernistic society (Kim, 2006). The rapid and drastic social change of South Korea led to explicit dual characteristics of the sociocultural context that are contrasted with each other; coexistence of democratization and authoritarian cultural traditions, pursuing

globalization and remaining nationalist, civil rights movement and patriarchal institution (Kim, 2006).

These social features of South Korea result not only from historical and cultural backgrounds, but also from the current societal background (Kim, 2006). In other words, all characteristics of the South Korean society could be explained by three general components: historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds. Therefore, those three components will be taken into consideration as the sociocultural contexts for this study.

Consequently, athletes' corrupt behavior may also be subject to their own sociocultural contexts. Sport match fixing becomes a more interesting topic in the sport management field. However, there are few studies dealing with sport match fixing within perspectives of how sociocultural contexts combined with historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds influence athletes involved in match fixing and of how sport match fixing changes along with societal changes. In addition, a few studies discuss this issue in amateur sport settings.

As many countries have used the Olympics as a tool to increase national prestige and identity, South Korea has utilized the events for the same purpose (Hong, 2011). In order to maximize athletes' performance in the Olympics, South Korean regimes grant medalists special benefits with reward money and exemption from the two-year national military service that is mandatory for all Korean men. Thus, sociocultural contexts may influence South Korean professional and amateur athletes to become involved in match fixing in different ways and for different reasons.

When taking into consideration the South Korean political agenda that grants Olympic medalists various fringe benefits, amateur sports may be more vulnerable to

match fixing during the Olympic trials and contests for the Korean national squad. This unique societal background in South Korea may lead to different reasons for sport match fixing from other countries' and for corrupt behaviors from other South Korean social entities such as business or educational environments.

Therefore, what remains to be explored is how sociocultural contexts, which are developed through certain society's historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds including rapid social changes, influence elite amateur sports involved in sport match fixing. Also, there is a lack of empirical studies inquiring about sport match fixing, targeting both current and previous amateur athletes. Thus, athletes' experiences in their sociocultural contexts will help better understand how and why amateur sports and athletes end up making unethical decisions and being involved in match fixing.

### **Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to examine how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sport match fixing. According to the operational definition of sociocultural contexts in this research, the research questions are developed by a theoretical frame work focusing on historical, cultural, and societal changes. This intersectional approach will help demonstrate how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to match fixing thoroughly.

### **Research Questions**

1. How do the South Korean sociocultural contexts, which are developed through historical and cultural backgrounds, influence South Korean elite amateur athletes to become involved in sport match fixing?

2. How has sport match fixing changed in accordance with changes of South Korean society?
  - a. How are South Korean elite amateur athletes influenced by the societal changes?
3. What are South Korean elite amateur athletes' general perceptions of sport match fixing in South Korean sociocultural contexts?
  - a. How do they understand sport match fixing in their sport setting?

### **Significance**

This study is important for three reasons. First, as sport ethics becomes one of the most important concerns in the sports field, many scholars have studied various issues of sport corruption in different perspectives. Sport match fixing issues have been increasing with various incidents in different sports events and in different countries (Aquilina & Chetcuti, 2014; Boniface et al., 2012; Forrest et al., 2008; Forrest, 2012; Gambetta, 2009; Gorse & Chadwick, 2010; Hill, 2009; Hill, 2010a; Hill, 2010b; Lin & Chen, 2015; McNamee, 2013; Numerato, 2015). However, even though a few studies dealt with sport match fixing through a sociocultural lens, all the research did not completely consider sociocultural contexts through the integration of historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds. Also, previous studies mostly focused on sport match fixing that occurs in professional sports. Thus, this study aims to improve one's understanding of how sociocultural contexts should be understood and of how these backgrounds may influence amateur athletes with respect to match fixing as well; thereby, this project contributes to future research dealing with the relationship between sociocultural contexts and sport match fixing.

Second, sport corruption, in particular sport match fixing, is a sensitive topic making it difficult to acquire vivid data and even to access potential participants. However, this study was conducted based on empirical research, having current and previous amateur athletes as participants. To analyze the data from the participants, I used theoretical frames such as Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism, and collectivism in this research. Thus, this study will be able to expand upon existing theories that contribute to the relationship between sociocultural contexts and social corruption as well.

Third, individuals construct subject meanings of their experiences, and they interpret the meaning as they engage with the world (Crotty, 1998; Wright, Grenie, & Seaman, 2010). Inquiring about how athletes understand their own unique experiences as an athlete in sports setting and negotiate those experiences with one another will also provide background information about how their sports setting is related to sport match fixing. Therefore, this study will be able to provide a practical contribution to all levels of sport organizations, not only in amateur sports but also in professional sports, with guidelines to reform the organizational environments.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a review of the literature and theoretical framework for this study. The literature is reviewed in four sections: corruption; sociocultural contexts of South Korea; cross-cultural perspectives on corruption; and sport corruption-match fixing. Theoretical framing is used in qualitative research to provide broad explanations of the research or overall perspectives for the research (Creswell, 2009). In this study, sociocultural contexts, including (Neo) Confucianism, collectivism, and societal changes, were applied as theoretical lenses to provide general information about the backgrounds of South Korea. These theoretical frameworks will be discussed between corruption and cross-cultural perspectives of corruption. Locating the theoretical frames between these sections will help explain unique sociocultural contexts ingrained in South Korea and corruption. Lastly, a literature summary and identification of the gaps concludes this chapter.

### Corruption

Above all, it may be hard to develop one universally agreed upon definition of corruption due to differences of the perspectives by cultural patterns. Many scholars identify various characteristics when defining corruption (Anand, Ashforth & Joshi, 2004; Clarke, 1983; Heidenheimer, Johnston, & LeVine, 1989; Luo, 2004; Myint, 2000, Nye, 1967, Rodriguez, Uhlenbruck, & Eden, 2005). The most common characteristics causing corruption are practices that violate important rules in political contexts and law-based norms for personal or group gain, behavior deviating from social norms, abuse of power for private ends, and misuse of official position (Anand, Ashforth & Joshi, 2004;



Clarke, 1983; Heidenheimer et al., 1989; Luo, 2004; Myint, 2000, Nye, 1967, Rodriguez, Uhlenbruck, & Eden, 2005).

Even though corruption is defined by many scholars, there still remains a need to develop a more explicit concept of it. Considering that need, Luo (2004) classifies the characteristics of corruption in more detail within several points: context based, law-based norms, power-related, virtually covert, intentional, opportunistic, and perceptual. First, corruption is interpreted based on certain societal contexts such as political or cultural ideologies; thereby, second, perspectives on corruption are often faced to a dilemma due to its interpretative ambiguity. Thus, corruption should be considered under that question about if “it[corruption] violates legal codes or institutional rules stipulated in a given political context” (Luo, 2004, p. 123) because legal codes can be the touchstones to determine whether certain behaviors are considered misdoings or not. Third, corruption is closely related to power relationships. Most offenders of corrupt acts are people who can exercise their power and exert their authority in organizations. Fourth, corruption usually accompanies informal contracts such as oral communication that do not carry legal force.

Fifth, Finney and Lesieur (1982) distinguish between two different types of corruption based on whether the offenders intentionally act for a personal gain or for their organizations' sake. However, regardless of whether or not there is a direct personal gain from illegal misconduct, if an individual commits misconduct behavior deliberately, such as maximizing profits for his or her organization, then the behavior is considered corruption. Sixth, because corruption is associated with illegal requests, deals between payers and receivers take place under the table, and there is no explicit form of contract

between the two parties. Thus, the latter group can take advantage of this shortcoming by not performing the agreed service. Lastly, according to the degree of corruption, corruption is classified as ‘white,’ which can be acceptable by the public, ‘black,’ which is obviously condemned (Luo, 2004). For example, certain behaviors, which are considered corruption in a certain group, may be embedded as common practices in another group.

Corruption takes place at the three different levels (Huberts, 1998). First is at the individual level, so-called ‘micro level,’ by individual character or private circumstances. Second is at the organizational level, so-called ‘mezzo level,’ by structure, culture, or leadership. The last is at the national level, so-called ‘macro level,’ by political or economic environments.

**Individual corruption.** Individual corruption, which is referred to as ‘micro level corruption,’ usually takes place for personal gain (Banfield, 1975). One thing notable at this level is that an individual’s unethical behavior is transmitted from one to someone else (Anderson & Pearson, 1999). The transmission of corrupt activities is labeled as a ‘bad apple’ (Trevino & Youngblood, 1990), which leads to extending the contagion of corrupt behavior to other individuals through interactions (Bandura, 2002; Kozlowski & Klen, 2000; Moore, 2008; Pillay & Dorasamy, 2010). This concept was already developed by Sutherland (1949) proposing that individuals learn criminal values, motives, attitudes, and techniques through interaction with people.

According to Ashforth and Anand (2003), regardless of how morally upstanding he or she is, an individual can turn into an unethical actor in accordance with his or her

given social role. For example, the classic Stanford University prison experiment<sup>5</sup> shows that individuals who played roles of a guard gradually sank into their roles and were actively engaged in overbearing conduct to control individuals who played roles of a prisoner (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973). The prison experiment demonstrates how an ordinary person becomes engaged in an inhuman context and transformed into an unethical actor.

Zyglidopoulos and Fleming (2008) point out three phases of the transition of ethical distance from an innocent person to a guilty person: 1) from an innocent bystander to an innocent participant, 2) from an innocent participant to an active rationalizer, and 3) from an active rationalizer to a guilty perpetrator. To explain the first phase, Zyglidopoulos and Fleming (2008) borrowed the concept of Milgram's (1974) obedience experiments<sup>6</sup> showing that "the willingness of his subject to hurt others was partially influenced by their proximity" (p. 270). This is also called 'herd mentality' describing how an individual is influenced by people surrounding him or her to adopt their behaviors (Beach & Rose, 2005). Consequently, the transformation from an ordinary person to

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<sup>5</sup> The experiment was conducted at Stanford University in 1971, led by psychology professor Philip Zimbardo. The participants were given their roles distinguishing between prisoners who were supposed to obey the commands of the guards, and guards who were supposed to subject the prisoners to their orders. However, the experiment was stopped after six days since some of prisoners quit the experiment halfway because of too imperious commands of the people acting as guards.

<sup>6</sup> This experiment was conducted by Yale University, being led by psychologist Stanley Milgram. This study aimed to know how people obey authority figures that forced them to perform particular acts conflicting with their personal consciences.

influenced person takes place through the process of socialization, which imparts one's behaviors to someone else.

At the second phase, Zyglidopoulos and Fleming (2008) point out that once an individual becomes an innocent participant, he or she tends to turn into an active rationalizer who "lessen[s] or neutralize[s] the attendant feelings of guilt or anxiety" (p. 271). In other words, a corrupt individual hardly views him/herself as being corrupt (Anand et al., 2004). This concept is also explained by Ashforth and Anand's (2003) argument that an individual becomes involved into corruption through incrementalism and compromise. According to Ashforth and Anand (2003), when an individual influenced by a corrupt one is faced with an ethical dilemma, he or she "initially [has] conflicts between [his or her] ethical principles and cognitive dissonance. However, [he or she] gradually resolve[s] them by rationalizing or compromising [his or her] unethical behavior" (Kim, 2016, p. 17). Consequently, an ordinary person turns into a potential offender by rationalizing his or her own misdoing.

According to Bandura (2002), an individual who commits misconduct may try to defend him or herself, applying eight different cognitive thinking processes in order to justify his or her unethical activity: moral justification, conventional rationalization, displacement of responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, advantageous comparison, disregard for or distortion of consequences, attribution of blame, and euphemistic labeling. Moore (2008) addresses that an individual who commits misconduct applies the thinking processes "to evoke cognitions that allow individuals to restructure their actions to appear less harmful, minimize their role in the outcomes of their actions, or attenuate

the distress that they cause to others” (p. 131). Therefore, the thinking processes are used to justify both past and future corrupt activities.

The cognitive thinking processes can be explained in seven mechanisms to combine displacement of responsibility and diffusion of responsibility. The two mechanisms are about an individual blaming his or her unethical activity on other individuals such as authority figures or the members of a group (Moore, 2008). First, moral justification is about an individual reinterpreting his or her immoral/unethical behavior in terms of a higher purpose. Second, conventional rationalization is about an individual using an excuse for his or her immoral/unethical behavior. Third, displacement of responsibility is about an individual blaming his or her immoral/unethical behavior on others. Fourth, advantageous comparison is about an individual comparing himself or herself to others who are worse. Fifth, disregard for or distortion of consequence is about an individual minimizing the harm that results from his or her immoral/unethical behavior. Sixth, attribution of blame is about an individual claiming that his or her immoral/unethical behavior results from someone else’s behavior. Lastly, euphemistic labeling is about an individual using words to make his immoral/unethical behavior sound acceptable (Bandura, 2002). Consequently, an offender tends to rationalize his or her misdoing through using at least one of the cognitive thinking processes.

At the last phase, Zyglidopoulos and Fleming (2008) point out that rationalizers face to a decision point split into whether or not to become guilty perpetrators. In other words, the greater individual’ ethical distance, the easier he or she will turn into becoming a guilty perpetrator to contribute to social harm. Anand et al (2004) address that once an individual who used to be innocent accepts his or her unethical activity as

normal, “he[she] is introduced to another, more corrupt act, with its attendance rationalizations. In this way, the individual climbs the ladder of corruption and is eventually engaging in acts that he[she] would previously have rejected outright” (p. 15). To sum up, an innocent person becomes a potential offender via socializing into a corrupt group and eventually becomes a guilty perpetrator via rationalizing his or her misconduct.

In addition, when it comes to individual corruption, a series of moral cognitions and actions, developed by Rest (1986), shows how an individual becomes involved in immoral behavior, which can later lead to committing corruption. Rest’s (1986) concept has been used as a theoretical frame in both theoretical (Jones, 1991; Trevino, 1986) and empirical studies (O’Fallon & Butterfield, 2005). The four steps are as follows: moral awareness to interpret a situation or issue as a moral question, moral judgment to decide whether a course of action is morally right or wrong, moral intent to prioritize moral values over other values, and moral behavior to proceed with a right act.

At this point, it is important to distinguish between moral disengagement, developed by Bandura (2002), and moral awareness, the first step of moral cognition and action developed by Rest (1986). While moral disengagement is a cognitive process to rationalize one’s unethical activity, moral awareness is an inherent individual’s perspective or perception toward a particular decision. In other words, moral awareness may act as “a mediator” in the conflict between moral disengagement and ethical decision-making (Moore, 2008, p. 134). In addition, if an individual fails at any of the rest of steps of moral cognition and action, then the individual is likely to commit misconduct (Rest, 1986). After all, when it comes to Zyglidopoulos and Fleming’s (2008)

argument regarding the transition of ethical distance from an innocent person to a guilty person, the last phase, whether rationalizers become guilty perpetrators, may be closely related to Rest's (1986) moral cognitions and actions. In other words, moral disengagement and moral cognition and action may play major roles for an individual in distinguishing between right and wrong.

As reviewed so far, an individual's corrupt behavior takes place generally by the processes of socialization, such as extension of the contagion from one to another through interactions (Anderson & Pearson, 1999; Ashforth & Anand, 2003; Bandura, 1986, 2002; Kozlowski & Klen, 2000; Moore, 2008; Pillay & Dorasamy, 2010; Sutherland, 1949; Trevino & Youngblood, 1990; Van Maanen, 1976; Zyglidopoulos & Fleming, 2008), and rationalization (Anand et al., 2004; Bandura, 2002; Moore, 2008), as well as failure of moral cognition and action (Rest, 1986). In addition, the prison experiment, conducted at Stanford University by Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo (1973) and obedience experiment conducted at Yale University by Milgram (1974), show an individual becomes an offender based on the given social roles and positions in a society. In other words, individuals are expected to take responsibilities for their social roles and positions. Individuals are given a different social expectancy that results from social roles and positions. Such a social perception is transmitted to upcoming generations (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000), and influences individuals to develop different traits of personality. For example, boys learn rather an agentic trait such as independent, assertive, and competent roles from the society. Otherwise, girls develop communal traits entailing the tendency to be friendly, unselfish, and expressive (Eagly & Karau, 1991).

Eagly & Johnson (1990) point out that individuals' social roles are flexible and dynamic because individuals have multiple social positions simultaneously, all of which are directly related to developing their personal traits. In other words, their social values may vary based on their social roles and positions. Thus, it is important to examine how individual ethical consciousness and decision may vary according to socio-demographics.

**Individual level of corruption according to socio-demographics.** The individual level of corruption may take place differently based on socio-demographics such as gender, age, race and ethnicity, values and religion, and personality. *Gender.* First of all, many studies point out that gender difference shows a different decision making process with regard to the same social issue. For example, Fukuyama (1998) revealed American women supported the U.S involvement in war less than American men. According to the Center for American Women in Politics, regarding prohibition of abortion, 79 % women opposed versus 61% men. With regard to the death penalty, 49% women opposed versus 33% men. In terms of nuclear plants, 84% women oppose versus 71% men (Dodson & Carroll, 1991). Htun and Jones (2002) revealed, regarding the Argentinean legislation, Argentinean women supported legislation on health and education committee more than men while they supported government finance, national defense, and foreign policy less than men.

When it comes to the individual level of corruption, seriousness or extent of corruption shows significant difference by gender difference. For example, individuals under the management of a male owner are more significantly involved in bribery (Swamy, Knack, Lee, & Azfar, 2001). Swamy et al (2001) found that governments composing of a greater number of women have the lower level of corruption. Also,



according to Inglehart, Basanez, and Moreno's (1998) research about attitudes and values of people on illegal or dishonest behaviors, women's belief that the illegal or dishonest behavior is never justifiable was a significantly higher than men. Consequently, in terms of ethical issues, women may have a higher sense of ethical consciousness than men.

*Age.* The traditional desistance theory addresses that age plays an important role in affecting personal crime. Basically, individuals, who have similar experiences and economic condition in the same society, tend to have similar attitude towards the justification of corruption. Torgler and Valey (2006) also revealed that, based on age difference, people have different perceptions on the justifiability of illegal behavior. For example, the older individuals are, the lower justification of corruption they show.

Mocan (2008) addresses the most targeted age range for a bribe is between 20 to 39. Individuals over 60 years are less willing to become involved in corrupt act than other age groups. As Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) address, with regard to rule breaking including corrupt practices, there is a negative correlation according to age difference. In other words, rule breaking occurs more highly among young people. This result indicates the negative correlation between age and crime has remained for more than 100 years.

According to Title (1980), the older people tend to receive threats of sanctions more seriously. For example, the older tend to comply with the tax duties more than the young (Torgler & Valev, 2006). This difference of the perception based on age on the justifiability of illegal behavior is explained by the traditional desistance theory that asserts that factors causing crime decrease according to changes of the social positions (Gottfredson & Hirshi, 1990). In other words, social positions, which are mostly acquired as time goes by, play crucial roles in determining one's ethical decision (Title, 1980).

*Race and ethnicity.* Many Western countries have seen that crime is related to race and ethnicity because the rate of the minority group arrested, convicted, and imprisoned due to criminal issues are higher than the majority members (Tonry, 1995). For example, in the United States, the rate of Black/African Americans in prison or jail were more than six times higher than White Americans. At the end of the 1990s, the racial disparity has worsened. In 2002, the rate of Black/African American arrested for crimes were about 38 % of prisoners (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). When it takes into consideration the percentage of the U.S Black/African American population constituting only 13 % of the U.S population, Black/African rates of crime were about 7 times higher than whites in 2000 (Maguire & Pastore, 2004).

The racial and ethnic disparity regarding crime was worse in other English-speaking common-law countries than in the United States (Tonry, 1994). For example, in England, the rate of Afro-Caribbean in prison or jail was almost seven times higher than whites. In Canada, the rate of native Canadian in prison or jail was 16 times higher than non-native Canadian. Also, in Australia, the rate of Aborigine in prison or jail was 12 times higher than non-Aborigine.

Scholars who support traditional cultural perspectives claim that historical background of African Americans or natives, such as slavery and devaluation of their culture, led the members of the minority groups to becoming social offenders (Curtis, 1975; Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). However, these assertions were not generally accepted due to a lack of an empirical support (Hawkins, 1993). Considering that questions, ones pointed out that crime may stem from socioeconomic conditions. Those ideas are originated from Merton's (1938) social structure and anomie theory, and Shaw

and McKay's (1942) social disorganization perspectives, which argue that socioeconomic inequality plays a major role in causing crime. Blau and Blau's (1982) address interracial socioeconomic inequality is positively correlated with influence on metropolitan crimes.

However, not all members of minority groups who are disadvantaged from their society are involved in criminal issues higher than majority groups (Tonry 1995). For example, Asian groups immigrated into England were less involved in crime than whites. Similarly, in the 1950s and 1960s, many Moroccans and Turks had immigrated into the Netherlands as guest workers. When they were completely settled in the Netherlands in 1990s, they were yet treated as socially and economically marginalized groups. However, the rate of Turks in prison and jail was not higher than the rate of the Dutch, whereas Moroccans' rate was much higher than the other two groups. Consequently, as traditional cultural perspectives were criticized, structural perspectives of crime are not also enough to explain whether the difference of race and ethnicity play a major role in terms of crime.

Today, it is not easy to find existing data on comparison of crime regarding racial or ethnic difference because, in many countries consisting of various races or ethnicities, revealing such data is discouraged for ethical reasons (Tonry, 1997). Ethical groups and lawmakers address that race and ethnicity is not related to moral difference between individuals. Also, revealing such data may cause racial and ethnic stereotypes whereby it may cause another racial and ethnic stigma or harm minority groups.

*Values and religion.* Values are considered the most abstract social cognitions. The definition of values is so ambiguous that "there continues to be a conspicuous lack of agreement on what values are and how they influence individuals" (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998, p. 351). Also, values are subject to different dimensions and contexts (Nonis &

Swift, 2001), distinguishing between two measurable values such as terminal values and instrumental values (Rokeach, 1973). Terminal values are desirable conditions such as wisdom, equality, and salvation. Instrumental values are desirable modes of conduct such as honest, capable, or loving.

Rokeach (1973) developed a list of 18 distinct dimensions of values about both terminal and instrumental values. The former consists of: comfortable life, an exciting life, sense of accomplishment, worlds at peace, world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, and wisdom. The latter consists of: ambitious, broadminded, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, polite, responsible, and self-controlled.

To clarify the abstract concepts of values, several studies developed the list of the concept more concisely. It consists of nine dimensions: security, self-respect, being well-respected, self-fulfillment, sense of belonging, excitement, fun and enjoyment, warm relationships, and a sense of accomplishment (Herche, 1995; Kahle, 1983; Veroff, Douvan, & Kulka, 1981). Individuals put an emphasis on these dimensions of values differently according to their preferences (deLeon, 1994; Schmidt & Posner, 1987; Sikula, 1973), and their preferences influence individual behavior, attitudes, and beliefs (Adler, 1991; Corfman, Lehmann, & Narayanan, 1991; Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1969; Williams, 1979).

In other words, individuals determine whether their behavior would be justifiable, depending on their deeply held personal values (Barnett & Karson, 1987; Melgar, et al.,

2010). For example, an individual who lacks a dimension of social recognition would be more likely to commit crime (Halpern, 2001). However, there is little research postulating the correlation between individual values and corruption.

Religious factors may also seem to be part of values since religion emphasizes ethical doctrines containing the convictions and faith such as wisdom, salvation, mercy, and love (Gunn, 2003). Given these religious factors, Melgar et al (2010) revealed that even though the degree of religiosity influences personal perception to recognize corrupt acts; the more attending a religious service, the lower level of corruption individuals have, there was no significant difference between believers and atheists regarding the rate of individuals committing corrupt practices.

*Personality.* An individual personality such as personal traits influences him or her to make ethical decisions (Connelly & Ones, 2008). An individual personality is classified into five traits: neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness (Digman, 1990; McCrae & Costa, 1987). Berry, Ones, and Sackett (2007) add emotional stability to the list of the personal traits.

Neuroticism is about an individual being easily depressed, anxious, emotionally erratic, and having a lower self-esteem. Emotional stability is about an individual having an opposite trait of neuroticism such as being secure, calm, and low anxiety. Extraversion is about an individual being inclined to be social, dominant, and active. Openness to experience is about an individual being inclined to be interested in learning, new ideas, culture, and aesthetics. Agreeableness is about an individual being inclined to be kind, polite, and nurturing. Lastly, conscientiousness is about an individual having traits of achievement striving, cautiousness, dependability, and orderliness.

According to research conducted by Berry et al (2007), agreeableness and conscientiousness are less likely to become seduced into corruption than other traits of personality. Miceli, van Scotter, Near, and Rehg (2001) also address that, within the five personal traits, whistle blowing about white-collar crime is positively related to the two traits of agreeableness and conscientiousness. Collins and Schmidt (1993) also revealed that individuals who were convicted of white-collar crime were inclined to show lower integrity, socialization, responsibility, and tolerance than other counterparts. Consequently, it argues that corruption appears more likely to take place by individuals having low conscientiousness and low emotional stability.

**Organizational corruption.** The organizational level of corruption takes place by illegal corporate behaviors (Albanese, 1988; Braithwaite, 2013; Clarke & Wheeler, 1990; Clinard, Brissette, Petrashek, & Harries, 1979; Clinard & Yeager, 1980; Pearce & Snider, 1995; Vaughan, 1983). In other words, organizational environments such as structures, leaderships, and cultures may closely be related to the mezzo level of corruption (Ashforth & Anand, 2003; Huberts, 1988; Luo, 2004; Trevino et al., 1999). Ashforth & Anand (2003) point out two factors that commonly normalize corruption at the organizational level: institutionalization and rationalization. The latter is similar to individuals' unethical behaviors to legitimize their misdoing as a reasonably acceptable behavior (Bandura, 2002; Darley, 1992; McCabe et al., 2006; Messick & Bazerman, 1996). That concept will be reviewed once again in organizational perspectives because the mezzo level of corruption also takes place by organizational members as an individual or group rationalizing their misdoings as common practices.

*Institutionalizing corruption.* If corrupt behaviors are rampant in the organization, individuals in the organization may not recognize their corrupt practices as misdoing. The organizational level of corruption occurs in multiple structural levels more than a centralized structure. In other words, highly decentralized structures of organization lead to more organizational corruption because many managers and employees at multi-hierarchical level tend to undermine organizational transparency such as leadership, culture, and codes of conduct (Baker & Faulkner, 1993; Braithwaite, 2013).

Leaders play crucial roles in creating work environments (Bies & Moag, 1986). In other words, leadership is the ability of a person to influence other people's behaviors in groups to change better or worse (Weaver, Reynolds, & Brown, 2014) whereby leaders' attitudes have a strong effect on shaping institutionalized corrupt behavior (Ashforth & Anand, 2003; Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005; Pearce, Manz, & Sims, 2008). Brenner & Molander (1977) point out that a leader's unethical behavior is the most influential factor to lead employees to make unethical decisions.

Brenner & Molander's (1977) argument is still supported by many scholars (Trevino, Hartman, & Brown, 2000; Posner & Schmidt, 1992; Yukl, 2002). For example, Brown et al (2005) state that leaders' ethical behaviors result from "honesty, consideration of others, and fair treatment of employees," thus, employees' ethical perception in the organization is developed by leaders' credibility and legitimacy (p. 120). In addition, leaders informally encourage or tacitly condone employees' corrupt acts via empowering them if the group has benefit from the practices (Hamilton & Sanders, 1992). In contrast, when leaders show ethical leaderships, employees tend to commit less misdoing and to seek advice when encountering ethical dilemmas (Trevino

et al., 1999). Consequently, leadership in the organization may play a major role in either developing or reducing corrupt environment of the organization.

In addition, a deviant culture of the organization, so-called subculture, leads institutionalized corruption to become normalized (Ashforth & Anand, 2003).

Organizational culture is commonly considered a set of values, beliefs, and assumptions that its members share with each other (Lussier & Kimball, 2013). Values and beliefs, which are often described in organizational mission statements, present a way members believe they ought to behave (Lussier & Kimball, 2013).

Assumptions are the most strongly embedded values and beliefs enduring in an organization's culture and the most difficult to change. Therefore, a strong organizational culture occurs in where ingroups' ties and cohesion are strongly interdependent with one another (Trice & Beyer, 1993). Organizational values, beliefs, and assumptions, however, play roles in rationalizing an organization's corrupt practice. In the following section, how organizational environments including sub-cultures influence their employees to become corrupted will be reviewed.

*Rationalizing corruption.* Ashforth & Anand (2003) state eight types of rationalizations regarding organizational corruption: legality, denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, social weighting, appeal to higher loyalties, metaphor of the ledger, and refocusing attention. Significantly, the first seven types of them overlap with Bandura's (2002) eight types of different cognitive thinking processes to justify unethical behavior. Thus, this part will review Ashforth & Anand's (2003) eight types of rationalizations of organizational corruption, combining Bandura's (2002) eight types of the justification of individual's unethical behavior.



First, 'legality' is consistent with 'conventional rationalization' since the two types of rationalization are about actors excusing their corrupt practices, taking advantage of ambiguous laws or regulations of the organization or of institutionalized unethical practices. Ashforth & Anand (2003) point out that unclear laws and regulations are able to encourage employees to legitimate their unethical behavior. Second, 'denial of responsibility' is consistent with 'diffusion of responsibility' since the two types are about actors attributing their unethical practice to other people/organizations (e.g., management orders, peer pressure, dire financial straits, and being deceived) or to someone else. For instance, when organizations are caught in unethical practices, they tend to assert that many other companies in a similar business field are also doing so (Jennings, 2014).

Third, 'denial of injury' is consistent with 'disregard for or distortion of consequences' since the two types are about actors minimizing the harm caused by the unethical behavior. For instance, Horning (1970) revealed that one-third of the employees in an assembly plant thought that stealing goods from their work was not considered an actual theft because they believed that no one would be harmed by their acts. Fourth, 'denial of victim' is consistent with 'attribution of blame' since the two types are about actors claiming that their unethical behavior is caused by someone else's behavior. For example, Hollinger & Clark (1983) revealed that the most common reason why employees steal company property was because of unfair treatment by their employers.

Fifth, 'social weighting' is consistent with 'advantageous comparison' since the two types are about actors comparing themselves with other people/organizations who are worse (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Garrett, Bradford, Meyers, & Becker, 1989). For

example, a corrupt group/organization tends to find other groups/organizations that are more corrupt; thereby, demonstrating that “we’re not so bad” (Ashforth & Anand, 2003, p. 20). Sixth, ‘appeal to higher loyalties’ is consistent with ‘moral justification’ since the two types are about actors reinterpreting immoral behavior for a higher purpose. Groups/organizations often put an emphasis on their own interest as being more important than those of other groups/organizations’. Lastly, ‘metaphor of the ledger’ is consistent with ‘euphemistic labeling’ since the two types are about actors using words to make the behavior sound acceptable. For example, according to Dabney (1995), the most common rationalization of nurses to steal supplies and over-the-counter medicines was saying that those items were sort of fringe benefits.

**National level corruption.** National corruption, which is also referred to as ‘macro level corruption,’ occurs in various social sectors such as political and economic. For example, according to Arvate, Curi, Rocha and Miessi Sanches (2010), nations with big size government systems are more likely to bring about corruption than nations which have relatively small size government systems. Also, Evrensel (2010) and Tavares (2003) state when economic growth is slow, national corruption tends to be more active. Consequently, political and economic environments may closely be related to national level corruption.

*Political and economic environment.* According to Ali and Isse (2003) and Islam (2003), political freedom plays a crucial role in reducing national level of corruption. Democratic theory suggests that the more political rights and civil liberties to citizens lead to the lower levels of corruption. For example, nations with stable democratic political system have the legal system, political rights, and civil liberties that have

capabilities to control corruption. In other words, a developed civil society and enhanced political competition relatively have lower levels of corruption (Johnston, 1998; Little, 1996; Shen, John, & Williamson, 2005). In addition, Doig (1999) and Girling (1997) support that nations that are run by democratic government tend to have lower level of corruption. Democratic societies have freedom of the press; thus, they can enhance their voices about national corruption.

When it comes to economic freedom, there is no theory to obviously explain the relation between economic freedom and corruption up to now (Chafuen & Guman, 2000). However, it is assumed that many restrictions of economic freedom lead to more opportunity for corruption. For example, many studies address that economic freedom leads to reducing the level of corruption (Bruneti & Weder, 2003; Chafuen & Guzman, 2000; Paldam, 1999). Even though some argue that free economy may lead certain countries to using illegal methods while competing with their competitors, many empirical studies still show that economic freedom plays a role in reducing corruption (Graeff & Mehlkop, 2003).

In addition, national level corruption might vary according to sociocultural contexts. Sociocultural contexts are composed of all social environments that are historically, culturally, and socially embedded within a certain society such as cultural practices and religion practices (Barnett & Casper, 2001). Culture is considered a 'shared practice' by all members (Dirks, Eley, & Ortner, 1994) and defined as a "system of ideas" that provides a "design for living" in a particular society (Namenwirth & Weber, 1987, p. 8). Thus, perspectives of regulating corruption depend on and vary according to their own culture developed by their own history (Bartels, 1967; Ferrell, Gresham, &

Fraedrich, 1989; Foot, 1982; Hunt & Vitell, 1986; Rachels; 1986; Trevino & Weaver, 2003).

For example, regarding business corruption, many empirical studies revealed business ethics is subject to their cultural environments (Albrecht, Turnbull, Zhang, & Skousen, 2010; Becker & Fritzsche, 1987; James & Smith, 2007; Kligaard, 1988; Steers, Sin, & Ungson, 1989). According to James & Smith (2007), when it comes to different perceptions on response to bribery, while US students prioritize legalism, international students place an emphasis on cultural relativism. Therefore, before reviewing cross-cultural perspectives on corruption, I will first discuss the background of South Korean sociocultural contexts and review how the sociocultural contexts are embedded in the society.

### **Sociocultural Contexts in South Korea**

This section provides background information about the theoretical lenses for this research. First, Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism, collectivism, and societal change will be discussed as the framework. In the following parts, cross-cultural perspectives on corruption and sport corruption-match fixing will be discussed.

**Confucianism.** Confucianism is an ethical and philosophical system developed by the Chinese philosopher Confucius (551-479 B.C; Bell, 2010). However, Confucius did not leave any written documents for his disciplines. The concepts of Confucianism were developed in detail as systematic philosophy by two disciples named Mencius (Approx. 379-289 B.C) and Xunzi (approx. 340-245 B.C).

The primary concern in Confucianism is with human duties and relationships (Yao, 2000) based on the three principles and five moral disciplines, and the core of

ethical philosophy of Confucianism is considered humanistic (Juergensmeyer, 2005) based on the five virtues, all of which will be explained in the following. The Confucian philosophy developed by the two disciples first addresses the three principles, which are referred to as '*san gang*' in Chinese. The three principles place an emphasis on the duties between ruler and subjects, father and son, and husband and wife (Yao, 2000).

The five moral disciplines inform basic human relationships, which are referred to as '*wulun*' in Chinese; 1) loyalty between ruler and subjects, 2) affection between father and son, 3) etiquette between husband and wife, 4) differentiation between old and young, and 5) mutual faith between friends (Yum, 1987). To maintain those human duties and relationships between individuals, Confucianism addresses the five virtues, which are referred to as '*wu chang*' in Chinese; 1) *Ren* (humanism); 2) *Yi* (righteousness or justice); 3) *Li* (propriety, etiquette, or politeness); 4) *Zhi* (Knowledge); 5) *Xin* (integrity) (Runes, 1983). These fundamental principles, the moral disciplines, and the five virtues are taken into consideration as "the essence of life and the bonds of society" (Yao, 2000, p. 34). These are still considered very important social values in South Korea.

Confucianism was introduced to other East Asian countries, such as Korean and Japan (Yao, 2003). In the beginning of the period of time, Confucian doctrines were simply replicated by the native scholars in their countries. However, according to their own understanding, experience and insight, they reinterpreted and recreated the concepts of Confucianism, which is called 'Neo-Confucianism' (Yao, 2003). In other words, Neo-Confucianism was developed as new forms to meet the social and political demands of their own countries (Yao, 2003). Haboush (1991) points out that Neo-Confucianism reinterpreted in South Korea was to strengthen authoritarianism such as patriarchal

authority in the family and bureaucracy in government. In the following part, Neo-Confucianism that was developed in Korean society will be examined.

**Neo-Confucianism developed in Korean society.** Confucianism was introduced into Korean society during the Koryo dynasty (918-1392) from China (Kim, 2006). During the Choson dynasty (1392-1910), Confucianism was imposed thoroughly to the society, even more strictly than in China (Kim, 2006). However, Confucianism developed in Korean society has different aspects from its Chinese origins, adapting for new Confucian values such as respect for authority and social solidarity based on favoritism (e.g., familism and regionalism), which is referred to as Neo-Confucianism, (Berger & Hisao, 1988). The principles of Neo-Confucianism in Korea are also directly built on human relationships, addressing a hierarchical order of rank based on age and social position (Hooker, 2009). For example, there are two different types of Korean languages (i.e. formal and informal). They are used differently according to age and social status (Chao, 1956; Martin, 1964; Yum, 1987). Kim (2006) states that the Korean language reflects human relationships and differences in social status because it denotes respect and disrespect; thereby ethics in Neo-Confucian perspective could also be applied differently to individuals based on their social status rather than on general or objective rules (Yum, 1988).

The ideology of Neo-Confucianism consolidated authoritarianism. This has been legitimized and promoted as state orthodoxy, altering the Korean social structure with the institutionalization of Confucian doctrine (Kim, 2006). Consequently, people who have social hegemony have used the ideology of Confucianism as a means, which legitimizes their social status and their political or social power (Kim, 2006). For example, the

military regimes that governed South Korea from 1963 through 1992 used Neo-Confucianism in order to legitimize their authoritarian systems and coercive leadership. Kim (2006) points out that Confucianism in South Korean society was misinterpreted in South Korea in order to strengthen authoritarianism.

This sociocultural context built on Neo-Confucianism can also be observed in sport settings. For example, Roh & Kwon (2015) argued that corrupt acts such as violent cultures and sexual harassment persistently exist in Korean athletic teams because of the hierarchical structure based on demanding obedience. According to the Korean Criminal Policy Research Center (Choi, 2009), 34% of the sports players have experienced verbal or physical violence by their senior players or coaches. These abuses can generally gain acceptance in Korean sports society, being considered a discipline conducted by authority.

As mentioned above, Korean society influenced by Neo-Confucianism has a strongly relationship-based culture through obligation to family, friends, or ingroup members (Hooker, 2009), which is referred to as collectivism. Hofstede (2001) argues that the most significant difference of culture among countries takes place in the cultural dimension based on individualist culture and collectivist culture. Markus and Kitayama (1991) point out that collectivist cultures place an emphasis on interdependent relationships with ingroup members over individual and independent behavior. Also, the nature of collectivism seems in part to have the same characteristics of Confucian ethics in that the collectivist culture is more obedient to the assumed needs of the ingroup, avoiding the expression of any objections that may disrupt the ingroup's harmony (Park, Rehg, & Lee 2005). Therefore, collectivism is discussed as theoretical frame for this project.

**Collectivism.** One of the cultural features deeply ingrained in South Korean society is collectivism as well as the ideas of Confucianism (Kim, 2006; Park et al., 2005). Englehart (2000) described Asian cultures including South Korea as “a set of values that includes obedience to authority, intense allegiance to groups, and a submergence of individual identity in collective identity” (p. 549). In contrast, Western countries including Europe, Canada, and the United States are considered individualist societies (Bond, 1988; Hofstede, 1980a; Triandis, 1989), which places an emphasis on individuals’ rights and personal autonomy more than the duties as a member of the ingroup (Hofstede, 1980b), on personal responsibility and freedom of choice (Waterman, 1984), and on negotiated social relationships rather than absolute compliance with norms of the ingroup (Schwartz, 1990).

A prominent cultural feature of South Korea is to place an emphasis on social relationships and mutual dependence affiliated with an ingroup (e.g., nation, family, kin, friend) (Yum, 1988), which is defined as “a group whose norms, goals, and values shape the behavior of its members” (Triandis, 1989, p. 53). In other words, in the cultural environment, the individual may be considered less important than the ingroup, and their behavior may be expected to be consistent with the goals of the ingroup as a whole (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). This cultural practice is referred to as collectivism, which clearly differentiates from individualism (Hofstede, 1980a)

Hofstede (1980a) defined collectivism as the emotional dependence of individuals with one another in the same groups, organizations, or collectivities. In other words, the relationship of individuals in collectivist cultures is inclined to be more stable within the ingroup rather than with independent actions. Thus, individualist culture tends to depend



less on the ingroup (Triandis et al., 1988). One of the most considerable aspects of collectivism is to put an emphasis on group-based values (e.g., loyalty, harmony, cooperation, and unity) and on the absolute acceptance of norms in the ingroup (Hofstede et al, 1991). Kim (2006) points out that, in South Korean society, complying with social norms is more important than following the law. Thus, among ingroup members of collectivist cultures, acceptance of the norms is considered an established assumption that ingroup member do not challenge (Triandis, et al., 1988).

Individuals in a collectivist culture may act consistently with “behavioral, affective, and cognitive elements of their social behavior” (Triandis et al., 1988, p. 325). Also, group-based values (e.g., loyalty, harmony, cooperation, and unity) are remarkably higher and more intensive in ingroup than in outgroup. Choi & Choi (1994) point out that, in South Korean society, ingroup members place an emphasis on ‘whole-ness,’ which means individual is considered part of the ingroup rather than an autonomous individual. Park et al. (2005) shared that in a collectivist culture an individual who confronts the goals of the ingroup can be considered to betray or to be rude, which deviates from the ingroup’s norms. As reviewed so far, in collectivist cultures, individuals tend to show harmony within the ingroup.

In addition, the nature of collectivism also leads to social relations with unequal power such as a vertical social structure (e.g. parent-child, superiors-subordinates, or the old-the young) (Triandis et al., 1988). In collectivist cultures, interdependence between vertical social statuses creates a relationship of a demand-obedience. This nature of the collectivist society seems, at some part, to overlap with Neo-Confucianism. Also, in collectivist society ingroup members may be classified into other subsets based on

sharing similar attributes such as geographic location or language (Hui, 1988; Triandis et al., 1988). Messick & Mackie (1989) argue that the ingroup bias against members of the outgroup leads virtually to favoritism that will be discussed in the following.

*Favoritism.* South Korean society is in “tradition of patron-client networks of family, regional, school and other ties” (Moran, 1998, p. 163). These personal ties (e.g. the same family, region, or school), which is referred to as favoritism, has widely influenced South Korean society from the dynasty era through to contemporary times (Bae & Cotton, 1993; Han, 1989; Henderson, 1987; Park, 2004). As examined so far, these aspects of favoritism in South Korean society seem to result from the traditional Korean culture, which has been developed by Neo-Confucianism and collectivism. Kim, Lee, Choi, Park, Im, Son, Lee, & Won (2006) point out that these social environments of South Korea are strongly woven into the society; thereby, it is difficult for an individual to object to the goals of the ingroup (Park et al., 2005).

The South Korean sociocultural contexts have, as mentioned, led to other subsets of favoritism in Korean society such as regionalism that is personal ties based on which hometown they come from, and academic factionalism that is personal ties based on which school they go to or graduated from (Baik, 1981; Cho, 1985; Choi, 1994). First, understanding regionalism in South Korea should be interpreted differently from Western countries. According to Hechter (1975) and Williams (1985), regionalism in Western European countries takes place in cultural or ethnic differences among regions. In contrast, in South Korea, cultural and ethnic approaches have little correlation with regionalism in that Korea is a racially homogenous society (Morriss, 1996). Instead,

regionalism in South Korea is more likely to take place by geographical areas in general (Hong, 1991; Bae, 1991; Chon, 1992; Lee & Brunn, 1996).

Regionalism is referred to as '*jihyon*' in Korean, which means that one of the most important primary group loyalties is strongly remaining personal ties among members who come from the same province (Bae & Cotton, 1993; Han, 1989; Henderson, 1987). The fundamental feature of Korean culture under Neo-Confucianism is originated from family cohesion or kinship living around their village community where they are closely connected with one another (Kim, 2006). For example, in South Korean society, even though two political parties display tensions in political activities, members who come from the same province still have strong personal ties regardless of their political opinions (Yum, 1988). Ha, Kim, Park, Yun, & Lee. S. (1999) point out that such a nature of South Korean culture, which places an emphasis on '*jihyon*,' plays a role in persistently leading to social conflicts.

In addition, academic factionalism is referred to as '*hacknyon*' in Korea, explaining, "We are both graduates of so-and-so college," or "one is my junior from high school." (Yum, 1988, p. 380). *Hacknyon* has also been pointed out as one of the most serious factors causing social conflicts (Kim et al., 2006) since academic factionalism leads people to differentiate ingroup from outgroup. For example, South Korean governments regardless of military regimes and civilian governments have been criticized for constituting the government's cabinet based on '*hacknyon*' (Park, 2013; Roh, 1997; Yoon, 2009). Such an institutionalized system has been developed in a unique social relationship such as demanding obedience or loyalty and confidence between the senior-

junior relationships, which are considered very important in Korean society (Kim & Park, 2004).

**Societal change.** The concept of societal change is a general term that refers to social progress and improvement of social systems such as political and economic structures (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992). This is also understood as sociocultural evolution that describes changes in society and culture over time simultaneously (Korotayev, 2004). In other words, this concept includes various changes in social sectors in both tangible resources, such as economic, scientific, or technological forces, and intangible resources, such as cultural, religious forces, or civil rights movements (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992).

As societal change occurs through history and in current society, this concept can imply all social phenomena that happened in the past and happens in contemporary society is considered a part of social change. The definition of societal change can be described in varying ways. According to the New World Encyclopedia (n.d.), societal change is defined as:

Change in the nature, the social institutions, the social behavior or the social relations of a society, community of people, other social structures; any event or action that affects a group of individuals that have shared values or characteristics; acts of advocacy for the cause of changing society in a normative way (n.d.).

South Korean society experienced drastic social changes since the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). After the Korean War (1950-1953), the society rapidly developed from a centuries-old traditional society to modernization (Kim, 2006). Also,

such rapidly changing environments led society to the peak of modernization in the 1980s. These caused the South Korean society to “experience quite dramatic changes in every sector of their daily lives – family, working place, the environment, law and politics” between modernity and tradition (Kim, 2006, p. 10). These social changes also generated dual characteristics in South Korean contemporary society, such as: pursuing the global sense and maintaining nationalism; becoming modernized with rapid economic development and valuing patriarchal attitude; and demanding democratic movement and complying with authoritarian cultural traditions (Kim, 2006).

These dual characteristics of the society brought about both negative and positive social changes in Korean society. For example, economic-focused national development led to social polarization between the rich and the poor. Excessive demands for individuals to comply with authoritarianism conflict with national democratization. Social atmospheres fostering nationalism hinder the society from developing their cultural and civic consciousness to a more advanced level. However, these societal changes also led not only to better social conditions such as highly developed technologies but also an improvement of human consciousness such as the enlightenment of people. Consequently, South Korean society has rapidly changed while holding the two aspects of social change simultaneously (Kim, 2006).

**Cultural hegemony.** The concept of cultural hegemony was derived from Gramsci<sup>7</sup>'s ideas that address the relationship of culture and power between the haves and the have-nots. Even though Gramsci did not leave a precise definition of cultural hegemony, his often-quoted description of hegemony from his prison notebooks defines the concept as follows:

The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12).

Lears (1985) points out the ruling groups can manipulate social values, beliefs, and norms through mutual consent with subordinates who are expected to comply with dominant social orders. However, the consent between ruling groups and subordinates is not maintained merely by coercive demands from ruling groups. The ruling groups try to legitimate social orders of which they take advantages. When considering the concepts, even though cultural hegemony is not used as a major theoretical lens for this research, the fundamental concept of the theory can represent how social orders in South Korean society are developed and maintained by the dominant groups. Also, this concept shows how cultural hegemony developed through Korean history influences contemporary

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<sup>7</sup> As an Italian Marxist theorist and politician, Antonio Francesco Gramsci was well known for his theory of cultural hegemony. He was a leader of the Communist Party of Italy and imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime that governed the country from 1922 to 1943. During his imprisonment, he wrote more than 30 notebooks that cover a variety of topics such as nationalism, Fascism, civil society, and high and popular culture (Anderson, 2017).

cultural and societal environments while individuals make an agreement upon social consent.

### **Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Corruption**

Culture is considered a 'shared practice' by all members (Dirks, Eley, & Ortner, 1994) and defined as a "system of ideas" that provides a "design for living" in a particular society (Namenwirth & Weber, 1987, p. 8). Cultural environment plays a crucial role in making ethical decisions both in business environment and in certain societies (Ferrell, Gresham, & Fraedrich, 1989; Foot, 1982; Hunt & Vitell, 1986; Rachels; 1986; Trevino & Weaver, 2003). Cultural different leads to different expectations of ethical standards (Bartels, 1967).

Many empirical studies regarding business environment have pointed out that ethical decisions appear to be different based on different cultural environments (Albrecht, Turnbull, Zhang, & Skousen, 2010; Becker & Fritzsche, 1987; James & Smith, 2007; Kligaard, 1988; Steers, Sin, & Ungson, 1989). For example, when it comes to different perceptions on response to bribery, James & Smith (2007) revealed that US students place an emphasis on legalism, whereas international students emphasize cultural relativism. This case shows how differently their perspectives on bribery are oriented based on cultural difference.

Becker & Fritzsche (1987) argued that there was a significant difference of ethical issues regarding the environmental law among the United States, France, and Germany. For example, American managers were less inclined to give their approval of production methods, which would result in illegal air pollution, than the other two countries. Also,

French and German managers were more inclined to take a relatively minor infraction of environmental law into consideration than American managers.

In addition, Klitgaard (1988) pointed out that South Korean businesses are operated under transaction of offering a bribe such as covert dealings or gift-giving, of exercising power-related extortion, and of using favoritism such as personal relationships that are all considered traditional mores. For example, in South Korea, the US accounting firms are forced to offer a bribe (e.g., give gifts and side payments) to the government in order to obtain permission for a business to launch. Providing such things is considered appropriate business practice in South Korean society (Hooker, 2009). Steers et al. (1989) argued, in the business environment of South Korea, a contract is sometimes established in a relationship that carries no binding agreement. These mores lead to an illegal request that offers a bribe between payers and receivers. Albrecht et al. (2010) also stated, “many executives also accepted fraud as being within the established cultural social norms for South Korea” (p. 263). All of these types of off the record finances are considered smart strategies for business rather than considered corrupt acts.

As discussed above, South Korean society has been influenced by Neo-Confucianism, which acts as a ‘civil religion’ for many centuries. From the historical and cultural features of South Korea, individuals tend to place more value on obligations, which require absolute respect for rulers and elders over their own autonomy (Hooker, 2009). Traditionally, authoritarian society allows superiors to exercise their power over their subordinates, thereby leading to patron-client relationship among individuals, which tends to make corruption flourish (Dalton, 2005). Such a traditional concept of the authoritarian regimes still influences modern South Korean society within a vertical



social structure (e.g. parent-child, superiors-subordinates, or the old-the young) (Janelli, 1993; Moskowitz, 1989).

In addition, Zheng, El Ghoul, Guedhami, & Kwok (2013) argue that corruption is more common in collectivist societies due to their close interpersonal relationship since individuals in collectivist society are inclined to maintain a close relationship with ingroup members, thereby giving more favor to ingroup members. However, in Western society, favoritism is considered a type of corrupt act since favoritism to a certain group may violate the fairness of the business system. The main aspect of the collectivism is to form strong bonds such as kinship or faction among groups' members (Kim et al., 2006). According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people who belong to a certain group tend to prefer ingroup members rather than outgroup people. Such preferences for a certain group over others can lead to biased judgments in sports.

Nye (1967) states that corruption takes place because of favoritism such as "bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit" (p. 966). Such favoritism is considered a naturally acceptable practice in certain society since they trust their family and friends (Hooker, 2009). In other words, favoritism may lead to biases to react favorably to members of ingroup or unfavorably to members of outgroup due to their group affiliation (Aboud, 1988; Brown, 2011), thereby it may bring about certain types of corruption in South Korean society based on collectivism.

### **Sport Corruption-Match Fixing**

Sport corruption is defined as desire for benefiting from athletes' behaviors for personal gains, who deliberately permit others to win the competition, or by officials (e.g., coaches or referees), who consciously behave in a manner that varies from moral

behaviors demanded of them (Maenning, 2002, 2005). Gorse & Chadwick (2010) define sport corruption as one or more parties' involvement in any illegal, immoral or unethical activity in attempt to intentionally distort the outcome of a sport match or contest (e.g. bidding or election process) for personal gain. Sport corruption takes place in various forms by athletes and officials who commit illicit behaviors (e.g., match fixing, doping, embezzlement, bribery, buying votes, or extortion) and referees or sporting officials who abuse their positions with the objective of personal gains (Maenning, 2005).

Maenning (2005) classifies sports corruption in two different types: competition corruption and management corruption, which is referred to as non-competition-focused corruption. First, competition corruption takes place by providers and recipients of under the table benefits such as athletes involved in sport match fixing and officials or referees manipulating outcomes of sporting competitions. When it comes to management corruption, it takes place in sports organizational body or by sport officials in the organizations such as selecting hosting venues for sporting mega events, allocating broadcasting rights, or nominating for positions of sport organizations.

Of these malfeasant behaviors, sport match fixing through involvement in gambling, tanking a match, or biased refereeing is one of the forms of sport competition corruption (McLaren, 2008). According to Brasseur (2012), match fixing is defined as “illegally influencing the course or the result of a sporting competition in order to obtain advantage for oneself or for others” (p. 6). Individuals that can be involved in match fixing are athletes, teams, coaches, support staff, referees, officials, sports agents, venue staff, and other individuals outside of the sports such as bookmakers and crime syndicates.

As stated above, sports match fixing is distinguished between betting match fixing and non-betting match fixing. The most common problem with match fixing is closely correlated with sports betting regardless of it being legal or illegal (Bures, 2008; Borghesi; 2008; Forrest & Simmons, 2003; McLaren, 2008). The most common form of betting sports markets is to wager money on the result of the match and the total number of goals scored (Forrest, 2012). This phenomenon has globally been growing (Forrest et al., 2008; Forrest, 2012, McLaren, 2008; Panthéon-Sorbonne & International Centre for Sport Security, 2014) as a sport gambling industry not only in professional sport, but also for amateur sports (e.g. Olympics' events) is considered a leisure activity around the world (Forrest & Simmons, 2003; McLaren, 2008). Also, because of increased online betting markets, more various kinds of bets (e.g., before the game, during the game, the half time and full time result, number of penalties, fouls, yellow and red cards) have emerged (Kyprianou, 2013).

However, as the result of the increased sport gambling industry and online betting markets, match fixing has become a major target for organized crime around the world (Heron & Jiang, 2010). A total of 80% of the betting market on global sports is illegal (Panthéon-Sorbonne & International Centre for Sport Security, 2014); thereby, many countries enact certain national laws regarding match fixing (Kyprianou, 2013). However, there is no definitive international law that is legislating against sports match fixing and gambling (Kyprianou, 2013). For example, if an individual places an illegal bet from England for a certain game in Spain, the offender cannot be sanctioned in England because of absence of Law. Thus, many offenders take advantage of those weak spots (Kyprianou, 2013).

Another type of sports match fixing (i.e. non-betting) takes place by biased judgment or tanking caused by bribery or extortion, where players intentionally lose the match, or referees deliberately help a player or team win. Non-betting match fixing takes place in both professional and amateur sports. For example, Gorse & Chadwick (2011) show the data on both betting and non-betting match fixing cases of which 42.11% were non-betting related match fixing that occurred during 2000-2010 around the world. According to the data, there were a total of 57 instances including both types of match fixing of which 52.63% occurred in Europe, and of which 33.33% occurred in Asia.

Boniface et al., (2012) address three different levels of match fixing: 1) match fixing at the grassroots level where individuals such as players or coaches play the main role in setting out manipulation, 2) match fixing at institutional level where a club or federation manipulates a match, the traditional way of the institutional match fixing is to organize which team wins in advance, and 3) match fixing at exogenous level that is caused from outside the sport (i.e. sociocultural context), for example, involvement of criminal mafia. In the similar vein, Hill (2009, 2010a) points out three factors bringing about match fixing: a low salary, which is referred to as micro level corruption and perceived influence by the corrupt league or team officials and large networks of illegal gambling, which is referred to as mezzo level corruption. The third factor, Hill (2010a) suggests that as cultural and societal acceptance of corruption would be different among nations, sports match fixing would happen more in countries that are low in their level of perceived honesty or transparency of sport corruption, which is referred to as macro level corruption.

When it comes to micro level match fixing, the most common case of betting in match fixing on professional sports is the acceptance of money for financial benefit by players to deliberately underperform (Heron & Jiang, 2010). The most obvious way of increasing the rate of success in match fixing is to bribe low-salaried players or referees (Forrest, 2012). According to Heron & Jiang (2010), most players who were bribed or influenced by corrupters for match fixing were those who were badly paid from their club. Spapens and Olfers (2015) also point out in the Netherlands football league the most vulnerable players to be involved in match fixing were those who were paid low salaries or suffered from financial trouble.

In South Korea, the most common cases of the professional sport match fixing have happened by players who financially benefited from underperforming in matches (Kim, 2011). For example, in a K-League Classic that is the top of the South Korean soccer league contested by 12 clubs, prosecutors have confirmed that gambling brokers bribed players, particularly targeting SangJu Sangmu club, which consists of professional players serving their two-year mandatory military service (Oh, 2011). According to the Korea Football Association (KFA), the Sangmu club players who were involved in the match fixing receive a monthly stipend of approximately \$9,000 while playing for regular K-League Classic clubs. However, during their military service as professional players, they only received approximately \$90 per month (Oh, 2011).

According to Oh (2011), there were a total of 46 players arrested from the K-League Classic due to match fixing scandals. Of them, Sangmu had the most players arrested with nine current players and 15 former members. Consequently, it may appear,

as Heron & Jiang (2010) pointed out, that the acceptance of money for financial benefit is at the core of match fixing.

Second, at the mezzo level of match fixing, Boniface et al., (2012) point out institutional fraud in sport match fixing where sport club plays the main role in manipulating a match as one of the major levels of sport corruption. In the same vein, according to Hill (2010a), chronic match fixing results from the specific beliefs of players and referees that the officials who run the sports are also involved in match fixing. In other words, they perceive that the officials in sports organizations are also involved in corrupt activities. In addition, a wide network of illegal gambling among the corruptor, the player, and an agent who acts as a bridge between the two actors leads to higher match fixing. Numerato (2015) distinguishes among direct match fixing, mediated match fixing, and meta-match fixing: direct match fixing is about players and coaches actively and directly being involved in match fixing; mediated match fixing is about a referee influencing the outcome of a game; meta-match fixing is about officials or journalists hiding the tactics of match fixing. Meta-match fixing accompanies two different types: ex-ante meta-match fixing and ex-post meta-match fixing. Ex-ante meta-match fixing is to deal with delegates who are monitoring a referee's performance. Ex-post meta-match fixing is to deal with journalists, editors, or officials who review a game.

As discussed so far, match fixing is caused by rational-choice that emphasizes that individuals make their decisions based on their cost/benefit (Jancsics, 2014) and motivated by committing match fixing because of low salary (Cashmore & Cleland, 2014; Hill, 2009) or possible career progress (Boeri & Severgnini, 2011). However, macro-social structures such as an increasing betting industry (Forrest et al., 2008; Gorse &

Chadwick, 2011; Hill, 2010b; McNamee, 2013) or widespread mafia activities in society (Boniface et al., 2012; Forrest, 2012; Lin & Chen, 2015) also become determining factors causing match fixing. For example, the match fixing scandals in Chinese Professional Baseball League (CPBL) that were caught in 1996 were led by mafia's involvement to seduce and threaten players (Lin & Chen, 2015). Because of the scandals, there were a total of 32 players suspended, and three teams (i.e. China Times Eagles in 1998, the Mercuries Tigers in 1999, and the Wei Chuan Dragons in 1999) were disbanded.

In addition, at the macro level of match fixing, Gambetta (2009) points out that in certain societies individuals think deviant acts as acceptable practices whereby they commit deviant behaviors without compunction. Forrest (2012) indicates those deviant behaviors as cultural crime that takes place due to social circumstance. For example, Numerato (2015) addresses, through his research on match fixing scandals that occurred in Czech professional football league during the 2004/2005 seasons, that match fixing is tacitly considered normal, unproblematic, and inevitable practice.

The fact that the stakeholders involved in Czech professional football believe match fixing to be normality is because they believe that corruption is a social epidemic, which is widespread throughout the Czech public. As such, match fixing in Czech professional football league is considered a very systematically organized part of the game, for example “a know-how for how to engage in and conceal match fixing as well as whom to address.” (Numerato, 2015, p. 11). Thus, in the Czech professional football league, match fixing is hardly solved because of omnipresent distrust such as endemic corruption in society, extended complicity among offenders, and public secrecy in match fixing.

Also, Aquilina & Chetcuti (2014) address, through their research on how Malta is dealing with match fixing in football, that small countries, in particular microstates, tend to have inevitable parochialism (e.g. factionalism or favoritism). Such Malta's sociocultural context, as discussed in the literature review of favoritism, possibly renders their football league more subject to match fixing. In order to combat the three different levels of match fixing, Aquilina & Chetcuti (2014) suggest three solutions: the first suggestion is to prevent stakeholders including players, referees, or officials from being involved in match fixing through education, the second is to have better governance to keep a watch on the league, the last is to empower the police to investigate suspicious behaviors more proactively.

Recently, Lee (2016) states how sociocultural contexts that reflect an ethical, moral, doctrinal, or ideological perception in its own society influence professional baseball players to become engaged in sport match fixing. Lee (2016) points out that sport and social cultures are closely related with each other, which may mean cultural factors in a certain society also closely relate to match fixing. Lee (2016) applies Confucian ideology as a theoretical frame in his research. Confucianism consists of five moral doctrines called '*Wulun*,' As a result, Lee (2016) revealed that the authority power towards the leader, coaches, and older players, and a fellow relationship among athletes played critical roles in influencing Taiwanese baseball players to be engaged in match fixing.

In addition, match fixing occurring at professional sport level may differ from match fixing occurring at the amateur sport level. Nowy and Breuer (2016) point out that amateur sport organizations have relatively weak governmental system than professional



sport organizations. The weak condition of amateur sport organizations leads to an environment vulnerable to corruption. Also, amateur sport organizations tend to suffer from financial trouble (Breuer, Hoekman, Nagel, & van der Werff, 2015), which is directly related to athletes' involvement in match fixing (Forrest, 2012; Heron & Jiang, 2010; Hill, 2009, 2010a; Spapens & Olfers, 2015).

Consequently, sport match fixing is also, beyond individual rational-choice and organizational environment, closely related to sociocultural contexts, for example, how seriously individuals (e.g. players, referees, and officials) perceive their corrupt behaviors in their own society, and in what sociocultural contexts they live. Also, professional sports and amateur sports may differ in how their athletes become involved in match fixing. For example, regardless of personal goals like fame, Korean professional athletes are well paid like the professional players in other countries. Otherwise, amateur athletes play to develop their reputation and future career, like becoming a medalist in the Olympics more than just money. Therefore, this research explains how sociocultural contexts, which consist of all historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds, influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to match fixing.

### **Literature Summary and Gaps**

In reviewing literature for this project, I found various types of corruption that occurs at the individual, organizational, and national levels. When it comes to sport corruption, existing research also points to match fixing occurring at three different levels (i.e. individual, institutional, national) (Boniface et al., 2012; Hill, 2009; Hill, 2010a). First, the individual level is also referred to as the micro level. At this stage offenders are engaged in match fixing typically because of very personal reasons such as financial

troubles (Boniface et al., 2012; Cashmore & Cleland, 2014; Forrest, 2012; Heron & Jiang, 2010; Hill, 2009; Hill, 2010a; Kim, 2011; Oh, 2011; Spapens & Olfers, 2015).

Second, at the institutional level, referred to as the mezzo level, match fixing takes place due to corrupt environments that are strongly embedded in sport clubs or organizations (Boniface et al., 2012; Hill, 2009; Hill, 2010a; Numerato, 2015). Lastly, at the national level that is referred to as the macro level, social environments play major roles in causing sport match fixing. However, previous studies limited sociocultural contexts to contemporary social conditions, such as the more legalization of sport betting, high crime rates, degree of social corruption, or national size in a certain society (Aquilina & Chetcuti, 2014; Boniface et al., 2012; Forrest et al., 2008; Forrest, 2012; Gambetta, 2009; Gorse & Chadwick, 2011; Hill, 2009; Hill, 2010a; Hill, 2010b; Lin & Chen, 2015; McNamee, 2013; Numerato, 2015).

Following up with these social factors, Hill (2010a) considered a crowned monarchy society as the cultural background in his study. However, he did not analyze how the cultural context influences athletes to become involved in match fixing. Instead, his study focused on why various countries with different cultural backgrounds were simultaneously involved in match fixing. Specifically, Hill examined Malaysia's and Singapore's incidents of match fixing in the same league, the Football Association of Malaysia (FAM). In other words, his study focused on institutional systems rather than cultural contexts. Thus, how sociocultural context would influence athletes to become involved in match fixing was not dealt with this study.

Recently, Lee's (2016) study examines how sociocultural contexts influence athletes to become engaged in sport match fixing. However, Lee's (2016) study appears

to omit a few points that leave opportunities for future research. First of all, Lee's (2016) study limited sociocultural context to Confucianism only. However, as this research defines, sociocultural contexts should be understood in the context of history, culture, and contemporary societal environments as well as Confucianism. Thus, to address the gap in Lee's study, I applied two additional concepts to define sociocultural contexts for this research. The first is collectivism that regards cultural and societal ideology as interdependent relationships with ingroup members (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The second is societal changes that focus on the period of modernizing South Korean society since the Korean War. These additional theoretical frameworks shed light on sociocultural contexts more broadly and deeply.

In addition, Lee (2016) focused on match fixing that occurs in professional sports. However, I assume that the types and reasons for participation in match fixing may vary based on the sport level, professional or amateur. Nowy and Breuer (2016) conducted research on sport match fixing, focusing on amateur sport clubs that are regulated as a lower level of the football league. However, in my research, amateur sports are designated as official sporting events for the Olympics, which are not affiliated with professional sports at all.

It is important to clarify the backgrounds and differences between amateur sports and professional sports in South Korea. Amateur sports have played different roles in South Korea. For example, as many other countries may have done, the South Korean regimes have used amateur sports as a means to boost national power (e.g., national prestige and identity) in international sporting events such as the Olympics (Hong, 2011). For its own sake, South Korean regimes grant elite athletes who win a medal in the

Olympics fringe benefits such as reward money and exemption from the two-year national military service that is mandatory for all Korean men. In other words, the South Korean political agenda that grants Olympic medalists various fringe benefits may lead elite amateur sports to be more vulnerable to match fixing.

When taking into consideration all these intersecting sociocultural contexts that are defined as an integrated concept of historical, cultural, and societal backgrounds in this project, this study will significantly contribute to the existing body of literature dealing with sport corruption. In addition, as sports have been deliberately used as one of the most useful tools for the South Korean governments to achieve their goals, individuals affiliated with South Korean elite amateur sports may be influenced by match fixing for different reasons and by people who are in distinct institutional contexts in South Korea. Thus, this project addresses gaps in previous studies and provides a more intersectional lens to examine sport corruption.

### CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

A researcher needs to have explicit philosophical assumptions so that he or she will be able to explain why the method chosen is appropriate for his or her research (Creswell, 2009). This research is guided by two philosophical assumptions such as post-positivism and social constructivism. In addition to philosophical ideas, a research needs to provide research design including detailed methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009). In the following section, as interpretive frameworks, I will first describe the philosophical assumptions applied to this study and provide a description of qualitative research. Next, I outline the researcher's role, sampling, data collection, data management, data analysis strategies, and trustworthiness.

#### **Interpretive Frameworks**

This study is conducted by two interpretive frameworks: post-positivism and social constructivism. First, the fundamental concept of post-positivism recognizes any possibility and probability between cause and effect (Creswell, 2013). For example, post-positivism approaches research with assumptions of “being reductionistic, logical, empirical, cause-and-effect oriented, and deterministic based on a priori theories” (Creswell, 2013, p. 24). Qualitative research based on post-positivism not only has the similar structural order of quantitative research, such as problem, questions, data collection, results, and conclusion, but also starts with pre-developed and pre-figured assumptions through theoretical frames and literature reviews. Considering that fact, this study is structured in post-positivism's framework in that it begins with particular theoretical frames that provide a researcher with pre-guidelines of research questions.

In addition, social constructivism, which is described as *interpretivism* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Mertens, 2010) and considered one of the major approaches to qualitative research (Creswell, 2009), is a worldview that holds assumptions that “individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work” (Creswell, 2013, p. 24). This research is broadly concerned with understanding how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sport match fixing, and how South Korean elite amateur athletes recognize subjective meanings of their experiences while relying on their perceptions of particular South Korean situations. That subjective meanings of athletes’ personal experiences are negotiated and formed through social construction while interacting with others and “through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives” (Creswell, 2013, p. 25). Thus, social constructivism is used as another primary philosophical idea for this research.

### **Qualitative Research**

This study was conducted based on qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have occasionally advanced the definition of qualitative research. The latest definition of qualitative research by Denzin and Lincoln (2001) is to interpret social phenomena and make them visible. In qualitative research, a researcher is in the real situation and gathers information through field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos. In other words, qualitative research is conducted in a natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001).

Also, qualitative research explores and understands how individuals and groups contribute to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2013). It is appropriate to use qualitative research when we need a detailed understanding of the issue that cannot be

easily measured by “tight cause-and-effect relationships” (Creswell, 2013, p. 47).

Qualitative researchers collect data by actual conversations with participants instead of merely sending them out survey questions (Creswell, 2013).

Talking with participants directly empowers them to share their own stories (Creswell, 2013). In this study, even though it was not possible for me to be in the real situation relating to sport match fixing, I collected data through interviewing former or current South Korean elite athletes, who could provide rich information about sport match fixing, so as to better understand how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to match fixing.

Qualitative research is also used when quantitative analyses simply do not measure the problem (Creswell, 2013). Even if it would be possible for those sociocultural contexts to be measured by survey questions, the number of the sampling size would be problematic for this study to be conducted based by quantitative research. Thus, qualitative research was considered a better fit for this study than quantitative research.

### **Researcher’s Role**

In qualitative research, the researcher is described as a key instrument whom collects and analyzes the data (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The role of the researcher and his or her contribution to the research setting is not so much detrimental as useful and positive (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 2000). In other words, I would like to metaphorically indicate a researcher in qualitative research as an orchestra conductor. Since a researcher in qualitative research conducts a study through interactions with participants and interprets what they say, his or her role and contribution to the research

is very important to manage all the processes of the research thoroughly. Also, regardless of how long the relationship with the participants is, or how intensive and intense the interview is for the study, the researcher tries to understand the lives of the participants deeply (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Said in another way, a role of qualitative researcher differentiates from a role of quantitative researcher, which takes into consideration relatively less range regarding strategic, ethical, and personal issues (Locke, et al., 2000).

Marshall and Rossman (2011) address two considerations: interpersonal and technical consideration, which the researcher should be prepared for in qualitative research. Firstly, they place an emphasis on the interpersonal skills of the researcher with participants that are often referred to as “building trust, maintaining good relations, respecting norms of reciprocity, and sensitively considering ethical issues” (p. 118). To build trust and maintain rapport with participants, I disclosed some personal information about myself to participants so that they could know who I am and get rid of any animosity that might be caused at the very first contact.

Once the participants no longer felt uneasy about contact with me, I described this study to each of the participants in more detail. For example, what I am interested in learning about from this study, how the information will be used, and how they can engage in the research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). With respect to norms of reciprocity, I should be sensitive to the need for flexibility in my roles (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Thus, I kept in mind that I should act not only as a researcher, but also as a listener during interviews since a good relationship with participants emerges in the field.



Lastly, ethical consideration, which may arise during the process of research, needs to be anticipated (Hesse-Bieber & Leavey, 2006) and to be clearly elucidated (Creswell, 2013). Weis and Fine (2000) place an emphasis on ethical consideration, establishing respectful relationships with participants. To avoid any potential ethical violation, I first gained University of Minnesota approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the data collection and then obtained informed consent forms for participants to agree with participation in this research. I shared information about this study with the participants, and this disclosed the purpose of this study to ensure that any potentially harmful information will not be revealed (Creswell, 2013).

The informed consent form consists of the following elements: 1) Identification of the researcher, 2) Identification of how the participants were selected, 3) Identification of the purpose of the research, 4) Identification of the benefits of participating, 4) Notation of risks to the participant, 5) Guarantee of confidentiality to the participant, and 6) Assurance that the participant can withdraw at any time (Sarantakos, 2005). Marshall and Rossman (2011) emphasize the importance of technical considerations at the proposal stage that includes “decisions about the deployment of the researcher’s time and other resources and about negotiating access” (p. 112). Technical considerations entail efficiency, situating the self, and negotiating entry. Each of these factors is explained below individually.

**Efficiency.** In qualitative research, the researcher should take into consideration efficiencies such as a reasonable number of participants, the ability to gather data, and the research timeline so that the project can be completed on time (Bogdan & Biklen, 2005). This reminds the researcher that the resources, such as time and access to participants, are

important variables for the study. In terms of time consideration, I thoroughly scheduled the management plan and time line for completion of this research, and reported the process of this study to my advisers and committee members on a regular basis so that I could keep this project on the right track. With regards to participants, I contacted many potential people in advance so I could choose the final participants who seemed able to provide rich information pertaining to this research problem and its questions. As a doctoral student and novice researcher, I kept reminding myself of these practical considerations, discussing with my advisers and committee members.

**Situating the self.** Patton (2002) addresses the importance of the researcher's role in conducting qualitative research by developing various plans on situating him/herself. For example, he points out varying degrees of participation: the full participant, who enters participants' actual life, and the complete observer, who is not allowed to engage in direct interaction with participants. These roles help the researcher build relationships and establish confidence between the researcher and participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). However, in this study, I was neither a full participant, who enters participants' actual lives, nor a complete observer because it was not necessary to participate in or observe the participants' daily life fully for this research. Instead, my primary role as the researcher was to conduct intensive interviews. Thus, I first tried to develop a rapport with participants prior to conducting interviews.

In intensive research, the researcher's role is required to spend enough time in order to develop a trusting relationship with the participants. If there is limited time and space for the researcher to spend with participants in the duration of the study, the researcher should be prepared for creating trusting relations early on. Marshall and

Rossmann (2011) point out that novice researchers should be more prepared for situation and circumstance to gather good data. As a novice researcher, I had contacted participants a few times to build and sustain relationships. These pre-developed relationships prior to conducting real interviews helped the interviews go smoothly.

In addition, when the interview questions are well developed to address the research questions in advance, the researcher's role can function efficiently and save time for both parties (Marshall & Rossmann, 2011). Thus, I developed interview questions as perfectly as possible through meeting with the committee members. Also, through pilot studies, I developed my interview skills.

**Negotiating entry.** Entering and accessing the site and/or participants is a continuous challenge. However, it is a primary way of connection between researcher and participants (Creswell, 2009). Thus, when it comes to contacting the potential participants, negotiating access to the participants should be taken into consideration in the research design (Marshall & Rossmann, 2011). In this study, I considered both current and previous South Korean elite amateur athletes as the potential participants. As mentioned above, I obtained permission and the approval letter from the Institutional Review Board to protect the rights of human participants before accessing the participants (Creswell, 2009). When it came to recruiting participants, I used various professional and personal networks since I have had many experiences with the sport fields in South Korea.

Once the participants were decided, then I shared with them the research plan such as a brief proposal and fundamental information about this study. That plan includes as follows; why the participants were chosen for study, what activity will occur during

the interview, what questions will be asked to participants during the research study, how the results will be reported, and what benefits the participants will gain (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). In addition, in terms of the interview protocol, I shared with them the interview questions prior to the interview so that the participants could understand the interview questions and be ready to answer.

### **Sampling**

The decision on who should be selected as participants for the study is a necessary strategy (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This study relied on purposeful sampling, which is typically designed for qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). According to Patton (2002), purposeful sampling is used to provide a researcher with rich and useful information about the research problem. Thus, I primarily used purposive sampling used for researchers who focus on a certain group or individual(s) who will better be able to provide information about the research questions.

Even though a researcher has already planned on initiating sampling with a particular strategy, he or she will be able to proceed with another sampling strategy during the study if necessary (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). For this research, snowball sampling that “identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 28) was used as the secondary sampling strategy. This sampling helped me have more appropriate participants who could provide rich information about this research issue.

The participants for this study were recruited based on the following criteria. First, the participants were selected from individual sporting events: Taekwondo, Judo, Boxing, or Wrestling that are considered trusted events to win many medals for South

Korea in the international sporting events. They were selected from current or previous South Korean elite amateur athletes. The participants were those who play or have played at the national team level for at least three years. When it came to the previous athletes, the researcher selected people who played at least until 2011 when South Korea began dealing with match fixing issues seriously.

**Sample size.** When it comes to sample size, the decision on how many people need to be sampled is also important (Creswell, 2013). In qualitative research, sample size could be small since qualitative research typically elucidates particular phenomena rather than to generalize the information (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Also, it could be extensive until information gathering is saturated by redundancy (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Patton (2002) addresses that even though the final sample size may expand as the research progresses, the minimum sample size should be decided at the initial stage of the research.

In this study, at the beginning, the minimum number of participants were seven South Korean elite amateur athletes including current or previous ones. However, through the conversations with the committee members, either by email or in person, the final number of the participants became 10, which all committee members and I agreed upon to be enough representation for this study. Six out of the participants were former athletes, three of whom are current coaches. The rest of them are current athletes (see Table 1).

Table 1: Information of the Participants

Initials of Name	Sports Event	Position	Gender	Range of Years	Notes
B.M	Taekwondo	Former athlete	M	13	Current coach
S.P	Taekwondo	Former athlete	F	12	N/A
H.S	Taekwondo	Current athlete	F	16	N/A
S.H	Taekwondo	Current athlete	F	10	N/A
J.L	Judo	Former athlete	M	14	Current coach
K.S	Judo	Current athlete	M	20	N/A
J.K	Boxing	Former athlete	M	15	Current coach
J.S.K	Boxing	Former athlete	M	12	N/A
S.K	Wrestling	Current athlete	M	13	N/A
S.P	Wrestling	Former athlete	M	15	N/A

### Data Collection

Patton (2002) addresses three different types of interview: 1) the informal interview, 2) the semi-structured interview, and 3) the open-ended interview. This research targeted participants who were expected to answer the specific research problem questions. Thus, a semi-structured interview that is pre-developed based on research questions was considered the best fit for this study. The semi-structured interview questions were shared with participants in advance (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) so that the participants could prepare for the interview.

An interview guide for this research was developed based on the research purpose and questions. Interview questions were phrased more casually so that the participants could understand the interview questions more easily (Creswell, 2013). First of all, I asked demographically based questions to the participants as follows; are you a current or former athlete? what is your gender? what sport event have you played? and how long have you played?

The first research question was addressed by asking how the South Korean sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes to become engaged in sport match fixing. To address the research question, I first asked one main question to the participants about how they understand South Korean sociocultural backgrounds such historical, cultural, and societal. In addition, they were asked about how these South Korean sociocultural backgrounds may influence sport match fixing in South Korea.

The second research question is addressed by asking how sport match fixing has changed in accordance with changes of South Korean sociocultural contexts, and, as a sub-question, how South Korean elite amateur athletes are influenced by the changes. To address the research questions, I asked the participants about whether there are any changes of sport match fixing according to societal changes. In addition, I asked how sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports has changed and has been different between the past and the present.

To address the last research question about South Korean elite amateur athletes' general perceptions of sport match fixing, I asked participants about how they generally recognize sport match fixing and about their understanding of match fixing occurring in their sport settings.

An additional question I asked was how sport match fixing may occur at the individual and organizational levels, who may be the decision maker of the match fixing at each level, and how it could happen by the decision maker. In addition, I asked whether there would be any other factors that they think may cause sport match fixing in their sport field. As a hypothetical question, I asked the participants if they knew that other people or parties fixed the game they were involved in, then how they would deal with that. At the end of the interview, I used a closing question by asking if they know anyone whom I can visit with to learn more about this matter. Appendix A contains the detailed interview protocol and guide.

A face-to-face interview is allowed for an interviewer to communicate with a participant synchronously in time and place. Due to the advantage, this method can take advantage of social cues such as participant's voice, intonation, and body language that provide an interviewer with extra information (Opdenakker, 2006). However, a time and space did not allow me to conduct an interview by face-to-face because this research was conducted in different countries. Instead, the type of data collection mainly relied on online face-to-face interviews with participants by using KakaoTalk software program, which is a free mobile instant messaging application for smartphones and PC with not only free text and call features, but also video call. This method was the best alternative of the face-to-face interview since I could still observe the participant's social cues during an interview.

In addition, I used a phone interview when the video call interview was not allowed. As a video call or phone interview is the best method for a researcher who interviews people from all over the globe, both methods helped me to collect data from



far-away geographical access. As necessary, I had a conversation with the participants through e-mail since this method allowed me to have “conversations with [the] participants, especially when they are distant from the researcher” (James & Busher, 2006, p. 403) due to local time differences.

To reduce any mistakes that may occur at the beginning of conducting interviews and to refine or develop the interview questions (Sampson, 2004), I did a pilot test. For this test, I recruited one former Taekwondo athlete and conducted a thirty-minute interview. The pilot test provided enough patterns of how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sport match fixing. The findings also helped me develop pre-figured codes and themes. Based on the pilot test, I arranged actual interviews with the participants. During the actual interviews, I recorded all the conversations under the condition of agreement with participants. Regarding recording equipment, I used an I-Phone voice memos. Each interview was at least approximately 40 minutes in length in order to address all given questions.

### **Data Management**

For this research, I used interviews as a major method. As the research purpose was to examine how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sport match fixing, all the interviewees were either former or current South Korean elite amateur athletes. Even though I did not contact athletes who have directly been involved in match fixing, the data, which were acquired from the interviewees, are still very sensitive. Thus, I, as a principal investigator, kept in mind professional responsibility in order to ensure that confidential data was safely stored and

protected, not only throughout the research lifecycle, but even after the research was completed.

The data was stored in the PI's personal computer and in several places such as external hard disk. I created a folder titled 'Data Collection,' and classify data by the initial of the participants' name and labels so that I could access them efficiently. Also, just in case of loss of the physical devices such as the laptop or hard disk, all data was backed up on the University of Minnesota's Google drive. To maintain the confidential data, I used strong passwords containing at least 8 characters in length, both upper and lowercase alphabetic characters (e.g. A-Z, a-z), at least one numerical characters (e.g. 0-9), and at least one special character (e.g. ~ ! @ # \$ % ^ & \* ( ) - \_ + =). In addition, no one will be allowed to access the data.

### **Data Analysis Strategy**

Data analysis in qualitative research typically consists of gathering data, interpreting the data, and writing reports (Creswell, 2009). Even though an analytic strategy may vary depending on the genre of qualitative research, qualitative researchers typically employ a general procedure, which is referred to as 'hierarchical approach' in the following way: 1) gathering raw data (i.e. transcripts), 2) organizing and preparing data for analysis, 3) reading through all data, 4) coding the data, 5) providing themes/description, and 6) interpreting the meaning of the themes/descriptions (see Creswell, 2009, p. 185). In this research, the gathered data was analyzed through this hierarchical approach. I will discuss the data preparation and organization, and the data analysis and interpretations procedures in more detail in the following section.

**Data preparation and organization.** As stated, all interviews were either video or voice calls conducted through KakaoTalk software program, and their voices were recorded on an I-Phone. All the potential participants were Koreans, and the interviews were conducted in Korean. After the interviews were done, I transcribed them into Korean first and then translated them into English.

As the use of computer software programs has become more common for the research community (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), I was going to use a computer software program that is efficiently used for qualitative researchers doing data analysis such as editing, coding, storing, searching, retrieving, linking, analyzing, building theory, mapping graphics, and writing reports (Weitzman, 2000). However, computer software programs (e.g. MAXqda, Atlas.ti, QSR Nvivo, and HyperRESEARCH) that are used for qualitative research do not read Korean. Thus, I analyzed the gathered data manually by using Microsoft Word Document.

**Data analysis and interpretation procedures.** Many qualitative researchers present general data analysis and interpretation procedures (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Madison, 2005; Wolcott, 1994). Qualitative researchers interpret the data beginning with the process of coding, classifying themes into small categories, and providing an interpretation of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2013). The description, data analysis, and interpretation procedures are to seek “general statements about relationships and underlying themes” (Marshall & Roseman, 2011, p. 207). Thus, this study prepared a detailed description of the data and classified it into small categories and themes first before interpretation. These processes are generally referred to as ‘analysis’ in qualitative research.

These three categories (i.e. description, analysis, and interpretation) are mutually connected with each other. In this research, data analysis and interpretation procedures began with “read[ing] the transcripts in their entirety several times. Immerse[d] your[my]self in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts” (Agar, 1980, p. 103). The next steps are followed by the repetition of describing, classifying, and interpreting the data, which form ‘codes’ (this term is also referred to as *categories*) that are considered “the heart of qualitative data analysis” (Creswell, 2013, p. 184). Forming codes/categories for the data allowed themes and dimensions to develop in this research.

Before developing codes and themes, most qualitative researchers address the importance of thick description (Creswell, 2013; Holloway, 1977; Schwandt, 2014). Schwandt (2014) states that thick description means not only detailed data, but also “circumstances, meanings, intentions, strategies, motivations, and so on that characterize a particular episode” (p. 255). Thus, I described not only all that I saw and heard from the participants during the interviews, but also communication that might be hard to catch such as subtle nuances in the participants’ expressions (e.g. facial or verbal). These hidden meanings provided stronger messages regarding the main issue of this study.

Through the coding process, I classified which data was used or not based on whether the data was related to the research questions. This helped eliminate redundancy (Wolcott, 1994). After that, I began categorizing and continuously re-reviewed the database (Creswell, 2013). When it came to categorizing data, since I began this research with theoretical frames at some point, I used ‘*prefigured categories*’ such as template analysis, which is part of the Crabtree and Miller’s (1992) continuum of coding strategies.

However, this method could become an issue because the use of prefigured codes could limit expanding the codes to reflect the perspectives of participants. To eliminate this shortcoming, I was open to additional codes that may emerge during the analysis (Creswell, 2013).

In a similar vein, another challenge in the coding process is proper labeling. Labeling codes derives from several sources such as “the exact words used by participants... [names] that seem to best describe the information” (Creswell, 2013, p. 185). In order to label codes, I took into consideration three points: what I already expected regarding the data findings, information relating to the research questions that I did not expect to find, and information not related to the sociocultural context (Creswell, 2013). Consequently, I identified a few general themes that consisted of several codes forming a common idea (Creswell, 2013).

Once the data is classified and identified based on the development of the codes and the formation of themes, a researcher needs to interpret the data. This step is to make sense of the data. The inspiration for how to interpret the data may be from a social science construct or from ideas that contrast with the social science construct. Also, data is interpreted by a researcher’s “hunches, insights, and intuition” (Creswell, 2013). Thus, in order to interpret my data, I combined my own interpretation (e.g. hunches, insights, and intuition) derived from accumulated knowledge and experiences with the larger research literature. For the last step of data analysis and interpretation procedures, I presented the data findings with visible images such as a table and a hierarchical tree diagram to help readers’ understanding the data interpretation more effectively.

## Trustworthiness

Qualitative research focuses on “understanding that deep structure of knowledge that comes from visiting personally with participants, spending extensive time in the field, and probing to obtain detailed meanings” (Creswell, 2013, p. 243). Thus, qualitative researchers question themselves “Did we get it right?” (Stake, 1995, p. 107) or “Did we publish an inaccurate account?” (Thomas, 1993, p. 39). In order to answer these questions, researchers should provide appropriate proof for the research.

Trustworthiness of qualitative research is an alternative terminology derived from the positivist assumptions that represent quantitative research (i.e. natural and experimental science) (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Trustworthiness has been historically criticized by positivists who respected the canonical criteria (i.e. reliability, validity, and generalizability) until the postmodern perspectives emerged (Schwandt, 1996).

With the development of qualitative methodologies, Lincoln & Guba (1985) modernized the canonical criteria to emphasize ‘*credibility*’ instead of internal validity, ‘*transferability*’ instead of external validity/generalization, ‘*confirmability*’ instead of objectivity, and ‘*dependability*’ instead of reliability. Lincoln & Guba (1985) shed light on the new terminology, developing techniques such as “prolonged engagement in the field and the triangulation of data source, methods, and investigators to establish credibility” (Creswell, 2013, p. 246). In the following sections, I will discuss these techniques in more detail.

**Credibility.** Positivists question how internal validity is measured or tested in qualitative research (Shenton, 2004). Lincoln & Guba (1985) provide numerous strategies

to ensure credibility in qualitative research. In this study, I employed several of their strategies. First, I considered the adoption of well-established research methods (e.g. sampling and methods of data analysis). For the data collection, as mentioned, I primarily relied on purposive sampling as typically employed for qualitative research. Purposeful sampling may be able to assure that selected participants are representative of the large group (Bouma, Atkinson, & Dixon, 1995). Also, snowball sampling was used as the secondary strategy.

Second, ensuring honesty in information should be taken into consideration as credibility (Shenton, 2004). Shenton (2004) points out that “participants can contribute ideas and talk of their experiences without fear of losing credibility in the eyes of managers of the organization” (p. 67). Thus, all participants for this study were volunteers who were willing to take part in it whereby they were encouraged to be honest with respect to their own opinions.

Third, in order to prevent participants from deliberately lying, the researcher needs to go back and forth with rephrased questions during interviews (Shenton, 2004). This strategy is to double check for any contradicting answers regarding the same questions. In other words, if there are some suspicious answers not consistent with the previous one(s), the researcher may decide whether or not to discard the data. In order to prevent false data from being included into the final data, I double-checked suspicious answers during an interview by paraphrasing the question. When other suspicious answers occurred after the interview, I contacted the participant in order to confirm what he/she said.

Fourth, frequent debriefing between the researcher and his supervisors (e.g. academic advisor or committee members) or peers who are not involved in this study is one of the most emphasized strategies by many scholars who endeavor to ensure credibility in qualitative research (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & Steinmetz, 1991; Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen 1993; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1980, 1990; Shenton, 2004). This procedure also provides the researcher with opportunities to develop his ideas and interpretations (Shenton, 2004). While conducting this research, I met with some of my committee members on a regular basis. Peer-to-peer debriefing took place by a doctorate student majoring in another field. Debriefing meetings continued throughout the data analysis and interpretation. For the meetings, I prepared written documents that included codes and themes derived from the data, and interpretation from the developed codes and themes. Through these meetings, critical questions from my supervisor, committee members, and a peer helped me get rid of any preconceived biases (Johnson & Christensen, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985); thereby, developing credibility of this research.

Lastly, member checking, which Lincoln & Guba (1985) consider “the most critical technique for establishing credibility” (p. 314), was used to enhance credibility in this research. Creswell (2013) lists several approaches to member checking: “taking data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (p. 252). Thus, after the data was transcribed and when I felt it was necessary, I contacted the participants to make sure their accounts



were accurate. Because of the geographical difference between the U.S. and South Korea, this double-checking process took place via email or phone conversations.

**Transferability.** In positivist perceptions, external validity is concerned with whether the findings can be generalized to a wider population (Merriam, 1998; Shenton, 2004). However, in qualitative research, the term ‘generalization’ is not commonly used since the intent of qualitative research is usually to identify “the particular description and themes developed in context of a specific site” (Creswell, 2009) rather than to generalize the findings (Greene & Caracelli, 1997; Gibbs, 2007). Nevertheless, qualitative researchers (Denscombe, 1998; Stake, 1995) suggest “although each case may be unique, it is also an example within a broader group and, as a result, the prospect of transferability should not be immediately rejected” (Shenton, 2004, p. 69). In other words, even though qualitative research is usually conducted with a small number of participants, they can function as representatives for a whole group.

Lincoln & Guba (1985) suggest that, to ensure the transferability of the data findings in qualitative research, it is necessary for the researcher to provide thick and rich description, so they can provide readers with a reasonable understanding; thus, readers may compare the data findings with what they have seen. Creswell (2009) also supports that “when qualitative researchers provide detailed descriptions of the setting or provide many perspectives about a theme, the results become more realistic and richer” (p. 192). Thus, considering these factors, I gathered rich descriptions from the raw data and classified them into appropriate codes and themes with reasonable perspectives.

Also, the number of participants for a research project and restrictions in the type of participants should be taken into consideration for ensuring transferability

(Marchionini & Teague, 1987). In order to avoid restrictions for types of sporting events, I selected ten participants from four elite amateur sports events: Taekwondo, Judo, boxing, and wrestling.

In addition, triangulation involving the use of different methods such as in-depth interviews, observations, theories, and researchers will also help ensure external validity (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). In this study, even though I used only in-depth interviews for data collection, I interpreted the collected data through various theoretical lenses. Also, while analyzing the data, I discussed classification of the themes, categories, and interpretation of the data with my committee members.

**Dependability and confirmability.** Dependability is referred to as ‘reliability’ in the positivist perception (Creswell, 2013). Reliability in natural science is to show whether the work could be repeated and whether the results would be comparable with previous ones in the same situations (e.g. the same context, methods, or subjects) (Shenton, 2004). In order to ensure dependability, Shenton (2004) suggests that “the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work” (p. 71). Confirmability is referred to as ‘objectivity’ in quantitative study (Creswell, 2013). Confirmability is concerned with researchers’ biases, such as researchers’ skills and perceptions, which are inevitable during research (Patten, 1990). Consequently, in qualitative research, in order to ensure dependability and confirmability, a detailed methodological description should be emphasized once again (Shenton, 2004). Considering these factors, I described all the detailed processes of this research.

In addition, Creswell (2013) ensures that an auditing of the research process enhances both dependability and confirmability in qualitative research. An auditing is to allow an external reviewer to trace the process of the research (e.g. the interview guide, the recorded interview, and transcripts) with the researcher (Shenton, 2004). Even though I did not invite an external reviewer to examine the process and procedure of this research, the methodological process of this research was rigorously reviewed by my committee members.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA FINDINGS**

This chapter provides integrative interpretations of the data findings drawn through the process of coding, categorizing, and theming. To help readers have a better understanding of the data findings, accessible figures of theoretical concepts and tables of data codes will be presented with detailed descriptions of the data findings. Data finding part one demonstrates how historical and cultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur sports to become involved in match fixing. Data finding part two demonstrates how societal changes influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sport match fixing. Lastly, data finding part three demonstrates South Korean elite amateur athletes' general perspectives of sport match fixing and how they recognize sport match fixing in their sport settings.

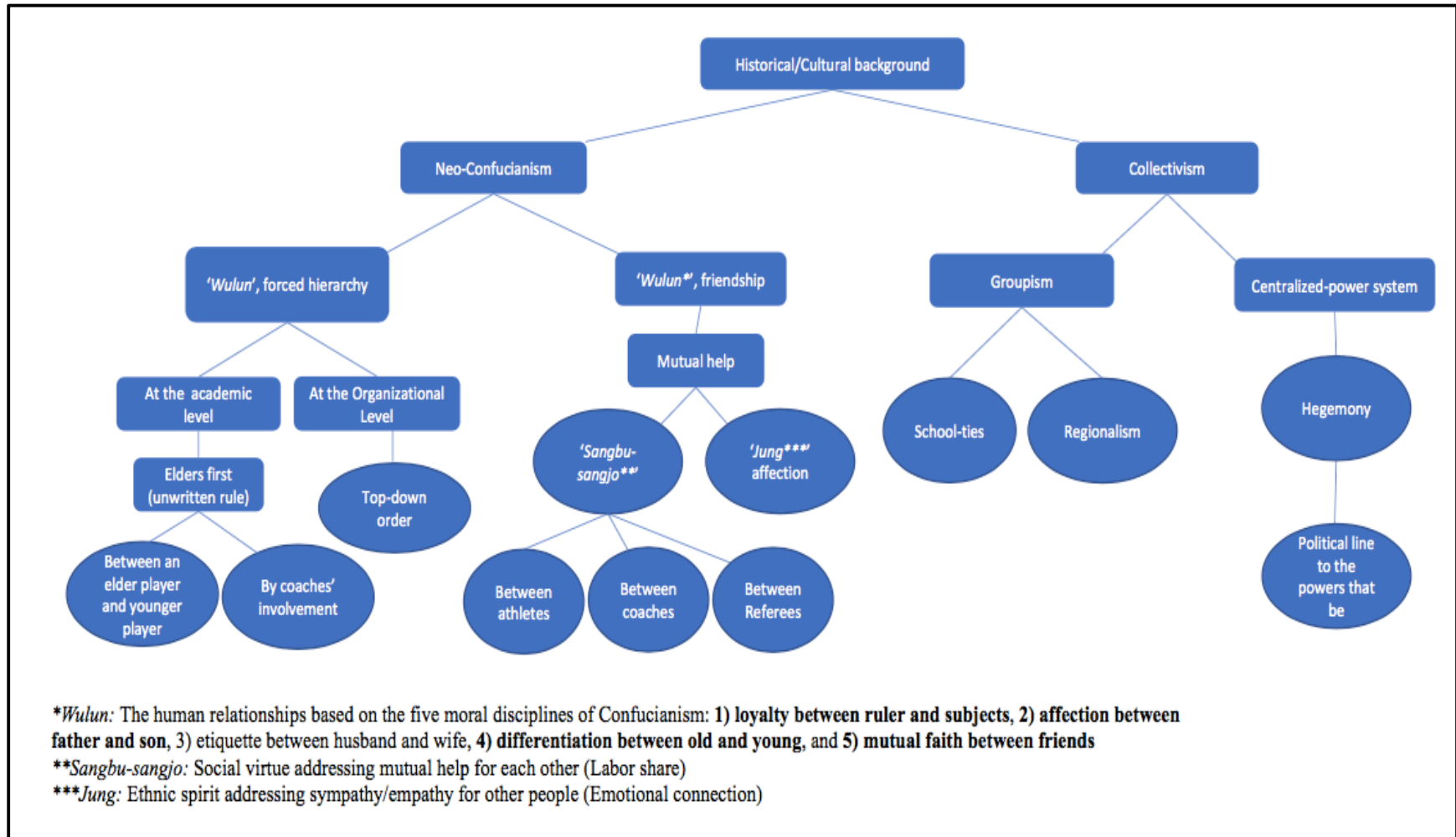
### **I. Influence of Historical and Cultural Contexts on South Korean Elite Amateur Sports Involved in Match Fixing**

It is hard to see history, culture, and individuals as completely independent entities existing alongside one another. History brings about the present moment through a sequence of all the past events. At times, this changes the social conditions, and at times it upholds the status quo. Culture is developed through a dynamic and sometimes calm flow of history, providing many factors including, customs, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, social norms, and knowledge. Individuals acquire such cultural patterns in the society they live (Tylor, 1974). Thus, culture is considered 'shared practices' (Dirks et al., 1994) of individuals through the lasting history. Consequently, an intersectional approach to history and culture may play a major role for individuals in developing their ethical or moral consciousness to help understand the society they live.

Considering the historical and cultural factors that may vary in different historical and cultural backgrounds, many scholars point out that these differences may play crucial roles for individuals in making ethical decisions (Ferrell, Gresham, & Fraedrich, 1989; Foot, 1982; Hunt & Vitell, 1986; Rachels, 1986; Trevino & Weaver, 2003). In other words, individuals' ethical expectations are developed by the ethical standards of the society they live (Bartels, 1967). For example, according to Klitgaard (1988), South Korean businessmen are relatively seduced by bribes because the business environment in South Korea accepts bribe practices, such as covert dealings or gift-giving, as a common practice. Pointing out such a business practice in South Korea, Albrecht et al (2010) stated, in South Korean business environments, "many executives also accepted fraud as being within the established cultural social norms for South Korea" (p. 263). In other words, cultural social norms developed through their history may closely be related to corruption in their social settings such as political and economic.

Considering the probabilities between societal contexts and corruption, this research questions how historical and cultural backgrounds influence South Korean elite amateur sports involved in match fixing. The data findings of this research show there are many probabilities which demonstrate that South Korean sociocultural contexts, developed through its history and culture, influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to match fixing. As major factors, Neo-Confucianism, which is considered a civil religion in South Korea (Hooker, 2009), and collectivism, which is embedded in South Korean society throughout its history (Kim et al., 2006), play major roles in bringing about sport match fixing in South Korea elite amateur sports (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1** Influence of Historical and Cultural Contexts on South Korean Elite Amateur Sports Involved in Match Fixing



### **Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Sport Match Fixing**

Neo-Confucianism is the reinterpretation of Confucianism concepts by East Asian countries based on their own understanding. It is considered a civil religion in South Korea since it was introduced into the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392) and imposed through the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910) (Kim, 2006). While Neo-Confucianism was reformed to meet the social and political demands of the time, authoritarianism, such as patriarchal authority between family members and bureaucratism in government, was strengthened in Korean society (Haboush, 1991).

For example, the original Confucianism put an emphasis on the human harmony and relationship through the five moral disciplines named '*Wulun*': Loyalty between ruler and subject, affection between father and son, etiquette between husband and wife, differentiation between old and young, and mutual faith between friends (Yum, 1987). However, while Confucianism was reformed in Korea, the original concepts of the moral disciplines were also reinterpreted in a more hierarchical structure built on social position and age difference rather than human harmony (Berger & Hisao, 1988). Such a skewed interpretation of the Confucian disciplines has played a role in legitimizing the authoritarian social system in South Korean society (Kim, 2006), and in condoning violations that occur between friends, and between the authority and subject under the name of human harmony (Roh & Kwon, 2015).

The data findings of this study demonstrate that the moral disciplines of Neo-Confucianism, which consists of the five different types of human relationships, directly influence South Korean elite amateur sports to get involved in match fixing. The first four human relationships address differentiation between ruler and subject, father and

son, husband and wife, and old and young. In this study, three types of the differential relationships out of the five moral disciplines were shown as major factors influencing sport match fixing in the South Korean society. First, the relationship between ruler and subject was replaced as the relationship between the powers that be at the sport organization level and individuals, such as coaches or athletes, who are subject to authority figures' exercise of power. Second, the relationship between father and son was replaced as the relationship between coaches and athletes. Third, the relationship between old and young was replaced as the relationship between elder players and younger players. The relationship between husband and wife was not shown in this study because none of the individuals' relationships in the South Korean elite amateur sport settings was in accordance to that situation.

The last moral discipline of Neo-Confucianism addressing mutual faith and help between friends was also shown as a major factor influencing sport match fixing in the South Korean elite amateur sport settings. Friendship contributed to sport match fixing due to the relationships among athletes, coaches, and referees. This research demonstrates that sport match fixing taking place due to friendship was understood as a social virtue addressing mutual help for each other, so-called '*sangbu-sango*,' and as emotional connection addressing sympathy or empathy with each other, so-called '*jung*' in Korean.

**'Wulun,' forced hierarchy.** South Korean society has emphasized the values of Confucianism for over a thousand years and believed in the Confucian doctrine as a major principle in human society. Maintaining human relationships based on the Confucian doctrine is considered a social virtue (Juergensmeyer, 2005); thereby, '*wulun*' plays a major role in developing human interactions and relationships with each other



(Madsen, 2008). However, the exaggerated reinterpretation of the Confucian doctrine in (South) Korea brought about an excessively authoritarian society that allows for those in power to take advantage of people who have a lower social status. This research found that the overwhelming social demand to interpret human relationships via social hierarchy norms has directly led South Korean elite amateur sports to be involved in match fixing at both the academic and organizational levels (see Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1** '*Wulun*,' Forced Hierarchy by (Neo) Confucianism

<i>'Wulun'</i> Forced Hierarchy	
At the Academic Level	
Elders first	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I am not sure if it is considered match fixing. If two athletes in the same team are playing in the final, then an elder player usually takes the medal. It is kind of common to us (S.P_Taekwondo)</li> </ul>	
Elder players and younger players (3)	Coaches' involvement (5)
<p>a) (R) I've heard elder players forced younger players to blow matches. Younger players are subject to getting silently pressured to yield matches to elder players (S.H_Taekwondo).</p> <p>b) (U) When it comes to elder player's pressuring younger players to blow matches, that is considered kind of a common practice between athletes and even by coaches. Of course, we believe it is done out of good will because senior players at the high school level need a medal for college scouts, and seniors at the college level are drafted by amateur-business teams based on their college career as a student-athlete. So, even though it happens by elder players or coaches' coercions, it is considered quite natural to us (J.L_Judo).</p>	<p>a) (R) Although it usually happens between athletes, it also happens by coach's demand. Coaches should think about how many of their athletes are scouted by colleges and drafted by amateur-business teams. So, if junior players have done better than seniors, then coaches say to the junior players "you guys have many chances to win competitions next season, so yield up this match for senior athletes who have not had a medal this season." So, such a deal is made due to this structure (JSK_Boxing).</p> <p>b) (R) Coaches often suggest first. I mean they keep watching a tournament board to figure out who goes up in the next rounds and order "you blow this match at this round to a certain player who needs a medal. The certain player is usually a senior player who has not have a medal during that season. Also, coaches order indirectly by saying "do as you think fit." That actually means "do what we have done so far." If there is that kind of order from a coach, then senior players usually win the match. That is kind of an unwritten rule (S.P_Taeknowdo).</p>

**Table 1.1 (cont.) 'Wulun,' Forced Hierarchy by (Neo) Confucianism**

<i>'Wulun'</i> Forced Hierarchy
At the Organizational Level
Top-down order (3)
<p>a) (R) I don't see that it happens by an individual referee. There is such a hierarchical structure in referees' groups, and their decisions at the sports arenas are subject to the orders coming from the top of the structure. For example, there is an order demanding the referees to favor a certain athlete or team in this competition. If so, newcomers or junior referees have to follow the order. Because if they don't, they are branded as a troublemaker in the group. One group usually consists of three referees: a head referee, vice-head referee, and junior referee. So, it is really hard for junior referees to reject the orders coming down from the top (B.M_Taekwondo).</p> <p>b) (U) In addition, I heard that head referees are controlled by the powers that be from the Korea Taekwondo Association. In other words, the powers that be can control the head referees in a manner they want, and the head referees control vice-head or junior referees. Consequently, fixing matches is not a big deal in that structure (B.M_Taekwondo).</p>

As Table 1.1 shows, such a forced hierarchy has influenced individuals affiliated with South Korea elite amateur sports to be involved in match fixing. At the academic level, there are two different types of forced hierarchical practices: one is between elder athletes and younger athletes, and the other is between coaches and athletes. This research found that, at the organizational level, sport match fixing has taken place by the forced hierarchical structure between authority figures at sport organizations and referees governed by the organizations.

*At the academic level.* One of the moral disciplines based on Confucianism is to maintain a good relationship between elder and younger brothers. The original concept of this discipline places an emphasis on a good harmony between siblings. In other words, elder brothers are expected to take care of their younger brothers always, and younger brothers are expected to respect their older brothers who have more life experiences and know-how. However, an exaggerated interpretation of this discipline in regard to Neo-Confucianism made it skewed to demand that younger brothers show an absolute

obedience to their older brothers (Liu, 2009). This research shows such a social demand has also been embedded in South Korean elite amateur sport settings, thus causing sport match fixing.

*I am not sure if it is considered match fixing. If two athletes in the same team are playing in the final, then an elder player usually takes the medal. It is kind of common to us (S.P\_Taekwondo).*

*When it comes to elder player's pressuring younger players to blow matches, that is considered kind of a common practice between athletes and even by coaches... even though it happens by elder players or coaches' coercions, it is considered quite natural to us (J.L\_Judo).*

In addition, one of the moral disciplines based on Confucianism places an emphasis on a filial duty towards one's parents and affection towards one's child. However, unlike the human harmony between parents and offspring from the original doctrine of Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism has brought about a strong patriarchal society in (South) Korea; thereby having led to a one-sided respect from offspring towards parents, such as demanding obedience (Yao, 2000). Such an absolute obedience to parents has been considered one of the most important values in Asian culture influenced by Neo-Confucianism (Ames & Rosemonet, 2014), and that hierarchical order between parents and offspring is also embedded in (South) Korean society.

The data findings of this research demonstrate how these unwritten norms, regarding “elder first” and “demanding obedience” between elders and younger and between parents and offspring, have influenced Korean elite amateur athletes and coaches to be involved in match fixing. First, coaches play the role of a father figure on their teams. In other words, coaches are tacitly given the power and authority to govern their athletes under the name of the discipline, whereas athletes are expected to show an absolute obedience such as filial duty to their coaches. In addition, a social hierarchical order in family is structured by placing priority on a father and elder brother. In a similar vein, such a hierarchical structure was shown in this research. For example, when coaches have two players who are in different grades (e.g., junior and senior) in the same match, they tend to give direction to players about how to deal with the match, which favors an elder player first.

*Coaches often suggest first. I mean they keep watching a tournament board to figure out who goes up in the next rounds and order “you blow this match at this round to a certain player who needs a medal. The certain player is usually a senior player who has not have a medal during that season. Also, coaches order indirectly by saying “do as you think fit.” That actually means “do what we have done so far.” If there is that kind of order from a coach, then senior players usually win the match. That is kind of an unwritten rule (S.P\_Taeknowdo).*

Littlejohn (2010) points out human relationships between a father and son and between old and young are built on the moral disciplines of ‘wulun,’ and lead to the

constructive structure and ethical order of their entire society. In South Korean elite amateur sport settings, human harmonies and relationships between a coach (father) and athletes (offspring), and between elder players (elder brother) and younger players (younger brother) have been led by a forced hierarchy rather than a parental and brotherly affection. Consequently, such a social structure has made it easier for sport match fixing to take place in South Korean elite amateur sports.

*At the organizational level.* Among the human relationships based on the five moral disciplines of Confucianism, the first doctrine addressed is about obligation and loyalty of subjects by complying with the demands of the ruler. This relationship has formed a traditional authoritarianism society in many Asian countries, which were influenced by Confucianism, and accepted the loyalty and submission of subjects towards their ruler as a top priority in the monarchy period (Meng & Li, 2012). Consequently, this doctrine in Confucianism has influenced individuals to be subject to authority figures and led to the inequality of power, such as top-down order. According to Lee (2005), the players' union of the Taiwanese professional baseball is given less power in the Chinese Professional Baseball League (CPBL) than the official' group; thereby, the players' voices are hardly involved in policies, benefits, and even their salary negotiations due to the dominating power of the organization.

Such a societal structure, which takes obedience to authority for granted, has been prevalent in (South) Korean society as well. Kim (2006) points out that the abuse of power by authoritarianism had been considered a legitimized practice for Korea's long history. This research shows that such a vestige of history and culture has still existed in

South Korean elite amateur sport settings whereby individuals have been subject to match fixing as either perpetrator or victim.

*I don't see that it happens by an individual referee. There is such a hierarchical structure in referees' groups, and their decisions at the sports arenas are subject to the orders coming from the top of the structure. For example, there is an order demanding the referees to favor a certain athlete or team in this competition. If so, newcomers or junior referees have to follow the order. Because if they don't, they are branded as a troublemaker in the group. One group usually consists of three referees: a head referee, vice-head referee, and junior referee. So, it is really hard for junior referees to reject the orders coming down from the top (B.M\_Taekwondo).*

As the data findings of this research demonstrates, in South Korean elite amateur sport organizations, there exist two different classes, the ruling one and subjugated one. The ruling party, such as executive members of their sport organizations, has still exercised their power over the subjugated party, such as referees, to manipulate matches by the order of the powers that be at the organization. Also, executive referees convey the order, which they received from the organization, to rank-and-file referees who directly judge matches in an arena. Consequently, such a top-down order plays a role in being the starting line of sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

**'Wulun,' friendship (mutual help).** The last of the five moral disciplines in the Confucian doctrine is about mutual faith and help between friends. The major point of

this discipline places an emphasis on the importance of a kind and considerate mind for another person. Unlike other moral disciplines in Confucianism, a friendship is considered mutual help in the equality of the social status. This doctrine is based on a strong trust between individuals and a repayment imperative because of goodwill from one another (Lee, 2016).

Such a consciousness of reciprocity with each other is recreated as a social virtue, so-called '*sangbu-sangjo*,' in (South) Korean society. The meaning of '*sangbu-sangjo*' originally comes from Chinese, and each letter of '*sangbu-sangjo*' has its own independent meaning; '*sang*' (相) means 'each other,' and both '*bu*' (扶) and '*jo*' (助) mean 'help.' In addition, through the mutual help, individuals develop a strong attachment and affection whereby they place an emphasis on emotional communion for other people, so-called '*jung*,' (情) in Korean. This word's meaning also comes from Chinese, defining it as 'affection' based on 'empathy,' and 'sympathy' for each other.

Such a mutual faith, help, and affection are demanded not only for good but also for inappropriate practices. This research found that such friendships between athletes, coaches, and referees play crucial roles in leading individuals to be involved in match fixing (see Table 1.2).

**Table 1.2** '*Wulun*,' Friendship by (Neo) Confucianism

<i>'Wulun'</i> Friendship
Mutual Help
<i>'Sangbu-sangjo'</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As people generally know sport should be fair. However, people think helping someone they are well acquainted with is a better decision even though they know their decision is unfair or unethical. Funnily enough, whether their decision is fair is not important, but favoring their acquaintance is important for them. So, such an unfair match happens in a sport setting in South Korea (B.M. Taekwondo)</li> </ul>

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*'Sangbu-sangjo': Between athletes (13)*

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- a) (R) One kind of match fixing is making a deal between athletes before their match. For example, one says to the other like because last time you won, so blow this match for me this time. Then, if they come to an agreement, one does not do his best for the other one. So match fixing can happen by such a deal between players (B.M\_Taekwondo).
- b) (U) If I tell this to you, it is kind of "Cut off your nose to spite your face." Okay, what I'm gonna say is about a sort of match fixing. Here is a case, so there is an athlete who should win a certain domestic championship to get selected as a national team member to take part in an international sporting event like the Olympics. Let's call the athlete 'A.' And there is another athlete called 'B.' 'A' is always defeated by 'B.' However, 'B' didn't acquire enough points to be selected as a national team member this season even if he defeats 'A' this match. In this case, 'A' requests 'B' to blow their match for him, telling him "I will blow the match next time if I meet you in the final." That kind case is not related with coaches or referees, but just happens by the two athletes' deal (J.L\_Judo).
- c) (U) It happens a lot in 'A' University because the team has at least 80 and up to 100 athletes. So, they can fix the matches deliberately through a certain way called "ladder play." In other words, if a coach or senior athlete says "take 'A' on the ladder", that means make him the winner this event. How it can happen is other athletes such as 'B, C, D, E' from the same team beat other athletes in the preliminary rounds, and the ones who get to the semi-finals and the final blow the match for 'A' so that 'A' can be scouted by a decent amateur-business team after graduation (J.L\_Judo).
- d) (U) Each team allocates different prize money, and the gap has a big difference. Let me tell you one situation. Just suppose you and I are athletes in the same weight class level on different teams and close with each other. However, I usually win this weight class competition. We meet in the final match. If I win this game, I will receive \$500 prize money from my team, but if you do, then you will receive \$3,000. Under these conditions, we can make a deal that is I intentionally blow the match for you and you share your prize money with me by a half and half. If so, both of us can benefit from the deal. In other words, you have a chance to develop your career by becoming the winner, and I can have more money than I would win. So, we believe such a practice is like '*sangbu-sangjo*' with each other. As I said, each team puts different emphasis according to the type of competition. Our team considers this competition less important than others, and your team considers this competition the most important. So, I can tell you, okay I will blow this match for you in the final, but you do so for me next time. It happens in such a manner (S.K\_Wrestling).
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*'Sangbu-sangjo': Between coaches (8)*

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- a) (R) Match fixings by coaches also commonly happen in sports. For example, high school coaches always have to consider two main things: students' draft into to college and victory in team events. I mean if our team wins a certain championship in a team event, then other teams' coaches who are close with me may ask me to yield the upcoming championship to their team. Because there are a couple of domestic championships every year, what they mean is "don't have all the competitions to yourself, and let's share these with each other." However, it can only happen between close relationships (B.M\_Taekwondo).
- b) (U) It is kind of a win-win proposal for both parties. As athletes have a relationship with each other, such a relationship occurs between teams. For example, there are two teams. Just call them 'team A' and 'team B.' If 'team A' has won in a team event three times this season, then more victory in the same season is just pointless for the team. However, the team has had no one who won in an individual event. 'Team B' has a couple of athletes who have won in an individual event a couple of times this season, but the team has never won in a team event. So, now I think you can guess what happens. Both teams share their individual matches and team matches. In other words, 'team A' yields up a team match to team 'B,' and 'team B' athletes yield up their individual matches to 'team B' athletes (J.L\_Judo).
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*'Sangbu-sangjo'*: Between referees (3)

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- a) (R) Most referees are current coaches at the college level. So, they can say if I am assigned to a match where your team athlete is playing, I try to help him out, so when you are assigned as a referee on the match where my team athlete is playing, then you may favor him (J.K\_Boxing).
- b) (R) Referees affiliated with the same organization such as the same city or province already know each other well. So, it is not a big deal to help each other out under the name of 'sangbu-sangjo' (S.H\_Teakwondo).
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**Table 1.2 (Cont.)** *'Wulun,'* Friendship by (Neo) Confucianism

<i>'Wulun'</i> Friendship
Mutual Help
<i>'Jung'</i> (9)
<p>a) (R) If I have to explain Korean society in one word, I'm gonna say '<i>jung</i>.' Historically, Korean people preferred a large family system, and all relatives lived in the same village, so they think helping each other is more virtuous than being fair. These beliefs and traditional customs make ethnic spirit and we call this '<i>jung</i>.' Such an atmosphere is shown in sport settings. In other words, people are led by '<i>jung</i>' and believe such an emotional communion is more important than ethical consciousness in sport events (B.M_Teakwondo).</p> <p>b) (R) South Korea is a relatively small nation. In such a compact society, people have many chances to run into or come across each other. Consequently, individuals become attached to each other. Due to this fact, coaches or referees are inclined to favor the side they feel is closer or more familiar. When I see these atmospheres by placing myself in the shoes of referees, I can completely understand these historical or cultural features in South Korea (J.K_Boxing).</p> <p>c) (U) Because I am a wrestler, I know many athletes who receive that kind of deal from other players. In that case, I tell them "think hard if you are close to them. If not, just reject their offer" (S.K_Wrestling).</p>

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*'Sangbu-sangjo'* as a social virtue. The phrase '*sangbu-sangjo*' refers to the cultural practice that addresses a mutual help for each other from traditional Korean society (Kim, 2007). This traditional and cultural consciousness for South Koreans has been considered a social virtue for Korea's long history and still plays an active role for people in terms of helping or sharing their labor with each other in their daily lives. Through mutual help, individuals are socializing in the group while they have close relationships with other members. Socializing leads individuals in a certain group to share their values, beliefs, norms, and skills which are understood as common interests (Van Maannen, 1976).

In addition to these benefits, the process of socializing may play a major role in brainwashing the ingroup members into accepting misdoings as common practices, for example “from inculcating corrupt values, beliefs and so on, to inculcating non-corrupt ones” (Ashforth & Anand, 2003, p. 25). In a similar vein, even though the main purpose of ‘*sangbu-sangjo*’ is to share individuals’ common interests with their community, as mentioned, this practice that is considered a social virtue is demanded not only for good but also for inappropriate practices. This research found that such an exaggerated understanding of ‘*sangbu-sangjo*’ has led stakeholders, affiliated with South Korean elite amateur sports, to be involved in match fixing.

*People generally know sport should be fair. However, people think helping someone they are well acquainted with is a better decision even though they know their decision is unfair or unethical. Funnily enough, whether their decision is fair is not important, but favoring their acquaintance is important for them. So, such an unfair match happens in a sport setting in South Korea*  
(B.M\_Taekwondo)

According to the data findings of this research, stakeholders who become actively engaged in match fixing by misunderstanding the social virtue, ‘mutual help,’ were divided into three groups: athletes, coaches, and referees. For the first group, athlete-participants in match fixing were those who try to maximize both parties’ benefits from competition. In other words, they share prize money or medals in accordance to their

needs through manipulations of matches. These practices are plotted by the two athletes' agreement prior to matches.

*Here is a case, so there is an athlete who should win a certain domestic championship to get selected as a national team member to take part in an international sporting event like the Olympics. Let's call the athlete 'A.' And there is another athlete called 'B.' 'A' is always defeated by 'B.' However, 'B' didn't acquire enough points to be selected as a national team member this season even if he defeats 'A' this match. In this case, 'A' requests 'B' to blow their match for him, telling him "I will blow the match next time if I meet you in the final." That kind case is not related with coaches or referees, but just happens between the two athletes' deal (J.L. Judo).*

As reviewed, one of the five Confucianism principles regarding 'wulun' is about mutual faith between friends. The original meaning of this doctrine emphasizes that a friendship should be built on personal integrity, such as honesty, sincerity, and trust between friends. However, an excessive emphasis on a friendship in human relationships was misinterpreted in Neo-Confucianism at times. In other words, faith based on friendships is skewed as a demand to ignore colleagues' misdoings. Consequently, a strong friendship tends to become a major factor leading to corruption (Liang, 2009). This research also shows that match fixing takes place due to coaches' friendships. They share individuals' or team events' medals with other teams' coaches under the name of 'sangu-sangjo.'

*Match fixings by coaches also commonly happen in sports... if our team wins a certain championship in a team event, then other teams' coaches who are close with me may ask me to yield the upcoming championship to their team... [it] mean[s] "don't have all the competitions to yourself, and let's share these with each other." However, it can only happen between close relationships (B.M\_ Taekwondo).*

*It is kind of a win-win proposal for both parties... For example, there are two teams. Just call them 'team A' and 'team B.' If 'team A' has won in a team event three times this season, then more victory in the same season is just pointless for the team. However, the team has had no one who won in an individual event [whereas] 'Team B' has a couple of athletes who have won in an individual event a couple of times this season, but the team has never won in a team event. So... Both teams share their individual matches and team matches (J.L\_ Judo).*

Lastly, the data findings of this research demonstrate that these practices are not exclusive practices of only athletes and coaches but also include referees. How these pervasive practices infiltrate referees' groups is due to a small pool of the sport participants in the South Korean elite amateur sport settings. When it takes into consideration a national circumstance, the data findings provide evidence to support that current referees have had long friendships with each other; thereby, being able to deal with match fixing easily.

*Most current referees were former athletes. They have known each other for a long time... So, they can say if I am assigned to a match where your team athlete is playing, I try to help him out, so when you are assigned as a referee on the match where my team athlete is playing, then you may favor him (J.K\_Boxing).*

To sum up, under the Confucian doctrine, helping each other has been considered a social virtue in South Korean society for over a thousand years. This research shows that such a social value is deeply embedded in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. However, a misunderstanding of the human relationship regarding the moral disciplines of Confucianism has individuals distort the original value of mutual faith between friends. As the data findings of this research demonstrate, individuals (i.e., athletes, coaches, and referees) appear to understand ‘mutual faith’ as a ‘conditional deal’ in relationship with their counterparts. For example, athletes’ deals are mostly made under the promise that the two parties share the prize money or medals in order to fulfil their own necessary and sufficient conditions to help them maintain their athletic career.

Coaches are responsible for getting scouts to observe their athletes. Therefore, these practices usually happen between coaches under the purpose of medal trades for their athletes who wait to be drafted by a college team. In addition, match fixing takes place by referees favoring certain players or teams. As the data shows, most of the referees are current coaches at the high school or college level. Thus, referees make a deal with their counterparts under the purpose of favoring athletes from one another. Consequently, such an exaggerated interpretation of the doctrine has played a crucial role in bringing about match fixing among athletes, coaches, and referees.

*'Jung' as an emotional connection.* An emotional connection, so-called '*jung*' in Korean, does not deal with the moral disciplines of Confucianism. It is not simple to describe this in words, even in Korean. According to the Encyclopedia of Korean Culture (2017), '*jung*' is described as one of the human natures; that is an inner attitude of humans to lead to external behaviors of humans. Furthermore, as a form of human consciousness, this functions as a bridge to connect with one another emotionally. In other words, this emotional state is usually understood as an ability to feel empathy or sympathy with others' emotional states.

When one takes into consideration the understanding of '*jung*' in South Korean sociocultural contexts, it can be assumed that this emotional feeling has pervaded almost all relationships as an invisible value. As this research has demonstrated so far, the human relationships addressed by the Confucian doctrine have played major roles in causing match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. Along with that fact, it also shows that '*jung*,' derived from ethnic spirit, leads individuals to accept participation in match fixing under the name of a social virtue to help colleagues. In other words, individuals put themselves into someone else' situation and ask, 'if I were him/her, or if he/she were me, how would we deal with this?' Also, Korean society addresses this—feeling compassion for someone else is natural sympathy human beings must have. Consequently, these social values have influenced South Koreans to follow an emotional appeal, first rather than a rational decision.

*South Korea is a relatively small nation. In such a compact society, people have many chances to run into or come across each other. Consequently, individuals*

*become attached to each other. Due to this fact, coaches or referees are inclined to favor the side they feel is closer or more familiar. When I see these atmospheres by placing myself in the shoes of referees, I can completely understand these historical or cultural features in South Korea (J.K\_Boxing).*

*I know many athletes who receive that kind of deal from other players. In that case, I tell them “think hard if you are close to them. If not, just reject their offer” (S.K\_Wrestling).*

To sum up, emotional connections obviously influence individuals, including athletes, coaches, and referees, when making their ethical decisions. However, as the data findings show, whether he or she accepts match fixing deals is based on how close of a relationship they have had with each other. Consequently, the human relationships through social and emotional connections have directly influenced South Korean elite amateur sports involved in match fixing.

### **Influence of Collectivism on Sport Match Fixing**

Generally speaking, traditional Korean society was developed through two prominent cultural environments. One is a strongly relationship-based culture to address obligations of individual's roles as a member in multi-groups (e.g., as family, friends, and other groups they belong to) more than the rights of an individual as an independent entity (Hooker, 2009). The other is based on a strongly centralized-power system like the monarchy to provide the authority figures with the privileged power in groups. These are

referred to as the cultural features of collectivism (Ho, 1993; Lee: 2017; Schwartz, 1990; Yum, 1988).

In (South) Korean society, the relationship-based culture brought about a unique linguistic pattern referring to the possessive case 'my' as 'our.' For example, when Koreans talk about their own parents or boss to someone else, they refer to these people as 'our father,' 'our mother,' and 'our boss,' instead of using the possessive case, 'my.' In other words, individuals emphasize common goods more than individual ones. Such a unique cultural feature has individuals sacrifice themselves for the group's interests (Yang, 1994).

Consequently, (South) Korean cultural formation has developed "a set of values that includes... intense allegiance to groups, and a submergence of individual identity in collective identity" (Englehart, 2000, p. 549); thus, groups' values such as norms and goals shape its members' consciousness of thoughts and behaviors (Triandis, 1989). Also, acceptance of social norms in a collectivism-based society is understood as a tacit value of the culture that is not challenged by ingroup members (Triandis et al., 1988). This prominent cultural feature is still deeply embedded in South Korean society.

In addition, for people to show loyalty towards authority figures, in particular the reigning monarch, is considered one of the most important values in Asian cultures that are rooted in Confucianism as well. This historical and cultural background led to power-centered vertical collectivism in Korean society. Consequently, such sociocultural context has formed "a stratified hierarchy with power segregation from top to bottom" (Lee, 2017, p. 50); therefore, individuals try to take a political line to the powers that be for their personal gain.



As discussed, individuals in collectivist society are tacitly forced to comply with the groups' norms and demands of the authority power, regardless of whether these practices are right and wrong ethically (Kim, 2006). When it takes into consideration these factors, corruption may take place due to groupism that forces ingroup members either to ignore their groups' misdoings or to get engaged in these practices, and a centralized-power system like the monarchy fortifies their hegemony. In terms of that question, the data findings of this research show that an excessive groupism and centralized-power system clearly influence South Korean elite amateur sports involved in match fixing.

**Groupism.** As discussed, South Korean society has placed an emphasis on 'whole-ness' more than an autonomous individual for Korea's long history (Choi & Choi, 1994). These national backgrounds have led to "tradition of patron-client networks of family, regional, school and other ties" in South Korea (Moran, 1998, p. 163). Kim et al (2006) point out that such sociocultural contexts play crucial roles in weaving individuals into one group. However, unlike the pure purpose of organizing a community to share group members' common interests, the group-consciousness may be misused to govern an individual's ethical values. In terms of that question, this research shows that an excessive groupism in South Korean society has led one umbrella group to be split up into sub-groups based on school-ties and regionalism. These social contexts have played roles in bringing about sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings (see Table 1.3).

**Table 1.3** Groupism in Collectivist Society

Groupism	
Groupism: School-ties (17)	
a)	(R) In fact, many sport match fixings occur not by referees' personal principles, but by groupism such as school-ties or regionalism. Their personal interests are closely related to the group' interests they belong. Consequently, these atmospheres lead referees to fix matches based on which school they graduated from or which province they came (J.K_Boxing).
b)	(R) Groupism like school-ties or regionalism is absolutely embedded in South Korean society. Actually, I am an alumnus of 'B' University, so it is true that I am inclined to favor athletes in 'B' university. So, match fixing also takes place unintentionally like that because of these social connections (K.S_Judo).
c)	(R) Regarding match fixing, athletes in a certain school specializing in a certain sport event usually have a benefit somehow. I think these phenomena occur not only in Judo, but also other one-on-one physical sporting events such as Taekwondo, Boxing, or Wrestling (J.L_Judo)
d)	(U) Have you heard of match fixing occurring in Judo? College Judo teams in South Korea are divided in the two different groups, one is 'A' University and the other is just the rest of the college Judo teams. In my personal opinion, because all the powers that be in South Korea Judo Association are alumni of 'A' University, players in 'A' University take many benefits in competitions somehow. It is really hard for other college teams to defeat the strong bonds of 'A' University (J.L_Judo)
e)	(U) When even hiring coaches, people prefer alumni candidates of the school than candidates who graduated from different schools. In other words, people believe alumni candidates will bring more enthusiasm to their team. In addition, in extreme cases, the alumni association boycotts outside candidates. After all, these social atmospheres cause sport match fixing (H.S_Taekwondo).
f)	(U) Besides a sport setting, groupism such as school-ties is considered very important in general societal environments. For example, regarding the election of the members for the National Assembly, people first consider if the candidates were members of our alumni association in the same middle or high school (J.L_Judo)
Groupism: Regionalism (15)	
a)	(R) Each province has their own sports association branches from the headquarters such as the Box Association in Seoul. There is kind of a war of nerves between the branch-associations. For example, when I have a match with an athlete from another province, and if the competition is held in Seoul, then I am more likely to win at the match since I am affiliated with the Seoul team. On the other hand, if I have a match in another province, then I get up to the arena with a disadvantage (J.S.K_Boxing)
b)	(U) When I was in a middle school, I was an athlete affiliated with a province located in the southern region. When I entered a high school, I had many calls from other provinces to recruit me. However, the regional association I was affiliated with did not allow me to play for another province because they believed if I went there, they lost an athlete who seemed likely to bring medals to their province. As you might know, the National Sports Festival in South Korea is the biggest domestic sporting event. So, in the events, how many medals each province acquires is very important. Even though they couldn't be sure if I would keep playing well at the high school level, as I did at the middle school level, they were very adamant of their decision (H.S_Taekwondo).

*School-ties and Regionalism.* This research demonstrates that there are two types of explicit groupism that lead to sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport

settings. The first is school-ties. This groupism is referred to as *'hachnyon'* in Korean and considered a very effective means to connect with one another. People share their fellowship by saying 'we went to 'A' college together,' or 'he or she is my junior from high school.' Kim et al (2006) point out that groupism created by school-ties in South Korea is so strong that, at times, this can lead to group-corruption. The data findings of this research support Kim et al's (2006) argument.

*Groupism like school-ties or regionalism is absolutely embedded in South Korean society. Actually, I am an alumnus of 'B' University, so it is true that I am inclined to favor athletes in 'B' university. So, match fixing also takes place unintentionally like that because of these social connections (K.S\_Judo).*

*When even hiring coaches, people prefer alumni candidates of the school than candidates who graduated from different schools... people believe alumni candidates will bring more enthusiasm to their team... in extreme cases, the alumni association boycotts outside candidates (H.S\_Taekwondo).*

This research shows that school-ties is addressed not only in sport competition but also in the hiring process of coaches. In a similar vein, Park (2013) points out that most South Korean governments, regardless of whether they are military or civilian regimes, have preferred to constitute their government's cabinet based on school-ties. Such practices are still deeply embedded in South Korean society, even in sport settings;

thereby, playing major roles in leading sport match fixing into South Korean elite amateur sports.

In addition, the data findings of this research demonstrate that regionalism is shown as another type of groupism prominent in South Korean society along with school ties. This groupism is referred to as *'jihyon'* in Korean. One of the most interesting cultural features in South Korea happens when one meets with someone else for the first time. They ask each other about which province they come from. Bae and Cotton (1993) state that South Koreans promote friendship through this groupism, *'jihyon,'* to function as a string to weave individuals tightly into a group.

*In fact, many sport match fixings occur not by referees' personal principles, but by groupism such as...regionalism. Their personal interests are closely related to the group' interests they belong. Consequently, these atmospheres lead referees to fix matches (J.K\_Boxing).*

To sum up, historically and culturally, South Korean society, influenced by Confucianism, has emphasized “the importance of interdependent social connections” (Dunning & Kim, 2007, p. 329). In the traditional society, people were mainly interconnected by blood relationships whereby family-oriented collectivism was formed across the society (Ames & Rosemont, 2014). Such a vestige of the kinship-centered collectivist society has lasted until today. In other words, individuals still believe that favoring people affiliated with him/herself, regardless of whether it is right and wrong, is a part of the obligations they should comply with as one of the members in the groups.

Consequently, as the data findings of this research show, these sociocultural contexts have been embedded in South Korean elite amateur sport settings; thereby causing match fixing.

**Centralized-power system.** Even though a centralized-power system like the monarchy in traditional Korean society had existed before Confucianism was introduced into Korea, the concept of the system may also come from the same stream of the Confucian doctrine, loyalty between ruler and subjects. However, in this research, that concept is considered an independent entity in that the centralized power system may lead to another social factor to cause corruption, for example political conflicts that fight for hegemony as well. When it comes to the question of corruption taking place due to the power imbalance among individuals or groups, this research shows that the centralized power system's struggle for power has clearly influenced South Korean elite amateur sports involved in match fixing (see Table 1.4).

**Table 1.4** Centralized Power System in Collectivist Society

Centralized Power System
Hegemony
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Korean society is still in a hierarchical structure, and the structure is developed by lines of personal connections. In other words, if a header of the association is an alumnus of 'B' university, then he fortifies the association's employees by alumni of 'B' University so as to keep their hegemony from other universities (J.S.K_Boxing).</li> </ul>
Political Line (12)

- a) (R) Referees' attitudes or manners are totally different when they greet the powers that be from the association. They are never reluctant to become brown-nose authority figures. The header of the referee committee has the authority to appoint referees to domestic and international competitions, so referees always try to flatter him (J.L\_Judo).
  - b) (R) Because the political lines in sport associations are already fortified in each province, the regional sport association tends to assign referees affiliated with the same province for competitions held in their region. For example, a sporting competition is held in an 'A' province, then most of the referees are affiliated with the 'A' province. As I said, most of the referees are also connected with each other through an alumni union. After all, the referees favor athletes who have a connected with the referees' group under the purpose of recruiting the athletes as potential members to keep their hegemony through the next generation (J.S.K\_Boxing).
  - c) (R) Regarding the election of the president of the association, current coaches registered in the association have the right to vote. So, the candidates for the president position try to pay off voters in advance and make a deal by saying "if I am elected for the position, then I will give you a certain position or ensure your referee appointments (B.M\_Taekwondo).
  - d) (R) Anyway, 'A' University has the governing power, and most referees just follow the general power trend because there is no reason they are against the governing power. Also, since most referees were former athletes, they are connected with the association somehow. So, referees instinctually know which player is supported by the powers that be. Therefore, referees just favor that particular player. Otherwise, they might be branded as a maverick in the group, and then they might be excluded from the lists of referees in the following competitions. So, their own beliefs as a referee are inclined to obey the authority figures. I think it happens not in Judo, but also in other sporting events in South Korea (K.S\_Judo).
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*Hegemony.* The data findings of this research demonstrate that one of the major reasons to bring about match fixing is because of a struggle for hegemony. It shows two different types of power struggles between individuals. One is about individuals fortifying their power in sport organizations. The other is about individuals trying to take a political line to the powers that be at the organization level.

*Regarding the election of the president of the association, current coaches registered in the association have the right to vote. So, the candidates for the president position try to pay off voters in advance and make a deal by saying "if I am elected for the position, then I will give you a certain position or ensure your referee appointments (B.M\_Taekwondo).*

*[If] 'A' University has the governing power, and most referees just follow the general power trend because there is no reason they are against the governing power... referees instinctually know which player is supported by the powers that be. Therefore, referees just favor that particular player. Otherwise, they might be branded as a maverick in the group, and then they might be excluded from the lists of referees in the following competitions. So, their own beliefs as a referee are inclined to obey the authority figures. I think it happens not in Judo, but also in other sporting events in South Korea (K.S\_Judo).*

As the data findings of this research demonstrate, stakeholders affiliated with South Korean elite amateur sports are interested in gaining more power in their sport settings. For example, officials working at the sport organizations struggle to gain power to control the organizations, whereas referees struggle to take a political line to benefit them for their careers. One common theme shown from this research is, no matter what individuals struggle for, what they are interested in is obtaining privileged power for personal gain. Consequently, these sociocultural contexts have led people to pursue individual opportunities instead of valuing fairness in sports, thus causing match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

## **II. Influence of Societal Changes on South Korean Elite Amateur Athletes with Respect to Sports Match Fixing**

The concept of ‘societal change’ may vary according to how it is used. Thus, this research restricts the time frame for this term from the beginning of the South Korean modernization<sup>8</sup> period to the present. A contemporary societal condition is implemented through “dynamic and change over time as the result of both internal and external forces” (Barnett & Caper, 2001, p. 465). Current South Korean society was modified after undergoing a dynamic and drastic change in the twentieth century and experiencing rapid development of the whole society (Lee, 1992).

For example, (South) Korean society went through Japanese colonial occupation from 1910-1945 and restoration of national identity after the colonial period in the first half of the 1900’s. South Korean society also experienced the Korean War (1950-1953) and poverty in the mid-1900’s. Such societal turbulence later played a role in stimulating South Koreans to strive to develop a national condition and identity. Their effort eventually led South Korean society to become modernized in 25 years, at almost the same level of production that Japan took 90 years to achieve (Chang, 1989). This is the so-called ‘Miracle on the Han River’<sup>9</sup>.

These dynamic and rapid changes have led South Korea from centuries-old traditions to a modernized country in a short period of time (Kim, 2006). What is

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<sup>8</sup> South Korean society began being modernized in the late 1980s, showing complicated social, economic, and political changes (Kim, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> The Miracle on the Han River refers to the late 1980s when there was the period of rapid economic growth in South Korea after the historical dark ages such as the Japanese colonial period and the Korean War.



interesting about the process of the South Korean modernization is, while the traditional society was transformed to a modernized society, they not only developed advanced social structures but also maintained historically and culturally traditional legacies in contemporary South Korea (MacDonald, 1988). These dichotomous social changes eventually led to tension and conflict in modern Korean society. Kim (2006) describes that South Korean society has been developed in an obvious contrast:

The coexistence of its [Korea's] cosmopolitan, striving in the global order and frantic nationalism, rapid economic development alongside the enduring patriarchal attitude and intuitions; democratizing movements and authoritarian cultural traditions; an increasing inter-generational gap; widening disparities between the rich and the poor (P. 9).

Such dual characteristics of South Korean society that were structured by the traditional social environments and the modernized transformation of Korean society brought about various social polarizations of South Korean civil society. For example, the government demanded and supported economic growth excessively focused on the '*chaebol*<sup>10</sup>' system. This caused the gap between the rich and the poor to become more serious (Lee, 2005; Wedeman, 1997). Also, an economic-focused development during the South Korean modernization caused a lack of social infrastructures such as a state welfare system (Kim, 2007).

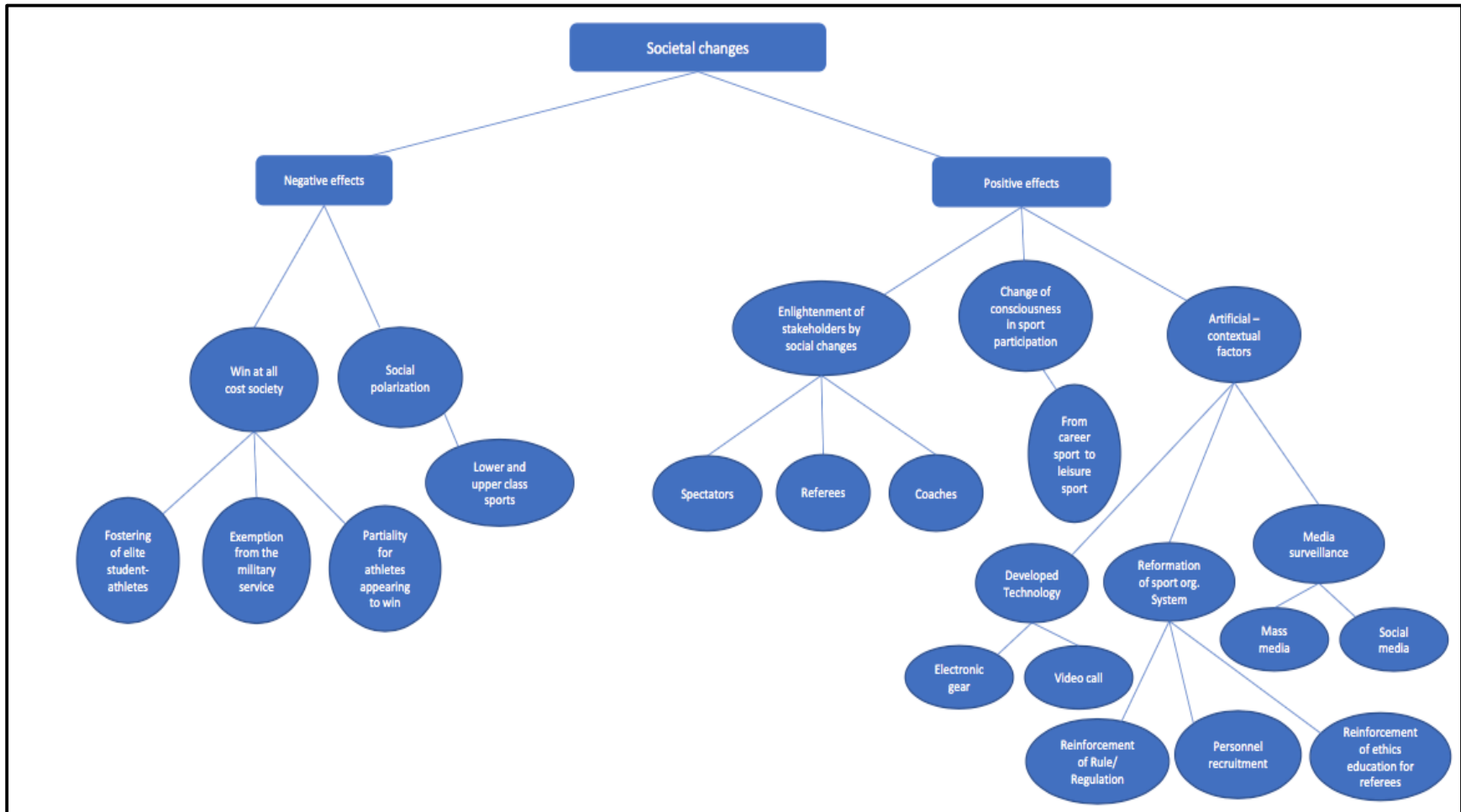
Consequently, these social conflicts between modernity and tradition, and between polarizations of other social factors led South Korean society to become like an

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<sup>10</sup> '*Chaebol*' refers to a South Korean form of business conglomerate as global enterprises such as Samsung, Hyundai, KIA or LG.

‘immature adult child.’ In other words, even though the nation is almost fully grown physically, people are still in a state of immature civic awareness. Considering these factors, this research questions how societal changes in South Korea influence elite amateur sport match fixing and how South Korean elite amateur athletes are influenced by the changes. The data findings of this research demonstrate that societal changes in South Korea have provided elite amateur sports with dual characteristics of sport settings that have negative and positive effects simultaneously. Thus, this section will deal with negative effects first that are divided into two parts, and positive effects that are divided into three parts (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2** Influence of Societal Changes on South Korean Elite Amateur with Respect to Sports Match Fixing



## Negative Effects of Societal Changes

The national modernization can be referred to as a concept that reflects whole societal changes, including capitalism, nation building, industry, and democracy. The concept of modernization can provide a broad framework to interpret societal changes in both negative and positive terms simultaneously (Rundell & Mennell, 1998). After South Korea began to modernize in the late 1980s, the society underwent various societal changes, in particular political and socio-economic settings. For example, the military regime that governed South Korea by an authoritarian leadership from 1961 through 1987 ended, and rapid economic growth led South Korea to become an advanced country<sup>11</sup>.

However, such a desire of both the nation and public for national modernization caused an excessively competitive society, a so-called ‘win at all costs philosophy’. Also, a ‘*chaebol*’ –dependent economic growth under the support of the South Korean government led to a bigger socio-economic polarization. Consequently, it can be inferred that sports, as a dominant role in society, are subject to societal changes. These negative effects are explicitly shown in this research (see Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1** Negative Effects on Sport Match Fixing by Societal Changes

Win at all cost society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (R) As you know, Korean society is obsessed with elitism. People appreciate only the first, thus, people use any method they can to achieve it, even if it is not honest or fair (S.H_Taekwondo).</li> <li>• (U) Look at our society. People clap only to a winner. As other developed countries, grassroots of sports should come up from club sports. However, sports in our society are still based on elite sports only specialized for certain student-athletes (J.K_Boxing).</li> </ul>

<sup>11</sup> According to the International Monetary Fund (2016), the total market values of all final goods and service produced in South Korean was listed in the top 11 of the World GDP Ranking.

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 Win at all cost society: Fostering of Elite Student-Athletes (7)
 

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- a) (R) Regarding sport match fixing, one of the most serious problems I think about sports in South Korea is the college entrance system. In other words, coaches push parents for money. Even when coaches do not, parents provide coaches with monetary values under the table. The purpose of the bribe is to pay off referees to favor their child to enter college as a student-athlete (H.S\_Taekwondo).
  - b) (R) Sport match fixing exists 100% in high school sport teams. Senior athletes in a high school should have at least one medal to be scouted by a college team. If one has no medal, then the school team in which he or she is makes him/her the winner somehow. Of course, the ways are likely to be related to sport match fixing (J.L\_Judo).
  - c) (U) There are athletes who request a deal with other athletes first. For example, athletes who need a medal for college entrance find out other athletes' hotel room numbers before a competition so that they can explain their own positions or situations and deal match fixing by paying money. In this case, even if coaches become aware of this unfair bargain, they pretend not to know (J.S.K\_Boxing).
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 Win at all cost society: Partiality for Athletes Appearing to Win (11)
 

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- a) (R) If a certain player such as an athlete called 'A' appears to win at a competition because of many experiences of taking part in big competitions, the team the player belongs to selects him as a representative at all costs even though he was defeated by another player during the team trials (H.S\_Taekwondo).
  - b) (R) Each city or province has their branch associations, for example, the Boxing Association in Seoul. The officials in the association already know who appears more likely to win at a competition, thus they believe in the player and support him as a representative for their city or province. Their tangible or intangible support of a certain player influences the outcome of the team trials (J.K\_Boxing).
  - c) (U) There is an explicit reason coaches select a certain player as a team representative even though he was defeated by another one in their team trials. That is because she has many experiences in big sporting events and won at these events a couple of times before. In other words, coaches avoid taking a risk with selecting a rookie player as a team representative even though she shows better performance during that season. For example, there is prize money at the National Sports Festival. So, if 'A' seems more likely to win the competition than player 'B' because 'A' has winning experiences at the competition a couple of times, then even though player 'B' beat 'A' in a team trials, the team changes the regulation for player 'A.' (S.H\_Taekwondo).
  - d) (U) Olympic team representatives are selected through the national trials. If an Ace player is not selected as a representative, the association changes the rule. For example, there are two competitions for the national team member trials, and the matches are supposed to be taken place within two weeks. However, if the Ace player the association believes in is defeated at the first completion, the association postpones the second match later than the scheduled date. The purpose of the date change is to bring the Ace player back to peak condition so that she can do her best in the second competition. People do not care of fairness, but of who seems more likely to win at the Olympics (H.S\_Taekwondo).
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 Win at all cost society: Exemption from the Military Service (1)
 

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- a) (U) When we were recruited from business amateur teams after college, one of the major options for men was if the teams would give us many opportunities to participate in the international competitions at the World Championship level. Because, as you might know, if we win at that kind of international competition, then we are exempted from the military service. Actually, I haven't seen anyone involved in match fixing for the purpose of the military exemption, but I know some of players engage in match fixing to be exempted from the military service. When I went to a business amateur team, the first option I requested to them was regarding the exemption from the military service (B.M\_Taekwondo).
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**Win at all cost society.** Along with the national modernization of South Korea, the first military regime that was inaugurated in 1961 used sports not only as a domestic political instrument but also as a means of international propaganda to help increase national identity. For example, even though the public was not interested in sports during the period of poor national condition, the regime held an international soccer competition named 'President Park's Cup' in 1971 (Hong, 2011). Taking these opportunities for national development, the rest of the military regimes that lasted until 1988 took advantages of sports for their own sake. Eventually, during the last military regime, South Korea was selected as a hosting nation for the 24<sup>th</sup> Olympics in 1988 in Seoul, the capital of South Korea.

Hosting the Olympics not only brought an economic impact, but also provided people with national pride (Hong, 2011). These experiences were strong enough to have South Koreans be intoxicated by the successful hosting of the events. The pride and fulfilling experiences have lasted in most Koreans' minds, even until today. As evidence for this, the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics were supported by 93 percent of the national poll rating, whereas other candidate cities, Munich, Germany and Annecy, France received a 61 percent and 51 percent support rating from each national poll (Kim, 2017).

Such a fanatical interest in and excessive expectation of sports based on the national prestige-centered purpose distorted sport values as a means of both national and international propaganda. In other words, sportsmanship that prioritizes fair play, complying with the rules of the game, and treating the opponents with respect is placed behind gamesmanship that prioritizes winning at all costs (Josephson, n.d.). According to

the data findings of this research, these societal changes and backgrounds negatively influence South Korean elite amateur sports to follow gamesmanship more than sportsmanship; thereby, finally leading to sport match fixing.

*Fostering of elite student-athletes.* Representing the national flag and national anthem in international sporting events by medal winners plays a crucial role for most countries to show off their national reputation and prestige (Maguire, Jarvie, Bradley, & Mansfield, 2002). During the period of modernizing South Korea, the government put effort into fostering elite student-athletes for the purpose of making them winners at the Olympics. However, at some point, their intent was shown as a coercive demand for the student-athletes to devote themselves to becoming a sacrifice for national prestige. For example, promising young student-athletes are overtly forced to trade their rights for compulsory or required education with rigorous training (Yamamoto, 2008). This research indicates that these social and institutional demands still exist in current South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

*Look at our society. People clap only to a winner. As other developed countries, grassroots of sports should come up from club sports. However, sports in our society are still based on elite sports only specialized for certain student-athletes (J.K\_Boxing).*

The data findings of this study describe that excessive elitism in sports leads to a highly competitive sport environment. South Korean elite student-athletes indeed consider themselves athlete-students who are forced to become winners somehow. They

may believe fair play does not exist in sport fields, but only a winner and loser exists. Also, it appears that only winners are given a chance to become a national hero by winning at international level sporting events. Consequently, these social environments influence not only promising student-athletes but also their parents to learn the ‘win at all cost philosophy.’ This research demonstrates that such a belief in sport settings causes unfair or illegal scouting processes by college teams.

*... athletes who need a medal for college entrance find out other athletes’ hotel room numbers before a competition so that they can make a deal for match fixing by paying money. In this case, even if coaches become aware of this unfair bargain, they pretend not to know (J.S.K\_Boxing).*

*One of the most serious problems I think about sports in South Korea is the college entrance system... coaches push parents for money. Even when coaches do not, parents provide coaches with monetary values under the table. The purpose of the bribe is to pay off referees to favor their child to enter college as a student-athlete (H.S\_Taekwondo).*

As “an Olympic gold medal is the most recognized symbol of athletic success” (Starkes & Ericsson, 2003, p. ix), in South Korea, gold medalists in the Olympics are portrayed as national heroes or heroines by the mass media. They bring glory to Korean society and honor to their teams with their medals. Their parents are proud of their medalist child, considering them not only their own child, but also a national son or



daughter. As mentioned above, even though South Korean society follows patterns of globalization, they also adhered to frantic nationalism (Kim, 2006). Such national characteristics make student-athletes and their parents vigilant about taking an opportunity to advance themselves and their child to the utmost levels such as the national team.

To achieve their goals, student-athletes need to enter well-known college teams in accordance with their sporting events. They believe a good college team is the first step to success. Consequently, as this research demonstrates, if a victory by committing unethical practices, regardless of the type, provides South Korean elite amateur student-athletes with an opportunity to be scouted by a college team, they and their parents seem willing to take part in the misconduct.

*Partiality for athletes appearing to win.* A South Korean team winning a sport competition, especially a mega sporting event, has played a major role in bringing about social cohesion as a country. Sports were indeed used as a tool to divert the public's attention away from turbulent societal changes and events (e.g., the democratic movements in the 1980s and financial crisis in 1997) to sports. (Hong, 2011). What is unique about South Korea's elite amateur system is that the national team members are intensively trained in the national sport center named 'Tae Neung Athletics Village.' This was built in 1966. Once amateur athletes are selected as a national team member, they are given various fringe benefits such as pensions and athletic scholarships to universities from the government.

However, the military regimes' major intent for building the national sport center and the civilian governments' desire to maintain the system until today seems not so

much to make this society a strong sport nation as it is to show off its number of Olympic medals (Hong, 2011; Park, Lim, & Bretherton, 2012). In other words, South Korean elite amateur sport settings place an emphasis on the value of results more than the value of the process. Consequently, as this research indicates, these societal environments have played role in causing sport match fixing in sport settings.

*The officials in the association already know who appears more likely to win at a competition, thus they believe in the player and support him as a representative for their city or province. Their tangible or intangible support of a certain player influences the outcome of the team trials (J.K\_Boxing).*

*... there are two competitions for the national team member trials, and the matches are supposed to be taken place in two weeks. However, if the Ace player who the association believes in is defeated at the first completion, the association postpones the second match later than the scheduled date. The purpose of the date change is to bring the Ace player back to peak condition so that she can do her best in the second competition. People do not care of fairness, but of who seems more likely to win at the Olympics (H.S\_Taekwondo).*

*Exemption from the military service.* In a similar vein to the previous section, South Korean governments have provided medalists at the International Championship level of sport competitions with various fringe benefits since 1972 when the Athletic Specialist System was enacted. For example, President Park Chung-hee's regime that

governed Korean society from 1961 to 1979 passed the enactment of a military services exemption law in 1973 and a lifelong pension system in 1974 (Lee, 1994). The benefit of the exemption from the military service especially helps male-athletes stay motivated to achieve their goal desperately since the mandatory service is required for an average of two and a half years (“The term of military service,” n.d.). This research demonstrates that male-athletes try to be exempted from the military service whereby some are willing to take part in fixing matches if that practice benefits him.

*When we were recruited from business amateur teams after college, one of the major options for men was if the teams would give us many opportunities to participate in the international competitions at the World Championship level. Because, as you might know, if we win at that kind of international competition, then we are exempted from the military service... I know some players engage in match fixing to be exempted from the military service. When I went to a business amateur team, the first option I requested to them was regarding the exemption from the military service (B.M\_Taekwondo).*

To sum up, a ‘win at all cost society’ places an emphasis on a victory only. The process of winning at a competition is not important, but the result is valuable not only for the athletes but also their teams and the nation. In other words, South Korean elite athletes may believe the best value of sports is a victory for themselves. Also, if they can contribute to their teams and nation somehow by winning at a competition, although their victories are unfair, their practices may be overlooked from the team or society.

Eventually, these societal settings provide athletes with a numb sport environment ethically so that they believe match fixing is not a serious issue.

**Social polarization.** Since the 1970s when South Korea began modernizing, the social polarization between the haves and the have-nots came up as one of the most serious social issues (Pyun, 2006). During the period of rapid economic growth in the past three decades, the whole country focused on an intensive economic growth by the strong demand of the governments. However, they overlooked a fair distribution of wealth and social welfare (Kim, 2007). Despite these significant concerns about social polarization, many mainstream people still assert advancing their economic status to the upper level is more important than focusing on welfare systems or policies (Pyun, 2006). Consequently, as the gap between the rich and the poor is getting bigger, the jungle law saying, ‘the weak fall prey to the strong,’ has pervaded every aspect of South Korea. These social issues by societal changes have influenced South Korean elite amateur sport settings and brought about differentiation between the lower and upper class sports (See Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1 (cont.)** Negative Effects on Sport Match Fixing by Societal Changes

Social Polarization	
Lower and upper class sports (3)	
a)	(U) When it comes to boxing, according to societal changes of South Korea from a developing country to a developed country, the image of Boxing was also changed. For example, in the past, Boxing was considered a sport for people who were poor and lower class. So, it was called a hungry sport. As I said, since our country turned into a developed country, the number of people taking part in boxing has been reduced consistently. Ironically, while the number of the boxing people has decreased, their networks and connections with each other have been closer because people are swimming in a small boxing pool. They run into the same people from middle school matches to adult matches. Thus, it is common they are close with each other, and such a climate helping with each other is naturally created between them. I don't think they believe such practices such as helping each other is part of match fixing (J.K_Boxing).
b)	(R) Why sport match fixing consistently occurs in boxing is because most of boxers are poor. Most of boxers playing in high school teams suffer from financial trouble. In other words, most of them cannot afford to pay their college tuition fees unless they are scouted as student-athletes by college teams. Under that condition, they try to find ways they can enter college. Match fixing is not a big deal if such

- 
- practices are considered the best way to help them enter college (J.S.K\_Boxing).
- c) (U) The national sponsorship/budget for boxing has been reduced or even cut off. Boxing in South Korea was abandoned by the national interest. It is like the saying “Kill the dog after hunting is over.” Boxing was like a loyal dog to bring Olympic medals to our country. However, today few boxers win at the international competitions, and the national budget for Korean Boxing Team has decreased day by day. Other Asian countries like China or the Philippines provide amateur boxers with higher salaries. So as far as I know, their salaries are higher than the average Korean professional athletes’ salaries. Also, even though the national budget is allocated, the officials in the headquarter of the Korean Boxing Association eat them for personal gain. Thus, boxers try to find any expedient to fix matches for personal gain (J.S.K\_Boxing).
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*Lower and upper class sports.* When taking into consideration South Korea’s rapid societal changes for the last few decades, one of the most significantly distinct features is that, for an intensive national development in a compressed period, the country tacitly but exhaustively imposed a ‘show me your ability’ approach on all social sectors. Thus, only the strong survived under the jungle society, and the weak were either abandoned or became extinct. The data findings of this research indicate how an imbalance of social development has led South Korean sport settings to become polarized, and has caused a differentiation of government support between sporting events. This study demonstrates sport match fixing is more likely to occur actively in so-called ‘lower class sports.’

*According to societal changes of South Korea from a developing country to a developed country, the image of Boxing was also changed... Boxing was considered a sport for people who were poor and lower class. So, it was called a hungry sport... Since our country turned into a developed country, the number of people taking part in boxing has been reduced consistently. Ironically, while the number of the boxing people has decreased, their networks and connections with each other have been closer because people are swimming in a small boxing pool.*

*They run into the same people from middle school matches to adult matches. Thus, it is common they are close with each other, and such a climate, helping each other, is naturally created between them. I don't think they believe such practices such as helping each other is part of match fixing (J.K\_Boxing).*

*The national sponsorship/budget for boxing has been reduced or even cut off. Boxing in South Korea was abandoned by the national interest. It is like the saying "Kill the dog after hunting is over." Boxing was like a loyal dog to bring Olympic medals to our country. However, today few boxers win at the international competitions, and the national budget for the Korean Boxing Team has decreased day by day. Also, even though the national budget is allocated, the officials in the headquarters of the Korean Boxing Association eat them for person gain. Thus, boxers try to find any expedient to fix matches for personal gain (J.S.K\_Boxing).*

To sum up, the social polarization by the rapid society changes of South Korea brought about a different pattern of sport participation. For example, boxing had its own Golden Age between the 1980s to the early 1990s in South Korea (Lee, 2017). During the period, boxing was considered a trusted event in the Olympics where South Korean elite amateur athletes won many medals. However, economic development and transformation of individuals' consciousness with regard to participation in sports led people to avoid taking part in certain sports that are considered lower-class events. These societal changes caused another negative effect on sports.

For example, as the data findings show, the smaller pool of participants in boxing have hardly become the world champions and gold medalists in the Olympics. Also, the failure to enlarge the population of boxing participants played a role in promoting friendship. Because the population of boxers is less, individuals have known each other from the middle-school level to the business amateur level. Consequently, these social environments caused athletes or coaches to share their medals or prize money in accordance with their own interest.

### **Positive Effects of Societal Changes**

Societal changes also provide Korea with various positive effects as well. This can occur at various levels such as “individual, family systems, neighborhoods, organizations, nationally and globally” (Heuristic, n.d). Societal changes have influenced all social elements to advance at times slowly and gradually, and at times radically. Considering such a positive effect on various social levels, Heuristic (n.d.) defines the concept as “a deliberation process of creating and applying ideas, strategies, and actions to promote the worth, dignity, and development of individuals, communities, organizations, institutions, cultures, and societies. Positive social change results in the improvement of human and social conditions” (n.d.). As sports are considered to hold one of the most dominant roles in Korean society, its setting has also been influenced by societal changes in a positive way.

This research demonstrates South Korean societal changes have improved sport organizations’ transparency in its operations. These changes have also played roles in improving individuals’ quality of life as well as their ethical consciousness. Lastly, social

changes that result in technological advances also help sport settings become fairer (see Table 2.2).

**Table 2.2** Positive Effects on Sport Match Fixing by Societal Changes

Enlightenment of Stakeholders by Social changes
<p>a) (R) In the past, people didn't recognize such practices were wrong because that kind of match fixing was considered just a thing that had always been done in sports, so people had no concept about consciousness of fairness. However, today people seem vigilant about misdoings such as match fixing. Now they know such a practice is deviant from sportsmanship (B.M_Taekwondo).</p> <p>b) (R) Recently, when referees are assigned for a competition, the association considers if he is neutral between both parties. By these efforts referees are getting fair, and we accept the outcomes of competition unless there is something very suspicious. I believe fairness is improved in Korean sports (J.K_Boxing).</p>
Stakeholders_ Spectators (7)
<p>a) (R) Nowadays, people bring personal devices such as smart phones or I-Pads to competitions and record matches. In the past, there was no way to call suspicious matches into question. However, nowadays there are more teams recording their players' matches just in case, and if there is something suspicious during matches, then they call them into question (J.L_Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) In the past, parents hardly got involved in the outcomes of matches. However, recently parents actively submit petitions if they see suspicious outcomes of matches. Once reports are received, then the Korean Olympic Committee embarks on an investigation. Such an active engagement of parents prevents potential offenders from manipulating matches (J.K_Boxing)</p>
Stakeholders _Referees (3)
<p>a) (R) Recently, each sport association provides referees with seminars regarding sportsmanship and fair sports environments. Through these programs, referees become aware of the importance of sport ethics or fairness. They also become aware themselves of a need for change. Today, referees study hard about rules/regulations so that they can be fair by reducing bad calls. In other words, they put an effort into reinforcing ethics themselves (J.L_Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) Old age referees have been replaced with younger ones. Even though I cannot say all types of sport match fixing have gone, that is true that ethical consciousness of young referees is getting better than before (J.S.K_Boxing).</p>
Stakeholders _Coaches (2)
<p>c) (R) Coaches have boycotted referees caught doing something suspicious such as manipulation of matches. Coaches can see which calls from referees is right and wrong. If the association accepts coaches' petitions about bad call, referees reported about suspicious judgements are excluded for the next competitions. Many current coaches are assigned as referees. In that case, we have a meeting before the competition and talk with each other "do it fair." Such an effort raises awareness of fairness of sports (J.K_Boxing).</p> <p>d) (R) You know, people don't want to be assigned as referees because there are many surveillances from people and media. In terms of a wrong decision like a bad call, coaches actively appeal of that. I heard that one referee who was blamed by coaches due to a bad call was not assigned as a referee for almost six months (J.K_Boxing).</p>



**Table 2.2 (cont.)** Positive Effects on Sport Match Fixing by Societal Changes

Change of Consciousness in Sport Participation	
From sport as a means of living to a leisure sport (2)	
a)	(R) As you know, few people took part in sports for a leisure activity in the past. There were only student-athletes for the purpose of fostering elite athletes. Because of these systems, all referees were former athletes, thus they were related to each other by school-ties or regionalism. However, these days there are a lot of sport participants taking part in sports for leisure activities. Some of them acquire a referee license. Referees who are non-elite athlete based are more likely to be fair about matches because they are not affiliated with any other parties (J.K_Boxing).
b)	(R) When I was in middle and high school, most student boxers were poor. The main reason they played boxing was for a means of living only. They had no exit to get out of their poverty, except for becoming a professor boxer or medalist in the Olympics. So, they had to win at competitions somehow, so they paid off referees. However, today many people play boxing as a leisure sports, so such things we had before have been disappearing (J.S.K_Boxing).

**Table 2.2 (cont.)** Positive Effects on Sport Match Fixing by Societal Changes

Artificial-Contextual Factors	
Artificial-Contextual Factors: Developed Technology	
Electronic gears (6)	Video call (7)
a)	(R) It is hard to catch a bad call referees intentionally make. So, if there is no evidence, there is no way to punish the suspicious referees by law. So electronic gears can be the best alternative to prevent referees from fixing matches (B.M_Taekwondo).
b)	(R) I think match fixing has been reduced. In the past, a point system was up to the referees and judges' decision. They had a remote pointing device and pushed the button when they believed any of players kicked and punched appropriately. So, if they wanted, that wasn't a big deal to manipulate outcomes of matches. However, since electronic gears have been used officially at all levels of competition, these manipulations by referees have disappeared, even though referees still make a bad call in different ways (H.S_Taekwondo).
a)	(R) Of course, referees may make a bad call regardless of whether their calls are intentional. Also, it is not necessary to doubt all bad calls as intentional practices to fix matches. In this case, a video call system plays a good role in making an agreement for both parties (B.M_Taekwondo).
b)	(R) In the past, referees' calls were the absolute decisions because there was no video call at that time. However, today there are various systems to review whole matches and certain moments. If there is an ambiguous call, coaches request for a video call. And once the request for the video call is accepted, then referees review the match again (K.S_Taekwondo).

## Artificial-Contextual Factors: Reformation of organizational System

Reinforcement of regulation/rule (11)	Personnel recruitment (6)	Reinforcement of ethics education for referees (5)
<p>a) (R) Since the Anti-bribery and Gift Act (Kim Young Ran Act) was passed, if coaches receive monetary values from parents or athletes, they get fired. So, coaches or referees avoid personal meetings because illegal requests usually occur through personal meetings (H.S_ Taekwondo).</p> <p>b) (R) There is a new rule called 'Executive Referees' Assessment. If referees make a bad call, their points are reduced. And if their accumulated points reach the penalty points, then they are excluded from the lists of referees (J.L_ Judo).</p> <p>c) (R) You might remember, at the Rio Olympics in 2016, a couple of referees were caught accepting bribes and then kicked out during the events. That atmosphere and system affect the Korean Boxing Association (J.K_ Boxing).</p> <p>d) (U) When filling out the participation application form, athletes are asked to fill out their schools and regions so that the association can assign referees who are not related to the players (J.K_ Boxing).</p>	<p>a) R) In the past when nominating executive members in the Korean Judo Association, 8 or 9 out of 10 were 'A' university's alumni. However, recently certain numbers of the positions are open to who are not affiliated with 'A' university. I am not sure if that is official regulations or just unwritten rules, but there are changes to the Korean Judo Association, thereby Korean Judo is getting fair (J.L_ Judo).</p> <p>b) (U) So far as I know, there is a new recruitment system for referees called 'Clean Referees.' Even though they are not former elite athletes, the Korean Olympic Committee hires people who have a license of a referee for certain sport events and assigns them in matches instead of referees who are former athletes. Relatively referees who were non-elite athletes are more likely to be fair on the arena (J.K_ Boxing).</p>	<p>a) (R) The Korean Olympic Committee provides referees with the Clean Referees' program. The Clean Referees' program is helpful to encourage fairness of sports. Through the programs, referees become aware of fair sportsmanship. Also, referees are beginning to be aware that the best performance of athletes comes from clean and fair environments. I can tell referees are changing through education (K.S_ Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) When I was in college, I'm pretty sure our coaches weren't provided with ethical education about sport fairness. However, currently the Korean Olympic Committee has been provided coaches or referees with ethical programs. I think the program has been about less than ten years (J.S.K_ Boxing).</p>

## Artificial-Contextual Factors: Media Surveillance

Mass media (5)	Social media (2)
<p>a) (R) Since sport match fixing in professional sports such as baseball and soccer were made public by the mass media since 2011, a couple of amateur sporting events such as Taekwondo were investigated. So, the Korean Judo Association has tried to change their atmosphere to be more fair (K.S_ Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) Since match fixing was made public, boxing became an object of investigation along with Taekwondo. So, the Korean Olympic Committee has given warnings and overseen us. We take match fixing very sensitively and seriously today (J.K_ Boxing).</p>	<p>a) (R) Probably media plays a role in preventing match fixing. As you know, in the past, just a few people had a cell, so people did not consider recording matches unless they were coaches or the interested persons like parents of athletes. Today, there are a lot of people participating in boxing as a leisure activity. They are really crazy for boxing. They record all the matches and upload them on their personal websites. Some people are posting matches that they think are a little suspicious on websites. Internet or social media is becoming very active, and these social changes play roles in overseeing sport match fixing (J.S.K_ Boxing).</p>

**Enlightenment of stakeholders by social changes.** Even though the term ‘societal change’ covers a broad meaning by its various definitions, the concept fundamentally refers to the notion of human and social progress or evolution. For the macro level of the concept, it happens in a nation or among nations. For example, socio-economic structures may change from feudalism to capitalism. From a micro perspective, it also occurs at the individual level, which is referred to as the human enlightenment in this research.

As a classic concept of human enlightenment, Benjamin Franklin<sup>12</sup> and Voltaire<sup>13</sup> describe how human beings are constantly developed based on reason that plays a key role in enlightenment. As human enlightenment spreads, people start to see themselves as an independent entity who recognizes whether what he or she does is right and wrong (Lanzetta, 2013) rather than one of a group who merely follows ‘herd values’ such as an absolute loyalty that sometimes demands people to be blinded to the truth.

(South) Korea historically maintained a ‘closed door policy’ until the Japanese colonial period (Kim, 2007). During the period of modernization after the Korean War, civil liberties were rigorously governed by military regimes. It was not until 1993 that the society had a civilian government. Said in another way, South Koreans were more accustomed to complying with national demands by authority figures than seeking the dignity and rights of human beings.

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<sup>12</sup> Benjamin Franklin was one of the Founding Fathers of the United States. As a major figure in the American Enlightenment, he played various roles in the American history, such as political theorist, politician, civil activist, and scientist.

<sup>13</sup> As a French Enlightenment writer, historian, and philosopher, Voltaire asserted freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and separation of church and state.

However, since the civilian government was inaugurated, the second wind of change blew into the society. These new societal changes and demands from a national-centered development to a human rights-centered development played roles in waking up the public's social justice consciousness. This research demonstrates these societal changes have influenced individuals (e.g., spectators, referees, coaches, and athletes) positively, playing crucial roles in reducing sport match fixing.

*In the past, people didn't recognize such practices were wrong because that kind of match fixing was considered just a thing that had always been done in sports, so people had no concept about consciousness of fairness. However, today people seem vigilant about misdoings such as match fixing. Now they know such a practice is deviant from sportsmanship (B.M\_Taekwondo).*

*Spectators.* Participants for this research shared how spectators have changed from passive witnesses to active ones. How this becomes possible in sport settings is, unlike in the past, today spectators understand the rules of sporting events more than before. They are also always vigilant about fairness in sports. Thus, sports spectators function as surveillants who actively report suspicious matches that are caught by their eyes.

*... recently parents [spectators] actively submit petitions if they see suspicious outcomes of matches. Once reports are received, then the Korean Olympic Committee embarks on an investigation. Such an active engagement of parents prevents potential offenders from manipulating matches (J.K\_Boxing).*

*Referees.* One of the reasons why sports are getting fairer in South Korean elite amateur sports settings is because there was a generation shift from older referees to younger ones. As one participant shared above, in the past, referees hardly recognized their involvement in match fixing because these practices were considered common place. However, today younger referees are more educated about sport fairness than the previous generation; thereby, they recognize the importance of sport fairness in matches.

*Recently, each sport association provides referees with seminars regarding sportsmanship and fair sports environments. Through these programs, referees become aware of the importance of sport ethics or fairness. They also become aware themselves of a need for change. Today, referees study hard about rules/regulations so that they can be fair by reducing bad calls (J.L. Judo).*

*Coaches.* In a similar vein to the enlightenment about sport fairness experienced by young referees, the younger generation coaches have tried to replace old customs that are negatively embedded in South Korean elite amateur sports with fair atmospheres in sport settings. This research demonstrates how the younger generation coaches have strived to reform the corrupt South Korean elite sports environments.

*Coaches have boycotted referees caught doing something suspicious such as manipulation of matches. Coaches can see which calls from referees are right and wrong. If the association accepts coaches' petitions about bad call, referees reported about suspicious judgements are excluded for the next competitions.*

*Many current coaches are assigned as referees. In that case, we have a meeting before the competition and talk with each other “do it fair.” Such an effort raises awareness of fairness of sports (J.K\_Boxing).*

To reiterate, societal changes not only bring about the hardware level of societal developments (e.g., economic, political, technology, or military), but also enlightenment about the software level (e.g., social justice, fairness, ethical consciousness, or personal values/attitudes/beliefs/behaviors). In other words, societal changes play roles in reforming individuals’ awareness so that they can perceive the massive social discourse that is usually operated by mainstream society. These changes also help people recognize the social truth that sometimes groups in power do not want to disclose to the public. Consequently, societal changes enlighten individuals about social justice and fairness whereby they become more rational entities.

For over a thousand years, (South) Korean society was run by a monarchy system. During the period of modernization (1960s-1980s), the society was governed by the military regimes, even until the early 1990s. When considering the national backgrounds, it is not exaggerating to say that it was not until the 1990s that South Koreans were enlightened about human dignity and rights, and ethical awareness to help see social justice and fairness.

As the data findings of this research demonstrate, South Korean societal changes for the past few decades may play roles in enlightening elite amateur sports about the importance of sport fairness, ethics, and transparency. Particularly, the young generation of spectators, referees, and coaches may absorb the reforming sport environments fast

and actively. They also try to maintain improved sport settings thoroughly. Consequently, in South Korea, societal changes and the new generation function as factors preventing match fixing from their sporting events.

**Change of consciousness in sport participation.** South Korea's rapid social changes, including economic development, have changed the lifestyle of people from a labor-intensive life to a leisure-coexistent life (Choi, 2002). South Korean governments have implemented the reduction of legal work time from six days to five days a week since 1998. These societal changes provided people with more time to enjoy civilized life, for example, going to theater and sports events, or eating out. For this reason, leisure industries have been more active since the 2000s (Choi, 2002). This societal change also caused a different incentive for people to take part in sports.

*From career sport to leisure sport.* South Korea's drastic economic growth changed the fundamental reason for people to participate in sports from a career sport to a leisure activity. In the past, even until the early 1990s, participating in sports as a leisure activity was considered a symbol of wealthy and a privileged hobby only for wealthy people. Simultaneously, student-athletes were ironically treated with contempt as people believed student-athletes came from poor families.

*As you know, few people took part in sports for a leisure activity in the past.*

*There were only student-athletes for the purpose of fostering elite athletes.*

*Because of these systems, all referees were former athletes, thus they were related to each other by school-ties or regionalism. However, these days there are a lot of sport participants taking part in sports for leisure activities. Some of them acquire a referee license. Referees who are non-elite athlete based are more likely to be*

*fair about matches because they are not affiliated with any other parties*  
(*J.K\_Boxing*).

The astounding economic development of the country provided people with a rich life. Also, this societal change led individuals to avoid becoming student-athletes who were forced to trade their educational opportunity for rigorous training. Instead, South Koreans have begun participating in club sports for a better quality of life. What is notable about this societal change is that, beyond mere participation in club sports, people would like to become more active participants. For example, some participants in sport clubs acquire a referee's license. As the data findings of this research indicate, referees who come from non-student-athletes are relatively much fairer in competitions than referees who were student-athletes because they are seldom affiliated with sport teams or organizations. Consequently, such a societal change in sport settings becomes one of the causes to prevent sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports.

**Artificial (contextual) factors.** Societal changes yield not only the hardware level of artificial systems in society, such as technologically-advanced devices, but also the software level, such as social covenants on fairness. However, these societal changes provide this society with both pros and cons. For example, whereas highly technologically mechanized civilization provides people with more leisure time and labor efficiency, this change sometimes plays a role in hindering individuals from social connections with one another. Along with the saturation of information via mass media, for the last few decades, one of the most rapid societal changes is probably the appearance of the Internet and its use all around the world. The Internet can also be



beneficial and harmful according to how people use it (Morozov, 2012). For example, the Internet allows people to have effective and efficient communication and to share information with each other from a distance. In contrast, it can be used for illegal activities such as criminal purposes or inappropriate sharing of materials.

Besides technology-based societal changes, as mentioned above, individuals are continuously being enlightened about social justice, and social institutions are advancing in a direction to make this society more rational and fair. According to the data findings of this research, all these positive aspects of societal changes have played roles in preventing match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

*Developed technology.* As most countries' social institutions have changed from a manual labor system to a technology driven labor system, sports have also been influenced by these changes. For example, human being-centered work systems have been replaced with machine-centered operations. Even though there are many voices of concern about a highly mechanized civilization, as the data findings of this research indicate, these societal changes play crucial roles in preventing sport match fixing from South Korea elite amateurs sports. For example, implementing electronic sensors in certain sporting events prevents referees from abusing their discretionary power in competitions.

*In the past, a point system was up to the referees and judges' decision [for Taekwondo scoring]. They had a remote pointing device and pushed the button when they believed any of players kicked and punched appropriately. So, if they wanted, that wasn't a big deal to manipulate outcomes of matches. However,*

*since electronic gears have been used officially at all levels of competition, these manipulations by referees have disappeared (H.S\_Taekwondo).*

In addition, highly advanced technologies in sports make it possible to implement a new reviewing system for matches named ‘Video Assistant Referee.’ This allows referees to re-watch the play. For example, regardless of the sports event, there are many situations that are so ambiguous that referees may make a bad call. In that case, a video-call request not only plays a role in helping referees make the right decision, but also in preventing referees from making a bad call deliberately.

*In the past, referees’ calls were the absolute decisions because there was no video call at that time. However, today there are various systems to review whole matches and certain moments. If there is an ambiguous call, coaches request for a video call. And once the request for the video call is accepted, then referees review the match again (K.S\_Taekwondo).*

*Media surveillance.* Media is the best tool to reach a large target group and audience (Jayasree, 2015). In the past, media was based on analogue sources such as newspapers and magazines. Today, this encompasses various digital sources as well, such as television and the Internet. The media plays a role not only in creating and sharing the public’s opinions, but also in surveilling our society; thus, making this world become more transparent (Jayasree, 2015). For example, mass media functions as a watchdog to

oversee malfeasant practices from authority figure groups as well as the public and to represent public interest.

According to the data findings of this research, such an advancement in media (e.g. mass media and social media) and its positive role indeed function as a watchdog to keep surveillance on corrupt activities in South Korean elite amateur sports. For example, since 2011 when huge match fixing scandals from all South Korean professional sports were caught by the media, mass media has seriously dealt with sport match fixing, regardless of whether it occurs at the professional or amateur levels.

*Since sport match fixing in professional sports such as baseball and soccer were made public by the mass media since 2011, a couple of amateur sporting events such as Taekwondo were investigated. So, the Korean Judo Association has tried to change their atmosphere to be fairer (K.S\_Judo).*

In contemporary society, the traditional way of conversation between people has sometimes been replaced with online-virtual communication when individuals use social media. People feel more secure when they anonymously share their feelings with one another through social media (Dilenschneider, 2011). Online services, including social media, play crucial role in making this society become more transparent since all social institutions are required to upload their events and issues on their Website.

Dilenschneider (2011) states these changes for positive public good by utilizing online services have yielded radical transparency in our society. This research also demonstrates individuals (e.g., athletes or spectators) utilize social media as a means to report

suspicious matches by uploading videos on private or official websites. These societal changes help prevent match fixing from spreading all over South Korean elite amateur sports.

*... in the past, just a few people had a cell, so people did not consider recording matches unless they were coaches or the interested persons like parents of athletes. Today, ... They[sport participants] record all the matches and upload them on their personal websites. Some people are posting matches that they think are a little suspicious on websites. Internet or social media is becoming very active, and these social changes play roles in overseeing sport match fixing (J.S.K\_Boxing).*

*Reformation of organizational system.* At some point, this section may appear comparable with the previous section ‘Enlightenment of stakeholders by social changes,’ in that both data findings are related to the reformation of individuals’ ethical consciousness. However, the difference between these sections is, the former deals with individuals’ enlightenment on social justice in accordance with societal changes. In other words, individuals’ ethical consciousness gradually reforms through historical events. Otherwise, the latter deals with manmade social covenants on social justice. Said in another way, society implements certain regulations on social institutions and demands people to comply with them.

This research demonstrates South Korean elite amateur sports organizations have tried to reform their sport environments to become more transparent. For example, they

reinforce rules or regulations, such as personnel recruitment and ethics education for people affiliated with South Korean elite amateur sports organizations. These changes function as key to preventing match fixing effectively.

*There is a new rule called 'Executive Referees' Assessment. If referees make a bad call, their points are reduced. And if their accumulated points reach the penalty points, then they are excluded from the lists of referees (J.L\_Judo).*

*When filling out the participation application form, athletes are asked to fill out their schools and regions so that the [sports] association can assign referees who are not related to the players (J.K\_Boxing).*

*In the past when nominating executive members in the Korean Judo Association, 8 or 9 out of 10 were 'A' university's alumni. However, recently certain numbers of the positions are open to who are not affiliated with 'A' university. (J.L\_Judo).*

*The Korean Olympic Committee provides referees with the Clean Referees' program. The Clean Referees' program is helpful to encourage fairness of sports. Through the programs, referees become aware of fair sportsmanship... (K.S\_Judo).*

To sum up, societal changes lead this world to highly advanced technologies that function as a proxy to fill in the limitations of human faculty. Also, beyond the traditional media systems, the Internet-based media has opened the World Wide Web that helps all

social entities be connected with each other, and people are able to have virtual communication online no matter where they are located. In addition, societal changes play roles in reforming individuals and social institutions more rationally. As the data findings of this research indicate, these changes are eventually implemented in South Korean elite amateur sports and help raise accuracy in sport competitions. As a surveillant, both mass and social media play roles in reducing blind spots where sport match fixing can be practiced covertly. Lastly, becoming a mature society tightens social regulations on sport corruption, including match fixing, so that individuals can comply with values on their own accord.

### **III. Elite Amateur Athletes' General Perspectives of Sport Match Fixing in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts and Personal Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Settings**

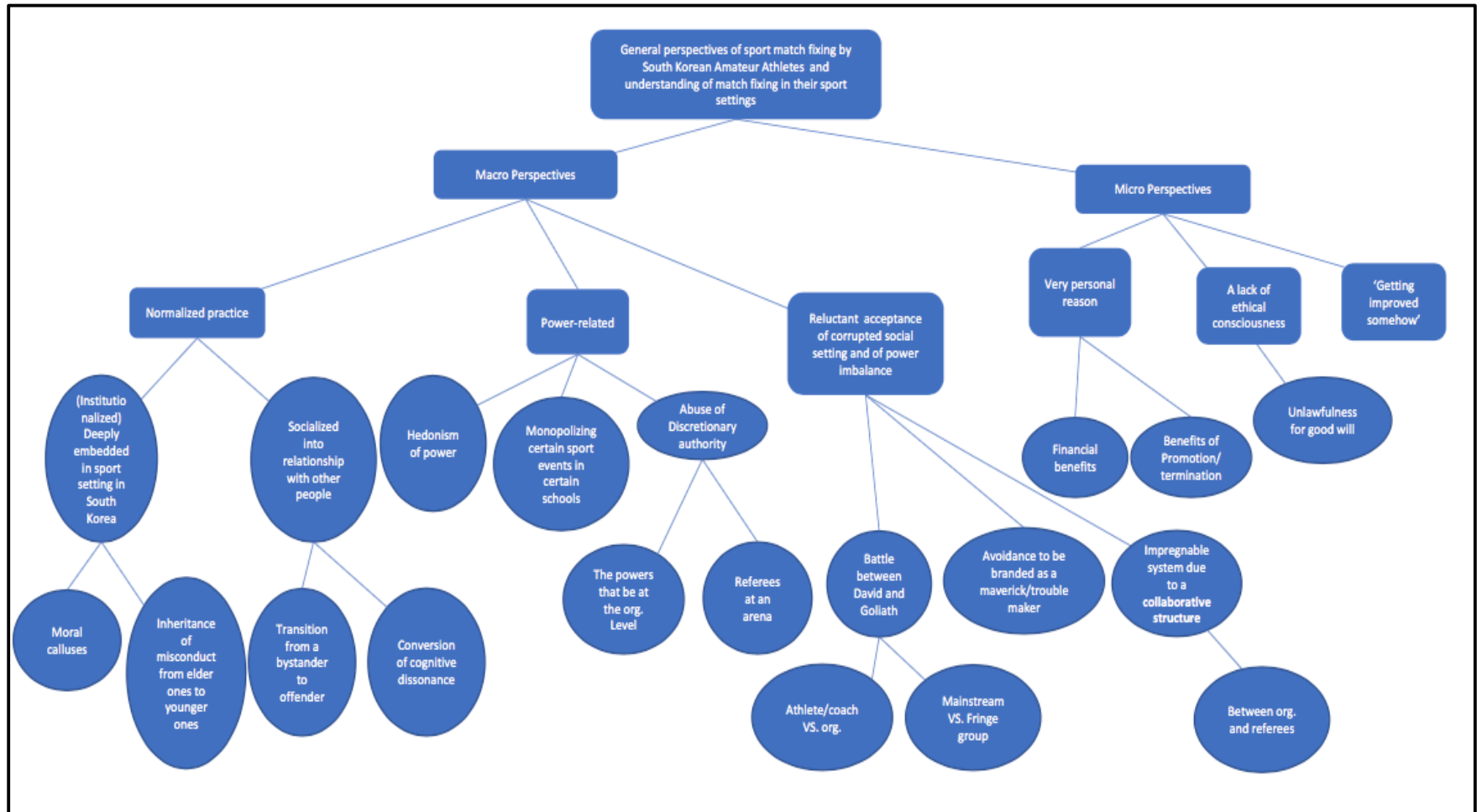
Individual perspectives about the world they live in are influenced by sociocultural contexts including history, culture, societal changes, and current social environment. Historical and cultural contexts were developed over a thousand years in Korean society, and social patterns are embedded within contemporary social environments (Barnett & Casper, 2001). In other words, individual understanding of the world they live and work in are structured through “cultural [social] norms that operate in individuals' lives” (Creswell, 2013, p.25); thereby, the foundation of their life is subject to their social environments. Also, their life's values are formed similarly through interactions with one another.

Therefore, similar experiences amongst individuals in the contemporary social environment lead to the development of comparable meanings of certain issues or social phenomena objectively, in that they share the same social norms and values. In terms of ethical consciousness, individuals who have similar experiences in the same society tend to have a shared attitude towards the justification of corruption (Torgler & Valey, 2006). In addition, even though individuals living in the contemporary social environment tend to interpret social issues analogously, they also see these social phenomena differently in subjective perspectives as well, based on personal values. Melgar et al (2010) address that personal valuing. People see the world based on varied personal values, and this plays a role in deciding between right and wrong about ethical issues.

Consequently, how individuals interpret the world or social phenomena is not only structured by the experiences they share with one another as a member of the group, but also developed independently based on their own personal values. In other words, ingroup members' general perspectives and an individual's independent sense to interpret socially corrupt practices may have a similar point of view at times, but may also vary. This research demonstrates how sport match fixing that occurs in South Korean elite amateur sports is viewed by South Korean elite amateur athletes. It provides their general perspectives (i.e., macro point of view) and how they personally understand sport match fixing in their sport settings (i.e., micro point of view) (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3** Korean elite Amateur Athletes' General Perspectives and Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Settings



## **Macro Point of View: Elite Amateur Athletes' General Perspectives on Sport Match Fixing in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts**

As mentioned, individual perspectives are subject to the sociocultural contexts. People sharing similar social experiences in general lifestyle or working conditions tend to have a similar viewpoint to understand their shared life and social patterns. Consequently, their common standpoints may become general or objective perspectives to interpret the world in the group; thereby, they have a similar sense of ethical consciousness (Torgler & Valey, 2006).

This research questions what South Korean elite amateur athletes' general perspectives are in terms of sport match fixing in a South Korean sociocultural context. The data findings of this research show that, in macro perspectives, South Korean elite amateur athletes have perceived sport match fixing as normalized and power-related practices, and they accept the corrupted social settings and power imbalance as normal. In other words, they point out that sport match fixing is deeply embedded in South Korean elite amateur sports settings through institutionalization and socialization. This research also demonstrates that sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports settings is commonly considered power-related corruption. Lastly, they accept the corrupted social settings and imbalance of power unwillingly.

**Normalized practice.** Individuals learn all corrupt practices (e.g., unethical, illegal, and abnormal) through institutionalizing, socializing, and rationalizing processes (Ashforth & Anand, 2003). Institutionalized corrupt behaviors are defined as enduring activities among ingroup members sharing corrupt practices repetitively (Greenwood & Hinings, 1988; Oliver, 1992). These practices eventually become a part of daily activities

that everyone is engaged in without feeling guilty. In other words, ingroup members in the corrupt environment see such routine behavior as a common practice rather than corruption.

Socialization into corruption is well explained by the differential association theory. Sutherlands (1949) argues that individuals learn criminal motives, behaviors, and skills through interactions with people whereby they may become potential offenders. Lastly, rationalizing misdoings takes place by individuals asserting their behavior is not intentional (Benson, 1985). In other words, people who acknowledge their deviant behavior (i.e., unethical, illegal, and abnormal) but deny criminal intent tend to legitimate their involvement in misconduct. Conklin's (1977) book title, *Illegal but Not Criminal*, indicates that this practice is representative of individuals rationalizing their misdoing.

Even though these three factors independently play roles that lead to corrupt practices, they also have a symbiotic relationship with each other (Kim, 2017). Eventually, through an interactive process, corrupt practices become normalized in certain groups (Ashforth & Anand, 2003). This research shows how sport match fixing has been normalized in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. Although rationalizing match fixing was not significantly shown in this research, the data findings demonstrate that sport match fixing is normalized via an institutional and socialization process in South Korean elite amateur sport settings (see Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1** Normalized Practice in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts

<p>Institutionalized</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (R) I've never thought about this seriously because we just thought that kind of practice was just a common thing in sport settings. Coaches benefit from match fixing by helping each other, and officials working at sport organizations seem to believe that practice is just mutually helping each other rather than to believe that is part of match fixing (B.M_Taekwondo).</li> <li>• (R) I think sport match fixing exists not only in wrestling but also in other sport events regardless of whether they are college or business teams. Match fixing always takes place confidentially between coaches and athletes. They just appear to believe "that has always been done" and are accustomed to those practices (S.P_Wrestling).</li> </ul>	<p>Moral Calluses (8)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) (R) I haven't thought of match fixing seriously when I played. I just thought of it as a little bit of an unfair practice. That's it, no more than a common practice to me. I thought it just happened to the best of us, because as I said, it's just common (M.B_Taekwondo).</li> <li>b) (R) I think in big matches like the Olympic team trials, match fixing could be an issue. However, in domestic competitions, like not really important to athletes, people seem not to care of that kind of manipulation of matches (H.S_Taekwondo)</li> <li>c) (R) Actually, when I played as an athlete, I didn't know how serious it was. I just thought it happened tacitly. However, looking back, now I can recognize that was a really serious issue (J.S.K_Boxing).</li> <li>d) (R) This is the first time I think about this matter hard. I have just accepted that is the way things happen in sports always (S.K_Wrestling)</li> </ul> <hr/> <p>Inheritance of Misconduct from Elder Ones to Younger Ones (5)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) (R) Nobody tried to change these atmospheres, so people just learn from what they see and hear. (B.M_Taekwondo).</li> <li>b) (R) Sport match fixing is kind of an inheritance from coaches and elder players. Athletes are just brain-washed from this society (J.L_Judo)</li> </ul>
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*Institutionalized match fixing.* As mentioned, if a corrupt activity is consistently repeated in a certain group, then ingroup members do not see their involvement in the routinized practice as corruption. This is called institutionalized corruption. This research shows that match fixing is institutionalized in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. A few participants described that once a normal person becomes a member of certain group already contaminated by corrupt practices, his or her normal ethical consciousness against the group's practices is considered an abnormal one.

*I saw someone rejecting such common practices [match fixing] between an elder player and a younger player. As I said, yielding matches for elder players is kind of a common thing because they need a medal to be scouted by college teams or business amateur teams. But, sometimes there are younger athletes saying, “I don’t want to do so.” As you know, although rejecting a manipulation of matches is normal and fair in sport fields, if someone says “no,” then he is branded as a maverick in the group (J.L\_ Judo).*

Coleman (1998) points out that even though most individuals in a corrupt group tend to follow the deviant practices without feeling guilty, “[the] offenders are psychologically normal” (p. 178). This research also shows that both innocent persons and contaminated ones are “normal” people ethically. However, corrupt environments make them see normality and abnormality in the reverse way. Consequently, their remiss ethical consciousness is developed either by the permissive ethical climate or by the group’s sub-culture that is deeply embedded in the group. Thus, individuals hardly say ‘no’ or ask ‘why?’ in regard to their routinized practices.

*I’m not quite sure if helping each other should be considered match fixing. If other people manipulate matches I am playing, I may feel unpleasant. However, if the practice takes place under the agreement between my elder player and myself, I think that is okay (B.M\_ Taekwondo).*

*This is the first time I think about this matter hard. I have just accepted that is the way things happen in sports always (S.K\_ Wrestling)*

Brief, Buttram, and Dukerich (2001) describe that routinized corruption in a group is so common that these practices are sometimes considered a part of the culture in ingroup members. In other words, permissive ethical climate or such a sub-culture makes individuals have moral calluses, thereby, being numb regarding ethical consciousness. This research also indicates that South Korean elite amateur athletes appear to believe that match fixing is a sort of practice they ought to accept as part of the sports sub-culture. They are hardly aware that such unethical activities should vanish from their sport settings. Instead, their belief system regarding match fixing that has occurred in South Korean elite amateur sports seems like brain-washing. It is an inheritance of the misconduct from coaches or elder players, so that nobody asks, “why?” and everybody says, “that is just how things are done.”

*Nobody tried to change these atmospheres, so people just learn from what they see and hear. (B.M\_Taekwondo).*

*Sport match fixing is kind of an inheritance from coaches and elder players. Athletes are just brain-washed from this society (J.L\_Judo).*

To sum up, as the data findings of this research show, it appears that South Korean elite amateur athletes hardly take manipulation of matches seriously. They believe that these practices have been done in South Korean elite amateur sport settings from the high school level of sports through the business amateur level. In other words, particular types of match fixing have always been there as an unwritten rule. Athletes

unconsciously learn these practices and eventually accept them as a part of their sport world. Consequently, even though all types of match fixing cannot be considered a part of the sub-culture in all South Korean elite amateur sport settings, at least the agreed match fixing between the two parties (e.g., between an athlete and an athlete or between a coach and an athlete) is accepted as a normal practice among elite amateur athletes.

**Table 3.1 (cont.)** Normalized Practice in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts

	Transition From a Bystander to an Offender (4)	a) (R) I just think I should have power. After all, I am becoming kind of a potential offender. I am really sad because I am aware myself that I am becoming an offender. I really hated that kind of biased judgement because I was one of the victims from the social system. However, since I became a referee for competitions, I already became a perpetrator. I don't believe that is my own problem, but I think that is a social problem (J.L_Judo).
Socialized	Conversion of Cognitive Dissonance (2)	a) (U) When I was in a college team, I really wanna be the president of the Korean Olympic Committee because I wanna change this atmosphere. I graduated from 'B' University. As you might know, in South Korea, Judo is controlled by 'A' University people. So, I experienced a lot of disadvantages on competitions because I wasn't a 'A' University team member. However, I misunderstood my goal to become the president of the KOC. I wanna have the power to take my revenge on the 'A' University team. Isn't it funny? I always wanna be one the powers that be so that I can support my college team. After all, you know, "The skin is nearer than the shirt." (K.S_Judo) b) (U) I have the second certified referee license now, so I am qualified as a referee only at the province level of matches. I have a plan to acquire the first certified referee license so that I can be assigned as a referee at the national level of competition. As I was not a 'A' University athlete, I should take all disadvantages on competitions. Once I acquire the first certified license, I will be qualified as a referee at the college level of competitions. If so, I really wanna retaliate against the team. I know it sounds crazy to you. However, acquiring the license is the best way to defend our team (J.L_Judo)

*Socializing into match fixing.* As mentioned, the differential association theory explains that individuals learn criminal behaviors via interactions with people (Sutherlands, 1949). Also, as a classic experiment, the Milgram's (1974) argue that the willingness of an individual to commit misconduct is partially influenced by people surrounding him or her. In other words, an innocent person becomes a guilty person, or the guilty persons share their criminal skills or values through close relationships with one another.

Corrupt practices via socialization should be discussed in isolation from institutionalized ones. Institutionalized corruption is a sort of practice that has been done in a certain group for a long time and is deeply ingrained as a common activity. Therefore, ingroup members hardly become aware of the activities as corrupt acts. Socialization corruption is a sort of practice that seduces individuals to become an offender gradually. Thus, unlike institutionalized corrupt acts, individuals who are socialized into corrupt activities can be aware of their misconduct and of themselves as a potential offender. This research shows that South Korean elite amateur athletes perceive sport match fixing in their sport settings as socialized corrupt practices. One participant described that he feels he has been socialized into a corrupt environment and is turning into an offender to commit sport match fixing.

*I am becoming kind of a potential offender. I am really sad because I am aware myself that I am becoming an offender. I really hated that kind of biased judgement because I was one of the victims from the social system. However, since I became a referee for competitions, I already became a perpetrator. I don't believe that is my own problem, but I think that is a social problem (J.L\_Judo).*

*There was a competition today, and I was assigned as a referee. I said to myself "be fair, be fair" in matches. However, once I got up to the area, I became such a biased referee to favor players affiliated with me somehow. Frankly speaking, my judgment wasn't fair today. I know I am becoming a biased referee. Although I say to myself "don't do that, don't do that," it cannot be helped (J.L\_Judo).*



Zyglidopoulos and Fleming (2008) identify three phases of the transition from ethical distance of a bystander to an offender. At the first phase, an innocent bystander is influenced by a pre-existing offender via a personal relationship and becomes an innocent participant in corrupt activities. At the second phase, the innocent participant is faced with an ethical dilemma that conflicts with his or her initial ethical principles and their involvement in the misconduct. To get over this mental discomfort, he or she compromises their behaviors by saying, 'it's not a big deal because my behavior is not that serious.' At the last phase, once he or she begins intentionally rationalizing their misconducts, then it is more likely that they become an active offender.

In addition, this research shows that the socialization process into corrupt environments make individuals experience a conversion of cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance takes place when an individual simultaneously holds two or more contradictory beliefs or values (Festinger, 1962). This theoretical concept explains when individuals encounter new information that contradicts their beliefs or values, they tend to strive for psychological consistency to rationalize the beliefs and values they originally had as being right or better than others. However, this study demonstrates that firmly socializing practices may be strong enough to have individuals change their ethical beliefs or values.

*When I was on college team, I really wanna be the president of the Korean Olympic Committee because I wanna change this atmosphere. I graduated from 'B' University. As you might know, in South Korea, Judo is controlled by 'A' University people. So, I experienced a lot of disadvantages in competitions*

*because I wasn't a 'A' University team member. However, I misunderstood my goal to become the president of the KOC. I wanna have the power to take my revenge on the 'A' University team. Isn't it funny? I always wanna be one of the powers that be so that I can support my college team (K.S\_Judo).*

To sum up, as the data findings of this study show, South Korean elite amateur athletes perceive that match fixing takes place by individuals getting socialized into corrupt activities by their colleagues or the group's environments. In other words, even though individuals have a sound sense of ethical awareness to determine whether their involvement in a corrupt activity is right and wrong, once they are socialized into a corrupt group, they tend to accept the social environment gradually. It initially conflicts with their personal values. This transference from an innocent individual to an offender may happen because personal ethical principles tend to be subject to mob psychology, and also because a potential offender rationalizes their misconduct by applying 'herd mentality' (Beach & Rose, 2005). Consequently, along with institutionalized corruption, socialization into corruption plays a major role in bringing about sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

**Power-related practice.** This research shows that South Korean elite amateur athletes recognize sport match fixing occurring in their sport settings as a power-related corrupt activity. In general viewpoints, it may be hard to develop one universally agreed upon definition of a corrupt activity because there are many factors and different perspectives to interpret social phenomena. However, one of the most commonly considered factors of corruption is an abuse of power for personal ends and a misuse of

official position (Anand, Ashforth & Joshi, 2004; Clarke, 1983; Heidenheimer et al., 1989; Myint, 2000, Nye, 1967, Rodriguez, Uhlenbruck, & Eden, 2005). Luo (2004) points out that most people implicated in corrupt activities are those who have power and exert their authority over other people.

In addition, in a well-known quotation regarding corruption, the 19<sup>th</sup> century British politician Lord Acton said “Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men<sup>14</sup>.” When it takes into consideration the relationship between corruption and power, this research also demonstrates that, as a part of sport corruption, match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings occurs when authority figures abuse their power. Also, South Korean elite amateur athletes perceive that people’s greed for power governs their sport organizations, and it is one of the major reasons bringing about sport match fixing (see Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2** Power-Related Practice in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts

Hedonism of Power (2)	Monopolizing Sport Events in Certain Schools (5)
<p>a) (R) Even though people say we should change and make sport atmospheres better, once they have power, it is really hard to get out from the privilege the power provides them. Once they experience the taste of the power, they try to take advantage of the ease. I think this is just part of Korean culture (S.K_Wrestling)</p> <p>b) (R) The best interest for people who have power is to keep their power as long as possible. They are hardly interested in changing the status quo because they now have a taste of the power (J.K_Boxing).</p>	<p>a) (R) As there is a party in power in a political situation, there is a team in power. As you might know, ‘A’ University is such an absolute power group. The school used to be a Judo college back in the day. So, the team has a lot of athletes, and many of the executive members and referees in the association are alumni of the school. I think that is very usual that they favor athletes of ‘A’ University. South Korean society and sport society in South Korea goes by favoritism (K.S_Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) In terms of biased judgements, college teams that have many athletes are always advantageous in competition. That kind of atmosphere is more shown in combat sports like Taekwondo, Judo, wrestling, and boxing (J.L_Judo).</p>

<sup>14</sup> Those wordings were not invented by Lord Acton exactly. He borrowed the idea from other people who had previously expressed the same thought in different words.

**Table 3.2 (Cont.) Power-Related Practice in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts**

Abuse of Discretionary Authority	
The powers that be at the organizational level (9)	Referees at arena (6)
<p>a) (R) Referees make an agreement to favor a certain player or team in advance. Before making that decision, they listen to the powers that be from the association. For example, if an executive official in the association says “Blue,” then referees favor the player wearing the blue gear (S.P_Taekwondo).</p> <p>b) (R) There is an absolute power man in Judo. When there is a big match, he attends the match and oversees referees. It is kind of a tacit pressure to referees, like saying ‘I am watching you, do as you know what I want.’ If the match doesn’t go as he wants, then he influences the matches to be upset somehow (J.L_Judo)</p>	<p>a) (R) There are a lot of ambiguous situations during matches. All these situations are left to the referees’ decisions. For example, even though I obviously believe I kicked the opposing player, if a referee says ‘no,’ then I do not get scores. On the other hand, even though I defended myself from the opposing player, if a referee calls he kicked me, then he gets points. Of course, I understand referees are not computers, so I think they might make wrong calls. However, what I wanna say is they know how to take advantage of their positions by using such a shortcoming of the rules in competitions. Once they decide to exploit their power by favoring my opposing player in the matches, then it is impossible for me to win the match (B.M_Taekwondo).</p> <p>b) (R) If we see something suspicious during matches, we complain about them. However, once referees insist on their calls being right, the result is never fixed (S.K_Wrestling)</p>

*Hedonism of authority figures’ power and monopolizing sports.* In terms of the question, ‘why does power corrupt?’ a simple answer is because once an individual experiences the taste of the power, then it is likely that he or she becomes addicted to the power. Hsueh (2007) points out that most people strive to change a centralized power system. However, once they get into that power position, their assertions become a faded slogan. In other words, most authority figures become greedy and want to increase their power (Althofer, 1999). According to the data findings of this research, South Korean elite amateur athletes also perceive that match fixing takes place by authority figures who have experienced the taste of power.

*Even though people say we should change and make sport atmospheres better, once they have power, it is really hard to get out from the privilege the power*

*provides them. Once they experience the taste of the power, they try to take advantage of the ease (S.K\_Wrestling).*

In addition, this research shows that a struggle for power in sport settings occurs not only at the individual level but also at the organizational level. For example, certain college teams monopolize certain sporting events and strive to maintain their reputation and hegemony. South Korean elite amateur athletes perceive that these power games between college teams lead certain sports to become monopolized by certain teams more seriously.

*As there is a party in power in a political situation, there is a team in power. As you might know, 'A' University is such an absolute power group... So, the team has a lot of athletes, and many of the executive members and referees in the [Judo] association are alumni of the school. I think that is very usual that they favor athletes of 'A' University. (K.S\_Judo).*

As mentioned, most corrupt practices are closely related to an imbalance of power among parties. Wealth individuals or groups struggle to maintain their power, and poor groups strive to change the status quo they believe is unfair. What is notable about the data findings of this research is, even though newcomers try to raise their voices to reform such situations, once they become a member of the mainstream group, they take advantage of the power rather than try to change corrupt environments. Consequently, these atmospheres are considered one of the factors bringing about match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

*Abuse of discretionary authority.* As mentioned, most corrupt practices occur due to an abuse of power and misuse of official positions for personal gain. In a similar vein, this research demonstrates that abuse of discretionary authority is viewed as one of the major factors causing sport match fixing. Participants especially point out two types of the misused authority. The first is misuse of the power from authority figures at the organizational level. The other is referees' abuse of their positions at arenas.

*There is an absolute power man in Judo. When there is a big match, he attends the match and oversees referees. It is kind of a tacit pressure to referees, like saying 'I am watching you, do as you know what I want.' If the match doesn't go as he wants, then he influences the matches to be upset somehow (J.L\_ Judo).*

*There are a lot of ambiguous situations during matches. All these situations are left to the referees' decisions... of course, I understand referees are not computers, so I think they might make wrong calls. However, what I wanna say is they know how to take advantage of their positions by using such a shortcoming of the rules in competitions. Once they decide to exploit their power by favoring my opposing player in the matches, then it is impossible for me to win the match (B.M\_ Taekwondo).*

Executive officials in South Korean elite armature sport organizations are given such absolute power that they appear to believe their positions are privileged. For example, as the data findings of this study show, they abuse their power, even in matches,

in order to favor certain players or teams. These practices from the powers that be also influence referees to make biased judgments in matches. When considering the hierarchical structure between executive officials and referees in South Korean sport settings, referees' authority is subject to the sports organizational power because their positions as referees are assigned by the powers that be at the organizations. Consequently, the abuse of discretionary authority either from executive offices or referees is considered one of the major factors that leads to match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

**Reluctant acceptance of corrupted social setting and of power imbalance.**

Before moving on to the next set of data findings, it is important to remember how corruption is normalized into a group. This section differentiates the reluctant acceptance of corruption from socialization and institutionalization. When it comes to involvement in a corrupt activity, there are three major causes that influence an innocent person to become a potential or active offender. First, a corrupt group's environment has ingroup members who are unable to recognize their unethical practices as bad behaviors (Brief et al., 2001). This is called 'institutionalized corruption.' In a similar vein, but from different cause, an ordinary person may also become a guilty one through interactions with a pre-existing offender or group (Zyglidopoulos & Fleming, 2008). This is called 'socialized corruption.'

Unlike institutionalized corruption, an individual socialized into a corrupt environment is still aware of his or her engagement with misconduct. However, they rationalize their behaviors as an acceptable practice; thus, they become a potential or active offender. Consequently, once individuals are accustomed to a corrupt environment,

they start to prefer taking advantage of the unethical environment that conflicts with their initial ethical distance rather than rejecting these activities. South Korean elite amateur athletes also perceive sport match fixing that occurs in their sport settings as highly a normalized practice.

At this point, what is notable about the data findings of this research is, even though South Korean elite amateur athletes tend to believe sport match fixing is a part of the sports sub-culture, (as they indicate that match fixing occurs when an individual or group is institutionalized and socialized into a corrupt environment whereby they rationalize their engagement in a corrupt activity), they also mention that, regardless of whether they are accustomed to the normalized settings or not, inevitably they come to feel like these practices should be accepted as a part of their social settings (see Table 3.3).



**Table 3.3 Reluctant Acceptance of Corrupted Social Setting and of Power Imbalance**

<p>Battle between David and Goliath</p>	<p>Athlete/Coach vs. Organization or Mainstream vs. Fringe group (10)</p>	<p>a) (R) I have experienced that kind of unpleasant happenings a couple of times. However, there is no way to deal with these issues, except for just accepting these as common practices. I didn't even ask my coaches because I already knew nothing's gonna change by my complaint (H.S_Taekwondo)</p> <p>b) (R) Frankly speaking, when I was an athlete, I experienced unpleasant happenings many times in matches. For example, I almost won at a match, but the result came out differently. I felt victimized. Match fixing still occurs in sports today. As a coach now, I feel worse about match fixing because when my team players encounter disadvantages by the system, there is nothing I can do to help them. That makes me feel really terrible and frustrated. Of course, I really wanna appeal to the association, but I know they won't listen to me (J.L_Judo).</p> <p>c) (R) When coaches already know biased referees are assigned to our team players prior to matches, they just say we might be victimized in this competition. Coaches seemed just to accept these biased judgements as common place. It cannot be helped. I know why coaches do nothing to change the outcomes. Because referees already made an agreement in advance, we cannot change their collusion. Have you seen some players did not get down from the ring after a match and just sit there? That is the only way they can appeal to the unfair outcomes even though they already knew nothing's gonna change (J.S.K_Boxing).</p> <p>d) (R) Even though athletes or coaches appeal the biased judgement, their effort is usually disregarded by the organization. They might say "I got you," then just disregard what we say (S.K_Wrestling).</p> <p>e) (R) It is a fight between the mainstream group and many fringe groups. However, the giant group is stronger than the gross of the power from all fringe groups (J.L_Judo).</p>
<p>Impregnable System due to a Collaborative Structure</p>	<p>Collaboration between Organization and Referees (5)</p>	<p>a) (R) Sometimes there are rumor suspicious about referees. When I play with a certain athlete who is supported by the powers that be from the organization, then I am fighting against four people, one by four, because all referees favor the opposing player over me. If I aggressively appeal these, the referees will kick me out from the court, so that is not a smart move. (K.S_Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) Referees are assigned by the Korean Judo Association. So, referees wanna get along with the organization. There are at least ten competitions, I mean domestic competitions. So, referees can be aware which player is supported by the organization or the main stream school. So, even though they didn't make any agreement in advance, they would know what the organization or the school wanted (K.S_Judo).</p> <p>c) (R) Referees are the ones who have the power in the arena. There are a lot of things they can control; the matches are at their discretion. So, when they are assigned for a certain match where a player who is trained by a coach who has power and can exercise their power to the association, then they favor the player under the purpose of flattery. Consequently, referees follow what the organization wants (S.K_Wrestling).</p>
<p>Avoidance to be Branded as a Maverick/Troublemaker (4)</p>		<p>a) (R) Why people don't appeal suspicious outcomes of matches is because they are afraid of being branded as a maverick or troublemaker. Coaches are more vigilant about this because if they are branded as a complainer, their team players are subject to having a disadvantage when they are playing. So, even if coaches see an explicitly biased judgment unfavorable to their team players, they just connive them in such an unfair match because they believe tolerance is the best way for all (K.S_Judo).</p> <p>b) (R) I used to be such a fighting cock, so when I felt unfairness in matches relating to my team, I used to appeal that strongly. However, I realized I didn't have to because now I know that is not a smart way. I know I cannot change this, and I know flattering authority figures is such a smart way to have an advantage when I play or my teammates play (J.L_Judo).</p>

*When I took part in the program called 'Clean Referees,' there were different sporting events' coaches sitting next me. While talking with them, I recognized everyone had the same ideas about this matter. They said, "It cannot be helped in this Korean society." (J.L\_Judo).*

*Regarding match fixing, this practice seems like it will never change. Player Choo Sung Hoon<sup>15</sup> said during his interview, "I don't see it's gonna change, never change. I will go back to Japan and give up a Korean citizenship..." He pointed out these practices seriously during his interview. I think his interview was conducted like ten years ago, but I didn't see any notable difference today from that time (K.S\_Judo).*

Participants for this research point out two types of inevitable acceptances. The first is an acceptance of an imbalance of power between individuals and sport organizations or between mainstream groups and fringe groups. The second is the acceptance of becoming an amenable person who follows the wishes of the powers that be. The data findings of this study demonstrate why South Korean elite amateur athletes have no choice to appeal suspicious matches, but must accept these unfair practices as inevitable factors.

*Battle between David and Goliath, and impregnable system due to a collaborative structure.* According to the participants' general perspectives, their struggle to change corrupt sport settings including match fixing is like the saying, "The elephant does not feel a flea bite." In other words, their effort is treated as a trivial struggle by the power

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<sup>15</sup> See Footnote 4 (p. 4)

groups. Participants indicate that there exist many barriers that hinder South Korean sport environments from becoming fair.

*When coaches already know biased referees are assigned to our team players prior to matches, they just say we might be victimized in this competition.*

*Coaches seemed just to accept these biased judgements... I know why coaches do nothing to change the outcomes. Because referees already made an agreement in advance, we cannot change their collusion. Have you seen some players did not get down from the ring after a match and just sit there? That is the only way they can appeal to the unfair outcomes even though they already knew nothing's gonna change (J.S.K\_Boxing).*

*Even though athletes or coaches appeal the biased judgement, their effort is usually disregarded by the organization. They might say "I got you," then just disregard what we say (S.K\_Wrestling).*

*It is a fight between the mainstream group and many fringe groups. However, the giant group is stronger than the gross of the power from all fringe groups (J.L\_Judo).*

As the data findings show, South Korean elite amateur athletes demonstrate that the imbalance of power between individuals and sport organizations or between mainstream groups and fringe groups is a structure that they should accept inevitably.

Because these sport settings are so firmly founded in South Korea, they cannot invade the power group. The participants refer to the structure as an impregnable territory.

Consequently, although they are neither institutionalized nor socialized into a corrupt environment, they are eventually faced with a situation they accept unwillingly as a part of the social settings.

*Avoidance to be branded as a maverick/trouble-maker.* This research also shows that one of the causes that allows match fixing to persist in South Korean elite amateur sports is because few people want to take the risk to become a reformer and change an existing corrupt environment. In other words, individuals affiliated with the sport organizations choose to become amenable people for a power group rather than to become protesters. Participants indicate why conforming to the power is better than struggling for change.

*Why people don't appeal suspicious outcomes of matches is because they are afraid of being branded as a maverick or troublemaker. Coaches are more vigilant about this because if they are branded as a complainer, their team players are subject to having a disadvantage when they are playing. So, even if coaches see an explicitly biased judgment unfavorable to their team players, they just ignore them because they believe tolerance is the best way for all (K.S\_Judo).*

*I used to be such a fighting cock, so when I felt unfairness in matches relating to my team, I used to appeal that strongly. However, I realized I didn't have to because now I know that is not a smart way. I know I cannot change this, and I*

*know flattering authority figures is such a smart way to have an advantage when I play or my teammates play (J.L. Judo).*

To sum up, individuals who are subject to a power group are afraid to be branded as a maverick. Thus, to avoid being branded as a trouble-maker in their sport settings, they appear to reinterpret the saying, 'Fair is fair after all' to 'Accepting a current social setting to get along with its flow is fair after all.' Consequently, a lack of courage and determination of individuals helps sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings last.

### **Micro Point of View: Elite Amateur Athletes' Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Setting**

Even though people living and working in the same group tend to express comparable thoughts and shared experiences, they also develop subjective meanings of these practices independently (Creswell, 2013). Following up with the former question about South Korean elite amateur athletes' general perceptions of sport match fixing, this research also questions how they understand match fixing in their sport settings. During the data analysis, it was found that the participants' general perspectives and personal independent understanding of sport match fixing could have been discussed in the integrated section. For the most part, it is hard to distinguish between the participants' general and personal perspectives of match fixing. However, why the data findings are divided into two parts independently is because while the former question deals with in the macro points of view of the participants, the latter question deals with in the micro perspectives of the athletes.

The data findings of this research demonstrate that South Korean elite amateur athletes commonly point out three micro factors that bring about sport match fixing. First, sport match fixing occurs due to very personal reasons, such as financial trouble and renewal of work contracts. Second, individuals' lack of ethical consciousness plays a role in bringing about match fixing. Lastly, one of the most common responses from all the participants is that corrupt social environments, including sport settings in South Korea, are improving somehow.

**Very personal reasons.** When it comes to corruption, one of the most common causes is for personal gain (Anand, Ashforth & Joshi, 2004; Clarke, 1983; Heidenheimer et al., 1989; Myint, 2000, Nye, 1967, Rodriguez, Uhlenbruck, & Eden, 2005). Thus, one's involvement in a corrupt activity occurs on purpose rather than by chance (Luo, 2004). Heidenheimer and Johnston (2001) state corrupt activities are very closely related to financial issues. For example, the most common match fixing case that professional players are involved in is for financial benefit (Heron & Jiang, 2010). The data findings of this research also indicate that South Korean elite amateur athletes understand that match fixing is more likely to take place by individuals who suffer from financial trouble or who need to meet the required points to be promoted for the upcoming season (see Table 3.4).

**Table 3.4** Involvement of Sport Match Fixing Due to Personal Reason

Financial Issues (7)	Promotion and Termination (7)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (R) For coaches or officials in associations, to maintain their jobs, they should perform well in domestic competitions. Otherwise, they won't be given a chance to renew their contracts (J.K_Boxing).</li> <li>• (U) For example, to renew a contract, athletes should win at a domestic competition at least once a year. If one hasn't had a medal that season, he would try to find ones who already got a medal that year and to deal with them by saying "okay, if you blow this match for me, I will pay you a certain amount of money." This practice not only takes place between athletes, but also between coaches. Once the two parties make an agreement on the deal, there are a bunch of ways to blow matches, for example, be overweight before a match or fake an injury report (J.S.K_Boxing)</li> <li>• (R) Even though there are various reasons people get involved in match fixing, one of the most common reasons I think is because of salary or stipend issues. For example, student athletes in college negotiate their salaries with business amateur teams based on their performances during a collegiate period. Actually, I have been requested for that kind of a match fixing deal before. If someone needs a medal, he finds a tournament table and makes a phone call to athletes to play against him. He also finds the third persons who can help him access the potential dealmakers (S.P_Wrestling).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (R) To survive and maintain their positions, they make these deals under the table. Probably, while athletes take into consideration salary issues, officials take into consideration a renewal of their positions (J.K_Boxing).</li> <li>• (R) If coaches got directly involved in match fixing, the major reason was probably to keep his reputation, honor, or good name. Also, based on these factors, they will have chances to be promoted for the following seasons (S.P_Wrestling)</li> <li>• (R) As you might know, most coaches make their contracts year-by-year. So, if the city or province team they are affiliated with doesn't show a good performance, the team wouldn't make a new contact with the coach, or the team might bring up another negotiation to the table like cutting down their salaries. In addition, their team's budget comes from the city or province's annual budget, so based on their team performance, the budget would be allocated less or more than previous seasons (S.P_Wrestling).</li> </ul>

*Financial benefits, and benefits of promotion and termination.* Financial benefits and promotion benefits can be considered similar concepts with one another at times. However, the data findings of this research differentiate financial benefits from benefits of promotion and termination. While financial issues are mostly related to monetary values, promotional benefits cover personal reputations and positions of power as well. This research demonstrates that South Korean elite athletes are seduced into match fixing because of financial benefits more than personal promotion, whereas coaches are engaged

in match fixing due to personal benefits, such as job promotions more than merely monetary values.

Since 2011, match fixing scandals have been caught in all South Korean professional sports (i.e. soccer, baseball, basketball, and Korean traditional wrestling), and the incidents have been exposed through mass media. This was the first time that match fixing scandals from South Korean professional sports were made public, so most South Korean sports fans were shocked by the simultaneous multi-sport scandals. What is notable about the mass sport corruption is that most offenders were athletes who were playing for their mandatory military service team (Oh, 2011). The military team players received their stipend of approximately \$90 per month in accordance with the South Korean administrative law. It can be inferred from this data that the less a player is paid, the more likely he or she is to be involved in match fixing. This research indicates that the assumption also applies to South Korean elite amateur athletes.

*... one of the most common reasons I think is because of salary or stipend issues. For example, student athletes in a college team negotiate their salaries with business amateur teams based on their performances during a collegiate period. Actually, I have been requested for that kind of a match fixing deal before. If someone needs a medal, he finds a tournament table and makes a phone call to athletes to play against him. He also finds the third persons who can help him access the potential dealmakers (S.P\_ Wrestling).*



Also, in a similar vein, coaches have to be vigilant about promotion or termination of their position because most coaches make their contracts annually. In other words, their athletes and team's performance directly influence whether they maintain their position or are promoted from the team. The data findings of this research demonstrate that poor job conditions for coaches or an uncertainty of their job is one of the causes that brings about match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports.

*If coaches got directly involved in match fixing, the major reason was probably to keep his reputation, honor, or good name. Also, based on these factors, they will have chances to be promoted for the following seasons (S.P\_Wrestling).*

*To survive and maintain their positions, they make these deals under the table. Probably, while athletes take into consideration salary issues, officials take into consideration a renewal of their positions (J.K\_Boxing).*

*As you might know, most coaches make their contracts year-by-year. So, if the city or province team they are affiliated with doesn't show a good performance, the team wouldn't make a new contact with the coach, or the team might bring up another negotiation to the table like cutting down their salaries (S.P\_Wrestling).*

To reiterate, the sport match fixing that occurs in South Korean elite amateur sports is also closely related to personal benefits including monetary values and job promotions. Said in another way, monetary values could be one of the best baits to hook

athletes into a match fixing environment. In addition, whether coaches maintain their current job positions or are promoted to an advanced position is very subject to their team's performance. Thus, coaches may try to fix matches to benefit him/herself. Consequently, this research infers it is likely that athletes or coaches who suffer from financial troubles or who wish to have a stable or better job position are more seduced into corrupt practices, including sport match fixing.

**A lack of ethical consciousness.** Rest (1986) identifies the four steps of moral cognition and actions as follows: moral awareness to interpret a situation or issue as a moral question, moral judgment to determine whether a course of action is morally right or wrong, moral intent to prioritize moral values over other values, and moral behavior to proceed with a right act. Rest (1986) argues if he or she fails at any of the steps of the moral cognition and actions, he or she is likely to commit an immoral behavior. The data findings of this research demonstrate that South Korean elite amateur athletes also understand a lack of the individual ethical consciousness as one of the major causes that leads stakeholders affiliated with South Korean elite amateur sports to become involved in match fixing (see Table 3.5).

**Table 3.5** A Lack of Ethical Consciousness and Improvement of Match Fixing

A lack of ethical consciousness (6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (R) In the past, people weren't educated about ethics. In sport settings athletes, coaches, and officials in sport organizations didn't have any knowledge about ethical education. So, they didn't have any sense of ethical consciousness. Few cared about sport ethics. After all, people believe 'good is good.' In other words, helping each other regardless of whether their practice is fair or not is better than complying with the law or rules (S.M. Taekwondo).</li> <li>• (U) To be honest, people who are referred to as authority figures hardly have a strong ethical consciousness. They just try to maintain their power and positions. The more society changes to become fair, the more they would lose their power. In addition, few referees have strong principles and ethical consciousness. I am really doubtful about how many of referees get up on the arena with a sense of fairness and how many of them comply with rules. A lack of ethical consciousness is the starting line of sport match fixing (J.K. Boxing)</li> <li>• (R) You know, if I was asked about match fixing from my friend or coach, I would help them because that kind of match fixing is considered good will rather than an illegal practice. Of course, elder players or coaches are considered who I should listen to. However, the main reason we help elder players win at matches is because we believe helping colleagues is sort of a social virtue (J.L. Judo).</li> </ul>
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‘Getting-improved somehow’ (9)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (R) Even before two or three years ago, match fixing was a very common practice in sports. However, I can tell match fixing has been reducing day by day. Of course, match fixing still exists in sports, but I have seldom seen suspicious matches for the last a couple of years. So, I think a new chapter of Korean sports is opening. Recently, what I feel about matches between an elder player and younger play is they play on the arena very fairly without any interest coming from social hierarchy. When I played on a college team, I played very passively if I played against elder players in my team. I am seeing sports are getting fair (K.S_Judo).</li> <li>• (R) Even since 2011 when professional sport match fixing scandals occurred, all Korean sports, regardless of whether it is professional or amateur, are getting clear (J.K_Boxing)</li> </ul>
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*To be honest, people who are referred to as authority figures hardly have a strong ethical consciousness... In addition, few referees have strong principles and ethical consciousness. I am really doubtful about how many of referees get up on the arena with a sense of fairness and how many of them comply with rules. A lack of ethical consciousness is the starting line of sport match fixing (J.K\_Boxing).*

In alignment with Rest’s (1986) argument, an individual ethical concept may be acquired via continuous practices that process through a series of moral awareness, moral judgment, and moral behavior by moral intentions. This research demonstrates that people in South Korean elite amateur sports may have failed the moral cognition and actions, even at the first step. Consequently, the lack of ethical consciousness may lead individuals to rationalize their misdoing in a skewed way, like saying, ‘Nobody is going to be hurt by my behavior,’ or ‘I know that is kind of an unlawfulness, but it is for good will.’

**Getting improved somehow.** As the data findings have shown so far, this research demonstrates that South Korean elite amateur athletes recognize what social factors cause sport match fixing. They also understand how these practices have endured

in their sport settings. Despite such causes, what they commonly highlight most is, South Korean elite amateur sport settings are getting better somehow.

*Even before two or three years ago, match fixing was a very common practice in sports. However, I can tell match fixing has been reducing day by day. Of course, match fixing still exists in sports, but I have seldom seen suspicious matches for the last a couple of years. So, I think a new chapter of Korean sports is opening. Recently, what I feel about matches between an elder player and younger play is they play on the arena very fairly without any interest coming from social hierarchy. When I played on a college team, I played very passively if I played against elder players in my team. I am seeing sports are getting fair (K.S\_Judo).*

To sum up, sports have been used as arenas where people struggle for power, regardless of whether the power is for political, economic, or another ideological purpose (Coakley, 2007). This research indicates that for macro perspectives of South Korean elite amateur athletes, all social corruption, inequality, and conflict play major roles in causing sport match fixing in their sport settings. According to micro perspectives, personal situations and characteristics, such as financial trouble and a lack of ethical or moral consciousness, are also considered major factors that bring about match fixing. Even though such negative factors are firmly ingrained in South Korean society and they hardly appear to be improving, South Korean elite amateur athletes commonly recognize that their society is getting better; thereby, they believe their sport environments are also getting fairer.

## CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF DATA FINDINGS

This chapter consists of three parts. The first provides summary of the data findings and discussion. As the data findings of this research are divided into three parts according to the research questions, the discussion section will deal with the summary of each part of the data findings independently. The second part of the discussion will deal with the implications of the data findings. The last part will provide the limitations of this research.

### Summary and Discussion

#### **R1. Influence of historical and cultural contexts on South Korean elite amateur sports involved in match fixing**

**Neo-Confucianism.** The first data findings of this research demonstrate that historical and cultural contexts are influenced by Neo-Confucianism's demand that individuals have an excessive loyalty to authority figures in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. In other words, the human relationships based on the moral disciplines of Neo-Confucianism still play roles in forcing individuals to comply with unwritten rules developed in the hierarchically structured society. These pervasive atmospheres have been embedded in social institutions far beyond sports and remain so today. They are more serious in sport settings where there is an emphasis on the hierarchy between coaches and athletes or between elders and young.

The case of Viktor Ahn<sup>16</sup>, who used to be a Korean short track speed skater, is a representative example that shows how seriously South Korean elite amateur sports are

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<sup>16</sup> South Korean Ahn Hyun Soo won three gold medals in the men's short track speed skating 2006 Torino Winter Olympics. During his career as a South Korean skater, he found out that there were

stuck in corrupt environments. Ahn disclosed that he was threatened by an elder player who wanted him to blow a match because he needed a medal for personal reasons (Seo, 2015). After rejecting the demand, Ahn was verbally and physically assaulted by the older player. Even though it may be hard to accept this single case as representative of abnormal South Korean elite amateur sports settings, multiple data findings of this research support that kind force exhibited by elder players on younger players.

Demanding adherence has been considered common place.

*When it comes to elder player's pressuring younger players to blow matches, that is considered kind of a common practice between athletes and even by coaches... even though it happens by elder players or coaches' coercions, it is considered quite natural to us (J.L\_Judo).*

In addition, this hierarchical cultural feature is shown in South Korean professional sports. One U.S. player named Adam Wilk who was a pitcher in the Korean Professional Baseball League for the 2012 season shared his experience. As a player on the Korean NC Dinos team, he spoke with the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, the second largest daily printed newspaper serving in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Through an interview, he said, "for me, it wasn't good experience... if I'm 35 [years old] and the guy next to me is 34 and I can tell him to get me a bottle of water, he's got to do it or I could hit him" (Biertempfel, 2014, p. n.d.). His interview indeed shows how deeply this cultural

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many corrupt issues in the South Korean skating world. He was frustrated and did not want to remain in that environment. Eventually, he was naturalized in Russia in 2011, taking the name Viktor Ahn. He later won another three gold medals in the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics.

feature is ingrained in South Korean sport settings, and how oddly the culture is shown through the eyes of the people who come from different cultural backgrounds.

As another aspect of age hierarchy, coaches in South Korean elite amateur sports play a role as a father figure. However, the excessive interpretation of a human harmony between a father and offspring, which can be replaced with the relationship between a coach and athletes, led to a demand-obedience relationship between the two parties. For example, violent cultures and sexual harassment between coaches and athletes persistently exist in Korean athletic teams because of the hierarchical structure (Roh & Kwon, 2015). Also, according to the Korean Criminal Policy Research Center (Choi, 2009), about one third of the sports players experienced verbal or physical violence by their senior players or coaches.

In addition, such a cultural feature is expressed as a relationship between an overbearing boss and employees by foreign professional players. One player named Derek Asamoah, a Ghanaian who played for the Pohang Steelers in the K-League Classic (Korea Professional Football League) from 2010-2013, said:

The coaches here are more like your boss whereas in Europe, some of them can almost be your friend and you can talk to them about whatever you want... You can't express yourself [here]. I tried a few times when I was new here but I just got used to the idea that you can't chat to the boss ("Foreign K-League players adapt," 2012, p. n.d.)

At this point, one might argue that such practices occur in Western society as well as in South Korea. For example, the most recent controversial issues regarding abusive coaches, Greg Winslow, a Swimming coach at Utah, was fired because of multiple

allegations of punching an assistant coach, kicking players, and forcing players to swim underwater until being blacked out. This happened in 2013. In the same year, Mike Rice, a head basketball coach at Rutgers University, was fired after a video was released showing him physically and verbally abusing players (Michael & Brittany, 2013).

Hebertson (2013) questioned “why many athletes don’t speak out when a coach is abusive” and gathered interview data answering this: “As an athlete, you try to keep your head down and work hard... we didn’t sign up to be abused” (p. n.d.). Consequently, these abusive environments may tacitly allow sexual assault, harassment, bullying, and hazing to be understood as parts of culture in their sport settings at large (Bell & Wilfer, n.d.), regardless of whether sport environments are set up in Asian or Western society. Said in another way, coaches’ abusive behaviors in sport settings are not very unusual. However, what is notable about the data findings of this research is the personal relationships that are hierarchically structured by the ideology of Neo-Confucianism. It sometimes tacitly allows elders or coaches to force the young or athletes to commit misconduct such as match fixing. For this reason, even though sport settings are comparable with each other in different countries, in order to understand the relationships between different groups and what happens between them, South Korean elite amateur sport settings should be understood differently from other sport environments that have different sociocultural backgrounds.

In a similar vein, this research demonstrates that society still addresses obligation and loyalty of subjects to power groups. This differentiation between a ruler and subjects, which is one of the moral disciplines of Confucianism, influences individuals to comply with a top-down order system in South Korean society. In other words, this cultural



feature led to self-sacrifice and absolute submission to authority figures (Ames & Rosemont, 2014) and “loyalty suppresses individualism; subordinates’ submission to a leader is essential to the Confucian value system...” (Lee, 2016, p. 56). Such vestiges from the traditional society are still embedded in contemporary South Korean society.

For example, recently, there was a controversial issue about South Korean male politician named Kim Moo-sung’s behavior in a public place. When he arrived at Seoul’s Gimpo Airport, he treated his assistant in an inappropriate manner, pushing his suitcase to a waiting assistant man. The video clip spread through the media, and people criticized his behavior comparing it to how a master treated his servant back in the day. The media points out how his manners may represent how authority figures in South Korea abuse their power over other people (Steger, 2017).

Steger (2017) linked the South Korean web portal and translated the original news in Korean to English, pointing out how “this shows...the way he treats his subordinates! How does he act in private if he even acts like this in an airport?... This is the bare face of the Korean elite!” (p. n.d.). This Internet news also provided statistics by the National Police Agency, saying that, in 2016, there were a total of 1,289 cases that were reported regarding an abuse of power. 90 percent of these cases occurred by men, and more than half of the cases took place by men in their 40s and 50s. This data may show that middle-aged men may still try to take advantages of such old or dated social norms.

According to the data findings of this research, such an excessive interpretation of the Confucian doctrine and coercive demand for compliance with such skewed social norms has existed in South Korean elite sports settings. The abuse of power from the authority figures in sport organizations may generally gain acceptance, being considered

a discipline conducted by authority. These social environments definitely have led to sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. Consequently, this society needs to improve such distorted social environments across the whole country.

While the first four moral disciplines of Confucianism deal with the differentiations between individuals in human relationships, the last one addresses mutual faith between people. This relationship is basically built on trusted friendship; thus, it occurs with equality in their social status. Mutual faith between individuals colligates with mutual help for each other and is referred to as '*sangbu-sangjo*,' and empathy with other's emotional states is referred to as '*jung*' in this research. The concept of mutual faith, like other disciplines of Confucianism, was overly interpreted in Korean society. Said in another way, this doctrine's demand for individuals to share not only good but also inappropriate practices under the name of social virtue and friendship is an exaggeration of this tenet. Consequently, this social environment had stakeholders in South Korean elite amateur sport settings (e.g. athletes, coaches, and referees) sharing medals or prize money with each other by manipulating matches.

To sum up, the data findings of this section demonstrate that South Korean society is still strongly influenced by Neo-Confucianism. This research does not criticize the original values and doctrine of Confucianism. However, as discussed in the data findings and this section, after Confucianism was introduced to the traditional Korean society, the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392) and imposed on the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910), human harmony, the main doctrine of Confucianism, was misinterpreted by imposing an excessive hierarchy on personal relationships based on social position and age difference, and valuing a skewed interpretation of friendship. Kim (2006) states the

concept of Confucianism is used “as a tool for manipulating ‘false consciousness’... one can argue that the Confucian influences found in Korea are not truly Confucian” (p. 52). Consequently, these misinterpretations of Confucianism directly influence South Korean elite amateur sports to overlook corrupt practices. Therefore, this research argues that South Korean society, including sport settings, is required to understand the Confucian doctrine appropriately and to use it properly for a better sport environment.

**Collectivism.** Along with Neo-Confucianism, one of the most prominent cultural features in Korean society is collectivism. As mentioned, South Korean society tends to emphasize group values as more important than an individual’s interest. Thus, Koreans feel more familiar with the use of the possessive case ‘our’ rather than ‘my’. This cultural feature leads people to recognize themselves as a member of a certain group first rather than an independent entity.

According to the data findings of this study, Korean society addresses an excessive groupism. This feature plays a major role in causing sport match fixing in elite amateur sport settings. For example, as representatives of groupism, school-ties and regionalism were pointed out in this research. In terms of school-ties, people share their common interests under the name of the same alumni association. They prioritize what would benefit their school rather than fairness in sports. Regarding regionalism, individuals tend to seek their interests based on which region they originally come from. Consequently, these significant cultural features lead people to favor certain groups under the name of homogeneity.

At this point, one might argue that favoring a certain person or group is part of an inner instinct existing in all human beings naturally. Social psychologists state that it is a

common pattern for people to favor one's ingroup over outgroup people (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2010). They argue that ingroup favoritism usually results from cultural difference because individuals' behaviors may vary according to their cultural backgrounds (Efferson, Lalive, & Fehr, 2008; Taylor & Doria, 1981). In other words, people have implicit prejudice that arises in an unconscious tendency and involuntary form to favor people who are seemingly analogous with one's own self (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). However, what is notable about this research is (South) Korea has been homogeneous nation for a thousand years. Thus, it is hard to argue that Koreans have inherent prejudice against one another due to cultural differences. Ingroup favoritism and implicit prejudice that occurs in South Korean society can be explained as a group's selfishness. In other words, these are not so much instincts embedded in human beings as floating values that people deliberately choose according to what benefits them. Thus, this research argues if people place an emphasis on fairness in sports more than selfish values that benefit their group, unnecessary group-consciousness that causes sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports can eventually be ameliorated as the society becomes more mature and fair.

In addition to groupism, this collectivist culture causes a centralized-power system in a group. People who have power try to maintain their power longer, and people who do not have power try to associate themselves with the powers that be. This power struggle is shown in this research. Stakeholders in South Korean elite sports struggle to gain power. Officials do so to control the organizations. Referees do so to belong to a political mainstream in their sport organizations. Consequently, their common interests, regardless of their position, is in gaining privileged power in a centralized-power system.

Thus, this research argues if the power that is at an authority figures' discretion is limited whereby individuals do not have to submit to those in power, the sport settings will be more transparent.

## **R2. Influence of Societal Changes on South Korean Elite Amateur Athletes with Respect to Sports Match Fixing**

**Negative effects of societal changes.** The second data findings of this research demonstrate that societal changes of South Korea led to both negative and positive effects on elite amateur sport match fixing. In terms of negative effects, society placed an emphasis on an economic-focused development or hardware-based growth; thereby, ignoring a social welfare and fair distribution of wealth. This societal environment brought about a 'win at all cost society' and 'societal polarization' between the haves and the have-nots.

As discussed in the data finding section, when taking into consideration the social backgrounds after the Korea War ended, it can be understandable that the Korean government had to focus on a labor-intensive industry for economic growth. For this reason, the government was interested in hosting mega sporting events because these brought both tangible values such as an economic impact, and intangible values such as national pride (Hong, 2011). The 1988 Olympics was held in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. According to Bridges (2008), this played a role in providing South Korea with an opportunity to show off its accomplished economic power and display itself as an international actor in a global society. These also provided society with economic benefits and national consciousness including awareness of sporting cultures.

This experience led Koreans to be fanatical about sporting events. Also, the government utilized sports as an actor to bring nation integration. Even though this research cannot provide any political agenda to prove that sports have been used for a particular political purpose for the South Korean government, the following is a fact: there are only six countries (i.e. the U.S., France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and South Korea) that have held the big three mega sporting events (i.e. the Summer and Winter Olympics and the FIFA World Cup). South Korea is one of them, and it can be inferred how deliberately sports have been used by the government's agenda.

In addition, the government has put an effort into fostering sport heroes or heroines in order to maximize sport utility. This national project is still imposed on contemporary society (Moon, 2011). It wants winners who stand upon the podium with national the flag and anthem. Only winners are appreciated; thus, sports lose their value on their own sake. Dr. Jong Young Lee<sup>17</sup>, a well-known scholar in the field of sports in South Korea, states sport match fixing basically occurs due to social climates that appreciate only winners in South Korea (Moon, 2011). He argues South Korean sports are inclined to be concentrated to certain sporting events, such as popular professional sports or trusted amateur sports that win many medals in the Olympics.

Consequently, societal changes influenced South Korean elite amateur sports negatively at times, leading to a 'win at all cost society' in sport environments and a 'polarization of sport participation.' As a developed nation, why should South Korea still

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focus on using sports to display its global position? As mentioned in the data finding section, South Korea is in the top 11 the World GDP ranking (International Monetary Fund, 2016). However, civic awareness seems to be in a state of stagnation, stuck in the past when Korea was developing national status rather than a fully developed nation. Consequently, this immature social consciousness plays a role in overlooking sport fairness, such as match fixing since the country believes this practice benefits society. Therefore, this study argues that national dignity does not come from showing off the number of medals one has, but from mature cultural consciousness and fair social justice.

**Positive effects of societal changes.** Societal changes occur through social progress and sociocultural evolution. These happen not only randomly as time goes by, but also systematically such as through the establishment of government and social institutions (e.g. politics, economy, education) (Liu & Wang, 2002). These systematic factors brought many positive effects to South Korean society. For example, political change shifted leadership from a military regime to a civilian government and allowed Koreans to have more civil liberties such as freedom of speech. This change led society to become more mature, and individuals and social institutions have become more transparent. Also, highly-technological innovation changed people's lifestyles. These positive societal changes have played roles in leading social justice more fairly; thus, helping reduce sport match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports settings.

This research demonstrates that societal changes led stakeholders affiliated with South Korean elite amateur sports to become enlightened. They try to change themselves to be fairer, believing these efforts make for better sports environments. However, what is notable about the data findings of this research is that none of the participants for this

research mentioned how executive officials working at sport organizations have contributed to these changes. Recalling the data findings (see Table 3.2), it could be assumed when considering the structural systems of sport organizations, the structure of the food chain, executive officials are the topmost group of predators. This may infer that ‘absolute power does not want to change the status quo.’ Thus, this research argues that when people strive to change the status quo, this may be yet another type of struggle for power to advance their individual position rather than an actual reformation of the corrupt environment.

One of the notable societal changes of South Korea since the twenty-first century is that people’s lifestyles have been shifted from a labor-intensive life to a leisure-coexistent life. According to the government’s policy, legal work time was reduced from six days to five days a week whereby people were given more chances to take part in leisure activities including club sports (Choi, 2002). These changes led individuals to become more active participants in sports. For example, as one interviewee for this research shared (see Table 2.2), merely participating was not enough, and some advance to acquiring a referee license. This direct civic participation in sports plays a role in preventing unnecessary groupism (i.e. school-ties and regionalism) and match fixing.

To sum up, societal changes occur very deliberately by systematic scheme of government and social institutions. This research demonstrates that sports organizations’ effort to reform institutionalized regulations, the media’s role to surveil a whole society, and technological advances have positively influenced South Korean elite amateur sports to become fairer. Thus, this research argues that socially demanded institutions and



regulations, regardless of whether these are initially schemed to target corrupt practices, may function as tools to prevent match fixing efficiently and effectively in a short time.

### **R3. Elite Amateur Athletes' General Perspectives of Sport Match Fixing in South Korean Sociocultural Contexts and Personal Understanding of Sport Match Fixing in their Sport Settings**

**Macro perspectives.** The last data findings of this research demonstrate how South Korean elite amateur athletes' perception and understanding of sport match fixing are subject to their sport settings that are influenced by sociocultural contexts. In terms of macro perspectives, South Korean elite amateur athletes have perceived match fixing as a very normalized practice via processes of socialization and institutionalization. As discussed in the data findings section, crime socialization and institutionalization has been supported by a number of existing studies. For example, a classic concept of crime socialization is well explained by the differential association theory that addresses criminal behaviors are learned through interactions with close persons (Sutherlands, 1949). Zyglidopoulos and Fleming's (2008) study about the three phases of transition from the ethical distance of a bystander to an offender supports how an individual is socialized into a corrupt environment.

In addition to crime socialization, Coleman's (1998) study revealed that most individuals who commit misconduct tend to be psychologically "normal." Brief et al (2001) state that if corrupt activities are routinized in certain groups, ingroup members consider these practices common place; thereby, people become accustomed to such an abnormal environment. This is referred to as crime institutionalization. Ultimately, people seek for a way to rationalize their misconduct.

The data findings of this project are supported by these existing studies. To reiterate, the processes of socialization and institutionalization in match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sports are comparable with existing studies' data findings. Thus, this research argues if South Korean elite amateur sport settings become more sound and fair, individuals are socialized and institutionalized into such healthy environments instead.

In addition, regardless of whether sport match fixing becomes a normalized practice through socialization and institutionalization, South Korean elite amateur athletes have accepted such corrupt environments as part of their sport settings. In other words, they understand that these environments are so systematic and established that they cannot go against the general lead taken by the power groups. Throughout this research, the data finding of this study revealed how match fixing occurring in South Korean elite amateur sport settings is related to power-dominated environments such as a struggle for power among groups and an authority figures' abuse of power. One participant for this research explained that the authority figures in sport organizations are comparable with school bullies, saying:

*There is a kind of delusion. I mean people hope sport environments will be improved more transparently. However, the powers that be are only interested in a way to take advantages of their position... abuse of power. I can't tell if it's gonna be improved soon. It seems like when middle and high school students stick around someone who is good at fighting. If the one says, 'let's do it like this or let's do it like that, then other students mostly follow the way what he wishes' (S.P\_ Wrestling).*

These data findings demonstrate how South Korean elite amateur sport settings become an arena for a struggle for power. Thus, this research supports existing studies dealing with the relationship between power and corruption, arguing that power monopolization plays a major role in causing match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. Such a struggle for power eventually makes people cling to those in power.

**Micro perspectives.** Regardless of the types of corruption, individuals are mainly seduced into corrupt practices because of personal gains such as financial benefits (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2001). South Korean elite amateur athletes also understand match fixing occurs due to very personal issues such as job promotion benefits as well as financial troubles. This research could support why most South Korean professional athletes involved in match fixing scandals were those who were playing for the military service team—they received a much lower salary while being on the team. This research also supports Forrest's (2012) argument that the best way to succeed in match fixing is to pay off individuals (e.g. athletes, referees, or coaches) who have a lower salary.

The data findings of this research pointed out a lack of individuals' ethical consciousness plays a major role in causing sport match fixing. This lack of consciousness may be seen as an abstract concept. To clarify the concept, this study applied Rest's (1986) four steps of moral cognition and actions: moral awareness to interpret a situation or issue as a moral question, moral judgment to determine whether a course of action is morally right or wrong, moral intent to prioritize moral values over other values, and moral behavior to proceed with a right act. This research did not question participants about which step people seem to fail at in order to maintain their moral cognition and actions. Rest (1986) argues that committing misconduct occurs due

to failure at any of the steps of the moral cognitive and actions. Thus, this study considered committing misdoings as a lack of ethical consciousness for its own sake. However, one might consider which of the four steps individuals in South Korea elite amateur sports fail at the most. This theory will help elucidate more fundamental causes that lead athletes and other stakeholders to commit corrupt behaviors.

Lastly, this research demonstrates that the most common perception and understanding of South Korean elite amateur athletes regarding match fixing was that such corrupt sport settings are getting better somehow. They commonly said, “these practices were more serious even until a few years ago.” It may be inferred that, as discussed in the second set of the data findings (see Table 2.2), social and cultural awareness of the civic, the roles of the media as a watchdog, reinforced regulations regarding match fixing, and many other factors founded in this research play roles in making South Korean elite amateur sport settings become more transparent. These factors would also influence professional sports to be improved. However, this research suggests that even though sport settings are getting better, one might need to be vigilant about corrupt sport environments at all times. One participant for this study left a comment, saying:

*If someone finds out any way to prevent match fixing in sport settings, another will find out another expedient leading to match fixing. It is obvious that there is always someone one step ahead of another (J.K\_Boxing).*

## Implications

This section provides multiple theoretical and managerial implications, and future research implications will be dealt with in the limitation section. This research was conducted with the application of multiple theoretical lenses. Thus, this will elaborate or expand upon existing theoretical concepts, considering how these are supported by the data findings of this project. Also, as this research mainly questions how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sports match fixing, the data findings of this study will be able to be used practically to make a better sport setting environment.

**Theoretical Implications.** This study applied multiple theoretical frames: Neo-Confucianism, collectivism, and societal changes. The data findings of this research imply how these theoretical concepts demonstrate South Korean sociocultural contexts in contemporary society, and how these sociocultural contexts lead to sport match fixing. First, Confucianism is not so much a theory as it is a philosophy-based ideology and doctrine addressing humanities and rationalities (Yao, 2000). This concept has been ingrained in (South) Korean society for a thousand years, and it still influences contemporary society in the twenty-first century. According to the Statistics Korea Bureau (2015), approximately 45 percent of South Koreans are religious (Lee, 2016). Despite their religious beliefs, Confucianism still plays a role in guiding South Korean civic society (Kim, 2006).

As discussed throughout this research, a number of existing studies demonstrate that South Korean society values human harmony by complying with Confucian doctrines. However, excessive interpretations of Confucianism ironically brought out

social conflicts rather than harmonious human relationships. For example, addressing a differentiation between people based on social positions (i.e. ruler and subject, father and son/daughter, or the old and the young) caused individuals to have a sense of entitlement and privileged consciousness. In other words, people may be more interested in taking advantage of the Confucian principles that benefit them rather than having a respect and affection with one another. These environments tacitly allow people to abuse socially given power at their discretion. Consequently, the data findings of this research imply that this theoretical concept can be applied to see how South Korean elite amateur sports are involved in match fixing.

As a second frame work, collectivism was applied as a theoretical lens in this research. This concept, as a counterpart of individualism, puts an emphasis on group's values and an emotional dependence between group members (Hofstede et al., 1991). Along with historical and cultural backgrounds that address kinship and friendship (Yum, 1988), collectivism was embedded in Koreans as a social conciseness they commonly share either in a small group or as a whole society. These sociocultural contexts caused groupism where people favor a certain group.

As mentioned above, from psychological perspective, ingroup favoritism and implicit prejudice occur due to an inner instinct existing in all human beings. This research implies that people learn favoritism in a society that excessively addresses groupism according to what would benefit their group. Said in another way, in this research, collectivism was understood as a means to differentiate 'us' from 'them' for a group's selfish gains. Consequently, this concept provides evidence that collectivism

plays a major role in causing school-ties and regionalism in sport competitions. These two types of favoritism eventually lead to match fixing.

Third, to understand how the contemporary societal environment influences sport match fixing, the concept of societal change was applied as a theoretical lens. This fundamental concept explains the notion of social progress and sociocultural evolution such as civil rights movements and social revolutions involving cultural, economic, technological forces (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992). This theoretical concept could support how South Korea underwent rapid changes while it experienced a civil rights movement and social revolution.

In addition, the data findings of this research provide evidence that societal changes caused both positive and negative effects distinctly. For example, in terms of positive effects, societal changes such as a civil rights movement helped people awaken their civil consciousness. Also, technological forces allowed devices to operate as referees catching movements that are beyond the limitation of human faculty. However, for negative effects, rapid societal changes brought a social imbalance in economic or hardware-based growth and social or software-based developments. Consequently, this research implies that this theoretical concept can be representative, explaining how South Korean elite amateur sport settings are passively and negatively influenced by these two different aspects of societal changes.

Lastly, this study implies that the multiple theoretical concepts that were applied to support the data findings of this research can explain how sport match fixing takes place in analogues environments where other types of crimes occur. For example, sport match fixing is transferred from one person to another via their socialization. Also,

institutionalized corrupt environments lead match fixing to become common place in South Korean elite amateur sport settings. Consequently, this research implies these theoretical concepts explain social crimes and can be applied to support both match fixing-socialization and match fixing-institutionalization.

**Managerial Implications.** This research revealed a number of data findings. These were supported by multiple theoretical concepts. Thus, this project suggests sport managers and organizations might take into consideration the factors that cause sport match fixing. Even though this research was conducted by focusing on South Korean elite amateur sports, data findings indicate how sociocultural contexts in certain societies may influence their sport settings to become involved in corrupt practices. Also, as mentioned above, this study implies that, at times, sport match fixing occurs due to comparable reasons that other social crimes happen. Thus, when considering the data findings of this research, it can be inferred that this project can provide practical suggestions to prevent match fixing in sport settings.

First, one should become aware that changing social norms deeply ingrained in certain societies does not seem likely to happen in a short time. South Korean society influenced by Neo-Confucianism leads to an excessive social hierarchy. That causes social conflicts between people. Even though it seems hard to break such unwritten rules existing in sport settings, there are a few cases where coaches take an initiative and set an example to change South Korean sport environments. Recently, the media has dealt with many coaches who demonstrate friendship-based leadership, so-called ‘elder bother leadership’ in Korean (Lee, 2017; Park, 2017). This means they are less dictatorial and friendlier to athletes.



Weaver et al (2014) address how it is up to leadership whether employees change their behaviors for better or worse in organizations. Said in another way, good leadership can create better work environments. Therefore, this study suggests that coaches should make a stronger effort to change their sport settings into a less authoritative environment. This would influence athletes to have more camaraderie and friendly relationships with each other. Consequently, this change in sport environments would play a role in preventing match fixing from occurring due to an excessive hierarchical structure.

Second, collectivism is a set of values that prioritize a submergence of individual identity for a collective one as well as submission to authority (Englehart, 2000). This may fundamentally put an emphasis on a symbiotic cooperation with one another. However, an excessive interpretation of the concept makes people see outgroup members as an enemy. This exaggerated collectivism led people to be grouped by school-ties and regionalism in South Korea, which eventually lead to match fixing by favoring their group. Korean-styled collectivism has been ingrained in society throughout history. It may be hard to improve this environment all at once. Therefore, this study suggests that sport organizations need to arrange referees' assignments to competitions deliberately. For example, one participant for this research (see Table 2.2) shared how their organization assigns referees to avoid overlapping their school and regional backgrounds with an athletes' background. These efforts can prevent match fixing from occurring due to an excessive groupism.

Third, the data finding of this research demonstrate that the Korean Olympic Committee's effort to prevent match fixing by regulation strengthening, such as ethical education programs for all stakeholders, imposing a penalty system for referees involved

in suspicious matches, and a new system for personnel recruitment, play roles in improving sport settings to be more transparent. Thus, this study suggests sport organizations need to reform themselves according to the social demand for making a fair society.

Lastly, this study may imply that, in order to improve sport fairness, society needs to be improved further as a whole. This suggestion can become too massive of a discourse to cover in this project. However, it could still be worth while for managers working at the national level of sport organizations to consider the following suggestions: how to change the centralized-power system to a decentralized-power system in sport organizations, how to change the elite-centralized sports to club-centralized sports in order to redistribute sport values to the public, how to improve the current aspect of sport participation from certain favored sports only to a diversification of sports that are played; and how to improve coaches' working conditions including salaries or a pension system. All these considerations to improve sport environments for the better consequently will play roles in preventing match fixing in South Korean elite amateur sport settings.

### **Limitations**

This research deals with how sociocultural contexts influence South Korean elite amateur athletes with respect to sports match fixing. Thus, the main targets for this study were current or former South Korean elite amateur athletes who play or have played at the national level. While conducting this research, there were a few potential impacts that could influence the data findings of this research. First, this research focused on individual sporting events only. Why team sporting events were not considered for this

research was because all elite amateur sport match fixing scandals that were officially exposed to the public in South Korea occurred in individual events. However, future research may consider the different ways or reasons that match fixing takes place between team and individual sporting events.

Second, participants for this research consisted of seven male athletes and three female athletes. Why this research had more male athletes than female athletes was because the selected events for this project are still male-dominated sports in South Korea. Also, according to the Korean Olympic Committee (2011), the ratio of male and female athletes who were registered as elite amateur players was reported as follows: male 77.8 percent and female 22.2 percent (Kim, 2011). Thus, this sampling ratio could be considered reasonable for this study and reflective of current gender ratios in Korean sports. Furthermore, balancing the same ratio of the two different genders could become a factor that hinders this research from finding the inside story about what happens in their sport settings. However, as gender difference may show a different decision-making process on the same issues in contemporary society (Dodson & Carroll, 1991; Fukuyama, 1998; Htun & Jones, 2002), future research may consider how differently male and female athletes are influenced by corrupt sporting environments.

Third, to gather more vivid data on this research, originally current athletes were preferred more than former ones. However, current athletes appeared relatively hesitant to share their ideas and experiences. They might not want to become a whistle blower as a current member of their sport organizations, whereas former athletes appeared to feel free as a participant for this research. Thus, a future researcher may consider, if former athletes are recently retired players who know the current sport settings as much as the

current athletes, then he or she does not have to prioritize the current athletes only. In other words, based on this experience, it seems more likely that former ones provide more vivid data.

Fourth, this research mainly targets South Korean elite amateur athletes and their sport settings. Thus, all interviews were conducted in Korean and translated into English. To interpret all stories and episodes that participants shared more correctly, the interview data was double checked by a peer reviewer, a native speaker, to determine whether the stories' meanings and their expressions were well translated into English. However, at some point, it was hard to convey the subtle nuances of the participants' verbal expressions at the same level using English expression. Thus, this is left as a limitation of this research.

Lastly, South Korean professional sport match fixing scandals have been at the center of social issues since 2011. In 2016, this came up as one of the hottest issues again since South Korean professional baseball players were involved in match fixing. However, there is no existing research conducted about how professional athletes would be influenced by sociocultural contexts. Furthermore, future research may consider whether there are any varying reasons that professional and amateur athletes are involved in misconduct. If so, to what degree are they differently influenced by sociocultural contexts.

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**APPENDIX A**

## Interview Protocol

Date:

Interviewee:

**Introduction**

- Introduce myself
- Explain the purpose of the study and consent form
- Provide consent form
- Ask if he/she has any questions

**Background Information of Participant**

- Position of interviewee: Current Athlete / Former Athlete
  
- Gender: Male / Female
  
- Sport event: \_\_\_\_\_
  
- A range of years: \_\_\_\_\_

## Interview Questions

1. How do you understand South Korean sociocultural backgrounds (e.g., historical, cultural, and societal background)?
  - 1-1. How do these South Korean sociocultural backgrounds influence match fixing?
2. Are there any changes in sport match fixing as time goes by (Societal changes)?
  - 2-1. If so, how has sport match fixing changed and been different in the past and the present?
3. How do you generally recognize sport match fixing?
  - 3-1. What is your understanding of match fixing in your sport setting?
4. How may sport match fixing occur at the individual/organizational level?
  - 4-1. Who is the decision maker for the match fixing? Why?
5. Other than these cases (e.g., sociocultural backgrounds, individual and organizational levels), what other factors do you think may cause sport match fixing?
6. If you knew that other people or parties fixed the game you were involved in, what would you do? Or how would you deal with that?
7. Do you know anyone whom I can visit with to learn more about this matter? If so, could you contact him or her and ask if he or she would be willing to participate in this research?